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SLAVERY

AND THE

INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE

IN THE

UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA.

1841.

SLAVERY

AND THE

INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA;

BEING

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS

TRANSMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE OF

The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,

FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,
HELD IN LONDON, JUNE, 1840.

BY THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LONDON:

THOMAS WARD AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW;

AND TO BE HAD AT THE OFFICE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 27, NEW BROAD STREET.

1841.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. HADDON, CASTLE STREET, FINSBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, with a view of obtaining information relative to slavery and the slave trade, transmitted, some time previous to the Anti-slavery Convention, a list of QUERIES to various parts of the world, and among them the following to the United States of America; which, with the REPLIES received from the Executive Committee of the American Anti-slavery Society were laid before the Convention, and that body, regarding the information they contain as most important, appointed a Committee to prepare them for the press, under whose direction they are now published.

British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,

27, *New Broad Street, London.*

British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,

FOR THE ABOLITION OF

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

ADDRESS.

Combined and strenuous efforts for the universal extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade having been judged needful, a meeting of Delegates and Friends to the cause, assembled from various parts of the United Kingdom, was held at Exeter Hall, London, on the 17th and 18th of April, 1839, at which the following resolutions were unanimously adopted as the basis of this Society:—

I. That the name of this Society be, "The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society."

II. That the objects of this Society be the universal extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

III. That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society—that so long as Slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of *a moral, religious, and pacific character*: and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society:—

1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the Slave-trade and Slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of Slave-holding countries not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British Colonies, and elsewhere: to open a correspondence with Abolitionists in America, France, and other countries, and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.
2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.
3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the Slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British Dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with Slaveholders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

V. That every person who subscribes not less than ten shillings annually, or makes a donation of five pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this Society.

VI. That the Society be under the management of a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Committee of not less than twenty-one persons, who shall be annually elected, and shall have power to fill up vacancies, and to add to their number.

VII. That there be held in London a general meeting of the subscribers once in each year, at which a report of the proceedings, and a financial statement shall be presented, and a Committee and Officers elected.

VIII. That the Committee have power to transact all business of the Society in the intervals of the general meetings, and to convene special general meetings of the Society when necessary.

IX. That it be recommended to the Anti-slavery friends throughout the world, to form Auxiliary Societies upon the principles of, and in connexion with, this Society.

X. That Auxiliary Societies be empowered annually to appoint,—and where such Auxiliaries are not formed, the Committee shall have power annually to appoint,—one or more corresponding members, who shall be at liberty to attend and vote at all meetings of the Committee in London; and that the Committee shall also be authorised to appoint annually Honorary Corresponding members who shall have the same privileges.

XI. That the Committee do invite and encourage the formation of Ladies' Branch Associations in furtherance of the objects of this Society.

XII. That the following gentlemen be the Committee and Officers of this Society.

Rt. Hon. Sir S. Lushington
Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart.
William Allen
George Stacey
William Ball
Robert Forster
Josiah Conder
Richard Peek
Samuel H. Lucas
Henry Tuckett
John Beaumont
Geoege Bennet
Josiah Forster
Rev. J. H. Hinton
Henry Sterry
Joseph Cooper
Stafford Allen
Richard Barrett
Samuel Gurney
Rev. John Woodwark
Rev. John Young
W. Taylor
Samuel Fox
L. C. Lecesne
Robert Russell
Dr. Thomas Price
Jacob Post.

Treasurer.—G. W. ALEXANDER, Lombard Street.
Honorary Secretary.—J. H. TREDGOLD, 41, Wellclose Square.

The Committee, according to instruction from the same Meeting, deem it among their first duties to issue the present address to the public, both at home and abroad, on the formation of the Society.

The continuance of the great evil of slavery in so many countries, in connexion with the enormities of the traffic in slaves,—enormities proved by late official documents to be of increasing extent, induce the belief that a strong and united effort should be made to promote the influence of principles, subversive both of the Slave-trade and of the system of slavery, among the people of those countries, in which this means has been, hitherto, but partially employed.

Having, under the blessing of Divine Providence, witnessed the emancipation of slaves in the British colonies (Mauritius alone at present excepted), and subsequently the termination of their apprenticeship, it must not be forgotten that these events were brought about, in very great measure, by appeal to the moral and religious principles of the nation. Neither should we forget, that slavery, with all the demoralization, cruelty, and oppression, which have ever marked it, exists in British India, in the colonies of several of the nations of Europe, in the United States of America, in Texas, and in the Empire of Brazil. The enormity of this evil in South America, Cuba, and others of the West India Islands, is attended by a feature which did not, within the last few years, mark the slavery in our own colonies. In those countries, the system is kept up by a large supply from year to year, of newly-imported Africans, introduced by a contraband trade in slaves carried on principally by Spaniards and Portuguese.

The Slave-trade, though abolished by Great Britain more than thirty years ago, and though during the great part of that time British cruisers have been employed on the coast of Africa, for its suppression, is, to the present day, prosecuted to as large an extent, and with as many instances of atrocious barbarity, as at any former period.

Experience has long ago proved, that whilst there continues a demand for any article which can be obtained, the demand will be met with a supply, either by lawful or unlawful means; especially if the trade in that article be attended with a profit covering the risk of detection and seizure. This being pre-eminently the case in reference to the trade in slaves, it continues unmitigated in its appalling amount of human misery, notwithstanding all that has been done by expenditure of treasure and of life, or by treaties and negociations. Thus there seems no other effectual means of cutting off the supply than by extinguishing the demand; and hence a most strong inducement arises to aim with energy at the termination of slavery, especially in the new world.

After what we have seen at home, why should we despair of the same results being effected by the application of the same means—"MEANS OF A MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND PACIFIC CHARACTER?" Among those means, collateral to such as are stated under the four of the foregoing resolutions, will be a strict inquiry into the state of those negroes who, released from captivity by the capture of slave-ships, are taken to Sierra Leone, or to the West Indies; and of all such persons wherever they may be found.

Although the present undertaking be thus comprehensive and arduous, calling for special dependence on the Divine blessing in its prosecution; yet much encouragement is derived, not merely from the recollection of what has been already accomplished in this great cause; but from the conviction that it is one adapted to engage the interest and secure the co-operation of those who form the real strength of every community and country.

At the same time the difficulties which British abolitionists have had to contend with, in the attainment of their object, gives them a lively sense of those which may obstruct the labourers in the same work in foreign lands. In the sympathy which is thus awakened, we tender them our cordial co-operation by all the means in our power, consistent with the principles on which this Society is founded. Free communication on their part, with information how they can be most effectually assisted, is earnestly invited.

Correspondence, according to the suggestion of the first resolution, with our friends abroad, is indeed highly desirable: so also in all our own colonies, where slavery has been recently abolished, and in Hayti; and that amongst other information, comparative notices should be forwarded to us of the condition of the population, morally and physically, as slaves and as freemen. With respect to auxiliary associations in the United Kingdom, so essential to the efficiency of the Society, we would suggest the importance of uniformity in their foundation, upon the constitution and regulations of the Parent Society. Upon such Associations its resources must mainly depend, and no time should be lost by our friends in the country in active exertion for the formation of these, and of Ladies' Branch Associations.

Communications to be addressed to J. H. TREDGOLD, Honorary Secretary of the Society, at the Office, 27, New Broad Street.

Donations and Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, or Secretary, or any member of the Committee.

J. Haddon, Printer, Castle Street, Finsbury.

QUERIES

OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

ON

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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REPLIES TO QUERIES

ON

AMERICAN SLAVERY

AND

THE SLAVE TRADE.

First Question. *What is the number of slaves held in the different States of the American Union?*

As no national census of the population of the United States has been taken since 1830, we cannot give precisely the present number of slaves. The following estimate is near the truth, though it probably falls below the actual number. It is based upon the rate of increase shown in the national census of 1830, and the later state censuses of Massachusetts, Michigan, and Mississippi, in 1837; of New York and Illinois in 1835; of Missouri in 1836, and of Alabama and Georgia in 1838.

The number of slaves in the nominally free states is taken from the national census of 1830. It must be considerably less now than it was ten years ago, there being no additions to it by birth or otherwise.

FREE STATES.	Number of Slaves.	SLAVE STATES.	Number of Slaves.
Maine	6	Delaware	2,403
New Hampshire	5	Maryland	97,433
Vermont	—	District of Columbia	5,871
Massachusetts	4	Virginia	519,040
Rhode Island	14	North Carolina	294,218
Connecticut	25	South Carolina	384,864
New York	76	Georgia	279,740
New Jersey	2,254	Kentucky	215,378
Pensylvania	403	Tennessee	250,307
Ohio	6	Alabama	244,324
Indiana	3	Mississippi	215,742
Illinois	747	Louisiana	173,296
Michigan	32	Missouri	55,396
		Arkansas	12,946
Total	3,575	Total	2,770,958

The preceding census assigns a few slaves each to the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York. This is a mistake. In those states no persons can be legally held as slaves. The slaves in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pensylvania consist of those born prior to the date of the Abolition Acts in those states, and who were not emancipated thereby. Those in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan are persons legally entitled to their freedom. Those in Illinois are "indentured apprentices," held very much in the condition of slaves. The slaves in New Jersey, like those in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pensylvania, are persons born before the Abolition Act passed in that state, with the addition of such as have from time to time been introduced by immigrants from other slave states, removing into New Jersey to reside.

The annexed Tables exhibit the increase of the population of the United States, white, free colored, and slave, since the first census of 1790; the relative increase of each class, &c.

TABLE I.

Free States.	Date of admission.	1790. Free Whites.	1790. Slaves.	1790. Free colored.	1790. Reps.	1800 Slaves.	1810 Slaves.	1820. Free Whites.	1820. Slaves.	1830. Free Whites.	1830. Slaves.	1830. Free Colored.	1830. TOTAL.	1830. Extent Square miles.	1830. *1. to s.m.*	1830. No. of slaves to 1000 Free whites. N. J. 7. Ill. 5. Other F. S. less than 1.	1839. Reps'	1839. Free basis.	1840. Free Inhabitants.	* Estimated by the rate of increase shown in the latest census, viz. in Ms. Mich. & Mi. 1837, N. Y. and Ill. 1835, Mo. 1836, Ala. and Ga. 1838.
Maine	1820	96,002	.....	538		.....	.....	297,406	.....	398,260	 6	1,171	399,437	35,000	12		8	9	535,519	
New Ham. .	1789	141,111	158	630	3	8	.....	243,375	.....	268,721	 5	602	269,328	9,491	30		5	6	296,675	
Vermont....	1791	85,144	17	255		.....	.....	234,861	.....	279,776	.....	881	280,657	9,800	28		5	6	334,086	
Massachusett	1789	373,254	.....	5,463	8	.....	.....	516,547	.....	603,359	4	7,045	610,408	7,800	85		12	14	744,333	
R. Island ..	1789	64,689	952	3,469	1	381	108	79,491	48	93,261	14	3,564	96,839	1,225	72		2	2	113,746	
Connecticut	1789	232,576	2,764	2,801	5	951	310	267,301	97	289,603	25	8,047	297,675	4,800	63		6	7	321,961	
New York ..	1789	314,142	21,324	4,654	6	20,343	15,017	1,333,445	10,088	1,873,663	76	44,869	1,918,608	46,000	42		40	44	2,464,560	
New Jersey	1789	169,954	11,423	2,762	4	12,422	10,851	257,558	7,557	300,266	2,254	18,303	320,823	7,400	41		6	7	370,809	
Pennsylvania	1789	424,099	3,737	6,537	8	1,706	795	1,019,040	211	1,309,900	403	37,930	1,348,233	47,000	28		28	31	1,733,025	
Ohio	1802	.....	.....	.....		.....	.....	576,711	.....	928,329	6	9,568	937,903	44,000	23		19	21	1,512,918	
Indiana	1815	.....	.....	.....		135	237	145,758	190	339,399	3	3,629	343,031	36,500	10		7	8	799,509	
Illinois	1818	.....	.....	.....		.....	168	53,837	917	155,061	747	1,637	157,445	53,480	3		3	3	506,166	
Michigan ...	1837	.....	.....	.....		.....	24	8,722	.....	31,346	32	261	31,639	34,000	1		1	1	318,040	
Total F. S.		1,900,971	40,375	27,109	35	35,946	27,510	5,034,052	19,108	6,870,944	3,575	137,507	7,012,026	336,496	20		142	159	10,051,347	Slaves.
Delaware ..	1789	46,312	8,887	3,899	1	6,153	4,177	55,282	4,509	57,601	3,292	15,855	76,748	2,100	36	57	1	1	79,070	2,403
Maryland ..	1789	208,649	103,036	8,043	6	105,635	111,502	260,222	107,398	291,108	102,994	52,938	447,040	9,350	45	353	8	7	396,229	97,433
D. of Co....	1790	.....	.....	.....		3,244	5,395	22,614	6,377	27,563	6,119	6,152	39,834	100	..	222	....	....	42,633	5,871
Virginia	1789	442,115	293,427	12,766	10	345,796	392,518	603,324	425,153	694,300	469,757	47,348	1,211,405	70,000	18	676	21	17	859,136	519,040
N. Carolina	1789	288,204	100,572	4,975	5	133,296	168,824	419,200	205,017	472,843	245,601	19,543	737,987	50,000	15	520	13	11	558,961	294,218
S. Carolina..	1789	140,268	107,004	1,801	5	146,151	196,365	237,440	258,475	257,863	315,401	7,921	581,185	33,000	18	1223	9	6	289,201	384,864
Georgia	1789	52,886	29,264	398	3	59,404	105,218	189,570	149,656	296,803	217,531	2,486	516,823	62,000	8	733	9	7	424,268	279,740
Kentucky ..	1792	61,133	11,830	114		40,343	80,561	434,826	126,732	517,787	165,213	4,917	687,917	40,500	17	319	13	12	634,428	215,378
Tennessee ..	1796	32,013	3,417	361		13,584	44,535	339,979	80,107	535,746	141,603	4,555	681,904	45,600	17	264	13	12	851,823	250,307
Alabama ...	1819	.....	.....	.....		.....	.....	85,451	41,879	190,406	117,549	1,572	309,527	52,000	6	617	5	4	332,336	244,324
Mississippi..	1816	.....	.....	.....		3,489	17,088	42,171	32,814	70,443	65,659	519	136,621	48,000	3	932	2	1	195,700	215,742
Louisiana ..	181.	.....	.....	.....		.....	34,660	73,383	69,064	89,231	109,588	16,710	215,529	48,320	5	1228	3	2	133,598	173,296
Missouri	1821	.....	.....	.....		.....	3,011	55,757	10,222	114,795	25,091	569	140,455	64,000	2	218	2	2	321,729	55,396
Arkansas ...	1836	.....	.....	.....		.....	.....	12,570	1,617	25,671	4,576	141	30,388	54,860	1	178	1	1	51,053	12,946
S. States..		1,271,580	657,437	32,357	30	857,095	1,163,854	2,831,789	1,519,020	3,642,163	1,989,974	181,226	5,813,383	579,830	10	546	100	83	5,170,165	2,770,958
F. States..		1,900,971	40,375	27,109	35	35,946	27,510	5,034,052	19,108	6,870,944	3,575	137,507	7,012,026	336,496	20		142	159	10,051,347	.....
Total...		3,172,551	697,812	59,466	65	893,041	1,191,364	7,865,841	1,538,128	10,513,107	1,993,549	318,733	12,825,389	916,326	14	189	242	242	15,221,512	2,770,958

The following Tables, exhibiting the progress of the population of the several states of the Union, and of the different classes of the inhabitants, are taken from a "Statistical View of the Population of the United States from 1790 to 1830, inclusive, furnished by the Department of State, in accordance with the resolutions of the Senate of the United States of the 26th of February, 1833, and the 31st of March, 1834."

TABLE II.

Showing the total population of each state according to five enumerations; the numerical increase in each ten years and in forty years; and the increase per cent. in ten years and in forty years.

States.	Yrs.	Population.	Increase each 10 years.	Increase per cent. each 10 years.	Increase in 40 years.	Increase per cent. in 40 years.
MAINE.....	1790	96,540				
	1800	159,719	55,179	58·1923		
	1810	228,705	76,986	50·7425	302,915	313·7715
	1820	298,335	69,630	30·4530		
	1830	399,455	101,120	33·8948		
NEW HAMPSHIRE	1790	141,899				
	1800	183,760	41,863	25·5020		
	1810	214,360	30,598	16·6509	127,429	89·8026
	1820	244,161	29,801	13·9023		
	1830	269,328	25,167	10·3075		
VERMONT.....	1790	85,416				
	1800	154,465	69,049	80·8385		
	1810	217,713	63,248	40·9465	195,236	228·5708
	1820	235,764	18,051	8·2912		
	1830	280,652	44,888	19·0394		
MASSACHUSETTS	1790	378,717				
	1800	423,345	44,528	11·758		
	1810	472,040	48,795	11·5264	231,691	61·1778
	1820	523,287	51,247	10·8564		
	1830	610,408	87,121	16·6488		
RHODE ISLAND	1790	69,110				
	1800	69,122	12	10·0174		
	1810	77,031	7,909	11·4421	28,089	40·6439
	1820	83,059	6,027	7·8254		
	1830	97,199	14,040	17·0240		
CONNECTICUT . .	1790	238,141				
	1800	251,002	12,861	5·4006		
	1810	262,042	11,040	4·3984	59,534	24·9995
	1820	275,202	13,160	5·0221		
	1830	297,675	22,473	8·1660		

States.	Yrs.	Population.	Increase each 10 years.	Increase per cent. each 10 years.	Increase in 40 years.	Increase per cent. in 40 years.
New York	1790	340,120				
	1800	586,756	246,636	72·5144		
	1810	959,049	372,293	63·4494	1,578,488	464·0974
	1820	1,372,812	413,763	43·1431		
	1830	1,918,608	545,796	39·7575		
New Jersey ..	1790	184,139				
	1800	211,949	27,810	15·1027		
	1810	245,555	33,606	15·3557	136,684	74·2287
	1820	277,575	32,020	13·0398		
	1830	320,823	43,248	15·5807		
Pensylvania ..	1790	434,373				
	1800	602,365	169,992	38·6746		
	1810	810,091	207,726	34·4851	913,860	210·3860
	1820	1,049,458	239,367	29·5482		
	1830	1,348,233	298,775	28·4695		
Delaware	1790	59,096				
	1800	64,273	5,177	8·7603		
	1810	72,674	8,401	13·0708	17,652	29·8700
	1820	72,749	75	0·1032		
	1830	76,748	3,999	5·4970		
Maryland	1790	319,728				
	1800	341,548	21,820	6·8246		
	1810	380,546	38,938	11·4180	127,312	39·8188
	1820	407,350	26,804	7·0436		
	1830	447,040	39,690	9·7435		
Virginia.....	1790	748,308				
	1800	880,200	131,892	17·6254		
	1810	974,622	94,422	10·7273	463,097	
	1820	1,065,366	90,744	9·3107		
	1830	1,211,405	140,039	13·7079		
Nor. Carolina	1790	393,751				
	1800	478,103	84,352	21·4227		
	1810	555,500	77,379	16·1814	344,236	87·4288
	1820	638,829	83,329	15·0007		
	1830	737,987	99,158	15·5218		
Sou. Carolina	1790	249,073				
	1800	345,591	96,518	35·7509		
	1810	415,115	69,524	20·1174	322,112	133·3392
	1820	502,741	87,426	21·1088		
	1830	581,185	78,444	15·6033		
Georgia	1790	82,548				
	1800	162,101	79,553	96·3718		
	1810	252,433	90,332	55·7258	434,275	526·0879
	1820	340,989	88,556	35·0810		
	1830	516,823	175,834	51·5659		
Kentucky	1790	73,077				
	1800	220,955	147,878	202·3592		
	1810	406,511	185,556	83·0791	614,840	841·3591
	1820	564,317	157,506	38·8196		
	1830	687,917	123,600	21·9026		

States.	Yrs.	Population.	Increase each 10 years.	Increase per cent. each 10 years.	Increase in 40 years.	Increase per cent. in 40 years.
TENNESSEE	1790	35,791				
	1800	105,602	68,811	195·0518		
	1810	261,927	156,125	147·8428	646,113	1805·2387
	1820	422,813	161,086	64·5473		
	1830	681,904	259,091	61·2779		
OHIO	1790				Increase in 30 years.	Inc. per ct. in 30 years.
	1800	45,365				
	1810	230,760	185,395	408·6741		
	1820	581,234	350,674	151·9648	892,938	1967·4595
	1830	937,903	356,459	61·3086		
INDIANA	1790					
	1800	4,875				
	1810	24,520	19,645	402·9744		
	1820	147,178	122,658	500·2365	338,156	6936·5333
	1830	343,031	195,853	133·0722		
MISSISSIPPI	1790					
	1800	8,850				
	1810	40,352	31,504	355·9548		
	1820	75,448	35,096	500·2365	127,771	1443·7401
	1830	136,621	61,173	133·0722		
ILLINOIS	1790				Increase in 20 years.	Inc. per ct. in 20 years.
	1800					
	1810	12,282				
	1820	55,211	42,929	349·5278	145,163	1181·9166
	1830	157,445	102,234	185·1696		
LOUISIANA	1790					
	1800					
	1810	76,556				
	1820	153,407	76,851	100·3853	139,183	181·8055
	1830	215,739	62,332	40·6318		
MISSOURI	1790					
	1800					
	1810	20,845				
	1820	66,586	45,741	219·4339	119,610	573·8067
	1830	140,455	73,869	110·9377		
ALABAMA	1790					
	1800					
	1810	20,845				
	1820	144,317	123,472			
	1830	309,527	165,210	114·4772	288,682	
MICHIGAN	1790					
	1800					
	1810	4,762				
	1820	8,896	4,134	86·8123	26,877	564·4507
	1830	31,639	22,743	255·6542		
ARKANSAS	1790					
	1800				Increase in 10 years	
	1810					
	1820	14,273				
	1830	30,388	16,115	112·9055	16,115	

States.	Yrs.	Population.	Increase each 10 years.	Increase per cent. each 10 years.	Increase in 30 years.	Increase per cent. in 30 years.
Florida Territory.....	1790					
	1800					
	1810					
	1820					
	1830	34,730				
District of Columbia.....	1790					
	1800	14,093				
	1810	24,023	9,930	70·4605	25,741	182·6510
	1820	33,039	9,016	37·5307		
	1830	39,834	9,795	20·5666		

TABLE III.

Showing the total number, the numerical increase, and the increase per cent. during each ten years, and during forty years from 1790 to 1830, of the several classes of the population; abstracted from the document already named.

	Yrs.	Total.	Increase in 10 years.	Increase per cent. in each 10 years.	Increase in 40 years.	Increase per cent. in 40 years.
Whites.....	1790	3,172,464				
	1800	4,304,502	1,132,038	35·6832		
	1810	5,862,004	1,175,502	36·1831	7,364,914	232·1512
	1820	7,872,711	2,010,707	34·3007		
	1830	10,537,378	2,664,667	33·8469		
Slaves.....	1790	697,897				
	1800	893,041	195,194	27·9617		
	1810	1,191,364	298,320	33·4053	1,311,146	187·8210
	1820	1,543,488	352,324	29·5732		
	1830	2,009,043	465,355	30·1457		
Free Coloured.	1790	59,466				
	1800	108,398	48,932	82·2857		
	1810	186,446	78,048	72·1858	260,133	437·4802
	1820	238,197	51,751	27·2202		
	1830	319,599	81,402	34·1742		
Free Coloured and Slaves..	1790	767,363				
	1800	1,001,439	244,076	32·2271		
	1810	1,377,810	376,371	37·5830	1,571,272	237·4671
	1820	1,781,885	404,075	29·3273		
	1830	2,328,642	646,757	33·6824		
Total Population.....	1790	3,929,827				
	1800	5,305,941	1,376,114	35·0172		
	1810	7,239,814	1,933,873	36·4473	8,936,193	227·3941
	1820	9,654,596	2,414,782	33·3542		
	1830	12,866,020	2,211,424	33,2632		

TABLE IV.

Showing the number of slaves in each of the slaveholding states; the numerical increase in each ten years, and the increase per cent.; also the increase and the increase per cent. in forty years.

States.	Yrs.	Population.	Increase each 10 years.	Increase per cent. in each 10 years.	Increase in 40 years.	Increase per cent. in 40 years.
MARYLAND.....	1790	103,636				
	1800	105,635	2,599	2·5224	(decrease)	
	1810	111,502	5,867	5·5540	42	0·0404
	1820	107,398	4,104	3·6807		
	1830	102,994	4,404	4·1006		
VIRGINIA	1790	293,427				
	1800	347,796	52,369	17·8474		
	1810	392,518	46,722	13·5114	176,330	60·0933
	1820	425,153	32,365	8·3143		
	1830	469,757	44,604	10·4993		
NORTH CAROLINA	1790	100,572				
	1800	133,296	32,724	32·5379		
	1810	168,824	35,528	26·6535	145,029	144·2042
	1820	205,017	36,193	21·4383		
	1830	245,601	40,584	19·7954		
SOUTH CAROLINA	1790	107,094				
	1800	146,151	39,057	36·4698		
	1810	196,365	50,214	34·3576	208,307	194·5086
	1820	258,475	62,110	31·6299		
	1830	315,401	56,926	22·0238		
GEORGIA.....	1790	29,264				
	1800	59,404	30,140	102·9934		
	1810	105,218	45,814	72·1228	188,267	643·3399
	1820	149,656	44,438	42·2342		
	1830	217,531	67,875	45·354		
KENTUCKY.....	1790	11,830				
	1800	40,343	28,513	241·0228		
	1810	80,561	42,218	99·6902	153,383	1296·5296
	1820	126,732	46,171	57·3119		
	1830	165,213	38,481	30·3641		
TENNESSEE.....	1790	3,417				
	1800	13,584	10,167	297·5417		
	1810	44,535	30,951	227·8489	138,186	4044·0731
	1820	80,107	35,572	79·8743		
	1830	141,603	61,496	76·7673		
MISSISSIPI.....	1790				Increase in 30 years.	Inc. per cent in 30 years.
	1800	3,489				
	1810	17,088	13,599	389·7678	62,170	1781·8859
	1820	32,814	15,226	92·0295		
	1830	65,659	32,845	100·0945		

States.	Yrs.	Population.	Increase each 10 years.	Increase per cent. each 10 years.	Increase in 20 years.	Increase per cent. in 20 years.
LOUISIANA.....	1790					
	1800					
	1810	34,660			74,928	216·1800
	1820	69,064	34,404	99·2614		
	1830	109,588	40,524	50·6760		
MISSOURI.....	1790					
	1800					
	1810	3,011			22,080	733·3112
	1820	10,222	7,211	239·4885		
	1830	25,091	14,869	145·4608		
ALABAMA.....	1790					
	1800					
	1810					
	1820	47,439				
	1830	117,549	70,110	147·7898		

NOTE. The number of slaves in the states north of Maryland in 1790, was 48,267; in 1830, only 6,066; and of these, 5,546 belonged to New Jersey and Delaware.

TABLE V.

Showing the annual rate of increase per cent., during each of the ten years from 1790 to 1830.

	Whites.	Free Coloured.	Slaves.	Total population.
1790				
1800	3·0985	6·1879	2·4962	3·0478
1810	3·1364	5·5731	2·9243	3·1564
1820	2·9931	2·4798	2·6247	2·9203
1830	2·9583	2·9834	2·6700	2·9132

TABLE VI.

Showing the times of the first and second duplication of the inhabitants. The second duplication, except with respect to the free coloured people, is *by estimate*,

Whites.....	1st dup.	22·68	years in	1813	—2nd dup.	23·66	years in	1836
Free Coloured.....	,,	11·70	,,	1802	,,	18·20	,,	1820
Slaves.....	,,	26·11	,,	1816	,,	26·43	,,	1843
Slaves & Free Color'd	,,	23·62	,,	1814	,,	26·12	,,	1840
Total Population....	,,	22·85	,,	1813	,,	24·11	,,	1837

In Table I. the aggregate number of inhabitants given to each square mile is just twice as great in the free states as in the slave states, including white, free coloured, and slaves.

Table II. is presented chiefly for the purpose of showing that the population of the free states has increased much more rapidly than that of the slave states. This will appear by the following estimates, founded upon the statistics of this table.

The Total Population	of the Free States	in 1790, was	2,034,739.
,,	of the Slave States	,,	2,152,544.
The Increase	in the Free States	up to 1830, was	4,877,060.
,,	in the Slave States	,,	3,721,460.
,,	in the Free States	up to 1840, was	10,051,347.
,,	in the Slave States	,,	8,193,203.

The difference is made still more obvious by contrasting the free and slave states severally—thus :

States.	Population in 1790.	Increase in 40 years.	Increase in 50 years.
Maine	96,540	302,915	439,039
Maryland	319,899	127,512	173,763
New Hampshire	141.899	127,429	154,776
South Carolina	249,073	322,112	424,992
New York	340,120	1,578,488	2,124,440
Virginia	748,308	463,097	429,868
	pop. in 1800.	incr. in 30 years.	incr. in 40 years.
Ohio	45,365	892,938	1,527,553
	pop. in 1790.	incr. in 40 years.	incr. in 50 years.
Kentucky	73,077	614,840	576,729
	pop. in 1800.	incr. in 30 years.	incr. in 40 years.
Indiana	4,875	338,156	794,634
	pop. in 1790.	incr. in 40 years.	incr. in 50 years.
Tennessee	35,791	646,138	1,066,339
	pop. in 1810.	incr. in 20 years.	incr. in 30 years.
Illinois	12,282	145,163	493,884
	pop. in 1800.	incr. in 30 years.	incr. in 40 years.
Missouri	8,850	127,771	402,592
	pop. in 1810.	incr. in 20 years.	incr. in 30 years.
Michigan	4,762	26,877	313,339
	pop. in 1820.	incr. in 10 years.	incr. in 20 years.
Arkansas	14,273	16,115	55,726

Thus it appears that the ratio of increase in the free states is much greater thau in the slave states. How is this to be explained? Certainly not by any advantages of soil, climate, or productions. In all these respects the south enjoys a marked superiority. Her soil is proverbially fertile, and her genial clime as favourable perhaps as any in the world, both for the rapid increase of population, and for the productions requisite for subsistence; while both soil and climate conspire to yield the most profitable staples known to commerce. Many of the free states, and those the most densely populated, are characterised by the reverse of all this. With a hilly surface and a stubborn soil, locked up by frost or covered with snow for one half of the year, they would seem able to yield but a stinted support to a scanty population, nor even that, without an amount of toil unfavourable to rapid increase. To what, then, is this striking superiority of the free over the slave states, in point of population, to be ascribed? To a political ascendency, by which the energies of the south are crippled, and her prosperity arrested? So far is this from being the case, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show, that although the free states elect a majority of the members of Congress, the slave states have, for all practical purposes, the entire ascendency. They have never yet failed to carry their favourite measures against the free states, and not unfrequently have succeeded in imposing upon the latter most disadvantageous restrictions in furtherance of their own sectional interests. The secret of the political power held by the slave states will be exposed in another place; suffice it here to observe, that the *fact* is notorious. No explanation can be given of the point in question but this—*slavery has made the difference.*

In Table III. the relative increase of all classes of the population is given, from which it appears that the increase of the slaves during forty years was nearly fifty per cent. less than that of the whites during the same period. This estimate embraces the whole white population, both north and south.

The slaves increase somewhat faster than the whites of the slave states alone. What proportion, however, of this is the natural increase by birth, and how much is owing to foreign importations, connot be accurately determined. Though the

ratio of increase is generally found to be greater among the labouring classes than among any other, the slave increase, compared with that of the whole white population, is greatly inferior; the natural effect of their excessive toil, scanty sustenance, and multiform privations and inflictions.

On the other hand, the reflex influence of slavery upon the slaveholders is seen in the reduction of the ratio of the increase of the white inhabitants in the slave states, even below that of the slaves.

SECOND QUESTION. *From what states are slaves exported for sale, and what is the number from each state?*

Slaves are exported from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and the district of Columbia. The states from which the largest proportion are taken are Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Kentucky, and of these Virginia exports most.

Of the number exported annually from each state we cannot speak with accuracy. From the following data, however, an estimate may be formed of the whole number, which will not be very far from the truth.

The "Virginia Times" (a weekly newspaper published at Wheeling, Virginia) estimates, in 1836, the number of slaves exported for sale from that state alone, during "the twelve months preceding," at *forty thousand*, the aggregate value of whom is computed at *twenty-four millions of dollars.*

Allowing for Virginia one half of the whole exportation during the period in question, and we have the appalling sum total of *eighty thousand slaves* exported in a single year from the breeding states. We cannot decide with certainty what proportion of the above number was furnished by each of the breeding states, but Maryland ranks next to Virginia in point of numbers, North Carolina follows Maryland, Kentucky, North Carolina, then Tennessee, Missouri, and Delaware.

THIRD QUESTION. *To which of the states are slaves exported, and what is their number in each of those states?*

The states into which slaves are imported are South Carolina,

Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, also the territory of Florida. North Carolina is to some extent an importing as well as an exporting state; some sections exporting and others importing.

The same is true in a limited degree of Tennessee and Missouri.

The number of slaves in each of the buying states is given in the answer to the first Question. (See Table I.)

FOURTH QUESTION. *What proportion of them are supplied by the internal slave trade?*

By far the greater proportion, perhaps four-fifths or more. The extent, regularity, and activity of the internal slave trade are matter of astonishment, no less than of grief and shame. We have estimated the exportation of a single year at eighty thousand, on the lowest calculation; we should, perhaps, have been nearer the truth, had we put it at a *hundred and twenty thousand;* as will appear from the following extracts.

"'The Natchez (Mississippi) Courier' says 'that the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, imported *two hundred and fifty thousand* slaves from the more northern states in the year 1836.'"

This seems absolutely incredible, but it probably includes all the slaves introduced by the immigration of their masters. The following, from the "Virginia Times," confirms this supposition. In the same paragraph which is referred to under the second query, it is said,

"We have heard intelligent men estimate the number of slaves exported from Virginia, within the last twelve months, at a hundred and twenty thousand, each slave averaging at least 600 dollars, making an aggregate of 72,000,000 dollars. Of the number of slaves exported, not more than *one-third* have been sold, the others having been carried by their masters, who have removed."

Assuming one-third to be the proportion of the sold, there are more than eighty thousand imported for sale into the four states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas. Supposing one-half of eighty thousand to be sold into the other buying states, South Carolina, Georgia, and the territory of

Florida, and we are brought to the conclusion that more than a hundred and twenty thousand slaves were, for some years previous to the great pecuniary pressure in 1837, exported from the breeding to the consuming states.

The "Baltimore American" gives the following from a Mississippi paper of 1837.

"The Report made by the Committee of the Citizens of Mobile, appointed at their meeting held on the 1st instant, on the subject of the existing pecuniary pressure, states, that so large has been the return of slave labour, that purchases by Alabama of that species of property from other states, since 1833, have amounted to about *ten million dollars annually.*"

The activity and system with which this traffic is carried on, as well as its extent, may be learned from the following statements and public advertisements, derived from southern papers.

"Dealing in slaves," *says the* BALTIMORE (MARYLAND) REGISTER *of* 1829, "has become a large business; establishments are made in several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle; these places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumb-screws and gags, and ornamented with cowskins and other whips, oftentimes bloody."

The following are specimens of the advertisements of Baltimore traders:—

"Austin Woolfolk, of Baltimore, wishes to inform the slaveholders of Maryland and Virginia, that their friend still lives to give cash and the highest price for negroes," &c.

"*General Slave Agency Office.*—Gentlemen planters from the south, and others who wish to purchase negroes, would do well to give me a call. LEWIS SCOTT."

"*Cash for two hundred Negroes.*—The highest cash prices will be paid for negroes of both sexes, by application to me or my agent at Booth's Garden. HOPE H. SLATER."

"*For New Orleans.*—A coppered, copper-fastened packet-brig will sail on the 1st of February from Baltimore. Those *having servants to ship* will do well by making early application to James Purvis," &c.

The degree to which Virginia is implicated in this trade, may be inferred from the open avowals of her own statesmen. In the Legislature of that state, in 1832, *Thomas Jefferson Randolph* declared that Virginia had been converted into "*one*

grand menagerie, where men are reared for the market like oxen for the shambles."

Hon. Charles Fenton Macer (a member of congress from Virginia since 1817) asserted in the Virginia Convention in 1829,

"The tables of the natural growth of the slave population demonstrate, when compared with the increase of its numbers in the commonwealth for twenty years past, that an annual revenue of not less than a *million and a half of dollars* is derived from the exportation of a part of this population."

Mr. Gholson, of Virginia, in his speech in the Legislature of that state, January 18, 1831 (see Richmond Whig), says—

"It has always (perhaps erroneously) been considered by steady and old-fashioned people, that the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits; the owner of orchards to their annual fruits; the owner of brood mares to their product; and the owner of *female slaves* to *their increase.* We have not the fine-spun intelligence nor legal acumen to discover the technical distinctions drawn by gentlemen [i. e. the distinction between *female slaves* and *brood mares*]. The legal maxim of 'Partus sequitur ventrem' is coeval with the existence of the right of property itself, and is founded in wisdom and justice. It is on the justice and inviolability of this maxim that the master foregoes the service of the female slave, has her nursed and attended during the period of her gestation, and raises the helpless infant offspring. The value of the property *justifies the expense,* and I do not hesitate to say, that in its *increase consists much of our wealth.*"

We have here the assurance of a prominent slaveholder, that the only ground on which the female slave is released from the labour of the house or field for a single day, either before or after her confinement, is the right of her master to dispose of her offspring; that the only thing which can *justify the expense* of a brief discharge from toil, though God and nature alike and aloud demand it, is the "value of the property." Of course, in the slave-consuming states, where it is deemed more profitable to buy fresh supplies every few years than to raise them, on the ground there is no consideration which can "justify" the master in "foregoing the service of the female slave," however delicate her situation! We fear that this principle of slaveholding ethics is but too faithfully carried out by the sugar and cotton planters of the south.

Professor Dew, now President of the University of William and Mary in Virginia, in his Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature in 1831-2, says (page 120),

"A full equivalent being left in the place of the slave [the purchase money], this emigration becomes an advantage to the state, and does not check the black population as much as at first view we might imagine; because it furnishes every inducement to the master to attend to the negroes, *to encourage breeding*, and *to cause the greatest number possible to be raised.*" Again, "*Virginia is in fact a negro-raising state for other states.*"

Mr. Goode, of Virginia, in his speech before the Virginia Legislature in January, 1832, said—

"The superior usefulness of the slaves in the south will constitute an *effectual demand*, which will remove them from our limits. We shall send them from our state, because it will be *our interest* to do so. But gentlemen are alarmed *lest the markets of other states* be closed against the introduction of our slaves Sir, the demand for *slave labor must increase*," &c.

The following is an extract from the speech of Mr. Faulkner, in the Virginia House of Delegates, 1832 (See "Richmond Whig"):

"But he (Mr. Gholson) has labored to show that the abolition of slavery would be impolitic, because your slaves constitute the entire wealth of the state, all *the productive capacity* Virginia possesses; and, sir, as things are, *I believe he is correct.* He says that the slaves constitute the entire available wealth of eastern Virginia. Is it true that for two hundred years the only increase in the wealth and resources of Virginia has been a remnant of the natural increase of this miserable race? Can it be that on this increase she places her sole dependence? Until I heard these declarations I had not fully conceived the horrible extent of this evil. These gentlemen state the fact, which the history and *present aspect of the commonwealth* but too well sustain. What, sir, have you lived for two hundred years without personal effort or productive industry, in extravagance and indolence, sustained alone by the return from the sales of the increase of slaves, and retaining merely such a number as your now impoverished lands can sustain as STOCK?"

In the debates in the Virginia Convention in 1829, Judge Upsher said,

"The value of slaves as an article of property depends much on the state of the market abroad. In this view, it is the value of land *abroad*,

and not of land here which furnishes the ratio. Nothing is more fluctuating than the value of slaves. A late law of Louisiana reduced their value twenty-five per cent. in two hours after its passage was known. *If it should be our lot, as I trust it will be, to acquire the country of Texas, their price will rise again.*"

Hon. Philip Doddridge, of Virginia, in his speech in the Virginia Convention, in 1829 (Debates, p. 89), said,—

"The acquisition of Texas will greatly enhance the value of the property in question—(Virginia slaves)."

Rev. Dr. Graham, of Fayettville, North Carolina, at a colonization meeting held at that place in the fall of 1837, said,—

"There were nearly seven thousand slaves offered in New Orleans market last winter. From Virginia alone six thousand were annually sent to the south; and from Virginia and North Carolina there had gone to the south, in the last twenty years, three hundred thousand slaves."

Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, in his speech before the Colonization Society in 1829, says,

"It is believed that nowhere in the farming portion of the United States would slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to *raise slaves by the high price of the southern markets*, which keeps it up in his own."

The "New York Journal of Commerce," of October 12th, 1835, contains a letter from a Virginian, whom the editor calls "a very good and sensible man," asserting that *twenty thousand* slaves had been driven to the south from Virginia that year, but little more than three-fourths of which had then elapsed.

The "Maryville (Tennessee) Intelligencer," sometime in the early part of the year 1836, says, "Sixty thousand slaves passed through a little western town for the southern market, during the year 1835."

We might present a variety of advertisements of Virginia Slave-Mongers, but our space will allow us to record but one.

"*Notice.*—This is to inform my former acquaintances, and the public generally, that I yet continue in the SLAVE TRADE at *Richmond, Virginia*, and will at all times buy, and give a fair market price for *young negroes.* Persons in this state, Maryland, or North Carolina, wishing to sell lots of negroes, are particularly requested to forward their wishes to me at this place. Persons wishing to purchase lots of negroes, are requested to give me a call, as I keep constantly on hand at this place a *great many* for sale; and have at this time the use of one hundred young negroes,

consisting of boys, young men, and girls. I will sell at all times at a small advance on cost, to suit purchasers. I have comfortable rooms, with a *jail* attached, for the reception of the negroes; and persons coming to this place to sell slaves can be accommodated, and every attention necessary will be given to have them well attended to; and, when it may be desired, the reception of the company of *gentlemen dealing in slaves* will conveniently and attentively be received. My situation is very healthy and suitable for the businéss.

"LEWIS A. COLLIER."

From the nature of the foregoing evidence, all of it being necessarily in some measure indefinite, the actual extent of the internal slave trade can be arrived at only by approximation. The precise number annually exported from each of the slave-breeding states, and also the number imported into each slave-consuming state can be found on no statistical records; and as we have no data for an estimate more specific than the preceding facts, we present them as the best reply to the foregoing query which we are able to furnish.

FIFTH QUESTION. *Are there any slaves imported into the United States from Africa or any other country; and what is the extent of such importation?*

There are frequent importations of slaves into the United States from Africa, and occasional importations from the West Indies. The extent cannot be stated with precision. Indeed, our information on this point is necessarily more indefinite than upon the foregoing, arising from the clandestine manner of conducting the foreign trade, in consequence of its being contraband. In presenting the evidence under this head, we would recur to the fact that when in 1831 England and France made efforts to induce all the maritime powers to adopt effectual measures for the extinction of the African slave trade, the United States was the only nation that positively rejected those overtures. After repeated evasions of the proposition, and despite the urgent solicitations of the British and French governments, it was finally resolved that, "Under no condition, in no form, and with no restriction will the United States enter into any convention, or treaty, or combined efforts of any sort or kind, with other nations for the suppression of this trade."

A full history of this transaction is contained in a late work of the Hon. William Jay, entitled a "View of the Action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery."

From this work we extract the following testimonies, commencing on page 107 of the second edition :

"Judge Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a charge to a grand jury, in the year 1820, thus expresses himself:

"'We have but too many proofs, from unquestionable sources, that it (the African trade) is still carried on with all the implacable ferocity and insatiable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. *American citizens* are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity.'"

"On the 22nd January, 1811, the Secretary of the Navy wrote to the commanding naval officer at Charleston, 'I hear, not without great concern, that the law prohibiting the importation of slaves has been violated in *frequent instances* near St. Mary's, since the gun-boats have been withdrawn from that station.'"

"On the 14th March, 1814, the collector of Darien, Georgia, thus wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury: 'I am in possession of undoubted information, that African and West India negroes are almost daily illicitly introduced into Georgia, for sale or settlement, or passing through it to the territories of the United States for similar purposes. These facts are notorious, and it is not unusual to see such negroes in the streets of St. Mary, and such, too, recently captured by our vessels of war, and ordered for Savannah, were illegally bartered by *hundreds* in that city; for this bartering (or *bonding* as it is called, but in reality selling) actually took place before any decision was passed by the court respecting them. I cannot but again express to you, sir, that these irregularities and mocking of the laws by men who understand them, are such that it requires the immediate interposition of congress to effect the suppression of this traffic; for as things are, should a faithful officer of the government apprehend such negroes, to avoid the penalties imposed by the laws, the proprietors disclaim them, and some agent of the (state) executive demands a delivery of the same to him, who may employ them as he pleases, or effect a sale by way of bond for the restoration of the negroes when legally called on so to do, which bond is understood to be forfeited, as the amount of the bond is so much less than the value of the property. After much fatigue, peril, and expense, *eighty-eight* Africans are seized, and brought to the surveyor at Darien; they are demanded by the

governor's agent. Notwithstanding the knowledge which his excellency had that these very Africans were some weeks within six miles of his excellency's residence, there was no effort, no stir made by him, his agents, or subordinate state officers, to carry the laws into execution; but no sooner was it understood that a seizure had been effected by an officer of the United States, than a demand is made for them; and it is not difficult to perceive that the very aggressors may, by a forfeiture of the mock bond, be again placed in possession of the smuggled property.' "

It has already been seen how little reason there is to hope that the Federal government would ever interfere to prevent the introduction of foreign slaves. The foregoing communication demonstates that, if possible, there is still less reliance to be placed upon the executives and other authorities of the slave-holding states. It is manifest that if the general government were ever so desirous to arrest the foreign trade, the connivance of the state authorities would be an ample security to the slave merchant.

"On the 22nd May, 1817, the collector at Savannah wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury, 'I have just received information, from a source on which I can implicitly rely, that it has already become the practice to introduce into the state of Georgia, across St. Mary's River, from Amelia Island and East Florida, Africans who have been carried into the port of Fernanda. It is further understood that the evil will not be confined altogether to Africans, but will be extended to the worst classes of *West India slaves*.' "

"Captain Morris, of the navy, informed the Secretary of the Navy (18th June, 1817), 'Slaves are smuggled in through the numerous inlets to the westward, where the people are but *too much disposed* to render every possible assistance. Several hundred slaves are now at Galveston, and persons have gone from New Orleans to purchase them.' "

"On the 17th April, 1818, the collector at New Orleans wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury, 'No efforts of the officers of the customs alone can be effectual in preventing the introduction of Africans from the westward; to put a stop to that traffic, a naval force suitable to those waters is indispensable; and vessels captured with slaves *ought not to be brought into this port*, but to some other in the United States, for adjudication.' "

We may learn the cause of this significant hint, from a communication made the 9th of July, in the same year, by the collector at Nova Iberia:

"Last summer I got out state warrants, and had negroes seized to the number of eighteen, which were part of them *stolen out of the custody*

of the coroner ; the balance were condemned by the district judge, and the informers received their part of the nett proceeds from the state treasurer. Five negroes that were seized about the same time were tried at Opilousa, in May last, by the same judge. He decided that some Spaniards, that were supposed to have set up a *sham claim*, stating that the negroes had been *stolen from them on the high seas*, should have the negroes, and that the persons *who seized them should pay half the costs*, and the state of Louisiana the other. This decision had such an effect as to render it almost impossible for me to obtain any assistance in that part of the country."

Further testimony under this head is taken from the work lately published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, entitled "American Slavery as it is" (page 139).

"Mr. Middleton, of South Carolina, in a speech in congress, in 1819, declared that '*thirteen thousand Africans are annually smuggled into the southern states.*'

"Mr. Mucu, of Virginia, in a speech in congress about the same time, declared that '*cargoes*' of African slaves were smuggled into the south to a deplorable extent.

"Mr. Wright, of Maryland, in a speech in congress, estimated the number annually at *fifteen thousand.* Miss Martineau, in her recent work ('Society in America'), informs us that a large slaveholder in Louisiana assured her, in 1835, that the annual importation of native Africans was from thirteen to fifteen thousand.

"The President of the United States, in his message to congress, December, 1837, says,

"'The large force under Commodore Dallas (on the West India station,) has been most actively and efficiently employed in protecting our commerce, *in preventing the importation of slaves.*'

"The 'New Orleans Courier,' of 15th February, 1839, has these remarks:

"'It is believed that African negroes have been *repeatedly* introduced into the United States. The number and the proximity of the Florida ports to the Island of Cuba, make it no difficult matter; nor is our extended frontier on the Sabine and Red rivers at all unfavorable to the smuggler.'

"The 'Norfolk (Virginia) Beacon,' of June 8th, 1837, has the following:

"'*Slave Trade.—Eight African negroes* have been taken into custody at Apalachicola, by the United States deputy marshal, alleged to have been imported from Cuba, on board the schooner 'Emperor,' Captain Cox. Indictments for piracy, under the Acts for the Suppression of the

Slave Trade, have been found against Captain Cox, and other parties implicated. The negroes were bought in Cuba by a Frenchman named Malherbe, formerly a resident of Tallahassee, who was drowned soon after the arrival of the schooner.'

"The following testimony of Rev. Horace Moulton, now a member of the Methodist episcopal church, in Marlborough, Massachusetts, who resided some years in Georgia, reveals some of the secrets of the slave-smugglers, and the connivance of the Georgia authorities at their doings. It is contained in a letter, dated February 24th, 1839:

"'The foreign slave trade was carried on to some considerable extent when I was at the south. Were you to visit all the plantations in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, I think you would be convinced that the horrors of the traffic in human flesh have not yet ceased. I was surprised to find *so many that could not speak English* among the slaves, until the mystery was explained. This was done, when I learned that slave cargoes were landed on the coast of Florida. They could, and can still, in my opinion, be landed as safely on this coast as in any part of this continent. When landed on the coast of Florida, it is an easy matter to distribute them throughout the more southern states. The law which makes it piracy to traffic in the foreign slave trade is a dead letter. I will notice one fact which came under my own observation. It is as follows:—A slave-ship, which I have reason to believe was employed by southern men, came near the port of Savannah with about *five hundred slaves*, from Guinea and Congo; and the crew ran the ship into a bye place, near the shore, between Tylee Light and Darien. Well, as Providence would have it, the revenue cutter, at that time taking a trip along the coast, fell in with this slave-ship, took her as a prize, and brought her up into the port of Savannah. The cargo of human chattels was unloaded, and the captives were placed in an old barrack, in the port of Savannah, under the protection of the city authorities, they pretending that they should return them all to their native country again, as soon as a convenient opportunity presented itself. The ship's crew were arrested, and confined in jail. Now for the sequel of this history. About one-third part of the negroes died in a few weeks after they were landed, *in seasoning*, so called. Those who did not die in seasoning must be hired out a little while to be sure, as the city authorities could not afford to keep them on expense doing nothing. As it happened, the man in whose employ I was when the cargo of human beings arrived, hired some twenty or thirty of them, and put them under my care. They continued with me until the sickly season drove me off to the north. I soon returned, but could not hear a word about the crew of pirates. They had something like a mock trial, as I should think, for no one, as I ever learned,

was condemned, fined, or censured. But where were the poor captives, who were going to be returned to Africa by the city authorities, as soon as they could make it convenient? Oh, forsooth, those of whom I spoke, being under my care, were tugging away for the same man; the remainder were scattered about among different planters. When I returned to the north again, the next year, the city authorities had not, down to that time, made it 'convenient' to return these poor victims. The fact is, they belonged there; and, in my opinion, they were designed to be landed near the place where the revenue cutter seized them. Probably those very planters for whom they were originally designed received them; and still there was a pretence kept up that they would be returned to Africa. If all the facts with relation to the African slave trade, now secretly carried on at the south, could be disclosed, the people of the free states would be filled with amazement.'

"It is plain, from the nature of this trade, and the circumstances under which it is carried on, that the number of slaves imported would be likely to be estimated far *below* the truth. There can be little doubt that the estimate of Mr. Wright, of Maryland (fifteen thousand annually,) is some thousands too small. But even according to his estimate the African slave trade adds *one hundred and fifty thousand* slaves to each United States census."

The following extract will throw additional light upon the shifts by which the slave traders and their allies contrive to escape detection. It is taken from a late work entitled "Transatlantic Sketches, &c., with Notes on Negro Slavery and Canadian Emigration, by Captain J. E. Alexander, of the British Army; London, 1833:"

"The most remarkable circumstance connected with slavery in America is the following:—A planter in Louisiana, of forty years' standing, assured me that there are a set of miscreants in the city of New Orleans who are connected with the slave-traders of Cuba, and who at certain periods proceed up the Mississippi river as far as the Fourche mouth, which they descend in large row boats, and meet off the coast slave-ships. These they relieve of their cargoes, and returning to the main stream of the Mississippi, they drop down it in covered flat-bottomed boats or arks, and dispose of the negroes to those who want them." Vol. ii. page 26.

This testimony reveals two important facts: 1st. That the slave traders of Cuba, who are known to be extensively engaged in the foreign traffic, are in the habit of smuggling their 'cargoes' by system into the United States; 2nd. That there is a class of

persons in our southern ports who regularly co-operate with the Cuba slave traders, and secretly but successfully aid in the introduction of African slaves. How extensively these secret combinations exist throughout the south cannot be known; but we have no reason to believe that they are confined to the city of New Orleans.

Sixth Question. *What are the circumstances under which slaves are clandestinely introduced into the United States?*

The answer to this query has been anticipated in the foregoing reply. It has been shown that the Florida ports afford abundant facilities for the introduction of foreign slaves, and that the Georgia ports are, by the gross connivance of the state authorities, but little less accessible. We have no reason to suppose that the ports of South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana are a whit more scrupulous. Probably frequent importations are effected by the mode described in the foregoing extract from Captain Alexander. What mode would be peculiarly favorable for escaping detection; for the slaves being dropped down the Mississippi river, might be readily smuggled into New Orleans as Kentucky or Virginia slaves, or they might be disposed of before reaching that port to planters along the river, or these planters might make engagements beforehand with the traders to deliver the slaves at their plantations, and thus the latter might sell out their cargoes without the slightest risk of falling into the clutches of a custom house officer.

Seventh Question. *What are the features of slavery in the states of the Union, from whence slaves are sold?*

While slavery is essentially the same everywhere, in Virginia and Louisiana,—in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil, its features are varied and modified by the peculiar interests it is made to serve. In one place there will be a greater waste of life, in another marked physical cruelty, in another special moral degradation. No conditions, however, in which slavery exists are more diverse than those which we are now considering, *i. e.* the breeding and the consuming. In our replies, we shall reserve for the latter all such observations as are common to both con-

ditions, excepting where the features, though alike, result from different causes; in which case they will be adverted to under both heads. It may be well also to premise that the states called *breeding* states are not such exclusively, neither are those called *buying* or *consuming* states exclusively such. The former *work* their slaves, as well as breed and sell them, and the latter *produce* to a limited extent as well as buy; though in both cases these are subordinate operations.

The features of slavery naturally divide themselves into those which respectively relate to the slave and the slaveholder. The causes which tend to distinguish the slavery of the breeding states from that existing elsewhere, are chiefly the breeding system itself, and the comparative unprofitableness of slave labor. How each of these affects the slave and the slaveholder will be briefly illustrated.

The unprofitableness of slave labor in the northern breeding states, which, compared with that in the more southern states, is very striking, arises chiefly from the want of lucrative and large staples, such as cotton and sugar, and that impoverishment of the soil which has been the result of long continued forced cultivation. Such products as corn, wheat, hemp, and even tobacco, afford employment comparatively for few laborers, and do not yield sufficient profit, especially on the worn-out lands of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to support a large agricultural force, if that were needed.

The inevitable result of poor soil, poor crops, and poor staples is the poverty of the planter, from which the slave suffers in various ways.

1. His wants must be very inadequately supplied. Though he is the tiller of the soil, and the cultivator of its crops, still he is a beggar at best, dependent upon his owner for food, clothing, and shelter. When the master's purse is stinted, the slave is the first to feel it. When the encroachments of poverty call for retrenchment somewhere, the knife is sure to fall first upon the slave's supplies. He feels it in the reduction of his scanty wardrobe and meagre table, and in his neglected crumbling hut, while the master still maintains his state, equipage, and princely residence. The slave women are clad in rags, and their children stripped to nakedness, that the planter's wife and daughters may

flaunt in finery and revel in accustomed luxury. On this point nothing can be more pertinent than the following, from "the testimony of the Gradual Emancipation Society of North Carolina, signed by Moses Swain, President, and William Swain, Secretary:"

"In the eastern part of the state (North Carolina) the slaves considerably out-number the free population. Their situation is wretched beyond description. Impoverished by the mismanagement which we have already attempted to describe, the master, unable to support his own grandeur and maintain his slaves, puts the unfortunate wretches upon short allowances, scarcely sufficient for their sustenance, so that a great part of them go half-naked and half-starved much of the time." See "American Slavery as it is," p. 60.

We leave you to conceive the sufferings of the slaves, when their supplies, stinted enough at best, are restricted to the utmost verge of endurance by the slaveholder's poverty. This is of necessity a feature of slavery in the breeding states.

2. The slave suffers also by being severely tasked and driven. The very sterility of his grounds tempts the planter to increase the burthens of his slaves, in order that he may, if possible, supply by forced labor the deficiencies of the soil. Thus while in the cotton, sugar, and rice growing states, hard driving and overworking are the natural results of great fertility, in the breeding states they are no less the natural consequence of extreme barrenness.

3. Again, the spleen of a poverty-stricken master often wreaks itself upon the slave. True, it is the land not the slave which is in fault, or rather the *planter himself*, through his own carelessness and persistence in a wasteful system of forced labor. But what of that? The rage of mortified pride has smitten him, and he asks not for the reasons of things, but for vengeance. If his fields could feel his fury, he might scourge them for their barrenness; but the *trembling slave can feel*, and he must be the victim. Such are the aspects of slave suffering which present themselves in connection with a wasted soil.

The evils entailed upon the master are scarcely less grievous.

1. He is involved in pecuniary embarrassments, from which nothing can relieve him but a resort to slave selling, or a removal from the state. Conscientious scruples remonstrate perhaps

against the former, and strong local attachments equally oppose the latter; meanwhile his embarrassments thicken apace, and call more loudly for relief. Conscience and local attachment still maintain their ground and advise retrenchment, but family pride sternly forbids *that*. Family name and dignity *must* be sustained; the hereditary style of dress, furniture, and equipage must be supported; the alternative therefore is thrown back upon conscience and love of homestead. The latter, always a powerful principle, is proverbially strong in the "Old Dominion," where it is blended with and nourished by an ancestral veneration scarcely excelled even in the aristocratic countries of Europe. The Virginian, in his patrimonial halls, is not the man to embrace the noble sentiment of Algernon Sydney—"When I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think God shows me I ought to keep myself out of it." If in so unequal a struggle conscience should surrender, it is what might be expected of frail human nature.

Thus it comes to pass that persons of naturally generous sentiments are seduced into slave breeding and selling as a means of retrieving their sinking fortunes, and upholding family importance. It is doubtless by this process, operating gradually and for a long time, that the most odious business in which man ever engaged, instead of being monopolized by outlawed kidnappers, infesting forest haunts, should be prosecuted by all classes, all professions, both sexes, and all ages, until now it has avowedly become the chief source of wealth in several states of this union.

2. Another effect upon the master is the perpetual galling of blighted fortunes; an evil to which the habit of exercising arbitrary power, and the previous possession of wealth, render the slaveholder peculiarly sensitive. Of all men in the world he is least prepared to bear the pinch of poverty. He is exasperated, and his family witness, if they do not like his slaves *feel*, the violence of his passions. Habitual sourness or gloom corrodes or beclouds his high spirits, and drives him perchance to dissipation for relief. He plunges into the whirl, and probably a street fight or a duel winds up the scene.

3. The entire want of agricultural enterprise characterises the slaveholder. Disheartened by the increasing sterility of his

lands, he resorts to no expedients for renovating them. Field after field is surrendered to weeds and bushes, and thus the limits of his tillable lands are gradually contracted, unless new lands are added to undergo the same rapid process of exhaustion and decay. A downward destiny confronts the inefficient planter wherever he turns. In such a crisis, where the most elastic energies might quail, the indolent slaveholder sinks hopeless.

4. With the extinction of personal enterprise dies all public spirit. Public improvements are either wholly neglected or feebly prosecuted; charitable institutions are overlooked or wretchedly managed; systems of general education, lyceums, mechanics' institutes, agricultural associations, and the varied machinery for scientific and moral improvement, so extensively sustained in the free states, are scarcely known; the school-house and the church, which are New England's ornament and bulwark, are found but few and far between over the blood-cursed regions of the breeding states; and when found, their dilapidated walls, leaky roofs, shattered blinds, and broken windows, patched with paper, are a standing scoff at science and religion.

The barrenness of the soil, a curse alike to the slave and his master, is itself the consequence of slavery. The frank and self-condemning admissions of slaveholders on this point are most conclusive.

We quote from some of the eminent men of Virginia:

Mr. Brodnax, in a speech in the Virginia Legislature, 1832, made use of the following language:

"That slavery in Virginia is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be more than idle for any human being to doubt, or deny. It is a mildew which has blighted every region it has touched, from the creation of the world. Illustrations from the history of other countries and other times might be instructive; but we have evidence nearer at hand, in the short histories of the different states of this great confederacy, which are impressive in their admonitions, and conclusive in their character."

The following is from Mr. George Washington Park Custis, of Virginia:

"See the wide-spreading ruin which the avarice of our ancestral government has produced in the south, as witnessed in a sparse population of freemen, deserted habitations, and fields without culture. Strange

to tell, even the wolf, driven back long since by the approach of man, now returns, after the lapse of a hundred years, to howl over the desolations of slavery."

Mr. Faulkner thus describes the blighting effects of slavery, in a speech in the Virginia Legislature:

"I am gratified to perceive that no gentleman has yet risen in this hall the avowed advocate of slavery. The day has gone by when such a voice could be listened to with patience or even forbearance. I even regret, sir, that we should find one among us, who enters the lists as its *apologist*, except on the ground of uncontrollable necessity. If there be one who concurs with the gentleman from Brunswick (Mr. Gholson) in the harmless character of this institution, let me request him to compare the condition of the slaveholding portion of this commonwealth—barren, desolate, and seared, as it were, by the avenging hand of heaven—with the descriptions which we have of this same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is the change ascribable? Alone to the withering and blasting effects of slavery."

Mr. Summers thus spake in the Virginia Legislature, 1832:

"Sir, the evils of this system cannot be enumerated—it were unnecessary to attempt it. They glare upon us at every step. When the owner looks to his wasted estate, he knows and feels them. When the statesman examines the condition of his country, and finds her moral influence gone, her physical strength diminished, her political power waning, he sees and must confess them."

One consequence of the barrenness, pourtrayed in the preceding extracts, is that the slave-breeding states are shunned by emigrants, whether from the northern states or the old world. This evil is thus stated and deplored by Mr. Custis:

"Of the vast tide of emigration which now rushes like a cataract to the west, not even a trickling rill wends its way to the ancient dominion. Of the multitude of foreigners who daily seek an asylum and home in the empire of liberty, how many turn their steps to the regions of the slave? None; no, not one! There is a malaria in the atmosphere of those regions which the new comer shuns, as being deleterious to his views and habits."

Nor is this the whole of the evil. The same causes which divert the current of immigration from the states in question, keep up a perpetual emigration, which threatens to drain them of a large portion of their white population. These removals take place among the best classes that exist in the slaveholding

communities, the small farmers, mechanics, and labouring whites generally, to say nothing of that class which we have, alas! but too much reason to fear is inconsiderably small, whose moral principles have stood proof against the seductions of the soul traffic. These classes cannot live in the impoverished slave states; stern necessity drives them to the more fertile free states of the west.

When these are gone, the sole representatives of free labour and free principles have taken their departure, and the devoted states are surrendered to the inglorious occupancy of the two most worthless classes that ever existed, the slaveholding and the enslaved. To this issue the slave-breeding states are now rapidly tending; and it requires no extraordinary discernment to foresee that the extinction of slavery must soon follow in the train.

This picture would still be incomplete if we failed to present the contrast between the slave-breeding states, and the contiguous free states. It is well known that the latter have no local advantages, which the former do not equally possess. Yet the free states have far outstripped their slaveholding neighbours in population, wealth, internal improvements, and general education. This is frankly conceded by southern men.

Governor Randolph, in an address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1820, says:

"The deplorable error of our ancestors in copying a civil institution from savage Africa has affixed upon their posterity an oppressive burthen, which nothing but the extraordinary benefits conferred by our *happy climate* could have enabled us to support. We have been far outstripped by states to whom nature has been far less bountiful. It is painful to consider what might have been, under other circumstances, the amount of general wealth in Virginia, or the whole sum of comfortable subsistence and happiness possessed by all her inhabitants."

The contrast between the slave-breeding and free states is strikingly represented by the philosophic traveller, De Tocqueville, in his account of the adjoining states, Kentucky and Ohio.

"Slavery (says this ABLE WRITER), which is cruel to the slave, is absolutely *prejudicial* to the *master*. This truth was most satisfactorily demonstrated when civilisation reached the banks of the Ohio. The

stream which the Indian had designated by the name of Ohio, or beautiful river, waters one of the most magnificent valleys which has ever been made the abode of man. Undulating lands extend upon both shores of the Ohio, whose soil affords inexhaustible treasures to the labourer. On either bank the air is wholesome, and the climate mild, and each of them forms the extreme frontier of a vast state. That which follows the numerous windings of the Ohio on the left is called Kentucky; that upon the right bears the name of the river. These two states differ only in a single respect; Kentucky has admitted slavery, but the state of Ohio has prohibited the existence of slavery within its borders. Thus the traveller who floats down the current of the Ohio to the spot where that river falls into the Mississippi may be said to *sail between liberty and servitude;* and a transient inspection of the surrounding objects will convince him as to which of the two is most favorable to mankind. Upon the left bank of the stream the population is rare. From time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields. The primeval forests recur at every turn. Society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and nature alone offers a scene of activity and life.

"From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard, which proclaims the presence of industry. The fields are covered with abundant harvests; the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the labourers; and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which is the reward of labour."

We pass to consider the features which arise from the breeding, rearing, and selling of slaves.

This system bears with extreme severity upon the slave.

1. It subjects him to a perpetual fear of being sold to the "soul-driver," which to the slave is the realisation of all conceivable woes and horrors, more dreaded than death. An awful apprehension of this fate haunts the poor sufferer by day and by night, from his cradle to his grave. SUSPENSE hangs like a thunder-cloud over his head. He knows that there is not a passing hour, whether he wakes or sleeps, which may not be *the last* that he shall spend with his wife and children. Every day or week some acquaintance is snatched from his side, and thus the consciousness of his own danger is kept continually awake. "Surely my turn will come next," is his harrowing conviction; for he knows that he was reared for this, as the ox for the yoke, or the sheep for the slaughter. In this aspect, the slave's condition is truly indescribable. *Suspense,* even when

it relates to an event of no great moment, and "endureth but for a night," how hard to bear! But when it broods over all, absolutely all that is dear, chilling the present with its deep shade, and casting its awful gloom over all the future, it *must* break the heart! Such is the suspense under which every slave in the breeding states lives. It poisons all his little lot of bliss. If a father, he cannot go forth to his toil without bidding a mental farewell to his wife and children. He cannot return, weary and worn, from the field, with any certainty that he shall not find his home robbed and desolate. Nor can he seek his bed of straw and rags without the frightful misgiving that his wife may be torn from his arms before morning. Should a white stranger approach his master's mansion, he fears that the *soul-driver* has come, and awaits in terror the overseer's mandate, "You are sold; follow that man." There is no being on earth whom the slaves of the breeding states regard with so much horror as the *trader*. He is to them what the prowling kidnapper is to their less wretched brethren in the wilds of Africa. The master knows this, and that there is no punishment so effectual to secure labor or deter from misconduct, as the threat of being delivered to the "soul-driver."*

2. Another consequence of this system is the prevalence of licentiousness. This is indeed one of the foul features of slavery everywhere; but it is especially prevalent and indiscriminate where *slave-breeding* is conducted as a business. It grows directly out of this system, and is inseparable from it. In the planting states, licentiousness is a passion, but in the breeding states it is both a passion and a pursuit; in the former it is fostered by lust, in the latter by lust and cupidity; there it is a mere irregularity, here it is a branch of a flourishing trade, a trade made more flourishing by *its* prevalence. The pecuniary inducement to general pollution must be very strong, since the larger the slave increase the greater the master's gains, and especially since the mixed blood demands a considerably higher price than the pure black. This is a temptation which often overcomes both the virtue and the pride of white men; *so often*,

* This horribly expressive appellation is in common use among the slaves of the breeding states.

that it is to be doubted whether, as touching this matter, there be much of either left.

The following testimony is from a Methodist minister in Virginia, formerly from a New England Conference. It is taken from a letter, dated March 13, 1835, and addressed to the Rev. Orange Scott, editor of the Wesleyan Observer, Lowell, Massachusetts :

"There are many vices which are winked at by the good and encouraged by the ungodly, who hold slaves. I allude to breeding slaves. There is a great temptation to this. No property can be vested more profitably than in young healthy negro women. They will, by breeding, double their value in every five years. *Mulattoes are surer than pure negroes.* Hence planters have no objection to any white man or boy having free intercourse with all the females; and it has been the case that an overseer has been encouraged to make the whole posse his harem and has been *paid* for the issue. This causes a general corruption of morals."

The Rev. J. D. Paxton, a Virginian, and till recently a slaveholder, says in his work on slavery, "the best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of the slaves."

Dr. Torry, in his work on domestic slavery in the United States, p. 14, says:

"While at a public-house in Frederick-town (Maryland), there came into the bar-room on Sunday, a decently-dressed white man, of quite a light complexion, in company with one who was totally black. After they went away, the landlord observed that the *white man* was a slave. I asked him, with some surprise, how that could be possible? To which he replied, that he was a descendant, by female ancestry, of an African slave. He also stated, that not far from Frederick-town there was a slave estate on which there were several *white* females of as fair and elegant appearance as white ladies in general, held in legal bondage as *slaves.*"

It is very common to meet with advertisements of runaway slaves, similar to the following:

"100 *dollars Reward.*---The above reward will be paid for the apprehension of my man William. He is a very bright mulatto, *straight yellowish hair.* I have no doubt he will try to pass himself for a WHITE MAN, which he may be able to do, unless to a close observer.

"T. S. PICHARD."

"100 *dollars Reward.*---Ran away from James Heyhart, Paris, Kentucky, on the 29th June last, the mulatto boy Norton, about fifteen years, a very bright mulatto, and would be taken for a WHITE BOY, if not closely examined. Hair black and *straight.*

"11th August, 1836.---New Orleans True American."

"100 *dollars Reward*---Will be given for the apprehension of my negro (!) Edmund Kennedy. He has *straight* hair, and complexion so nearly WHITE, that it is believed a stranger would suppose *there was no African blood in him.* He was with my boy Dick a short time since in Norfolk, and *offered him for sale*, and was apprehended, but escaped under pretence of being a white man.

"ANDERSON BOWLES.

"Richmond (Virginia) Whig, January 6th, 1836."

It is needless to multiply testimony to a truth which is so abundantly illustrated by the swarming tribes of light hued slaves in city, town, and country. Extensive, however, as this amalgamation unquestionably is, the professed ministers of the gospel dare not expose or rebuke it any more than they dare to denounce slave-breeding or selling. It is a *part of the system*, a *branch of the "institution;"* one department of the craft by which slaveholders have their gains. If it were solely a lustful indulgence it might be spoken against, but being a *business transaction* it is unimpeachable and inviolable.

3. It might be thought that the breeding system would effectually shield the slaves against bodily cruelty, and by appeals to the master's interests, secure to them ample food, clothing, shelter, and relief from severe labour, since these things are favourable to rapid increase. But if *interest* would ensure all this, it would equally ensure every other important blessing; but this is found to be a poor protection to the slave, amid the numberless and overpowering temptations to cruelty. However, if there were any reliance to be placed upon this, it would at best profit only that class of slaves who were in a *breeding or saleable* condition; though even in the case of these, great cruelty, toil, and privation might be imposed, without materially impairing their breeding or saleable qualities. But the unsaleable and barren (whether from nature, disease, or age) could find no security in the master's interest. The sufferings of these large classes of slaves in the breeding states must be dreadful.

Of little or no value from their labour, where labour is at best unproductive, and entirely valueless in point of increase, where that is the great staple, they must be a burthen upon their "owners," and of course miserably provided for and cruelly treated. Where *fruitfulness* is the greatest of virtues, barrenness will be regarded as worse than a misfortune, as a *crime*, and the subjects of it will be exposed to every form of privation and infliction. Thus a deficiency, wholly beyond the slave's control, becomes the occasion of inconceivable suffering.

This representation is fully confirmed by the subjoined testimony, taken from "American Slavery as it is," page 15:

"The following was told me by an intimate friend; it took place on a plantation containing about one hundred slaves. One day the owner ordered the women into the barn; he then went in among them, whip in hand, and told them he meant to flog them all to death. They began immediately to cry out, 'What have I done, massa? what have I done?' He replied, 'd—n you, I will let you know what you have done; you don't breed; I have not had a young one from one of you for several months.'

"One of the slaves on another plantation gave birth to a child, which lived but two or three weeks. After its death the planter called the woman to him, and asked her how she came to *let the child die;* said it was all owing to her carelessness, and that he meant to flog her for it. She told him, with all the feeling of a mother, the circumstances of its death, but her story availed her nothing against the savage brutality of her master: she was severely whipped. A healthy child, four months old, was then considered worth one hundred dollars in North Carolina." —NARRATIVE OF MR. CAULKINS, WHO SPENT ELEVEN MONTHS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

4. Another result of the breeding system is, that the slaves very frequently *run off*, subjecting themselves to indescribable sufferings in the attempt, and to tortures often worse than death in case they are retaken. Elopements are taking place more or less frequently from all the slave states, but the greater proportion are from the breeding states. This is owing in part to the greater facilities for escape from the latter, but chiefly to that suspense under which the slaves there live of being sold and sent to the south. So long as they have any prospect of remaining among their friends and local attachments, they will

generally endure the evils of slavery, rather than encounter the risk, perils, and hardships of elopement. But as soon as they learn that they are to be sold and dragged to the south, they break away from their "bornin-ground," sometimes taking their families with them, but oftener compelled to go alone. Of those who betake themselves to flight, some make no further effort than to gain some distant forest, in whose pathless wilds they conceal themselves, obtaining a miserable subsistence from nuts and roots. Others aim to reach Canada. This doubtless would be the aim of all, but many have no knowledge of such a place, and many more have no idea in what direction it lies. A gentleman of the north, who spent some years as a school teacher in eastern Virginia, states, that on one occasion, when the planter with whom he was boarding had driven off with his family to a camp-meeting, and just as he had mounted his horse to follow, a large number of the planter's slaves surrounded him, and besought him most earnestly to tell them which way Canada lay. Under the conflicting emotions of fear for himself and sympathy for the slaves, he put spur to his horse, and galloped away.

We shall not dwell here upon the sufferings which the fugitives endure on the way, even when their attempt to escape is successful: the consuming hunger, protracted sometimes for days, the journeyings by night in the depth of woods, shunning with instinctive fear human habitations, public roads, and even cultivated fields, except when driven by the last extreme of hunger, tortured all the time with the dreadful uncertainty whether they are going northward, or *back* into the clutches of their masters,—their concealment by day, sleepless from fear, and trembling at every shaking leaf,—their exposure half naked to the cold of winter, swimming rivers, and with bleeding feet tracking their way amid snows and ice, until flesh and heart fail them. These sufferings form a chapter in the history of human woe, fraught with agony and blood; but it is yet to be written.

Contemplate the punishments which the less fortunate suffer on being returned to their master. The chances of being apprehended may be very moderately estimated at two to one of escape. Those who seek refuge in the woods are almost sure to

be retaken. Very frequently they return themselves, not willingly, but driven back by the extremity of cold, hunger, or other sufferings. Those who aim to reach Canada are more likely to escape, though when it is considered what efforts are made to recover them, we may well wonder that so many succeed. Advertisements are published, containing a minute description of the person, dress, scars, &c. of the fugitive, accompanied with a large reward, varying usually from fifty to two hundred dollars, and these are dispatched by mail to the northern towns and villages, where there are sure to be minions enough ready to post them in conspicuous places, and all this, perhaps, before the adventurer has got twenty miles from his master's house. Zeal for the "patriarchal institution," and desire for the lusty reward, set the man-hunters on the scent, from the master's door to the borders of Canada.

Under these circumstances, it is indeed a marvel that a single fugitive makes good his escape, and in every instance of success we are constrained to acknowledge the intervention of the same high hand and outstretched arm which led Israel out of Egypt. What is the proportion of those who are retaken we have no means of accurately knowing; probably from one-half to three-fourths of the whole. On this subject we find the following estimate in "American Slavery as it is," p. 136:

"We have before us, in the Grand Gulf (Mississippi) Advertiser for August 2, 1838, a list of runaways that were then in the jails of the two counties of Adams and Warren, in that state. The number of runaways thus taken up and committed in these *two* counties is *forty-six.* The whole number of counties in Mississippi is *fifty-six*, many of them, however, are thinly populated. Now, without making this the basis of our estimate for the whole slave population in all the state, which would doubtless make the number much too large, we are sure no one who has any knowledge of facts as they are in the south, will charge upon us an over-estimate, when we say that of the present generation of slaves, probably *one in thirty* is of that class, i. e. has at some time, perhaps often, run away, and been retaken; on that supposition, the whole number would be not far from NINETY THOUSAND."

This estimate is made for the entire south. From statements made above, we should infer that the proportion of recovered fugitives in the breeding states alone was greater; but as the

facilities for successful escape are also greater in the latter, the proportion probably is about the same.

But there is a point on which we can speak with painful accuracy—we mean the tortures to which all the retaken are subjected. The master, infuriated with the "insolent misconduct" of the slave in running away, and enraged by the loss sustained in recovering him, and resolved to make him an example which will effectually deter his other slaves from similar misdeeds, casts about for some unwonted torture. In such cases, the furnace of slaveholding vengeance is heated seven times hotter than it is wont to be heated. We quote a few examples of the dreadful punishments inflicted in such cases; they are taken from "American Slavery as it is."

"There was a slave on this plantation who had repeatedly run away, and had been severely flogged every time. The last time he was caught, a hole was dug in the ground, and he buried up to the chin, his arms being secured down by his sides. He was kept in this situation four or five days.

"The following fact was related to me on a plantation where I have spent considerable time, and where the punishment was inflicted; I have no doubt of its truth:—A slave ran away from his master, and got as far as Newbern (North Carolina). He took provisions that lasted him a week, but having eaten all, he went to a house to get something to satisfy his hunger. A white man, suspecting him to be a runaway, demanded his pass; as he had none, he was seized and put in Newbern jail. He was there advertised. His master saw the advertisement, and sent for him. When he was brought back, his wrists were tied together, and drawn over his knees; a stick was then passed over his arms, and under his knees, and he secured in this manner. His trowsers were then stripped down, and he turned over on his side, and severely beaten with the paddle; then turned over and severely beaten on the other side, and then turned back again, and tortured by another bruising and beating. He was afterwards kept in the stocks a week, and whipped every morning."—Narrative of Mr. Caulkins, pp. 15, 16.

"Punishments for runaways are usually severe: once whipping is not sufficient. I have known runaways to be whipped for six or seven nights in succession for one offence. I have known others who, with pinioned hands, and a chain extending from an iron collar on their necks to the saddle of their master's horse, have been driven at a smart trot one or two hundred miles, being compelled to ford water-courses, their drivers, according to their own confession, not abating a whit in the rapidity of

their journey for the ease of the slave. One tied a kettle of sand to his slave, to render his journey more arduous."---Narrative of Philemon Bliss, Esq. p. 104.

Often these ill-fated wretches are loaded with chains, or have iron collars fastened about their necks, with long prongs and bells, which are put on to prevent future escapes. Not unfrequently their ears are cropped or slit, or their front teeth are removed, or the initials of their master's name are branded in their flesh with red-hot iron,. as a mark by which to identify them if they should run off a second time. Those that repeatedly abscond are often maimed in some way, which will effectually disable them. Sometimes in the attempt to escape from their pursuers who have discovered them, they are shot dead, or dreadfully wounded; frequently they are hunted down by *trained dogs*, which either devour them alive, or shockingly lacerate their flesh. The advertisements frequently run— "*the above reward will be paid, whether taken dead or alive,*" from which we may infer that not a few are killed. We subjoin a few illustrations from "American Slavery as it is," page 156.

"The Wilmington (North Carolina) Advertiser of July 13, 1838, contains the following advertisement:

"*One hundred dollars* will be paid to any person who may safely confine in any jail in this state a negro man named Alfred. And the same reward will be paid, if evidence is given of *his having been* KILLED. He has one or more scars on one of his hands, caused by his having been shot.

"*Citizens of Onslow.*

"Richlands, Onslow county, May 16, 1838."

"In the same column with the above, and directly under it, is the following:

"Ran away, my negro man Richard. A reward of twenty-five dollars will be paid for his apprehension, DEAD OR ALIVE. Satisfactory proof will only be required of his being *killed.* He has with him, in all probability, his wife Eliza.

"DURANT H. RHODES."

"In the Macon (Georgia) Telegraph, May 28, is the following:

"About the 1st of March last, the negro man, Ransom, left me. I

will give a reward of twenty dollars for said negro; if taken, *dead or alive*, and if *killed in any attempt*, an advance of five dollars will be paid.

"BRYANT JOHNSON.

"Crawford county, Georgia."

"See the Newbern (North Carolina) Spectator, January 5, 1838, for the following:

"Ran away, from the subscriber, a negro man named Sampson. Should he resist in being taken, so that violence is necessary to arrest him, I will not hold any person liable for damages should the slave be *killed*.

"ENOCH FOY.

"Jones county, North Carolina."

"From the Charleston (South Carolina) Courier, February 20, 1836:

"300 *dollars Reward*.---Ran away, from the subscriber, in November last, his two negro men, named Billy and Pompey. Billy in all probability may resist; in that event, fifty dollars will be paid for his HEAD."

"From the Newbern (North Carolina) Spectator, December 2, 1836:

"200 *dollars Reward*.---Ran away, from the subscriber, negro Ben., also one by the name of Rigdon. I will give the reward of one hundred dollars for each of the above negroes, or *for the killing of them, so that I can see them*.

"W. D. COBB."

Sometimes, on being closely pursued, the fugitives in their desperation *destroy themselves*, to escape the torments which await them if caught. Instances often occur of their leaping from boats and drowning themselves, of mothers killing their children, whom they are carrying with them, and then taking their own lives, and of suicides in every heart-rending form.

The following case is from the Rutherford Gazette, a paper printed in the western part of North Carolina, and copied into the Southern Citizen of September 23, 1837:—

Suicide.---The negro woman [Lucy] confined in our jail as a runaway, put an end to her existence on the 28th ult. by hanging herself. Her master came to this place the day on which it occurred, and going to the jail, was recognised by the woman as her master. *He had left the jail but a short time*, when it was discovered that the woman had destroyed herself. We have never known an instance where so much firmness was exhibited by any person as was by this negro. The place from which

she suspended herself was not high enough to prevent her feet from touching the floor, and it was only by drawing her legs up, and remaining in that position, that she succeeded in her determined purpose."

5. The only remaining feature which we shall notice in the condition of the slaves of the breeding states, is expressively announced by the single word *insurrections*. These are by no means confined to the breeding states, they occur wherever slavery exists. From no quarter, however, have proceeded such piteous complaints about apprehended insurrections as from Virginia, the principal breeding state. It was a Virginia slaveholder (the Hon. John Randolph) who said, "every master stands a sentinel at his own door." It has been, and must be for years to come, the fate of every slave insurrection in this country, to terminate fatally to the slave. It is true, many may be massacred before the insurgents are quelled, but quelled they must be, sooner or later, by overpowering force. They are then doomed to a summary and signal vengeance. The ringleaders are burned alive, all known to be concerned meet with death, or protracted tortures worse than death, and all *suspected* of having any part in the transaction are severely punished. In short, every form of cruelty and of carnage which murderous rage can inflict is let loose upon the wretches, for the double purpose of wreaking vengeance upon them, and of striking with terror all the slave population. The consequences are no less awful when, as is often the case, a meditated insurrection is detected and crushed.

Our reply under this head has been already drawn out to such length, that we forbear any extended remark upon the effects of the slave-breeding system on the master. They may be inferred from its effects upon the slave. It has been seen that licentiousness is one of the prominent features of this system, and we have had occasion incidentally to show how deeply the slaveholding class is involved in this vice. The appalling affirmation of the Rev. Mr. Paxton, already quoted, that "the best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of the slaves" (which we believe has never been denied), speaks volumes on the subject. It exposes the vice of the first families of the state. If such is the pollution of the highest circles, what must be the amount of corruption among the lower classes of whites! The

licentiousness among slaveholders' sons is probably almost beyond exaggeration. Such are the facilities and temptations to this species of vice, that it may reasonably be doubted whether one in a thousand of the sons of slaveholders escapes pollution.

But to pass from this disgusting picture, what must be the demoralizing, the brutalizing influence upon slaveholders, of being habitually engaged in breeding and raising human beings for sale! Compared even with *soul driving*, it exceeds in vileness. While the slave trader only buys and sells, retaining possession no longer than till he can reach the market, the breeder is engaged in the protracted process of *raising human stock.* He selects his "breeders," he encourages licentiousness, he rewards amalgamation, he punishes sterility, he coolly calculates upon the profits of fecundity, takes vengeance for miscarriages, and holds mothers accountable for the continued life and health of their offspring. On the head of the new-born child he sets its future price. He trains it in premeditated ignorance, he feeds it for the same purpose for which he feeds his swine—for the shambles. From the day of its birth he contemplates the hour when he shall separate it from the mother who bore it, for that hour of yet keener pangs did its mother pass through the anguish of its birth. When that hour comes, the long-determined deed is done. The master proceeds about it deliberately; no entreaties or tears can surprise him into pity. The mother's frenzied cry, the boy's mute look of despair, move him not. He tears them asunder, handcuffs the victim, and consigns him to the *soul driver.* Who can doubt whether, in all this long and complicated process of villany, there is not more to sear conscience, blunt sensibility, and transform man into a demon, *far more* than can be found in the slave trade itself? Does the trader buy? the master sells; does the trader *drive* men and women like cattle? the master *breeds* them like cattle; does the trader separate families? the master does the same; does the trader sell in lots to suit purchasers? so does the master: but here the parallel stops, and the transcendent vileness of the master towers alone, for while the trader deals with *strangers*, the master is perpetrating these outrages upon those whom he has reared from their birth, in some cases upon

the companions of his own boyhood, in others on the children of the woman, or perchance the woman herself who nursed his infancy, and often, worst of all, on his *own offspring*.

Need we ask what must be the effects of such practices, steadily pursued, upon the slaveholder's heart? And there is his wife, who lives in the midst of all this, connives at it, and co-operates in it—what must she become? And their children, who are the playmates of the little "cattle," and yet are so accustomed to seeing them torn from their parents and sold, as to be unmoved by their cries? What proficients must they become in the execrable villanies of the husband and father!

But if in this aspect the slave breeder is an object of just abhorrence, in another view he strongly excites our pity; for he is himself the victim of fears scarcely less harrowing than those to which he subjects the slave. *His* fears have their origin in the danger of insurrections. "A dreadful sound is in his ears," which no heroism can hush, which will not be wholly silenced by the uproar of revelry, and which breaks often upon the stillness of the night in tones of thunder.

We add no more under this query, save to group together the features which, in our extended reply, have been scattered over several pages. First, those growing out of a barren soil are, *to the slave*, the inadequate supply of his wants, increased severity of labor, and inflictions of positive cruelty by an irritated and poverty-pinched master; to the *slaveholder*, great and growing pecuniary embarrassments, chagrin and exasperation arising therefrom, and resulting in a prostration of his spirits, and extinction of the generous sentiments, and terminating perchance in confirmed dissipation,—the death of agricultural enterprise, which accelerates the decay of the lands, when it might have been arrested, and the withering away of all public spirit. As more remote consequences, the states thus impoverished are shunned by emigrants of every grade and from every quarter of the old world and the new, while at the same time they are fast being drained of that class of their own population which actually composes their life's blood; and as the result of the whole, these states are *sinking* in the scale of prosperity with a rapidity which is made more apparent by the equally rapid *rising* of the adjacent free states. The features growing out of the breeding system

are, *to the slaves*, the incessant apprehension of sale, separation, exile, and increased inflictions, the prevalence of licentiousness systematized, bodily suffering, elopements with their terrible consequences, and insurrections with their sequel of blood and carnage. *To the masters* they are a deep and shameful implication in licentiousness, the hardening and brutalizing influence of slave breeding, and the harrowing fears of servile insurrection. A hideous set of features truly to belong to a system softly called a 'domestic institution,' shielded by public sentiment, sanctioned by law, baptized by religion, and dating back its patriarchal origin to the household of Abraham!

EIGHTH QUESTION. *What are the features of the internal slave trade?*

Some idea of the nature of this trade has been incidentally conveyed, in the account previously given of its extent. From which it is not difficult to infer that "all unutterable woes" must wait upon it. It is important to mention here the principal circumstances from which the internal trade has originated, and by which it has been upheld and extended.

First among these, is doubtless the growing poverty of the planters. We have seen how this has operated by overcoming the scruples of conscience, and giving a sort of conventional respectability to a traffic, which otherwise would have been consigned to the same infamy with the African slave trade. Thus introduced into favor with the "highest classes," the slave trade, which begun in a supposed necessity to avert the rigors of poverty and prevent general bankruptcy, was continued as a source of wealth. This was both inducement and justification enough with a community of slaveholders—never remarkable for over nicety in matters of principle—to reduce the trade to system, and establish it as a regular branch of business. Even in those few cases where moral or religious principle withholds masters from selling, this protection to the slave is almost sure to fail him at the death of his master; for in the distribution and settlement of the estate the slaves are either sold or divided among the heirs without regard to the ties of kindred. Mostly, however, they are sold to the highest bidder, who is commonly the

'soul driver.' The most heartrending scenes which attend the slave trade, occur in the sale and separation of this class of slaves. Accustomed, from the superior kindness of their deceased masters, to greater immunities than usually fall to the lot of slaves, their family ties are stronger, their personal improvement greater, and of course their susceptibility to the sufferings of separations and to the brutal violence of the soul driver and southern overseer much keener. Yet they receive no additional respect, corresponding to their peculiar privileges; on the contrary it is well known that they are treated with marked contempt and rigor on that very account, to "break their Virginia spirit," as the overseers say. In this cruel treatment we may see the explanation of those tears, which we are often told are shed over the graves of indulgent masters, and which are complacently retailed among the *beauties of slavery*. Well may the poor slaves wail at the prospect of being separated, and sold to masters, they know not who.

In a small tract, published by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1838, we find the following statement:

"In seventy-two papers, printed in 1837, one thousand five hundred and twenty-five persons, of whom one hundred and seventy-nine are said to be females, and one hundred children, are advertised for sale, besides forty-one *lots* of human beings, number not stated; five hundred and fifty-nine persons, and forty *lots* are to be sold because their masters and mistresses have died! A *single paper* ["Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer," Nov. 16th, 1837] contains notices for twenty-one such sales. One man, one woman, and one little girl, six years old, offered in three sales of this kind, are said to be *sickly*, yet they must be sold to any who will buy. In one such sale, a claim to an *eighth-part of five slaves is offered.*"

In many cases, also, the slaves, whose masters would be unwilling to sell, are seized upon and sold at public sale to satisfy the claims of creditors. In the advertisements of such sales or vendues, men, women, and children are indiscriminately huddled in the same category with waggons, barrels, boxes, poultry, crockery, sheep, farming utensils, oxen, house furniture, and the numberless et-cetera of live stock and moveables pertaining to a farming establishment. A neighbour purchases the children, a distant planter the father, and a soul driver the mother.

But this suggests one of the prominent features of the internal slave trade, i. e. *the separations of families and kindred.* In this trade the ties of nature are wholly disregarded. This is the *rule,* and the exceptions are exceedingly rare. Sometimes a master refuses to sell unless the purchaser will consent to take whole families unbroken; but it is impossible that such cases should be frequent, since the speculator cannot buy on these terms without making a sacrifice himself in the subsequent sale, for on whatever principle he buys, he must *sell in lots to suit his purchasers in the south,* and they very seldom wish to buy whole families. Such being the case, it is for the speculator rather than the breeder to fix the terms, and his terms are *separation or no sale.* It is but too certain that when such an alternative is presented to the master, and the trader's gold glitters in his eyes, he will not long hesitate. Family separations there must be, almost as common as the trade itself, since they are essential to its profitable continuance.

Professor E. A. Andrews, a New Englander who visited the south, gives a conversation which he had with a trader, on board a steam-boat, on the Potomac, in 1835.

"In selling his slaves N—— assures me he never separates families; but that in *purchasing* them he is often compelled to do so, for that his business is to purchase, and he must take such as are in the market. Do you often buy the wife without the husband? Yes, very often; and frequently, too, they sell me the mother while they keep the children. I have often known them take away the infant from the mother's breast, and *keep it while they sold her.* Children from one to eighteen months old are now worth about one hundred dollars."—"*Slavery and Domestic Slave Trade in the United States,*" p. 147.

The following is from the "Anti-Slavery Record," vol. i. p. 51, &c.:

"A trader was about to start from Louisville, Kentucky, with one hundred 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 were communicated by James G. Birnie, Esquire, 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 depôt 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*.'

"'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, about two 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 the infant 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 page 70 of the same volume may be found the following fact, narrated by Mr. Birney:

"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 the mother also."

"Rev. C. S. Renshaw, of Quincy, Illinois, who resided sometime in Kentucky, says:

"'I was told the following fact by a young lady, daughter of a slave-holder in Boone county, Kentucky, who lived within half-a-mile of Mr. Hughes' farm:---Hughes and Neil traded in slaves down the river; they had bought up a part of their stock in the upper counties of Kentucky, and brought them down to Louisville, where the remainder of their drove was in jail, waiting their arrival. Just before the steam-boat put off for the lower country, two negro women were offered for sale, each of them having a young child at the breast. The traders bought them, took their babes from their arms, and offered them to the highest bidder; and they were sold for one dollar a-piece, whilst the stricken parents were driven on board the boat, and in an hour were on their way to the New Orleans market. You are aware that a young babe diminishes the value of a field-

hand in the lower country, while it enhances her value in the breeding-states."—"*American Slavery as it is*," p. 166.

We next quote from a letter by a New England minister of the methodist connexion, who spent some time as a preacher in the south.

"As to the *horrors* of slavery, they are many every way. First, the *slave trade* is the most horrible of all. Indeed this comprises the whole in miniature. The slave-dealer goes to Virginia or Maryland, where negroes are numerous, and slave labor not very profitable, and buying a company, transports them to the south-west, and sells them for an advance of fifty per cent. Here wives and husbands, parents and children, brothers and sisters, are separated! If any of them are refractory and at all dangerous to the speculator, they are put in irons, and besides humbled by a severe scourging."

The subjoined impressive testimony is from the Address of the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, published in 1836. Kentucky, it will be remembered, is one of the slave-breeding states.

"The members of a slave family may be forcibly separated, so that they shall never more meet until the final judgment. And *cupidity* often induced the masters to practise what the law allows. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are *daily occurring in the midst of us. There is not a neighbourhood* where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or road which does not behold the sad processions of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts held dear. Cases have occurred in our own denomination, where professors of the religion of mercy have torn the mother from her children and sent her into a merciless and returnless exile. Yet acts of discipline have rarely followed such conduct."

The following is from "American Slavery as it is:"

"A non-professor of religion, in Campbell county, Kentucky, sold a female and two children to a methodist professor, with the proviso that they should not leave that region of country. The slave-drivers came, and offered fifty dollars more for the woman than he (the methodist professor) had given, and he sold her. She is now in the lower country, and *her orphan babes are in Kentucky*."—Rev. Charles Stewart Renshaw, page 180.

The annexed testimony is taken from a well authenticated report on the "Condition of the People of Colour in the State of Ohio," published originally in 1835.

"It is common for boats loaded with slaves to stop at Cincinnati, on their way down the Ohio river, and it frequently happens that the friends and relations of the pupils (belonging to the free coloured schools, established a few years since in Cincinnati,) are in chains on board. A few days since, a coloured man came into one of the schools and said, he believed there was some person present who had friends on board a boat going down the river. On mentioning the names of their owners, a woman on the further side of the house immediately exclaimed, 'Oh, they have come,' and fell senseless. A friend who sat near caught her in her arms, and for some time she lay apparently lifeless. Then at intervals a deep groan would burst from her agonized bosom. When she revived, a flood of tears came to her relief. '*I must see them*,' said she, and, hardly able to support herself, she left the house.

"'These farewell scenes are worse than funerals; they cannot be described,' said a man to us a few days since, whose children had been sent down the river; 'I'd rather have seen them die; it broke my heart.' This expression is common, that they had rather hear that their friends are dead, than that they are sold down the river."

The above statements will serve to convey some idea of the family sunderings which attend upon the internal slave trade. If it still be asked how frequently such separations occur, we answer they are transpiring incessantly. There is not a week, probably not a day, during the year, and at some seasons perhaps not an hour in the day, when some slave family in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, or Tennessee, is not thus broken up to be re-united no more for ever. Constantly the horrid conscription is going forward. Among the cultivated districts and human abodes which cover the vast region just pointed out, from which the wolf and the panther have long since been scared away, hordes of *soul drivers*, more savage than those beasts of prey, maintain a ceaseless prowl, emboldened by sufferance and doubly brutalised by habit. The life of the whole slave population is one incessant apprehension of their approach.

We pass next to speak of the disposal which the traders make of their gangs, while collecting them and previous to embarking for the southern market.

The procurement of from fifty to three hundred slaves is a work of days, sometimes of weeks or months. Many plantations must be visited by the trader and his agents. Then a variety of circumstances occasions necessary delays, before the gang can be put in motion for the south. During this period the slaves are secured by handcuffs, fetters, and chains, and put into some place of confinement. The national prison at Washington city, and the state prisons, are prostituted to this use when occasion requires. The more extensive slave-dealers have private prisons constructed expressly for this purpose. "These places of deposit," says "Nile's (Baltimore) Weekly Register," "are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws and gags, and ornamented with cowskins and other whips, oftentimes bloody."

This gratuitous testimony of a southern editor reveals the atrocities which are perpetrated in the gloomy cells of these slave-dungeons. There the mutterings of the refractory (as the noble-spirited are termed), and the sullen scowl of the revengeful, the maniac shrieks of the childless mother, the groans of the broken-hearted father, and the convulsive sobs of orphan children, still agonized from their recent separations, are hushed into silence by the application of the *thumb-screw*, *gag*, or *bloody cowskin*. There the miserable gang receive their first lessons of absolute submission to the soul driver, initiatory to the horrors of the *middle passage;* which forms the next link in the grand chain.

There are three principal modes by which the slaves thus procured are transported to the south. These are,

First, by vessels, coastwise, and through the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans, or perchance to some of the intermediate ports.

Second, by steamers or floats, procured for the purpose, by the way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, or the intermediate ports.

Third, by forced marches in coffles overland.

We will give a brief account of each of these modes of transportation.

First, that by vessels. The extensive merchants in Norfolk, Petersburgh and Richmond of Virginia, in Baltimore of Maryland, and in Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington City of the district of Columbia (the latter city the seat of the national government, and the whole district under the exclusive jurisdic-

tion of congress), have vessels of their own which are constantly employed in this trade.

The following advertisements are all from slave merchants in Petersburgh, Virginia:

Cash for Negroes.—The subscribers are particularly anxious to make a *shipment* of negroes shortly. All persons who have slaves to part with will do well to call as soon as possible:

"OVERLY AND SAUNDERS."

"The subscriber, being desirous of making *another shipment* by the brig Adelaide, to New Orleans, on the first of March, will give a good market price for fifty negroes from *ten* to thirty years old.

"HENRY DAVIS."

"The subscriber wishes to purchase *one hundred slaves* of both sexes, from the age of *ten* to thirty, for which he is disposed to give much higher prices than have heretofore been given. He will call on those living in the adjacent counties, to see any *property*.

"ANSLEY DAVIS."

We find in the "National Intelligencer," printed at Washington City, and one of the most influential newspapers in the United States, the following announcement of the regular departure of *three slavers* belonging to a single factory:

"Alexandria and New Orleans packets.—Brig Tribune, Samuel C. Bush, master, will sail as above, on the 1st of January.—Brig, Isaac Franklin, Wm. Smith, master, on the 15th of January.—Brig, Uncas, Nathaniel Boush, master, on the 1st of February.—They will continue to leave this port on the first and fifteenth of each month, throughout the shipping season. Servants that are intended to be shipped, will at any time be received for safe keeping at twenty-five cents a day.

"JOHN ARMFIELD, Alexandria."

The annexed advertisement is from a house in Baltimore.

"For New Orleans.—A coppered, copper-fastened packet brig, Isaac Franklin, will sail on the 1st of February from Baltimore. Those having servants to ship, will do well by making early application to James F. Purvis & Co."

A multitude of similar advertisements might be given, but these will suffice. When these vessels are about to sail, the slaves are transferred from the crowded and noisome prisons, to the more crowded and noisome holds. Here the condition of the slaves is very similar to that of their

African brethren during the middle passage. That they are crowded together inhumanly, may be inferred from the following statements taken from Nile's Register (Baltimore), December 27, 1828:

"The New York Gazette says, 'It is but a few weeks since we observed the arrival at New Orleans of three vessels from Norfolk (Virginia), having on board nearly *six hundred slaves.*'"

This gives a cargo of about *two hundred* slaves to each vessel. What scenes occur from time to time on board these vessels, during the passage, may be gathered from a statement made in the same paper (Nile's Register), January 9, 1830.

"The schooner Lafayette, with a cargo of slaves from Norfolk, Virginia, for New Orleans, narrowly escaped being captured by them on the voyage. They were subdued after considerable difficulty, and *twenty-five of them were bolted down to the deck*, until the arrival of the vessel at New Orleans."

SECOND, by steamers, or floats constructed for the purpose, by the way of the Ohio and Mississipi rivers. These floats are temporary, rude structures, designed only for making a single trip; they are of the same style, with the flat-bottomed boats, or arks by which the produce of the western states was formerly, and is still to some extent, transported to the New Orleans market. These were more in use for conveying slaves a few years since, than they now are; some instances of rebellion, in which the slaves, breaking their chains, fell upon and slaughtered their owners and the crew, favoured the resort to steamers, which being better manned are less liable to such outbreaks, and more able to quell them. The number of slaves annually transported to the south-west by steamboats is very large. At certain seasons of the year, there is scarcely a steamboat bound for New Orleans, which does not take down a cargo of slaves. It is not known that there is a single steamer on the Ohio and Mississipi waters, which would refuse to take slaves, on application being made, although a large majority of these boats are owned and managed by *citizens of the free states.* The steamboats have no decks fitted specially for slaves; hence they are placed sometimes in one part of the boat, sometimes in another, and frequently are suffered to wander about the decks and

guards at pleasure. The following is an accurate description of this mode of conveyance.

"Those who are transported down the Mississippi river, are stowed away on the decks of steam-boats, males and females, old and young, usually chained, subject to the jeers and taunts of the passengers and crew; and often by bribes or threats, or the lash, made subject to abominations not to be named. On the same deck, you may see horses and human beings tenants of the same apartments, and going to supply the same market. The *dumb* beasts, being less manageable, are allowed the first place; while the *human* are forced into spare corners and vacant places. My informant saw one trader, who was taking down to New Orleans one hundred horses, several sheep, and between fifty and sixty slaves. The sheep and slaves occupied the same deck. Many interesting and intelligent females were of the number. I could tell facts concerning the brutal treatment exercised toward these defenceless females, while on the downward passage, which ought to kindle up the hot indignation of every mother and daughter and sister in the land. The slaves are taken down in companies, varying in number from twenty to five hundred. Men of capital are engaged in the traffic."—*Anti-slavery Manual*, pp. 110, 111.

Sometimes the slaves leap overboard in their chains, and thus escape the rigours of southern slavery by a voluntary death. No attempt is made while on the downward way to conceal them from the passengers, who from every section of the union crowd the splendid steamers of the west; and on reaching port they are discharged, as they were originally shipped, in broad daylight, and in the presence of a multitude of spectators. But so oft repeated is this transaction, that it is viewed with as much indifference as the unlading of a cargo of flour or pork.

Third, by forced marches, on foot, over land. This is altogether the most cruel mode of transportation, as well as the most humiliating. The slaves of both sexes, and of every age and condition, are herded together like cattle, and driven by long and weary marches on foot for hundreds of miles. Women, in every situation of delicacy, feebleness, and sickness, are forced to keep pace with the rest of the gang. The drivers, armed with pistols, dirks, and long whips, ride alongside and in rear of the procession, whipping up the loiterers, and driving on at a merciless rate. As if to inflict the utmost humiliation upon

the slaves, and to show their defiance of what remains of humane feeling in the community, the drivers take the most public and frequented highways, leading through the chief cities and towns of the slaveholding states. But the spectacle of a chained coffle of human beings attracts but little more attention than a drove of sheep or swine. An expression of indignant abhorrence on such an occasion would scarcely be tolerated in a slave state; and the publication of any such sentiments few editors would have the hardihood, if they had the heart, to make.

We will give some descriptions of the slave coffles in the language of eye witnesses. The Rev. Mr. Dickey, a Presbyterian clergyman, a native of South Carolina, and formerly a slaveholder, thus describes a coffle he met on the road, near Paris, Kentucky:

"I discovered about forty black men, all chained together in the following manner: each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file; a chain, perhaps forty feet long, was stretched between two ranks, to which short chains were joined, which connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, *thirty women*, in double rank, *the couples tied hand to hand.*"

Hon. J. K. Paulding, the present secretary of the United States navy, gives the following picture of a scene he witnessed in Virginia:

"The sun was shining out very hot, and in turning an angle of the road we encountered the following group: first, a little cart drawn by one horse, in which five or six half-naked black children were tumbled like pigs together. The cart had no covering, and they seemed to have been actually *broiled* to sleep. Behind the cart, marched three black women, with head, neck, and breasts uncovered, and without shoes or stockings; next came three men, bare-headed, half-naked, and *chained together with an ox-chain.* Last of all came a white man, on horseback, carrying pistols in his belt, and who, as we passed him, had the impudence to look us in the face without blushing. I should like to have seen him hunted by blood-hounds. At a house where we stopped, a little further on, we learned that he had bought these miserable beings in Maryland, and was marching them in this manner to some of the more southern states. Shame on the state of Maryland! I say; and shame on the state of Virginia! and every state through which this wretched cavalcade was permitted to pass! Do they expect that such exhibitions will not dishonour

them in the eyes of strangers, however *they* may be reconciled to them by education and habit?"*

We next quote from "American Slavery as it is," beginning on the sixty-ninth page.

"The following statement is made by a young man from western Virginia. He is a member of the Presbyterian church, and a student in Marietta (Ohio) College. All that prevents the introduction of his *name*, is the peril to his life, which would probably be the consequence on his return to Virginia. His character for integrity and veracity is above suspicion:

"On the night of the great meteoric shower, in November, 1833, I was at Remley's tavern, twelve miles west of Lewisburgh, Greenbriar county, Virginia. A drove of fifty or sixty negroes stopped at the same place that night. They usually 'camp out,' [that is, sleep in the open air, or under tents] but as it was excessively muddy, they were permitted to come into the house. So far as my knowledge extends, 'droves' on their way to the south eat but twice a day, early in the morning and at night. Their supper was a compound of 'potatoes and meal,' and was, without exception, the dirtiest, blackest looking mess I ever saw. I remarked at the time that the food was not as clean, in appearance, as that which was given to a *drove of hogs*, the night before, at the same house. Such as it was, however, a black woman brought it on her head, in a tray or trough two and a half feet long, where the men and women were promiscuously herded. The slaves rushed up and seized it from the trough in handfuls, before the woman could take it off her head. They jumped at it as if half-famished.

* "Letters from the South, written during an excursion in the summer of 1816."—New York: 1817. Vol. I. Let. xi. p. 117.

In connexion with the above extract we quote a note from Jay's View (second edition, p. 81), which happily illustrates, by the case of an individual, the inroads of the pro-slavery spirit upon the free states.

"It may be thought by some that the elevation to a seat in the Cabinet of a gentleman who expresses himself with so much warmth and fearlessness against one of the 'peculiar institutions of the south,' militates against our idea that the influence of the federal government is exerted in behalf of slavery. Singular as it may appear, the appointment of Mr. Paulding is nevertheless strongly corroborative of the opinion we have advanced; and the explanation is at once easy and amusing. The 'Letters from the South' were reprinted in 1835, and form the fifth and sixth volumes of an edition of 'Paulding's Works.' The letter from which we have quoted consists of fourteen pages, devoted to the subject of slavery. On turning to the corresponding letter in the *recent* edition, we find it shrunk to *three* pages, containing no allusion to the internal trade, nor anything else that could offend the most sensitive southerner. In the nineteenth letter, as printed in 1817, there is not a word about slavery. In the same letter, as published in 1835, we meet with the following most wonderful *prediction*; a prediction that has lately been cited in the newspapers as a proof of the sagacity and foresight of the secretary of the navy: 'the second cause of disunion will be found in the

"They slept on the floor of the room which they were permitted to occupy, lying in every form imaginable, males and females promiscuously. They were so thick on the floor, that in passing through the room it was necessary to step over them.

"There were three drivers, one of whom stayed in the room to watch the drove, and the other two slept in an adjoining room. Each of the latter took a female from the drove to lodge with him, as is the common practice with the drivers. There is no doubt about this particular instance, for they were seen together. The mud was so thick on the floor where this *drove* slept, that it was necessary to take a shovel the next morning and clear it out. Six or eight in this drove were chained; all were for the south.

"In the autumn of the same year, I saw a drove of more than a hundred; between forty and fifty of them were fastened to one chain, the links being made of iron rods as thick in diameter as a man's little finger. This drove was bound westward, to the Ohio river, to be shipped to the south. I have seen many droves, and more or less in each, almost without exception, were chained. They generally appear extremely dejected. I have seen, in the course of five years, on the road near where I reside, *twelve or fifteen* droves at least, passing to the south. They would average forty in each drove. Near the first of January, 1834, I started about sunrise to go to Lewisburgh. It was a bitter cold morning. I met a drove of negroes, thirty or forty in number, remarkably ragged and destitute of clothing. One little boy particularly excited

slave population of the south, *whenever* the misguided, or wilfully malignant zeal of the advocates of emancipation shall institute, *as it one day doubtless will*, a crusade against the constitutional rights of the slaveowners, by sending among them fanatical agents and fanatical tracts, calculated to render the slaves disaffected, and the situation of the master and his family dangerous; when appeals shall be made under the sanction of religion to the passions of these ignorant and excited blacks, calculated and intended to rouse their worst and most dangerous passions, and to place the very lives of their masters, their wives, and their children, in the deepest peril; *when societies are formed* in the sister states for the avowed purpose of virtually destroying the value of this principle item in the property of a southern planter; when it becomes a question mooted in the legislatures of the States or of the general government, whether the rights of the master over his slave shall be any longer recognised or maintained; and when it is at last evident that nothing will preserve them but secession, then will certain of the stars of our beautiful constellation 'start madly from their spheres, and jostle the others in their wild career.'

"In the title of the new edition, the *date* of the 'excursion' is modestly omitted, but the reader is not informed that the spirit of prophecy descended upon the writer, not while journeying at the south, but while witnessing in New York the operations of *the predicted* societies, and *after* the city had been convulsed by the abolition riots."

my sympathy. He was some distance behind the others, not being able to keep up with the rest. Although he was shivering with cold, and crying, the driver was pushing him up in a trot to overtake the main gang. All of them looked as if they were half-frozen."

From page 72 of the same work we extract the following testimony of Col. Thomas Rogers, of Highland County, Ohio, a native of Kentucky:

"In the winter of 1828–29, I travelled through part of the states of Maryland and Virginia, to Baltimore. At Frost Town, on the national road, I put up for the night. Soon after there came in a slaver, with his drove of slaves; among them were two young men chained together. The bar-room was assigned to them for their place of lodging; those in chains were guarded when they had to go out. I asked the 'owner' why he kept these men chained; he replied, that they were stout young fellows, and should they rebel, he and his son would not be able to manage them. I then left the room, and shortly after heard a *scream,* and when the landlady inquired the cause, the slaver coolly told her not to trouble herself, he was only chastising one of his women. It appeared that three days previously her child had died on the road, and been thrown into a hole or crevice in the mountain, and a few stones thrown over it; and the mother, weeping for her child, was chastised by her master, and told by him 'she should have something to cry for.' The name of this man I can give if called for."

The subjoined "testimony of a Virginian" is from page 76.

"About five years ago, I remember to have passed in a single day four droves of slaves for the south-west; the largest drove had three hundred and fifty slaves, and the smallest upwards of two hundred. I counted sixty-eight or seventy in a single coffle! The *coffle-chain* is a chain fastened at one end to the centre of the bar of a pair of handcuffs, which are fastened to the right wrist of one, and the left wrist of another slave, they standing abreast and the chain between them. These are the head of the coffle. The other end of the chain is passed through a ring in the bolt of the next handcuffs, and the slaves being manacled thus, two and two together, walk up, and the coffle-chain is passed, and they go up towards the head of the coffle. I have seen *hundreds* of droves and chain-coffles of this description, and every coffle was a scene of misery and woe, of tears and brokenness of heart."

We next give the testimony of Rev. Marius R. Robinson, of Ohio, extracted from the "Anti-Slavery Manual," page 112.

"In the emigration they suffer great hardships. Those who are driven down by land travel from two hundred to a thousand miles on foot, through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They sometimes carry heavy chains the whole distance. These chains are very massive; they extend from the hands to the feet, being fastened to the wrists and ankles by an iron ring around each. When chained, every slave carries two chains, i. e. one from each hand to each foot. A waggon, in which rides 'the driver,' carrying coarse provisions and a few tent-coverings, generally accompanies the drove. Men, women, and children, some of the latter very young, walk near the waggon; and if, through fatigue or sickness, they falter, the application of the whip reminds them that they are slaves. They encamp out at night; their bed consists of a small blanket. Even this is frequently denied them. A rude tent covers them, scarcely sufficient to keep off the dew or frost, much less the rain. They frequently remain in this situation several weeks, in the neighborhood of some slave-trading village. The slaves are subject, while on their journeys, to severe sickness. On such occasions the drivers manifest much anxiety lest they should lose *their property*. But even sickness does not prevent them from hurrying on their victims to market. Sick, faint, or weary, the slave knows no relief. In the Choctaw nation, my informant met a large company of these miserable beings, following a waggon at some distance. From their appearance, being mostly females and children, and hence not so marketable, he supposed they must belong to some planter who was emigrating southward. He inquired if this was so, and if their master was taking them home. A woman, in tones of mellow despair, answered him; 'Oh, no, sir, we are not going *home*. We don't know where we are going. The *speculators have got us*.'"

We cannot close these extended extracts without giving the accounts respectively of a man and a woman who were driven to the south in coffles, and afterwards, through the providence of God, escaped to tell the story of their sufferings.

We quote first from the thrilling "Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball,"—for forty years a slave, p. 36.

"My purchaser ordered me to cross my hands behind, which were quickly bound with a strong cord, and he then told me that we must set out that very day for the south. I asked him if I could not be permitted to go to see my wife and children, or if this could not be permitted, if they might not have leave to come and see me; but was told that I might be able to get another wife in Georgia.

"My new master, whose name I did not hear, took me that same day across the Patuxent, where I joined fifty-one other slaves, whom he had

bought in Maryland; thirty-two of these were men, and nineteen were women. The women were merely tied together with a rope, about the size of a bed cord, which was tied like a halter around the neck of each; but the men, of whom I was the stoutest and strongest, were very differently caparisoned. A strong iron-collar was closely fitted, by means of a padlock, around each of our necks. A chain of iron, about a hundred feet in length, was passed through the hasp of each padlock, except at the two ends, where the hasps of the padlock passed through a link of the chain. In addition to this, we were handcuffed with iron staples and bolts; with a chain, about a foot long, uniting the handcuffs and their wearers in pairs. In this manner we were chained alternately by the right and left hand; and the poor man to whom I was thus ironed wept like an infant when the blacksmith, with his heavy hammer, fastened the ends of the bolts that kept the staples from slipping from our arms. After we were all chained and handcuffed together, we sat down upon the ground; and here, reflecting upon the sad reverse of fortune that had so suddenly overtaken me, and the dreadful suffering which awaited me, I bitterly execrated the day I was born. I longed to die, and escape from the hands of my tormentors; but even the wretched privilege of destroying myself was denied me, for I could not shake off my chains, nor move a yard without the consent of my master.

"We were soon on the south side of the river, and taking our line of march, we travelled about five miles that evening, and stopped for the night at one of those miserable public houses, so frequent in the lower parts of Maryland and Virginia, called '*ordinaries*.'

"At night we all lay down on the naked floor to sleep, in our handcuffs and chains. The women lay on one side of the room, and the men who were chained with me occupied the other. I slept but little this night, which I passed in thinking of my wife and little children, whom I could not hope ever to see again. I at length fell asleep, but was distressed with painful dreams. My wife and children seemed to be weeping and lamenting my calamity; and beseeching and imploring my master, on their knees, not to carry me away from them. My little boy came and begged me not to go and leave him, and endeavoured, as I thought, with his little hands, to break the fetters that bound me. I awoke in agony, and cursed my existence. I could not pray, for the measure of my woes seemed to be full, and I felt as if there was no mercy in heaven, nor compassion on earth, for a man who was born a slave."

The narrative from which the above extract is taken, as may be inferred from the style, was written by a man of education, one who took the story from the lips of the slave, and clothed

it in his own phraseology. The well-known character both of the writer and of the subject of the narrative, are ample vouchers for the truth and authenticity of the statements.

The subjoined account is of a female, who was free born, but kidnapped a few years since, and sent to the south in a coffle, *chained to a man slave.*

"Mary Brown, a colored girl, 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, 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 him 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 travelling thus twelve or fifteen days, her arms and ankles became so swollen, that she felt that she could go no further. 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 was 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 till they *would* do it.

"Mary at length became so weak, that she could travel no farther. 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 still 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 during 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 Vicksburgh, 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, as given above. 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 at Vicksburgh; they have no doubt of her integrity, and say that we may rely implicitly upon the truth of any statement which she may make."—"*Condition of the (free) people of colour in the State of Ohio*," p. 26, &c.

The slaves in these coffles are so firmly secured by handcuffs and chains, that they seldom even attempt to rescue themselves. From one to three men, armed as usual, will drive a gang of hundreds in safety. It is not improbable, however, that difficulties occur more frequently than is commonly supposed. It would be surprising indeed if men and women, frenzied with the loss of their relatives, goaded to desperation by the lash of the driver, and knowing the frightful oppressions to which they were tending on the plantations of the south, would not rise, even in their chains, and crush their merciless tyrants. We

find an account of one scene of this kind in a southern paper, Nile's (Baltimore) Register, September 5, 1829.

"THE INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.—A Portsmouth (Ohio) paper gives the details of a bloody transaction that occurred between a drove of negroes and their drivers, about eight miles from the above village, in the state of Kentucky. It appears that the negroes, sixty in number, were chained and handcuffed in the usual manner of driving these poor wretches, and that by the aid of a file, they succeeded in separating the irons which bound them in such a way as to be able to throw them off at any moment. In the course of the journey two of the slaves dropped their shackles and commenced a fight, when the wagoner, Petit, rushed in with his whip, to compel them to desist. At this moment every negro was found perfectly at liberty, and one of them, seizing a club, gave Petit a violent blow on the head, and laid him dead at his feet. Allen, who came to his assistance, met a similar fate from the contents of a pistol, fired by another of the gang. Gordon was then attacked, seized, and held by one of the negroes, while another fired twice at him with a pistol, the ball of which each time grazed his head, but not proving effectual, he was beaten with clubs, and left for dead. They then commenced pillaging the wagon, and, with an axe, split open the trunk of Gordon, and rifled it of the money, about two thousand four hundred dollars. Sixteen of the negroes then took to the woods. Gordon, in the meantime, not materially injured, was enabled, *by the assistance of one of the women*, to mount his horse and flee; pursued, however, by one of the gang on another horse, with a pistol. Fortunately he escaped with his life, barely arriving at a plantation as the negro came in sight, who then turned about and retreated. The neighborhood was immediately rallied, and a hot pursuit given, which we understand has resulted in the capture of the whole gang, and the recovery of the greater part of the money."

Such are the several modes of transporting slaves to the south. On reaching the destined market, the slaves are kept in chains, and sometimes in close confinement, until the day of sale. During the interval they are exposed to the inspection of any who may wish to make purchases. Persons are urgently invited to call and make their own selections. Due time having been granted for these examinations, which are conducted with a minuteness, as disgraceful to the examiner, as it is humiliating to the subject, and the time and terms of sale having been made as public as newspaper advertisements and handbills could make them, the whole gang are knocked off one by one to the highest

bidder. These human auctions furnish scenes which are beyond description—a fit winding-up of the horrible process which we have just now traced, step by step, to its tragical close. Here all the remaining ties of kindred, which survived the first sale and the "middle passage," are broken up for ever. Here, too, the last sentiments of manly respect and female delicacy, which may have outlived the indignities of breeder and driver, are tortured by brutal and licentious jests, cruel taunts, and shameful exposures of the person before an assembled multitude. The coarse cry of the auctioneer, the eager bidding of the emulous purchasers, the loud shout of the rabble at the ribaldry with which the crier intersperses his vociferations, the exulting laugh of the successful bidder, the guillotine fall of the auction hammer, the fiendish clutch of the new owners upon their trembling prey, the groans, shrieks, tears, and last embraces of the slaves, as they are torn violently apart by their several purchasers, form a mixture of wickedness and woe to be found nowhere else this side of perdition.

We quote some accounts of slave auctions given by eye-witnesses.

The description of a slave auction which immediately follows was furnished by Mr. Silas Stone, treasurer of Columbia County, New York. See "American Slavery as it is," p. 167.

"Mr. Stone witnessed a sale of slaves, in Charleston, South Carolina, which he thus describes in a communication recently received from him.

"'I saw droves of the poor fellows driven to the slave markets kept in different parts of the city, one of which I visited. The arrangements of this place appeared something like our northern horse markets, having sheds, or barns, in the rear of a public house, where alcohol was a handy ingredient to stimulate the spirit of jockeying. As the traders appeared, lots of negroes were brought from the stables into the bar-room, and by a flourish of the whip were made to assume an active appearance. 'What will you give for these fellows?' 'How old are they?' 'Are they healthy?' 'Are they quick?' &c., at the same time the owner would give them a cut with a cowhide, and tell them to dance and jump, cursing and swearing at them if they did not move quick. In fact, all the transactions in buying and selling slaves, partakes of jockeyship, as much as buying and selling horses. There was as little regard paid to the feelings of the former as we witness in the latter.

" 'From these scenes I turn to another, which took place in front of the noble 'Exchange buildings,' in the heart of the city. On the left side of the steps, as you leave the main hall, immediately under the windows of that proud building, was a stage built, on which a mother with eight children were placed, and sold at auction. I watched their emotions closely, and saw their feelings were in accordance to human nature. The sale began with the eldest child, who, being struck off to the highest bidder, was taken from the stage or platform by the purchaser, and led to his wagon and stowed away, to be carried into the country; the second and third were also sold, and so until seven of the children were torn from their mother, while her discernment told her they were to be separated probably for ever, causing in that mother the most agonizing sobs and cries, in which the children seemed to share. The scene beggars description; suffice it to say, it was sufficient to cause tears from one at least 'whose skin was not colored like their own,' and I was not ashamed to give vent to them.' "

We quote the following description of a slave auction in Richmond, Virginia, from the "Anti-Slavery Manual," p. 116:

"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 Cæsar, 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 rigours 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 the 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 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 sympathising 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, 250 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 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 dollars. 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 nourishment; 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 on her, as if saying, 'mamma, why do you weep?' Then he turned towards the witnesses of this heart-rending scene, with an impression that seemed to ask, what they had done to his mother to make her weep so bitterly. No, never will this moment ever 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 360 dollars. 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 dollars, and Augustus at 105. They both fell to the same individual who had purchased the former lot."—*Travels of Arforedsun.*

Such is an imperfect view of the American internal slave trade; a system fraught with outrages, pollutions, and woes unutterable. The African slave trade itself was never so horrible. Every odious feature of the latter belongs to the American traffic, besides some peculiar to itself of surpassing enormity. This has been acknowledged by one of Virginia's prominent statesmen, himself probably a slave-breeder. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, of Virginia, thus contrasts the American slave trade with the African:

"The trader receives the slave, a stranger in language, aspect, and manner, from the merchant who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband, and child, have all been rent in twain; before he receives him, his soul has become callous. But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters."

But what gives to the American slave trade its darkest atro-

city is, that it enacts its tragedies on the soil of a republic, claiming to be the freest on earth. Its seat is the boasted home of freedom; its strongholds are the pillars of American liberty; its throne is the nation's heart; its minions are republican statesmen; its victims are native-born Americans. Amidst the galaxy of republican and religious institutions it has its sphere and its name. The ægis of republican law is its shield, and the flag of freedom its shelter. Having its main source at the seat of the national government, it pours thence a stream of blood, widening and deepening by a thousand tributaries from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, till it rolls in a tide, vast as Mississippi's, over the far south. It seeks no subterranean channels nor sequestered vales for a secret passage, but flows broadly under the sun-light of the nation's favor, laving the wharfs of a hundred cities and the borders of a thousand plantations. Legal enactments lay no arrest upon it; public opinion rears no dams across it; popular indignation neither checks its current nor turns it aside; but onward it flows for ever— America's favorite stream; though from its bosom ascends one ceaseless wail of woe.

Should it be asked what is the character and standing in society of the men who are actively engaged in the slave trade, variously called 'soul-drivers,' 'slave traders,' 'speculators,' &c., we would reply that there are two classes of them, who are held in very different estimation by the community generally, though their characters and deserts are intrinsically the same.

One class is composed of the slave merchants, who have large establishments or factories in Washington City, Alexandria, Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, Petersburgh, &c., and keep slavers constantly plying between those ports, and Charleston or New Orleans. Their slave advertisements are blazoned in the most influential secular papers in the union, and to their service the national and state prisons are most obligingly devoted, when their private jails chance to overflow. These are men of large capital, and conduct the traffic on the broadest scale. They hold an honorable rank among the heavy capitalists and extensive merchants of our southern cities, and move in the highest social circles.

The other class consists of the agents and pimps of these

gentry, who are constantly scouring the breeding states to gather fresh supplies for the slave-prisons and slave-ships; and also of traders of limited capital, who buy up small gangs and drive their own coffles. The latter class are generally despised even in the slaveholding states, and they are doubtless horribly base wretches of vile origin, and viler lives. That the traffic in which they are engaged is not the ground of their low estimation in the slave-breeding states is evident, from the fact that other men, much more largely concerned in the traffic, are nevertheless held in repute, as *honorable* merchants. This point is illustrated in the following extract from "American Slavery as it is," p. 174:

"That they are not despised because it is their business to trade in *human beings* and bring them to market, is plain from the fact that when some 'gentleman of property and standing,' and of a 'good family,' embarks in a negro speculation, and employs a dozen 'soul-drivers' to traverse the upper country, and drive to the south coffles of slaves, expending hundreds of thousands in his wholesale purchases, he does not lose caste. It is known in Alabama, that Mr. Erwin, son-in-law of the Hon. Henry Clay, and brother of J. P. Erwin, formerly postmaster, and late mayor of the city of Nashville, laid the foundation of a princely fortune in the slave trade, carried on from the northern slave states to the planting south; that the hon. H. Hitchcock, brother-in-law of Mr. E., and since one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Alabama, was interested with him in the traffic; and that a late member of the Kentucky senate (Col. Wall) not only carried on the same business, a few years ago, but accompanied his droves in person down the Mississippi. Not as the *driver*, for that would be vulgar drudgery, beneath a gentleman, but as a nabob in state, ordering his understrappers.

"It is also well known that President Jackson was a 'soul-driver,' and that even so late as the year before the commencement of the last war, he bought up a coffle of slaves, and drove them down to Louisiana for sale.

"Thomas N. Gadsden, Esq., the principal slave-auctioneer in Charleston, S. C., is of one of the first families in the state, and moves in the very highest class of society there. He is a descendant of the distinguished General Gadsden, of revolutionary memory, the most prominent southern member in the continental Congress of 1765, and afterwards elected lieutenant-governor, and then governor of the state. The rev. Dr. Gadsden, rector of St. Philip's church, Charleston, now bishop of the

diocese of South Carolina, and the Rev. Philip Gadsden, both prominent episcopal clergymen in South Carolina, and Colonel James Gadsden, of the United States army, after whom a county in Florida was recently named, are all brothers of this Thomas N. Gadsden, Esq., the largest slave-auctioneer in the state, under whose hammer, men, women, and children go off by thousands; its stroke probably sunders *daily*, husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, perhaps to see each other's faces no more. Now who supply the auction-table of this Thomas N. Gadsden, Esq. with its loads of human merchandise? These same detested 'soul-drivers' forsooth! They prowl through the country, buy, catch, and fetter them, and drive their chained coffles up to his stand, where Thomas N. Gadsden, Esq. knocks them off to the highest bidder, to Ex-governor Butler, perhaps, or to Ex-governor Hayne, or to the hon. Robert Barnwell Rhett, or to his own reverend brother, Dr. Gadsden. Now this high-born, wholesale *soul-seller* doubtless despises the retail 'soul-drivers' who give him their custom, and so does the wholesale grocer the drizzling tapster who sneaks up to his counter for a keg of whiskey, to dole out under a shanty in two cent glasses; and both for the same reason."

There is one source of great wretchedness to the slaves of the breeding states, which may be appropriately introduced in this connexion. It is very frequently the case that slaveholders, having worn out their lands in the breeding states, remove to the newer and more fertile regions further south and west. We have already alluded to the stream of emigration, especially of the smaller slaveholders, from the older slave raising states. The annual number of these removals cannot be accurately stated. We have already seen, by an extract from the "Wheeling (Virginia) Times," that of one hundred and twenty thousand slaves removed from Virginia in the year 1836, *two-thirds*, or eighty thousand, were removed by the emigration of their owners. This, supposing each master to have on an average twenty slaves, would give four thousand emigrant slaveholders from the single state of Virginia, during the year 1836. This would be, however, too high an estimate for a series of years together; still it enables us to form some conception of the extent of the emigration from the breeding states. Each emigrant slaveholder carries with him his gang of slaves. It is almost universally the case that the slaves of one master form their marriage alliances among the slaves of other masters. Consequently in nearly

every instance of removal there is a sundering of slave families. Where an entire family goes unbroken, the bleeding fragments often are dragged along to the distant home. The only consolation that is offered to the heart-broken sufferers is, that they will find new partners—the bitterest mockery of their woe.

Many facts might be given illustrative of the sufferings caused by these separations. We shall mention only the following, communicated by Rev. James A. Thorne, recently of Kentucky, who was an eye-witness of the scene:

"George and Jane were inhabitants of the same village, in the state of Kentucky, but belonged to different masters. They enjoyed, in an unusual degree, the confidence of their respective 'owners'; who were men of the highest respectability in the community. George was the head man in his master's tannery, and Jane was the principal servant in her owner's establishment; the first inn in the village. They had been married for a number of years, and had both among blacks and whites the credit of uncommon conjugal faithfulness. Both were professedly pious, and possessed more than ordinary education for slaves, being able to read fluently. Having lighter work and more indulgent masters than usually fall to the lot of slaves, they knew comparatively little of the rigors of bondage. Sunday was uniformly at their own disposal, and mostly spent in each other's society. Every evening, the work of the day being finished, George was a punctual visitant at his wife's room. For many years they lived in unbroken union, anticipating no fiery trials of violent sunderings. It is true they frequently witnessed the separations of husbands and wives, as the 'soul-drivers' went round upon their annual circuits of horror and desolation; but they felt assured that their masters prized them too highly to sell them to the traders.

"But a dire calamity was preparing for them, and when finally it broke, with the suddenness of a summer's bolt, upon them, it scattered all their social joys for ever. Jane's master had become embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, and found it absolutely necessary to change his residence. He resolved upon going to the distant state of Missouri. The preparations for removal were almost completed, before Jane was informed of the design; and with that information she also learned the determination of her master to take her along with him. In consternation she flew with the intelligence to her husband. Without a moment's delay, they together hastened to the wife's 'owner,' and prostrating themselves before him, besought that he would allow Jane to find herself a new master in the village. He finally yielded to their entreaties and tears, but set such an extravagant price upon her, that they felt little hope of finding any

person who would be willing to give it. They applied first to George's masters. He was willing to buy Jane, but objected to her master's terms. Applications were made to several other citizens, all of whom had the same objection—the exorbitant price. They besought the master to consent to take less, but he was inexorable; consequently the desired change of ownership could not be effected.

"Meanwhile the preparations for removal went forward, and the day of departure approached. The boat which was to convey the family down the Ohio river, lay at the wharf already loaded with the master's effects. At last the morning of departure came. The family, accompanied from their dwelling by a numerous train of sympathising villagers, proceeded to the boat. With the other slaves, Jane walked immediately behind the family; while George, not permitted to attend her, followed sadly and slowly in the rear of the company.

"The family entered the boat, but Jane threw herself upon the deck, a spectacle of agony. Upon the beach near by, George stood with his arms folded before him; not a groan broke from his lips, nor a tear from his eye, but there were in his fixed countenance and statue-like form the more eloquent tokens of a grief too deep for utterance. Shortly the cables are drawn, and the boat* is drifting down the rapid stream. As long as the receding objects can be discerned, Jane sits motionless upon the deck, and George as moveless stands upon the beach, each gazing upon the other until distance closes the view for ever. What then became of the ill-fated Jane I know not, but my eye followed George as he turned silent and alone, and with down-cast eyes, and arms still folded upon his breast, walked homeward a widowed man."

NINTH QUESTION. *What are the features of slavery in the consuming states?*

This inquiry opens before us a field so vast, and crowded with such multiform scenes of horror, that both time and heart would fail us in the attempt thoroughly to explore it. We can barely sketch some of the prominent features which glare upon us from every point of observation.

There are three principal conditions or modes of slavery in the United States. The first is that where, on account of exhausted lands, slave *labor* is unprofitable, and the master resorts to slave-breeding and selling to make his slaves a source of profit. This

* A small ark formerly much used by emigrant families from Virginia and Kentucky, going to the south-west.

condition has been already described in the reply to the seventh query.

The second condition, is that of domestic slavery, including every species of house and family servants. This condition exists wherever slavery is found. Few of any class or profession in the slave states dispense with domestic slaves. Not to have from one to a dozen is almost certainly to forfeit caste in a slave-holding state; and, what is a more serious consequence, it is to be without servants altogether, for where slaves are the domestics *free persons* think it a degradation to be such.

The third condition is plantation slavery, or that where large bodies of slaves are employed in the cultivation of lucrative products, and where labor consequently is profitable. This condition differs widely from the two former. It is a system of productive industry, in which respect it differs from the first condition; and it congregates large numbers under the same management, thus differing from domestic slavery. These are not the only points of contrast. It is necessary to discriminate between these conditions, if we would form a correct idea of American slavery as a whole; and for want of such discrimination, there has been interminable confusion. Some have considered slavery only in its first form, others only in the second,—the mildest of all,—others in the third only; while others still have viewed it, as every one should, in all its conditions. These totally different observations of slavery have, to some extent, given rise to disputes between the abolitionists on one hand, and the pro-slavery class on the other, respecting the treatment of slaves; and it is plain that such disputes must be perpetual, unless the disputants will agree to look at the same aspects of slavery. It is the domestic condition which the apologists have in their eye, when they deny the representations of the abolitionists; whereas the latter usually describe plantation slavery, the very condition of which the apologist (who if he has *ever* been in the south has been there as the planter's parlour guest, and that but for a few days) is most likely to be ignorant.

Now while the abolitionists contend that even domestic slavery is vastly worse than pro-slavery writers represent it, still they maintain that it is so different from plantation slavery, as to furnish little data for judging of the latter. But in forming an

opinion of slavery in the consuming states, which of these two conditions should be chiefly considered? Surely that which embraces the largest number of slaves; and, at least, nine-tenths of the slaves in the planting states are prædials.

But plantation slavery has still stronger claims to special notice, because it gives to the whole system of slavery its importance and permanence. Lop off this branch, and the whole tree dies. Domestic slavery cannot stand alone. It was that form chiefly which existed in the now free states, and so feeble was its hold on life that its extinction required scarcely an effort. What is it that has given to American slavery its gigantic form and mighty sway? What is it that has reared about it such massive walls and impregnable towers? What is it that has transformed it in a few years from an abhorred system, into a venerated "institution," too sacred to be spoken against with impunity? It is the alliance which has been formed in the planting states between *slavery and cotton*, by virtue of which the most profitable and abundant staple which our country produces is made dependent for its culture exclusively upon slave labor.

But plantation slavery puts in another claim to special attention: it actually sustains slavery in the breeding states. It has been seen that slavery could not exist in Virginia and the other breeding states, but for the large sales of slaves which are annually made to southern planters. Of course the American slave trade is likewise upheld by plantation slavery. So also is the African trade, so far as respects its market in the United States.

Plantation slavery therefore stands before us charged with the continuance of domestic slavery, slave-breeding, the American slave trade, and in part the African. Surely if pre-eminence in guilt can entitle any form of slavery to marked consideration, plantation slavery makes good its claim.

We feel warranted therefore in taking this condition of slavery as the basis of our remarks in reply to the question now before us. It has been observed that the features of slavery in the breeding states received their peculiar mould from the unprofitableness of slave labor. In the consuming states the reverse is true. The lands being fresh, and the products rich, slave labor is exceedingly productive. We do not mean to say that it is

more so than free labor would be; we merely state the fact that it is eminently productive. The grand pursuit of the southern planter is GAIN—gain on the broadest scale, and by the most rapid process of accumulation. The machinery of cotton and sugar cultivation is a means to this great end. To the same end the *slave* also is made a means, and his rights and interests are all pushed out of view by this huge overgrown interest which quite fills up the planter's vision.

To increase the master's wealth, the slave is driven night and day; and since his necessary supplies of food, clothing, and shelter are to be subtracted from the master's gains, they are dispensed with the most niggardly hand. Every thread that can be spared from his back, every grain of corn from his mouth, and every item of convenience from his miserable hut, are rigorously withheld. In short there is not a jot or tittle of the slave's comforts which can escape the all-grasping clutch of avarice. To describe plantation slavery in a single sentence, it is that system which degrades man not into property merely, but into an inferior species of property, whose worth consists in its fitness to procure that which is esteemed a far higher species of property—MONEY.

Other principles, such as pride, anger, lust, and love of power, contribute to aggravate plantation slavery, but it is to avarice, we must look for its most horrid features,—to avarice, pampered and bloated by abounding wealth. Other causes operate occasionally and powerfully, but irregularly, in the infliction of evil upon the slave—*this uniformly, and by rule.* The inflictions of anger are freaks, sudden outbreaks, frequent, it is true, and sometimes violent, but usually of short duration; those of avarice, on the contrary, are habitual incessant and intense, toil, privations, and inflictions without measure and without end, and all relentlessly imposed for the acquisition of gain.

We shall now briefly trace the operation of this principle upon the slaves of the planting states.

The leading policy is to open immense estates for sugar and cotton cultivation (chiefly the latter), and *stock* them, in planter phrase, with large gangs of slaves. The proprietorship by single individuals of thousands of acres, and half thousands of slaves, is quite peculiar to the planting states. This practice operates with extreme severity upon the slaves. The congre-

gating of such numbers under the arbitrary control of one individual is eminently fitted to stimulate the fiercest passions, and transform the most humane, into monsters of cruelty. When a man has but a single slave, he is under few temptations to be cruel, and those few, are kept in check by a sort of personal attachment which masters often feel for a faithful body servant. But let the same man become the owner of a thousand slaves, and his situation is wholly changed. His love of power, before scarcely excited, is aroused to the energy of a master passion. In the multitude of its subjects it finds new scope and wider range. The temptations to exercise it have increased with the number of the slaves, while the restraints from personal attachment have in the same proportion diminished, or rather, wholly ceased to act. The result is, that the gentle master of the single slave, becomes the haughty despot of his little empire.

Again, the *object* of procuring so many slaves implies a condition of hardship and suffering. They are not bought, like the house servant, for light service, quickly done and allowing frequent intervals of leisure, but for severe unbending toil. They were not purchased as articles of convenience, but as beasts of burthen. A task is assigned them, interminable as the upheaving of Egyptian pyramids, the building of their masters' fortunes; a task which the *insatiableness* of avarice makes endless, and its *remorselessness* unutterably cruel.

Again, from so large a number being employed, the comfortable maintenance of the whole would require no small expenditure on the part of the master. This avarice cannot endure; consequently, all comforts are utterly denied the slaves, and even the law of their extremest necessities receives the most rigid construction.

From the foregoing considerations, it is plain that the policy of overgrown estates and large labouring forces bears with a crushing weight upon the slave. Indeed, a situation can hardly be conceived of, more fraught with suffering than that of a field slave in a numerous gang.

Another feature of the planting policy is to employ overseers, and arm them with every instrument of torture necessary to compel the utmost amount of labour. The planter, as lost to humanity as to honesty, not only denies his slaves just wages,

but consigns them to the discretionary management of the vilest monsters that ever wore human form. "Overseer" is the name which designates the assemblage of all brutal propensities and fiendish passions in one man. An overseer must be the lowest of all abjects, consenting to be loathed and detested by the master who employs him; and at the same time he must be the most callous of all reprobates, in order to inflict tortures, from the sight of which the planter himself sometimes recoils with horror. He must find his supreme delight in human torture; groans must be his music, and the writhings of agony his realisation of bliss. He must become that unspeakably vile thing, a scullion of avarice, wielding the clotted lash for another's wealth, contented himself to receive a petty stipend as the reward of his execrable vocation. But a description of the southern overseer has already been drawn by a master hand, that of the Hon. Wm. Wirt, late attorney-general of the United States, a Virginian and a slaveholder.

"Last and lowest, a feculum of beings, called 'overseers'—*the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race*, always cap in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing materials for the exercise of their *pride, insolence, and spirit of domination.*"

Such is the monster to whose unlimited control the planter commits his hundreds of slaves. One injunction only is laid upon him, and that is, to make the largest crops possible. The planter himself generally resides at a distance from his estate, or if he lives upon it, rarely interferes with the management of affairs. He usually disregards the slaves' complaints of cruelty, since to notice them, and interpose between the parties, would lessen the authority of the overseer, and hazard the reduction of his crops. Consequently, the slaves have, for the most part, no appeal from the outrages of a brutal overseer.

It is a dreadful reflection, moreover, that the overseer is strongly tempted to cruelty by appeals to his selfishness. His reputation is graduated by the amount of his crops. If they are large, his character is established, and his situation made permanent, with an increase of salary. But to make great crops he *must drive the slaves.* Besides, the wages of overseers are generally either in proportion to the crop which they raise, or a stipulated portion of the crop itself. Thus the overseer's

interest conspires with that of the planter to perpetuate a system of hard driving, which is carried out by the incessant application of the lash.

Nothing, therefore, can be plainer, than the inevitable certainty that the slaves in the planting states must be extreme sufferers. It is the result of the end which the planter keeps so steadily in view—gain. It is the result, likewise, of the means to which he resorts for compassing that end, viz. large gangs of slaves, and "unprincipled" overseers. The employment of such monsters implies a purpose to drive and torture the slaves, and the fact that they are rarely if ever discharged for cruel treatment, though they frequently are for *failure* in hard driving, is testimony enough to the unswerving rigor with which that purpose is executed. We repeat it, suffering is a certain event to the field slave; it is not a thing which may befall him, but which *must*. At least there is but one alternative—a serious diminution of the master's crops, and charity herself could hardly suspect the planter of submitting to that alternative.

The ways in which the slaves suffer are almost innumerable: we can specify only those which are most prominent.

They suffer from being overworked, from hunger, from want of sleep, from insufficient clothing, from inadequate shelter, from neglect in the various conditions of feebleness and sickness, from lust, and from positive inflictions.

1. The slaves suffer from being overworked. It has been stated that hard labour was the *object* for which they were originally bought, and amassing wealth the *end*. Now, since the more labour (if within the limit of human endurance) the more wealth, *overworking* is in the planting states a matter of course; and since to the desire of wealth there is no bound, to the exactions of toil there will be no bound but human possibility. The feeling that would prevent the overworking of slaves in the cotton and sugar regions, would prevent *all* working of them; and, on the contrary, the feeling which consents to enslaving men at all will prompt to the most rigorous exactions from them.

But to demonstrate that the planting slaves are overworked, *excessively* so, we appeal to facts. In the ensuing part of our

reply to the present query, we shall have occasion to make frequent quotations from "American Slavery as it is," a work which contains the most ample testimony on the several points just enumerated, and accompanies that testimony with the names of a "thousand witnesses," living in every part of the United States, both in the slave states and the free. If that testimony needed any confirmation besides its own vouchers, it would find it abundantly in the fact, that no person, north or south, has yet ventured to call it in question, though the work was published early in 1839, and has been circulated in every state of the Union. The following extracts are taken from the above-named work, pages 35—40.

THE SLAVES ARE OVERWORKED.

"This is abundantly proved by the number of hours that the slaves are obliged to be in the field. But before furnishing testimony as to their hours of labor and rest, we will present the express declarations of slaveholders and others, that the slaves are severely driven in the field.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
The Senate and House of Representatives of the state of South Carolina.	"MANY OWNERS of slaves, and others who have the management of slaves, *do confine them so closely at hard labor that they have not sufficient time for natural rest.* —See 2 Brevard's Digest of the Laws of South Carolina, 243."
History of Carolina.—Vol. i. page 120.	"So *laborious* is the task of raising, beating, and cleaning rice, that had it been possible to obtain European servants in sufficient numbers, *thousands and tens of thousands* MUST HAVE PERISHED."
Hon. Alexander Smyth, a slaveholder, and member of Congress from Virginia, in his speech on the "Missouri question," Jan. 28, 1820.	"Is it not obvious that the way to render their situation *more comfortable*, is to allow them to be taken where there is not the same motive to force the slave to INCESSANT TOIL that there is in the country where cotton, sugar, and tobacco are raised for exportation. It is proposed to hem in the blacks *where they are* HARD WORKED, that they may be rendered unproductive and the race be prevented from increasing. * * * The proposed measure would be EXTREME CRUELTY to the blacks. * * * You would * * * doom them to HARD LABOR."
"Travels in Louisiana," translated from the French by John Davies, Esq.—Page 81.	"At the rolling of sugars, an interval of from two to three months, they *work both night and day.* Abridged of their sleep, they *scarce retire to rest during the whole period.*"
The Western Review, No. 2, —article "Agriculture of Louisiana."	"The work is admitted to be severe for the hands (slaves), requiring, when the process is commenced, to be *pushed night and day.*"
W. C. Gildersleeve, Esq., a native of Georgia, elder of the Presbyterian church, Wilkesbarre, Penn.	"*Overworked* I know they (the slaves) are."

WITNESSES. TESTIMONY.

Mr. Asa A. Stone, a theological student, near Natchez, Miss., in 1834 and 1835.

Philemon Bliss, Esq., a lawyer of Elyria, Ohio, who lived in Florida in 1834 and 1835.

"Everybody here knows *overdriving* to be one of the most common occurrences, the planters do not deny it, exeept, perhaps, to northerners."

"During the cotton-picking season they usually labor in the field during the whole of the daylight, and then spend a good part of the night in ginning and baling. The labor required is very frequently *excessive*, and speedily impairs the constitution."

Hon. R. J. Turnbull, of South Carolina, a slaveholder, speaking of the harvesting of cotton, says:

"*All the pregnant women* even, on the plantation, and weak and *sickly* negroes incapable of other labor, are then *in requisition*."

HOURS OF LABOR AND REST.

Asa A. Stone, theological student, a classical teacher near Natchez, Miss., 1835.

"It is a general rule on all regular plantations, that the slaves be in the field as *soon as it is light enough for them to see to work*, and remain there until it is *so dark that they cannot see*."

Mr. Cornelius Johnson, of Farmington, Ohio, who lived in Mississippi a part of 1837 and 1838.

"It is the common rule for the slaves to be kept at work *fifteen hours in the day*, and in the time of picking cotton a certain number of pounds is required of each. If this amount is not brought in at night, the slave is whipped, and the number of pounds lacking is added to the next day's job; this course is often repeated from day to day."

W. C. Gildersleeve, Esq., Wilkesbarre, Penn., a native of Georgia.

"It was customary for the overseers to call out the gangs *long before day*, say three o'clock, in the winter, while dressing out the crops; such work as could be done by fire-light (pitch pine was abundant,) was provided."

Mr. William Leftwich, a native of Virginia, and son of a slaveholder—he has recently removed to Delhi, Hamilton county, Ohio.

"*From dawn till dark*, the slaves are required to bend to their work."

Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins, Waterford, Conn., a resident in North Carolina eleven winters.

"The slaves are obliged to work *from daylight till dark*, as long as they can see."

Mr. Eleazar Powel, Chippewa, Beaver county, Penn., who lived in Mississippi in 1836 and 1837.

"The slaves had to cook and eat their breakfast and be in the field by *daylight and continue there till dark*."

Philemon Bliss, Esq., a lawyer in Elyria, Ohio, who resided in Florida in 1834 and 1835.

"The slaves commence labor *by daylight* in the morning, and do not leave the field *till dark* in the evening."

"Travels in Louisiana," page 87.

"Both in summer and winter the slave must *be in the field by the first dawning of day*."

Mr. Henry E. Knapp, member of a Christian church in Farmington, Ohio, who lived in Mississippi in 1837 and 1838.

"The slaves were made to work, from *as soon as they could see* in the morning, till as late as they could see at night. Sometimes they were made to work till nine o'clock at night, in such work as they could do, as burning cotton-stalks, &c."

"A New Orleans paper, dated March 23, 1826, says,

"To judge from the activity reigning in the cotton presses of the suburbs of St. Mary, and the *late hours* during which their slaves work, the cotton trade was never more brisk."

"Mr. George W. Westgate, a member of the Congregational church at Quincy, Illinois, who lived in the south-western slave states a number of years, says,

"The slaves are driven to the field in the morning *about four o'clock*, the general calculation is to get them at work by daylight: the time for breakfast is between nine and ten o'clock; this meal is sometimes eaten '*bite* and *work*,' others allow fifteen minutes, and this is the only rest the slave has while in the field. I have never known a case of stopping an hour in Louisiana; in Mississippi the rule is milder, though entirely subject to the will of the master. On cotton plantations, in cotton picking time, that is, from October to Christmas, each hand has a certain quantity to pick, and is flogged if his task is not accomplished; their tasks are such as to keep them all the while busy."

"The preceding testimony under this head has sole reference to the actual labour of the slaves *in the field*. In order to determine how many hours are left for sleep, we must take into the account the time spent in going to and from the field, which is often at a distance of one, two, and sometimes three miles; also the time necessary for pounding or grinding their corn, and preparing, over night, their food for the next day; also the preparations of tools, getting fuel and preparing it, making fires and cooking their suppers, if they have any, the occasional mending and washing of their clothes, &c. Besides this, as every one knows who has lived on a southern plantation, many little errands and *chores* are to be done for their masters and mistresses, old and young, which have accumulated during the day, and been kept in reserve till the slaves return from the field at night. To this we may add that the slaves are *social* beings, and that during the day silence is generally enforced by the whip of the overseer or driver.* When they return at night, their pent-up social feelings will seek vent, it is a law of nature, and though the body may be greatly worn with toil, this law cannot be wholly stifled. Sharers of the same woes, they are drawn together by strong affinities, and seek the society and sympathy of their fellows; even '*tired* nature' will joyfully forego for a time needful rest, to minister to a want of its being equally permanent and imperative as the want of sleep, and as much more profound as the yearnings of the higher nature surpass the instincts of its animal appendage.

"All these things make drafts upon *time*. To show how much of the

* We do not mean that they are not suffered to *speak*, but that, as conversation would be a hindrance to labor, they are generally permitted to indulge in it but little.

slave's time which is absolutely indispensable for rest and sleep, is necessarily spent in various labors after his return from the field at night, we subjoin a few testimonies.

"Mr. Cornelius Johnson, Farmington, Ohio, who lived in Mississippi in the years 1837 and 1838, says:

"'On all the plantations where I was acquainted, the slaves were kept in the field till dark; after which, those who had to grind their own corn, had that to attend to, get their supper, attend to other family affairs of their own and of their master, such as bringing water, washing clothes, &c. &c., and be in the field as soon as it was sufficiently light to commence work in the morning.'

"Mr. George W. Westgate, of Quincy, Illinois, who has spent several years in the south-western slave states, says:

"'Their time after full dark until four o'clock in the morning is their own; this fact alone would seem to say they have sufficient rest, but there are other things to be considered; much of their making, mending, and washing of clothes, preparing and cooking food, hauling and chopping wood, fixing and preparing tools, and a variety of little nameless jobs must be done between those hours.'

"Philemon Bliss, Esq. of Elyria, Ohio, who resided in Florida in 1834 and 1835, gives the following testimony:

"'After having finished their field labours, they are occupied till nine or ten o'clock in doing *chores*, such as grinding corn (as all the corn in the vicinity is ground by hand), chopping wood, taking care of horses, mules, &c., and a thousand things necessary to be done on a large plantation. If any extra job is to be done, it must not hinder the 'niggers' from their work, but must be done in the night.'

"W. C. Gildersleeve, Esq. a native of Georgia, an elder of the Presbyterian church at Wilkesbarre, Pa. says:

"'The corn is ground in a handmill by the slave *after his task is done.* Generally there is but one mill on a plantation, and as but one can grind at a time, the mill is going sometimes *very late at night.*'

"We now present another class of facts and testimony, showing that the slaves engaged in raising the large staples are *overworked.*

"In September, 1834, the writer of this had an interview with James G. Birnie, Esq. who then resided in Kentucky, having removed with his family from Alabama the year before. A few hours before that interview, and on the morning of the same day, Mr. B. had spent a couple of hours with Hon. Henry Clay, at his residence near Lexington. Mr. Birnie remarked that Mr. Clay had just told him, he had been

lately led to mistrust certain estimates as to the increase of the slave population in the far south-west—estimates which he had presented, I think, in a speech before the Colonization Society. He now believed that the births among the slaves in that quarter were *not equal to the deaths*—and that, of course, the slave population, independent of immigration from the slave-selling states, was *not sustaining itself.*

"Among other facts stated by Mr. Clay, was the following, which we copy *verbatim* from the original memorandum, made at the time by Mr. Birnie, with which he has kindly furnished us:

"'Sept. 16, 1834.—Hon. H. Clay, in a conversation at his own house on the subject of slavery, informed me, that hon. Outerbridge Horsey, formerly a senator in congress from the state of Delaware, and the owner of a sugar plantation in Louisiana, declared to him that his overseer worked his hands so closely, that one of the women brought forth a child whilst engaged in the labours of the field. Also, that a few years since he was at a brick-yard in the environs of New Orleans, in which one hundred hands were employed; among them were from *twenty to thirty young women*, in the prime of life. He was told by the proprietor, that there had *not been a child born among them for the last two or three years, although they all had husbands.*'

"The preceding testimony of Mr. Clay is strongly corroborated by advertisements of slaves, by courts of probate, and by executors administering upon the estates of deceased persons. Some of those advertisements for the sale of slaves contain the names, ages, accustomed employment, &c. of all the slaves upon the plantation of the deceased. These catalogues show large numbers of young men and women, almost all of them between twenty and thirty-eight years old, and yet the number of young children is *astonishingly small.* We have laid aside many lists of this kind, in looking over the newspapers of the slaveholding states; but the two following are all we can lay our hands on at present. One is in the 'Planter's Intelligencer,' Alexandria, La., March 22, 1837, containing one hundred and thirty slaves; and the other in the 'New Orleans Bee,' a few days later, April 8, 1837, containing fifty-one slaves. The former is a 'Probate sale' of the slaves belonging to the estate of Mr. Charles S. Lee, deceased, and is advertised by G. W. Keeton, judge of the parish of Concordia, La. The sex, name, and age of each slave are contained in the advertisement, which fills two columns. The following are some of the particulars:

"The whole number of slaves is *one hundred and thirty.* Of these, *only three are over forty years old.* There are *thirty-five females* between the ages of *sixteen and thirty-three*, and yet there are only THIRTEEN children under the age of *thirteen years!*

"It is impossible satisfactorily to account for such a fact, on any other supposition than that these thirty-five females were so over-worked, or under-fed, or both, as to prevent child-bearing.

"The other advertisement is that of a 'Probate sale,' ordered by the court of the parish of Jefferson, including the slaves of Mr. William Gormley. The whole number of slaves is fifty-one; the sex, age, and accustomed labors of each are given. The oldest of these slaves is but *thirty-nine years of age:* of the females, *thirteen* are between the ages of sixteen and thirty-two, and the oldest female is but *thirty-eight*—and yet there are but *two children under eight years old!*

"Another proof that the slaves in the south-western states are over-worked, is the fact that so few of them live to old age. A large majority of them are *old* at middle age, and few live beyond fifty-five. In one of the preceding advertisements, out of one hundred and thirty slaves, only *three* are above forty years of age! In the other, out of fifty-one slaves, only *two* are above *thirty-five;* the oldest is but thirty-nine, and the way in which he is designated in the advertisement is an additional proof, that what to others is 'middle age,' is to the slaves in the south-west 'old age'; he is advertised as '*old* Jeffrey.'

"But the proof that the slave population of the south-west is so over-worked that it cannot *supply its own waste*, does not rest upon mere inferential evidence. The Agricultural Society of Baton Rouge, La., in its report, published in 1829, furnishes a labored estimate of the amount of expenditure necessarily incurred in conducting 'a well regulated sugar estate.' In this estimate, the annual net loss of slaves, over and above the supply by propagation, is set down at TWO AND A HALF PER CENT! The late hon. Josiah S. Johnson, a member of congress from Louisiana, addressed a letter to the secretary of the United States' Treasury, in 1830, containing a similar estimate, apparently made with great care, and going into minute details. Many items in this estimate differ from the preceding, but the estimate of the annual *decrease* of the slaves on a plantation was the same---TWO AND A HALF PER CENT!"

"The following testimony of Rev. Dr. Channing, of Boston, who resided some time in Virginia, shows that the overworking of slaves, to such an extent as to abridge life and cause a decrease of population, is not confined to the far south and south-west:

"'I heard of an estate managed by an individual who was considered as singularly successful, and who was able to govern the slaves without the use of the whip. I was anxious to see him, and trusted that some discovery had been made favourable to humanity. I asked him how he was able to dispense with corporal punishment. He replied to me, with a very determined look, 'The slaves know that the work *must* be done,

and that it is better to do it without punishment than with it.' In other words, the certainty and dread of chastisement were so impressed on them, that they never incurred it.

"I then found that the slaves on this well managed estate *decreased* in number. I asked the cause. He replied, with perfect frankness and ease, 'The gang is not large enough for the estate.' In other words, they were not equal to the work of the plantation, and yet were *made to do it*, though with the certainty of abridging life.

"On this plantation the huts were uncommonly convenient. There was an unusual air of neatness. A superficial observer would have called the slaves happy. Yet they were living under a severe, subduing discipline, and were *overworked* to a degree that *shortened life*."—*Channing on Slavery*, page 162, first edition.

"Philemon Bliss, Esq. a lawyer of Elyria, Ohio, who spent some time in Florida, gives the following testimony to the over-working of the slaves:

"'It is not uncommon for hands, in hurrying times, beside working all day, to labour half the night. This is usually the case on sugar plantations during the sugar-boiling season; and on cotton, during its gathering. Beside the regular task of picking cotton, averaging of the short staple, when the crop is good, one hundred pounds a day to the hand, the ginning (extracting the seed) and baleing was done in the night. Said Mr. ——— to me, while conversing upon the customary labour of slaves, 'I work my niggers in a hurrying time till eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and have them up by four in the morning.'

"'Besides the common inducement,---the desire of gain, to make a large crop, the desire is increased by that spirit of gambling so common at the south. It is very common to *bet* on the issue of a crop. A. lays a wager, that from a given number of hands he will make more cotton than B. The wager is accepted, and then begins the contest; and who bears the burden of it? How many tears, yea, how many broken constitutions and premature deaths, have been the effect of this spirit? From the desperate energy of purpose with which the gambler pursues his object, from the passions which the practice calls into exercise, we might conjecture many. Such is the fact, that in Middle Florida a *broken-winded* negro is more common than a *broken-winded* horse; though usually, when they are declared unsound, or when their constitution is so broken that their recovery is despaired of, they are exported to New Orleans, to drag out the remainder of their days in the cane-field and sugar-house. I would not insinuate that all planters gamble upon their crops, but I mention the practice as one of the common inducements to 'push niggers.' Neither

would I assert that all planters drive the hands to the injury of their health. I give it as a *general rule* in the district of Middle Florida, and I have no reason to think that negroes are driven worse there than in other fertile sections. People there told me, that the situation of the slaves was far better than in Mississippi and Louisiana; and from comparing the crops with those made in the latter states, and for other reasons, I am convinced of the truth of their statements.'

"Dr. Demming, a gentleman of high respectability, residing in Ashland, Richland county, Ohio, stated to Professor Wright, of New York city---

"'That during a recent tour at the south, while ascending the Ohio river on the steam-boat Fame, he had an opportunity of conversing with a Mr. Dickinson, a resident of Pittsburgh, in company with a number of cotton-planters and slave-dealers from Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. Mr. Dickinson stated as a fact, that the sugar-planters upon the sugar coast in Louisiana had ascertained, that as it was usually necessary to employ about *twice* the amount of labor during the boiling season, that was required during the season of raising, they could, by excessive driving day and night during the boiling season, accomplish the whole labour *with one set of hands.* By pursuing this plan, they could afford *to sacrifice a set of hands once in seven years!* He further stated, that this horrible system was now practised to a considerable extent! The correctness of this statement was substantially admitted by the slaveholders then on board.'

"The late Mr. Samuel Blackwell, a highly respected citizen of Jersey* city, opposite the city of New York, and a member of the Presbyterian church, visited many of the sugar plantations in Louisiana a few years since; and having for many years been the owner of an extensive sugar refinery in England, and subsequently in this country, he had not only every facility afforded him by the planters for personal inspection of all parts of the process of sugar making, but received from them the most unreserved communications as to the management of their slaves. Mr. B. after his return, frequently made the following statement to gentlemen of his acquaintance:

"'That the planters generally declared to him, that they were *obliged* so to overwork their slaves during the sugar-making season (from eight to ten weeks), as to *use them up* in seven or eight years. For, said they, after the process has commenced, it must be pushed without cessation night

* "Jersey city" is a small town on the western bank of the Hudson river —opposite New York.

and day; and we cannot afford to keep a sufficient number of slaves to do the *extra* work at the time of sugar-making, as we could not profitably employ them the rest of the year.'

"It is not only true of the sugar planters, but of the slaveholders generally throughout the far south and south-west, that they believe it for their interest to wear out the slaves by excessive toil in eight or ten years after they put them into the field.*

"Rev. Dr. Reed, of London, who went through Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, in the summer of 1834, gives the following testimony:

"'I was told confidently, and from *excellent authority*, that recently at a meeting of planters in South Carolina, the question was seriously discussed, whether the slave is more profitable to the owner if well fed, well clothed, and worked lightly, or if made the most of *at once*, and exhausted in some eight years. The decision was in favour of the last alternative. That decision will perhaps make many shudder. But to my mind this is not the chief evil; the greater and original evil is considering the *slave as property*. If he is only property, and my property, then I have some right to ask how I may make that property *most available*.'—*Visit to the American Churches*, by Rev. Drs. Reed and Matheson, vol. ii. p. 173.

"Rev. John O. Choules, recently pastor of a Baptist church at New Bedford, Massachusetts, now of Buffalo, New York, made substantially the following statement in a speech in Boston:

"'While attending the Baptist triennial convention at Richmond, Virginia, in the spring of 1835, as a delegate from Massachusetts, I had a conversation on slavery with an officer of the Baptist church in that city, at whose house I was a guest. I asked my host if he did not apprehend that the slaves would eventually rise and exterminate their masters. 'Why,' said the gentleman, 'I used to apprehend such a catastrophe, but God has made a providential opening, *a merciful safety valve*, and now I do not feel alarmed in the *prospect* of what is coming.' 'What do you mean (said Mr. Choules) by Providence opening a merciful safety valve?' 'Why,' said the gentleman, 'I will tell you: the slave-traders come from the cotton and sugar plantations of the south, and are willing to buy up

* Alexander Jones, Esq. a large planter in West Feliciana, Louisiana, published a communication in the "North Carolina True American," Nov. 25, 1838, in which, speaking of the horses employed in the mills on the plantations for ginning cotton, he says, "they are much whipped and jaded;" and adds, "In fact, this service is so severe on horses, as to shorten their lives in many instances, if not actually kill them in gear."

Those who work *one* kind of their "live stock" so as to "shorten their lives," or "kill them in gear," would not stick at doing the same thing to another kind.

more slaves than we can part with. We must keep a stock for the purpose of *rearing* slaves, but we part with the most valuable, and at the same time the most *dangerous*, and the demand is very constant, and likely to be so, for when they go to these southern states, the average existence IS ONLY FIVE YEARS!'"

"Monsieur C. C. Robin, a highly intelligent French gentleman, who resided in Louisiana from 1802 to 1806, and published a volume of travels, gives the following testimony to the overworking of the slaves there:

"'I have been a witness, that after the fatigue of the day their labours have been prolonged several hours by the light of the moon; and then, before they could think of rest, they must pound and cook their corn; and yet, long before day, an implacable scold, whip in hand, would arouse them from their slumbers. Thus, of more than twenty negroes, who in twenty years should have doubled, the number *was reduced to four or five!*'

"In conclusion we add, that slaveholders have in the most public and emphatic manner, declared themselves guilty of barbarous inhumanity toward their slaves, in exacting from them such *long continued daily labor*. The legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, have passed laws, providing that convicts in their state prisons and penitentiaries 'shall be employed in work each day in the year except Sundays, not exceeding *eight* hours in the months of November, December, and January; *nine* hours in the months of February and October, and *ten* hours in the rest of the year.' Now contrast this *legal* exaction of labor from CONVICTS with the exaction from slaves, as established by the preceding testimony. The reader perceives that the amount of time in which, by the preceding laws of Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, the *convicts* in their prisons are required to labor, is on an average during the year but little more than NINE HOURS daily; whereas the laws of South Carolina permit the master to *compel* his slaves to work FIFTEEN HOURS in the twenty-four in summer, and FOURTEEN in the winter---which would be in winter from daybreak in the morning until *four hours* after sunset!"---See 2 Brevard's Digest, 243.

"The other slave states, except Louisiana, have *no laws* respecting the labor of slaves, consequently if the master should work his slaves day and night without sleep till they drop dead, *he violates no law!*"

"The law of Louisiana provides for the slaves but TWO AND A HALF HOURS in the twenty-four for 'rest!'---*See* Law of Louisiana, act of July 7, 1806, Martin's Digest, 6. 10---12."

2. The slaves suffer greatly from hunger. This is the certain

consequence of the planting policy, as has been shown. To suppose an opposite effect would be wholly unreasonable.

From the following testimony it will be seen, that in respect both to the quantity and quality of food, the planters conform to the most rigid requirements of avarice.—See "American Slavery as it is," pages 28—31.

"THE SLAVES SUFFER FROM HUNGER—DECLARATIONS OF SLAVEHOLDERS AND OTHERS.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Hon. Alexander Smyth, a slaveholder, and for ten years Member of Congress from Virginia, in his speech on the Missouri question, Jan. 28th, 1820.	"By confining the slaves to the southern states, where crops are raised for exportation, and bread and meat are purchased, you *doom them to scarcity and hunger*. It is proposed to hem in the blacks where they are ILL FED."
Rev. George Whitefield, in his letter to the slaveholders of Md. Va. N. C., S. C. and Ga. published in Georgia, just one hundred years ago, 1739.	"My blood has frequently run cold within me, to think how many of your slaves *have not sufficient food to eat*; they are scarcely permitted to *pick up the crumbs* that fall from their master's table."
Rev. John Rankin, of Ripley, Ohio, a native of Tennessee, and for some years a preacher in slave states.	"Thousands of the slaves are pressed with the gnawings of cruel hunger during their whole lives."
Report of the Gradual Emancipation Society, of North Carolina, 1826. Signed Moses Swain, President, and William Swain, Secretary.	Speaking of the condition of slaves, in the eastern part of that state, the report says,—"The master puts the unfortunate wretches upon short allowances, scarcely sufficient for their sustenance, so that a *great part* of them go *half-starved* much of the time."
Mr. Asa A. Stone, a theological student, who resided near Natchez, Miss., in 1834-5.	"On almost every plantation, the hands suffer more or less from hunger at some seasons of almost every year. There is always a *good deal of suffering* from hunger. On many plantations, and particularly in Louisiana, the slaves are in a condition of *almost utter famishment*, during a great portion of the year."
Thomas Clay, Esq. of Georgia, a slaveholder.	"From various causes this (the slave's allowance of food) is *often* not adequate to the support of a laboring man."
Mr. Tobias Boudinot, St. Albans, Ohio, a member of the Methodist church. Mr. B. for some years navigated the Mississippi.	"The slaves down the Mississippi are *half-starved*, the boats, when they stop at night, are constantly boarded by slaves, begging for something to eat."
President Edwards, the younger, in a sermon before the Conn. Abolition Society, 1791.	"The slaves are supplied with barely enough to keep them from *starving*."
Rev. Horace Moulton, a methodist clergyman, of Marlboro', Mass., who lived five years in Georgia.	"As a general thing on the plantations, the slaves suffer extremely for the want of food."
Rev. George Bourne, late editor of the Protestant Vindicator, N. Y., who was seven years pastor of a church in Virginia.	"The slaves are deprived of *needful* sustenance."

" 1. KINDS OF FOOD.

Hon. Robert Turnbull, a slaveholder of Charleston, South Carolina.

" The subsistence of the slaves consists, from March until August, of corn ground into grits, or meal, made into what is called *hominy*, or baked into corn bread. The other six months, they are fed upon the sweet potatoe. Meat, when given, is only by way of *indulgence or favor*."

Mr. Eleazar Powell, Chippewa, Beaver Co., Penn., who resided in Mississippi, in 1836-7.

" The food of the slaves was generally corn bread, and *sometimes* meat or molasses."

Reuben G. Macy, a member of the Society of Friends, Hudson, N. Y., who resided in South Carolina.

" The slaves had no food allowed them besides *corn*, excepting at Christmas, when they had beef."

Mr. William Leftwich, a native of Virginia, and recently of Madison Co., Alabama, now member of the Presbyterian church, Delhi, Ohio.

" On my uncle's plantation, the food of the slaves was corn pone and a small allowance of meat."

" William Ladd, Esq., of Minot, Me., president of the American Peace Society, and formerly a slaveholder of Florida, gives the following testimony as to the allowance of food to slaves:

" 'The usual food of the slaves was *corn*, with a modicum of salt. In some cases the master allowed no salt, but the slaves boiled the sea-water for salt in their little pots. For about eight days near Christmas, i. e., from the Saturday evening before, to the Sunday evening after Christmas-day, they were allowed some *meat*. They always, with one single exception, ground their corn in a hand-mill, and cooked their food themselves.'

" Extract of a letter from Rev. D. C. Eastman, a preacher of the Methodist Episcopal church, in Fayette county, Ohio:

" 'In March, 1838, Mr. Thomas Larrimer, a deacon of the Presbyterian church in Bloomingbury, Fayette county, Ohio, Mr. G. S. Fullerton, merchant, and member of the same church, and Mr. William A. Ustick, an elder of the same church, spent a night with a Mr. Shepherd, about thirty miles north of Charleston, S. C., on the Monk's corner road. He owned five families of negroes, who, he said, were fed from the same meal and meat-tubs as himself, but that ninety-nine out of a hundred of all the slaves in that county *saw meat but once a year*, which was on Christmas holidays.'

" As an illustration of the inhuman experiments sometimes tried upon slaves, in respect to the *kind* as well as the quality and quantity of their food, we solicit the attention of the reader to the testimony of the late General Wade Hampton, of South Carolina. General Hampton was for some time commander-in-chief of the army on the Canada frontier during the last war, and at the time of his death, about three years since, was the largest slaveholder in the United States. The General's testimony

is contained in the following extract of a letter, just received from a distinguished clergyman in the west, extensively known both as a preacher and a writer. His name is with the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society:

"'You refer in your letter to a statement made to you while in this place, respecting the late General Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, and task me to write out for you the circumstances of the case, considering them, well calculated to illustrate two points in the history of slavery: 1st. That the habit of slaveholding, dreadfully blunts the feeling toward the slave, producing such insensibility, that his sufferings and death are regarded with indifference. 2d. That the slave, often has insufficient food, both in quantity and quality.

"'I received my information from a lady in the west, of high respectability and great moral worth, but think it best to withhold her name, although the statement was not made in confidence.

"'My informant stated, that she sat at dinner once in company with General Wade Hampton, and several others; that the conversation turned upon the treatment of their servants, &c.; when the General undertook to entertain the company with the relation of an experiment he had made in the feeding of his slaves on cotton seed. He said that he first mingled one-fourth cotton seed with three-fourths corn, on which they seemed to thrive tolerably well; that he then had measured out to them equal quantities of each, which did not seem to produce any important change; afterwards he increased the quantity of cotton seed to three-fourths, mingled with one-fourth corn, and then he declared, with an oath, that '*they died like rotten sheep!*' It is but justice to the lady to state, that she spoke of his conduct with the utmost indignation; and she mentioned also that he received no countenance from the company present, but that all seemed to look at each other with astonishment. I give it to you just as I received it from one who was present, and whose character for veracity is unquestionable.

"'It is proper to add, that I had previously formed an acquaintance with Dr. Witherspoon, now of Alabama, if alive, whose former residence was in South Carolina; from whom I received a particular account of the manner of feeding and treating slaves on the plantations of General Wade Hampton, and others in the same part of the state; and certainly no one could listen to the recital without concluding that such masters and overseers as he described must have hearts like the nether millstone. The cotton seed experiment I had heard of before, also, as having been made in other parts of the south; consequently I was prepared to receive as true the above statement, even if I had not been so well acquainted with the high character of my informant.'"

"2. QUANTITY OF FOOD.

"The legal allowance of food for slaves in North Carolina, is in the words of the law, "a quart of corn per day." See Haywood's Manual, 525. The legal allowance in Louisiana is more, a barrel (flour barrel) of corn (in the ear), or its equivalent in other grain, and a pint of salt a month. In the other slave states the amount of food for the slaves is left to the option of the master.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Thos. Clay, Esq., of Georgia, a slaveholder, in his address before the Georgia Presbytery, 1833.	"The quantity allowed by custom is *a peck of corn a week!*"
The Maryland Journal, and Baltimore Advertiser, May 30, 1788.	"*A single peck of corn a week, or the like measure of rice*, is the *ordinary* quantity of provision for a *hard-working* slave; to which a small quantity of meat is occasionally, though *rarely*, added."
W. C. Gildersleeve, Esq., a native of Georgia, and elder in the Presbyterian church, Wilksbarre, Penn.	"The weekly allowance to grown slaves on this plantation, where I was best acquainted, was *one peck of corn.*"
Wm. Ladd, of Minot, Maine, formerly a slaveholder in Florida.	"The usual allowance of food was *one quart of corn a day*, to a full task hand, with a modicum of salt; kind masters allowed *a peck of corn a week;* some masters allowed no salt."
Mr. Jarvis Brewster, in his "Exposition of the treatment of slaves in the Southern States," published in N. Jersey, 1815.	"The allowance of provisions for the slaves, is *one peck of corn, in the grain, per week.*"
Rev. Horace Moulton, a methodist clergyman of Marlboro', Mass., who lived five years in Georgia.	"In Georgia the planters give each slave only *one peck of their gourd-seed corn per week*, with a small quantity of salt."
Mr. F. C. Macy, Nantucket, Mass., who resided in Georgia in 1820.	"The food of the slaves was three pecks of potatoes a week during the potatoe season, and *one peck of corn* during the remainder of the year."
Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins, a member of the Baptist church in Waterford, Conn., who resided in North Carolina eleven winters.	"The subsistence of the slaves consists of *seven quarts of meal*, or *eight quarts of small rice for one week!*"
William Savery, late of Philadelphia, an eminent minister of the Society of Friends, who travelled extensively in the slave states, on a religious visit, speaking of the subsistence of the slaves, says, in his published Journal,	"*A peck of corn* is their (the slave's) miserable subsistence *for a week.*"
The late John Parrish, of Philadelphia, another highly respected minister of the Society of Friends, who traversed the south, on a similar mission, in 1804 and 5, says in his "Remarks on the slavery of Blacks:"	"They allow them but *one peck of meal*, for a whole week, in some of the southern states."
Richard Macy, Hudson, N.Y., a member of the Society of Friends, who has resided in Georgia.	"Their usual allowance of food was one peck of corn per week, which was dealt out to them every first day of the week. They had nothing allowed them besides the corn, except one quarter of beef at Christmas."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Rev. C. S. Renshaw, of Quincy, Ill. (the testimony of a Virginian).	"The slaves are generally allowanced: a pint of corn meal and a salt herring is the allowance, or in lieu of the herring a 'dab' of fat meat of about the same value. I have known the sour milk, and clauber, to be served out to the hands, when there was an abundance of milk on the plantation. This is a luxury not often afforded."

"Testimony of Mr. George W. Westgate, member of the Congregational church, of Quincy, Illinois. Mr. W. has been engaged in the low country trade for twelve years, more than half of each year, principally on the Mississippi, and its tributary streams in the south-western slave states:

"'*Feeding is not sufficient*,—let facts speak. On the coast, i. e. Natchez and the Gulf of Mexico, the allowance was one barrel of ears of corn, and a pint of salt per month. They may cook this in what manner they please, but it must be done after dark; they have no daylight to prepare it by. Some few planters, but only a few, let them prepare their corn on Saturday afternoon. Planters, overseers, and negroes, have told me, that in *pinching times*, i. e. when corn is high,---they did not get near that quantity. In Mississippi I know some planters who allowed their hands three and a half pounds of meat per week, when it was cheap. Many prepare their corn on the Sabbath, when they are not worked on that day, which, however, is frequently the case on sugar plantations. There are very many masters on 'the coast' who will not suffer their slaves to come to the boats, because they steal molasses to barter for meat; indeed they generally trade more or less with stolen property. But it is impossible to find out what and when, as their articles of barter are of such trifling importance. They would often come on board our boats to beg a bone, and would tell how badly they were fed; that they were almost starved. Many a time I have sat up all night, to prevent them from stealing something to eat.'

"3. QUALITY OF FOOD.

"Having ascertained the kind and quantity of food allowed to the slaves, it is important to know something of its *quality*, that we may judge of the amount of sustenance which it contains. For, if their provisions are of an inferior quality, or in a damaged state, then, power to sustain labor must be greatly diminished.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Thomas Clay, Esq. of Georgia, in an address to the Georgia Presbytery, 1834, speaking of the quality of the corn given to the slaves, says,	"There is *often a defect here*."
Rev. Horace Moulton, a methodist clergyman at Marlboro', Mass., and five years a resident of Georgia,	"The food, or 'feed' of slaves is generally of the *poorest* kind."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
The "Western Medical Reformer," in an article on the diseases peculiar to negroes, by a Kentucky physician, says of the diet of the slaves:	"They live on a coarse, *crude, unwholesome diet.*"
Professor A. G. Smith, of the New York Medical College; formerly a physician in Louisville, Kentucky.	"I have myself known numerous instances of large families of *badly fed* negroes swept off by a prevailing epidemic; and it is well known to many intelligent planters in the south, that the best method of preventing that horrible malady, *Chacheria Africana*, is to feed the negroes with *nutritious* food."

"4. NUMBER AND TIME OF MEALS EACH DAY.

"In determining whether or not the slaves suffer for want of food, the number of hours intervening, and the labor performed between their meals, and the number of meals each day, should be taken into consideration.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Philemon Bliss, Esq., a lawyer in Elyria, Ohio, and member of the Presbyterian church, who lived in Florida in 1834 and 1835.	"The slaves go to the field in the morning; they carry with them corn meal wet with water, and at *noon* build a fire on the ground, and bake it in the ashes. After the labors of the day are over, they take their *second* meal of ash-cake."
President Edwards, the younger.	"The slaves eat *twice* during the day."
Mr. Eleazar Powell, Chippewa, Beaver county, Penn., who resided in Mississippi in 1836 and 1837.	"The slaves received *two* meals during the day. Those who have their food cooked for them get their breakfast about eleven o'clock, and their other meal *after night.*"
Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins, Waterford, Conn., who spent eleven winters in North Carolina.	"The *breakfast* of the slaves was generally about *ten or eleven* o'clock."
Rev. Phineas Smith, Centreville, N. Y., who has lived at the south some years.	"The slaves have usually *two* meals a day, viz., at eleven o'clock and at night."
Rev. C. S. Renshaw, Quincy, Illinois—the testimony of a Virginian.	"The slaves have *two* meals a day. They breakfast at from ten to eleven, A. M., and eat their supper at from six to nine or ten at night, as the season and crops may be."

3. The slaves suffer from want of sleep.

This has already been shown under a previous head, in connexion with the proof, that the slaves are overworked.

4. The slaves suffer from insufficient clothing. The kind, amount, and quality of clothing will appear in the following testimony:

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
"Hon. T. T. Bouldin, a slaveholder and member of Congress, from Virginia, in a speech in Congress, Feb. 16, 1835.	Mr. Bouldin said "*he knew* that many negroes had *died* from exposure to weather," and added, "they are clad in a *flimsy fabric, that will turn neither wind nor water.*"

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
George Buchanan, M. D., of Baltimore, member of the American Philosophical Society, in an oration at Baltimore, July 4, 1791.	"The slaves, *naked* and starved, *often* fall victims to the inclemencies of the weather."
Wm. Savery, of Philadelphia, an eminent minister of the Society of Friends, who went through the southern states in 1791, on a religious visit; after leaving Savannah, Ga., we find the following entry in his journal, 6th month, 28, 1791.	"We rode through many rice swamps, where the blacks were very numerous, great droves of these poor slaves, working up to the middle in water, men and women nearly *naked*."
Rev. John Rankin, of Ripley, Ohio, a native of Tennessee.	"In every slaveholding state, *many slaves suffer extremely*, both while they labor and while they sleep, *for want of clothing* to keep them warm."
John Parrish, late of Philadelphia, a highly esteemed minister in the Society of Friends, who travelled through the south in 1804.	"It is shocking to the feelings of humanity, in travelling through some of those states, to see those poor objects (slaves), especially in the inclement season, in *rags*, and *trembling with the cold*." * * *
	"They suffer them, both male and female, *to go without clothing* at the age of ten and twelve years."
Rev. Phineas Smith, Centreville, Allegany Co., N. Y. Mr. S. has just returned from a residence of several years at the south, chiefly in Virginia, Louisiana, and among the American settlers in Texas.	"The apparel of the slaves is of the coarsest sort, and *exceedingly deficient* in quantity. I have been on many plantations, where children of eight and ten years old, were in a state of *perfect nudity*. Slaves are *in general wretchedly clad*."
Wm. Ladd, Esq., of Minot, Maine, recently a slaveholder in Florida.	"They were allowed two suits of clothes a year, viz. one pair of trowsers with a shirt or frock of osnaburgh for summer; and for winter, one pair of trowsers, and a jacket of negro-cloth, with a baize shirt and a pair of shoes. Some allowed hats, and some did not; and they were generally, I believe, allowed one blanket in two years. Garments of similar materials were allowed the women."
A Kentucky physician, writing in the Western Medical Reformer, in 1836, on the diseases peculiar to slaves, says,	"They are *imperfectly clothed* both summer and winter."
Mr. Stephen E. Maltby, Inspector of provisions, Skeneateles, N. Y., who resided some time in Alabama.	"I was at Huntsville, Alabama, in 1818-19; I frequently saw slaves on and around the public square, *with hardly a rag of clothing on them*, and in a *great many* instances with but a single garment both in summer and in winter; generally the only bedding of the slaves was a *blanket*."
Reuben G. Macy, Hudson, N. Y., member of the Society of Friends, who resided in South Carolina, in 1818 and 1819.	"Their clothing consisted of a pair of trowsers and jacket, made of 'negro cloth.' The women a petticoat, a very short 'short gown,' and *nothing else*, the same kind of cloth; some of the women had an old pair of shoes, but they *generally went barefoot*."
Mr. Lemuel Sapington, of Lancaster, Pa., a native of Maryland, and formerly a slaveholder.	"Their clothing is often made by themselves after night, though sometimes assisted by the old women who are no longer able to do out-door work; consequently it is harsh and uncomfortable. And I have very frequently seen those who had not attained the age of twelve years *go naked*."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Philemon Bliss, Esq., a lawyer in Elyria, Ohio, who lived in Florida in 1834 and 1835.	"It is very common to see the younger class of slaves up to eight or ten *without any clothing*, and most generally the laboring men wear *no shirts* in the warm season. The perfect nudity of the younger slaves is so familiar to the whites of both sexes, that they seem to witness it with perfect indifference. I may add that the aged and feeble often *suffer from cold.*"
Richard Macy, a member of the Society of Friends, Hudson, N. Y., who has lived in Georgia.	"For *bedding* each slave was allowed *one blanket*, in which they rolled themselves up. I examined their houses, but could not find any thing like *a bed.*"
W. C. Gildersleeve, Esq. Wilkesbarre, Pa., a native of Georgia.	"It is an every day sight to see women as well as men, with no other covering than a *few filthy rags fastened above the hips*, reaching midway to the ankles. *I never knew any kind of covering for the head* given. Children of both sexes, from infancy to ten years, are seen in companies on the plantations, *in a state of perfect nudity.* This was so common that the most refined and delicate beheld them unmoved."
Mr. William Leftwich, a native of Virginia, now a member of the Presbyterian Church, in Delhi, Ohio.	"The only bedding of the slaves generally consists of *two old blankets.*"

"Advertisements like the following, from the 'New Orleans Bee,' May 31, 1837, are common in the southern papers—

"'10 *Dollars Reward.*—Ran away, the slave Solomon, about 28 years of age; BADLY CLOTHED. The above reward will be paid on application to FERNANDEZ & WHITING, No. 20, St. Louis-st.

"'Ran away from the subscriber, the negress Fanny, always badly dressed; she is about 25 or 26 years old. JOHN MACOIN, 117, S. Ann-street.'

"The Darien (Ga.) Telegraph, of Jan. 24, 1837, in an editorial article, hitting off the aristocracy of the planters, incidentally lets out some secrets, about the usual *clothing* of the slaves. The editor says,—'The planter looks down, with the most sovereign contempt, on the merchant and the storekeeper. He deems himself a lord, because he gets his two or three RAGGED servants to row him to his plantation every day, that he may inspect the labor of his hands.'

"The following is an extract from a letter lately received from Rev. C. S. Renshaw, of Quincy, Illinois:

"'I am sorry to be obliged to give more testimony without the *name.* An individual, in whom I have great confidence, gave me the following facts. That I am not alone in placing confidence in him, I subjoin a testimonial from Dr. Richard Eells, deacon of the Congregational church, of Quincy, and Rev. Mr. Fisher, Baptist minister, of Quincy.

"'We have been acquainted with the brother who has communicated to you some facts that fell under his observation, whilst in his native state. He is a professed follower of our Lord, and we have great confidence in him as a man of integrity, discretion, and strict Christian principle.

"'RICHARD EELLS.
"'EZRA FISHER.

"'Quincy, Jan. 9th, 1839.

"'TESTIMONY.—I lived for thirty years in Virginia, and have travelled extensively through Fauquier, Culpepper, Jefferson, Stafford, Albemarle, and Charlotte counties; my remarks apply to these counties.

"'The negro houses are miserably poor; generally they are a shelter from neither the wind, the rain, nor the snow, and the earth is the floor. There are exceptions to this rule, but they are only exceptions; you may sometimes see puncheon floor, but never, or almost never, a plank floor. The slaves are generally without *beds or bedsteads;* some few have cribs that they fasten up for themselves in the corner of the hut. Their bed-clothes are a nest of rags thrown upon a crib, or in the corner; sometimes there are three or four families in one small cabin. Where the slave-holders have more than one family, they put them in the same quarter till it is filled, then build another. I have seen exceptions to this, when only one family would occupy a hut, and where were tolerably comfortable bed-clothes.

"'Most of the slaves in these counties are *miserably clad.* I have known slaves who went without shoes all winter, perfectly barefoot. The feet of many of them are frozen. As a general fact, the planters do not serve out to their slaves drawers, or any under clothing, or vests, or over-coats. Slaves sometimes, by working at night and on Sundays, get better things than their masters serve to them.

"'Whilst these things are true of *field-hands*, it is also true that many slaveholders clothe their *waiters* and coachmen like gentlemen. I do not think there is any difference between the slaves of professing Christians and others; at all events, it is so small as to be scarcely noticeable.

"'I have seen men and women at work in the field more than half-naked: and more than once in passing, when the overseer was not near, they would stop and draw round them a tattered coat or some ribbons of a skirt, to hide their nakedness and shame from the stranger's eye.'

"Mr. George W. Westgate, a member of the Congregational church in Quincy, Illinois, who has spent the larger part of twelve years navigating the rivers of the south-western slave states with keel boats, as a trader, gives the following testimony as to the clothing and lodging of the slaves:

"'In Lower Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the clothing of the slaves is wretchedly poor; and grows worse as you go south, in the order of the states I have named. The only material is cotton bagging, i. e. bagging in which cotton is *baled*, not bagging made of cotton. In Louisiana, especially in the lower country, I have frequently seen them with nothing but a tattered coat, not sufficient to hide their nakedness. In winter their clothing seldom serves the purpose of comfort, and frequently not even of decent covering. In Louisiana *the planters never think of serving out shoes to slaves.* In Mississippi they give one pair a year generally. I never saw, or heard of an instance of masters allowing them *stockings.* A *small poor blanket is generally the only bed-clothing*, and this they frequently wear in the field when they have not sufficient clothing to hide their nakedness or to keep them warm. Their manner of sleeping varies with the season. In hot weather they stretch themselves anywhere and sleep. As it becomes cool they roll themselves in their blankets, and lay scattered about the cabin. In cold weather they nestle together with their feet towards the fire, promiscuously. As a general fact, the earth is their only floor and bed—not one in ten have anything like a bedstead, and then it is a mere bunk put up by themselves.'

"Mr. George A. Avery, an elder in the fourth Congregational church, Rochester, N. Y., who spent four years in Virginia, says, 'The slave children, very commonly of both sexes, up to the ages of eight and ten years, and I think in some instances beyond this age, go in a state of *disgusting* nudity. I have often seen them with their tow shirt (their only article of summer clothing) which, to all human appearance, had not been taken off from the time it was first put on, worn off from the bottom upwards, shred by shred, until nothing remained but the straps which passed over their shoulders, and the less exposed portions extending a very little way below the arms, leaving the principal part of the chest, as well as the limbs, entirely uncovered.'

"Samuel Ellison, a member of the Society of Friends, formerly of Southampton county, Virginia, now of Marlborough, Stark county, Ohio, says, 'I knew a methodist who was the owner of a number of slaves. The children of both sexes, belonging to him, under twelve years of age, were *entirely* destitute of clothing. I have seen an old man compelled to labor in the fields, not having rags enough to cover his nakedness.'

"Rev. H. Lyman, late pastor of the Free Presbyterian church, in Buffalo, N. Y., in describing a tour down and up the Mississippi river in the winter of 1832--3, says, 'At the wood yards where the boats stop, it is not uncommon to see female slaves employed in carrying wood. Their dress, which was quite uniform, was provided without any refer-

ence to comfort. They had no covering for their heads; the stuff which constituted the outer garment was sackcloth, similar to that in which brown domestic goods are done up. It was then December, and I thought that in such a dress, and being as they were, without *stockings*, they must suffer from the cold.'

"Mr. Benjamin Anderson, Colerain, Lancaster county, Pa., a member of the Society of Friends, in a recent letter describing a short tour through the northern part of Maryland in the winter of 1836, thus speaks of a place a few miles from Chestertown. 'About this place there were a number of slaves; very few, if any, had *either stockings or shoes;* the weather was intensely cold, and the ground covered with snow.'

"The late Major Stoddard, of the United States' artillery, who took possession of Louisiana for the U. S. government, under the cession of 1804, published a book entitled, 'Sketches of Louisiana,' in which, speaking of the planters of Lower Louisiana, he says, '*Few of them allow any clothing to their slaves.*'

"The following is an extract from the will of the late celebrated John Randolph, of Virginia:

"'To my old and faithful servants, Essex, and his wife Hetty, I give and bequeath a pair of strong shoes, a suit of clothes, and a blanket each, to be paid them annually; also an annual hat to Essex.'

"No Virginia slaveholder has ever had a better name as a 'kind master,' and 'good provider' for his slaves, than John Randolph. Essex and Hetty were *favorite* servants, and the memory of the long uncompensated services of those 'old and faithful servants,' seems to have touched their master's heart. Now as this master was *John Randolph*, and as those servants were 'faithful,' and favorite servants, advanced in years, and worn out in his service, and as their allowance was, in their master's eyes, of sufficient moment to constitute a paragraph in his last *will and testament*, it is fair to infer that it would be *very liberal*, far better than the ordinary allowance for slaves.

"Now we leave the reader to judge what must be the *usual* allowance of clothing to common field slaves in the hands of common masters, when Essex and Hetty, the 'old' and 'faithful' slaves of John Randolph, were provided, in his last will and testament, with but *one* suit of clothes annually, with but *one blanket* each for bedding, with no *stockings*, nor *socks*, nor *cloaks*, nor over-coats, nor *handkerchiefs*, nor *towels*, and with no *change* either of under or outside garments!"

5. The slaves suffer from inadequate shelter. The testimony under this head will show the master true to his master-passion

—avarice. While he rears a stately mansion for his own family, and furnishes it with everything which can minister to ease, appetite, or pleasure, he thrusts his toil-worn slaves into miserable hovels, which betray within and around them even less regard for the comfort of the inmates than his stables.

For the following testimony see "American Slavery as it is," page 43:

"THE SLAVES ARE WRETCHEDLY SHELTERED AND LODGED.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. Stephen E. Maltby, Inspector of provisions, Skaneateles, N. Y., who has lived in Alabama.	"The huts where the slaves slept, generally contained but *one* apartment, and that *without floor*."
Mr. George A. Avery, elder of the 4th Presbyterian church, Rochester, N. Y., who lived four years in Virginia.	"Amongst all the negro cabins which I saw in Va., *I cannot call to mind one* in which there was any other floor than the *earth*; anything that a northern laborer, or mechanic, white or colored, would call a *bed*, nor a solitary *partition*, to separate the sexes."
William Ladd, Esq., Minot, Maine, President of the American Peace Society, formerly a slaveholder in Florida.	"The dwellings of the slaves were palmetto huts, built by themselves of stakes and poles thatched with the palmetto leaf. The door, when they had any, was generally of the same materials, sometimes boards found on the beach. They had *no floors*, no separate apartments, except the Guinea negroes had sometimes a small inclosure for their 'god house.' These huts the slaves built themselves after task and on Sundays."
Rev. Joseph M. Sadd, pastor Pres. church, Castile, Greene Co., N. Y., who lived in Missouri five years previous to 1837.	"The slaves live *generally* in *miserable huts*, which are *without floors*, and have a single apartment only, where both sexes are herded promiscuously together."
Mr. George W. Westgate, member of the congregational church in Quincy, Illinois, who has spent a number of years in slave states.	"On old plantations, the negro quarters are of frame and clapboards, seldom affording a comfortable shelter from wind or rain; their size varies from 8 by 10, to 10 by 12 feet, and six or eight feet high; sometimes there is a hole cut for a window, but I never saw a sash, or glass in any. In the new country, and in the woods, the quarters are generally built of logs, of similar dimensions."
Mr. Cornelius Johnson, a member of a Christian church in Farmington, Ohio. Mr. J. lived in Mississippi in 1837–8.	"Their houses were commonly built of logs, sometimes they were framed, often they had no floor, some of them have two apartments, commonly but one; each of those apartments contained a family. Sometimes these families consisted of a man and his wife and children, while in other instances persons of both sexes, were thrown together without any regard to family relationship."
The Western Medical Reformer, in an article on the Cachexia Africana, by a Kentucky physician, thus speaks of the huts of the slaves:	"They are *crowded* together in a *small hut*, and sometimes having an imperfect, and sometimes no floor, and seldom raised from the ground, ill ventilated, and surrounded with filth."
Mr. William Leftwich, a native of Virginia, but has resided most of his life in Madison Co. Alabama.	"The dwellings of the slaves are log huts, from 10 to 12 feet square, often without windows, doors, or floors; they have neither chairs, table, nor bedstead."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Reuben L. Macy, of Hudson, N. Y., a member of the Religious Society of Friends. He lived in South Carolina in 1818–19.	"The houses for the field slaves were about 14 feet square, built in the coarsest manner, with one room, *without any chimney or flooring, with a hole in the roof to let the smoke out.*"
Mr. Lemuel Sapington, of Lancaster, Pa., a native of Maryland, formerly a slaveholder.	"The descriptions generally given of negro quarters, are correct; the quarters are *without floors, and not sufficient to keep off the inclemency of the weather;* they are uncomfortable both in summer and winter."
Rev. John Rankin, a native of Tennessee.	"When they return to their miserable huts at night, they find not there the means of comfortable rest; but *on the cold ground they must lie without covering, and shiver while they slumber.*"
Philemon Bliss, Esq., Elyria, Ohio, who lived in Florida in 1835.	"The dwellings of the slaves are usually small *open* log huts, with but one apartment, and very generally *without floors.*"

6. The slaves suffer from neglect in the various conditions of feebleness and sickness incident to life. There are some in every community who are in a dependent condition, either from infirmity, disease, infancy, or age. By a most benign provision of the great Father of all, these helpless ones are usually provided for, by their family friends. This arrangement slavery utterly frustrates. The most vigorous, healthy, and industrious slaves have nothing beyond the mere supply of their necessities. But does the planter provide for those helpless beings, while he deprives their friends of the power to do it? Does he take care of the infants whose mothers are denied the privilege of watching over them? Does he tenderly supply to tottering age—induced, perhaps, prematurely by wasting toil in his own fields—those comforts which filial affection sighs in vain to provide? Alas! avarice and oppression have qualified the planter to be anything but a guardian and benefactor to his helpless poor. Their helplessness commends them not to his commiseration, but exposes them to his rage as not only unserviceable but burthensome.

One of the most revolting features of slavery is its neglect of the sick and dying. Kindness to the sick is a dictate of nature in its rudest state. It throws a halo of humanity around even savages. The bitterest enemies forget their hatred when disease makes its appeals to pity. The most deeply injured dismisses his long-cherished revenge at the bedside of his smitten foe. When sickness invades a dwelling, however humble, it calls

nither the extremes of society to pour their mingled sympathies into the cup of affliction; and the distinctions of rich and poor, high and low, are for once forgotten in the pervading sense of a common humanity sharing a common lot. At the sight of a human frame *writhing in pain*, whether stretched upon straw and covered with rags, or reclining upon down and canopied with embroidery,—the sternest heart is moved. But no slaveholder sees a human being in his slave;—the planter has no heart of sympathy for his suffering 'chattel': and the wretched slave has only this consolation, that he is released for a season from the tortures and the toils of bondage, from which sickness itself is a welcome refuge.

We extract the following testimony from "American Slavery as it is." pp. 44—45.

"THE SLAVES SUFFER FROM INHUMAN NEGLECT WHEN SICK.

"In proof of this we subjoin the following testimony:

"Rev. Dr. CHANNING of Boston, who once resided in Virginia, relates the following fact in his work on slavery, page 163, 1st edition:

"'I cannot forget my feelings on visiting a hospital belonging to the plantation of a gentleman *highly esteemed for his virtues*, and whose manners and conversation expressed much *benevolence and conscientiousness*. When I entered with him the hospital, the first object on which my eye fell was a young woman, very ill, probably approaching death. She was stretched on the floor. Her head rested on something like a pillow; but *her body and limbs were extended on the hard boards.* The owner, I doubt not, had at least as much kindness as myself; but he was so used to see the slaves living without common comforts, that the idea of unkindness in the present instance did not enter his mind.'

"This *dying* young woman "was *stretched on the floor*"—"her body and limbs extended upon the hard boards,"—and yet her master "was highly esteemed for his virtues," and his general demeanour produced upon Dr. Channing the impression of "benevolence and conscientiousness." If the *sick and dying female* slaves of *such* a master suffer such barbarous neglect, whose heart does not fail him, at the thought of that inhumanity, exercised by the *majority* of slaveholders, towards their aged, sick, and dying victims?

"The following testimonies furnished by Sarah M. Grimké, a sister of the late Hon. Thomas S. Grimké, of Charleston, South Carolina.

"'When the Ladies' Benevolent Society in Charleston, S. C., of which I was a visiting commissioner, first went into operation, we were applied

to for the relief of several sick and aged coloured persons; one case I particularly remember, of an aged woman who was dreadfully burnt from having fallen into the fire; she was living with some free blacks who had taken her in out of compassion. On inquiry, we found that *nearly all* the coloured persons who had solicited aid, were *slaves*, who being no longer able to work for their "owners," were thus inhumanly cast out in their sickness and old age, and must have perished, but for the kindness of their friends.

"'I was once visiting a sick slave in whose spiritual welfare peculiar circumstances had led me to be deeply interested. I knew that she had been early seduced from the path of virtue, as nearly all the female slaves are. I knew also that her mistress, though a professor of religion, had never taught her a single precept of Christianity, yet that she had had her severely punished for this departure from them, and that the poor girl was then ill of an incurable disease, occasioned partly by her own misconduct, and partly by the cruel treatment she had received, in a situation that called for tenderness and care. Her heart seemed truly touched with repentance for her sins, and she was inquiring, 'What shall I do to be saved?' I was sitting by her as she lay on the floor upon a blanket, and was trying to establish her trembling spirit in the fulness of Jesus, when I heard the voice of her mistress in loud and angry tones, as she approached the door. I read in the countenance of the prostrate sufferer, the terror which she felt at the prospect of seeing her mistress. I knew my presence would be very unwelcome, but stayed, hoping that it might restrain, in some measure, the passions of the mistress. In this, however, I was mistaken; she passed me without apparently observing that I was there, and seated herself on the other side of the sick slave. She made no inquiry how she was, but in a tone of anger commenced a tirade of abuse, violently reproaching her with her past misconduct, and telling her in the most unfeeling manner, that eternal destruction awaited her. No word of kindness escaped her. What had then roused her temper I do not know. She continued in this strain several minutes, when I attempted to soften her by remarking, that———was very ill, and she ought not thus to torment her, and that I believed Jesus had granted her forgiveness. But I might as well have tried to stop the tempest in its career, as to calm the infuriated passions nurtured by the exercise of arbitrary power. She looked at me with ineffable scorn, and continued to pour forth a torrent of abuse and reproach. Her helpless victim listened in terrified silence, until nature could endure no more, when she uttered a wild shriek, and casting on her tormentor a look of unutterable agony, exclaimed, 'Oh, mistress, I am dying!' This appeal arrested her attention, and she soon left the room, but in the same

spirit with which she entered it. The girl survived but a few days, and, I believe, saw her mistress *no more.*'

"Mr. GEORGE A. AVERY, an elder of a presbyterian church in Rochester, N. Y., who lived some years in Virginia, gives the following:

"'The manner of treating the sick slaves, and especially in *chronic* cases, was to my mind peculiarly revolting. My opportunities for observation in this department were better than in, perhaps, any other, as the friend under whose direction I commenced my medical studies enjoyed a high reputation as a *surgeon.* I rode considerably with him in his practice, and assisted in the surgical operations and dressings from time to time. In confirmed cases of disease, it was common for the master to place the subject under the care of a physician or surgeon, at whose expense the patient should be kept, and if death ensued to the patient, or the disease was not cured, no compensation was to be made, but if cured a bonus of one, two, or three-hundred dollars was to be given. No provision was made against the *barbarity* or *neglect* of the physician, &c. I have seen *fifteen or twenty of these helpless sufferers* crowded together in the true spirit of slaveholding inhumanity, like the "brutes that perish," and driven from time to time *like* brutes into a common yard, where they had to suffer any and every operation and experiment, which interest, caprice, or professional curiosity might prompt, —unrestrained by law, public sentiment, or the claims of common humanity.'

"Rev. William T. Allan, son of Rev. Dr. Allan, a slaveholder, of Huntsville, Alabama, says in a letter now before us:

"'Colonel Robert H. Watkins, of Laurence county, Alabama, who owned about three hundred slaves, after employing a physician among them for some time, ceased to do so, alleging as the reason, that it was cheaper to lose a few negroes every year, than to pay a physician. This Colonal Watkins was a Presidential elector in 1836.'

"A. A. Guthrie, Esq., elder in the Presbyterian church at Putnam, Muskingum county, Ohio, furnishes the testimony which follows.

"'A near female friend of mine in company with another young lady, in attempting to visit a sick woman on Washington's Bottom, Wood county, Virginia, missed the way, and stopping to ask directions of a group of colored children on the outskirts of the plantation of Francis Keen, sen., they were told to ask 'aunty, in the house.' On entering the hut, says my informant, I beheld such a sight as I hope never to see again; its sole occupant was a female slave of the said Keen—her whole wearing apparel consisted of a frock, made of the coarsest tow cloth, and so scanty, that it could not have been made more tight around her person. In the hut there was neither table, chair, nor chest—a stool and a rude

nxture in one corner, were all its furniture. On this last were a little straw and a few old remnants of what had been bedding—all exceedingly filthy.

"'The woman thus situated *had been for more than a day in travail, without any assistance, any nurse, or any kind of proper provision*—during the night she said some fellow slave woman would stay with her, and the aforesaid children through the day. From a woman who was a slave of Keen's at the same time, my informant learned, that this poor woman suffered for three days, and then died—when too late to save her life her master sent assistance. It was understood to be a rule of his, to neglect his women entirely in such times of trial, unless they previously came and informed him, and asked for aid.'"

"Rev. Phineas Smith, of Centreville, N. Y., who has resided four years at the south, says: 'Often when the slaves are sick, their accustomed toil is exacted from them. Physicians are rarely called for their benefit.'

"Rev. Horace Moulton, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church in Marlborough, Mass., who resided a number of years in Georgia, says:

"'Another dark side of slavery is the neglect of the *aged* and *sick*. Many, when sick, are suspected by their masters of *feigning* sickness, and are therefore whipped out to work after disease has got fast hold of them; when the masters learn that they are really sick, they are in many instances left alone in their cabins during work hours; not a few of the slaves are left to die without having one friend to wipe off the sweat of death. When the slaves are sick, the masters do not, as a general thing, employ physicians, but "doctor" them, themselves, and their mode of practice in almost all cases is to bleed and give salts. When women are confined they have no physician, but are committed to the care of slave midwives. Slaves complain very little when sick, when they die they are frequently buried at night without much ceremony, and in many instances without any; their coffins are made by nailing together rough boards, frequently with their feet sticking out at the end, and sometimes they are put into the ground without a coffin or box of any kind.'"

7. The slaves suffer from the outrages of lust. The misery endured from this one source must be inconceivable. It is moreover an evil to which every slave husband, father, and brother is subject. There is not a wife, daughter, mother, or sister who is not completely at the disposal of the master, the master's sons, and the overseer.

No husband can feel the least assurance that his own bed will remain undefiled. The parents have no guarantee, that their

...ters will reach the earliest years of womanhood, without ...lling victims to prowling lust.

Testimony on this point is quite superfluous.

8. The slaves suffer from innumerable inflictions. In the planting states *torture is the condition of labor.* As the day brings its toil so it brings its bloody inflictions; from early dawn till dark the sound of the lash is heard goading the wretches to their reluctant task. Nor is avarice the only torturer. Anger also makes its furious onsets, revenge deals its blows, passion wields its scorpion lash, wounded pride plies its fiery torments, tyranny inflicts its gaping wounds, and lust riots its unhallowed tramplings. Every passion, set on fire of hell, rushes upon the defenceless victim.

The following extracts from "American Slavery as it is" constitute but a small portion of the testimony and facts contained in that work exhibiting the tortures inflicted upon slaves.

"FLOGGINGS.

"The slaves are terribly lacerated with whips, paddles, &c.; red pepper and salt are rubbed into their mangled flesh; hot brine and turpentine are poured into their gashes; and innumerable other tortures inflicted upon them.

"We will, in the first place, prove by a cloud of witnesses, that the slaves are whipped with such inhuman severity as to lacerate and mangle their flesh in the most shocking manner, leaving permanent scars and ridges; after establishing this, we will present a mass of testimony, concerning a great variety of other tortures. The testimony, for the most part, will be that of the slaveholders themselves, and in their own chosen words. A large portion of it will be taken from the advertisements which they have published in their own newspapers, describing, by the scars on their bodies made by the whip, their own runaway slaves. To copy these advertisements *entire* would require a great amount of space, and flood the reader with a vast mass of matter irrelevant to the *point* before us; we shall therefore insert only so much of each as will intelligibly set forth the precise point under consideration. In the column under the word "witnesses," will be found the name of the individual, who signs the advertisement, or for whom it is signed, with his or her place of residence, and the name and date of the paper, in which it appeared, and generally the name of the place where it is published. Opposite the name of each witness, will be an extract from the advertisement, containing his or her testimony.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. D. Judd, jailor, Davidson Co., Tennessee, in the "Nashville Banner," Dec. 10th, 1838.	"Committed to jail as a runaway, a negro woman named Martha, 17 or 18 years of age, has *numerous scars of the whip* on her back."
Mr, Robert Nicoll, Dauphin st. between Emmanuel and Conception sts. Mobile, Alabama, in the "Mobile Commercial Advertiser."	"Ten dollars reward for my woman Siby, *very much scarred about the neck and ears by whipping.*"
Mr. Bryant Johnson, Fort Valley, Houston Co., Georgia, in the "Standard of Union," Milledgeville Ga. Oct. 2, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro woman, named Maria, *some cars on her back occasioned by the whip.*"
Mr. James T. De Jarnett, Vernon, Autauga Co., Alabama, in the "Pensacola Gazette," July 14, 1838.	"Stolen a negro woman named Celia. On examining her back you will find *marks caused by the whip.*"
Maurice Y. Garcia, Sheriff of the County of Jefferson, La., in the "New Orleans Bee," August 14, 1838.	"Lodged in jail, a mulatto boy, *having large marks of the whip*, on his shoulders and other parts of his body."
R. J. Bland, Sheriff of Claiborne Co, Miss., in the "Charleston (S. C.) Courier" August, 28. 1838.	"Was committed a negro boy, named Tom, is *much marked with the whip.*"
Mr. James Noe, Red River Landing, La., in the "Sentinel," Vicksburg, Miss., August 22, 1837.	"Ranaway, a negro fellow named Dick—has *many scars* on his back from being *whipped.*"
William Craze, jailor, Alexandria, La. in the "Planter's Intelligencer," Sept, 26, 1838.	"Committed to jail, a negro slave—his back is *very badly scarred.*"
John A. Rowland, jailor, Lumberton, North Carolina, in the "Fayetteville (N. C.) Observer," June 20, 1838.	"Committed, a mulatto fellow—his back shows *lasting impressions of the whip*, and leaves no doubt of his being A SLAVE."
J. K. Roberts, sheriff, Blount county, Ala., in the Huntsville Democrat," Dec. 9, 1838.	"Committed to jail, a negro man—his back *much marked* by the whip."
Mr. H. Varillat, No. 23, Girod street, New Orleans—in the "Commercial Bulletin," August 27, 1838.	"Ranaway, the Negro slave named Jupiter—has a *fresh mark* of a cowskin on each one of his cheeks."
Mr. Cornelius D. Tolin, Augusta, Ga., in the "Chronicle and Sentinel," Oct. 18, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man named Johnson—he has a *great many marks of the whip* on his back."
W. H. Brasseale, sheriff, Blount county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," June 9, 1838.	"Committed to jail, a negro slave named James—*much scarred* with a whip on his back."
Mr. Robert Beasly, Macon, Ga., in the "Georgia Messenger," July 27, 1837.	"Ranaway, my man Fountain—he is marked *on the back with the whip.*"
Mr. John Wotton, Rockville, Montgomery county, Maryland, in the "Baltimore Republican," Jan. 13, 1838.	"Ranaway, Bill—has *several* LARGE SCARS on his back from a *severe* whipping in *early* life."
D. S. Bennett, sheriff, Natchitoches, La., in the "Herald," July 21, 1838.	"Committed to jail, a negro boy who calls himself Joe—said negro bears *marks of the whip.*"
Messrs. C. C. Whitehead, and R. A. Evans, Marion, Georgia, in the Milledgeville (Ga.) "Standard of Union," June 26, 1838.	"Ranaway, negro fellow John—from being whipped, has *scars on his back, arms, and thighs.*"
"Mr Samuel Stewart, Greensboro', Ala., in the "Southern Advocate," Huntsville, Jan. 6, 1838.	"Ranaway a boy named Jim—with the marks of the *whip* on the small of the back, reaching round to the flank."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. John Walker, No. 6, Banks' Arcade, New Orleans, in the "Bulletin," August 11, 1838.	"Ranaway, the mulatto boy Quash—*considerably marked* on the back and other places with the lash.
Mr. Jesse Beene, Cahawba, Ala., in the "State Intelligencer," Tuskaloosa, Dec. 25, 1837	"Ranaway, my negro man Billy—he has the *marks of the* whip."
Mr. John Turner, Thomaston, Upson county, Georgia—in the "Standard of Union," Milledgeville, June 26, 1838.	"Left, my negro man named George—has *marks of the whip very plain* on his thighs."
James Derrah, deputy sheriff, Claiborne county, Mi., in the "Port Gibson Correspondent," April 15, 1837.	"Committed to jail, negro man Toy—he has been *badly whipped.*"
S. B. Murphy, sheriff, Wilkinson county, Georgia—in the Milledgeville "Journal," May 15, 1838.	"Brought to jail, a negro man named George—he has a *great many scars from the lash.*"
Mr. L. E. Cooner, Branchville, Orangeburgh District, South Carolina—in the Macon "Messenger," May 25, 1837.	"One hundred dollars reward, for my negro Glasgow, and Kate, his wife. Glasgow is 24 years old—has *marks of the whip* on his back. Kate is 26—has a *scar* on her cheek, *and several marks of a whip.*"
John H. Hand, jailor, parish of West Feliciana, La., in the "St. Francisville journal," July 6, 1837.	"Committed to jail, a negro boy named John, about 17 years old—his back *badly marked* with the *whip,* his upper lip and chin *severely bruised.*"

"The preceding are extracts from advertisements published in southern papers, mostly in the year 1838. They are the mere *samples* of hundreds of similar ones published during the same period."

"II. TORTURES, BY IRON COLLARS, CHAINS, FETTERS, HANDCUFFS, &c.

"The slaves are often tortured by iron collars, with long prongs or 'horns,' and sometimes bells attached to them—they are made to wear chains, handcuffs, fetters, iron clogs, bars, rings, and bands of iron upon their limbs, iron masks upon their faces, iron gags in their mouths, &c.

"In proof of this, we give the testimony of slaveholders themselves, under their own names; it will be mostly in the form of extracts from their own advertisements, in southern newspapers, in which, describing their runaway slaves, they specify the iron collars, handcuffs, chains, fetters, &c., which they wore upon their necks, wrists, ankles, and other parts of their bodies. To publish the *whole* of each advertisement, would needlessly occupy space and tax the reader; we shall consequently, as heretofore, give merely the name of the advertiser, the name and date of the newspaper containing the advertisement, with the place of publication, and only so much of the advertisement as will give the particular *fact,* proving the truth of the assertion contained in the *general head.*

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
William Toler, Sheriff of Simpson county, Mississippi, in the "Southern Sun," Jackson, Mississippi, September 22, 1838.	"Was committed to jail, a yellow boy named Jim—had on a *large lock chain around his neck.*"
Mr. James R. Green, in the "Beacon," Greensborough, Alabama, August 23, 1838.	"Ranaway a negro man named Squire—had on a *chain locked with a houselock, around his neck.*"

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. Hazlet Loflano, in the "Spectator," Staunton, Virginia, Sept. 27, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro named David—with some *iron hobbles around each ankle.*"
Mr. T. Enggy, New Orleans, Gallatin Street, between Hospital and Barracks, N. O. "Bee," Oct. 27, 1837.	"Ranaway, negress Caroline—had on a *collar with one prong turned down.*"
Mr. John Henderson, Washington, county, Mi., in the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," August 29, 1838.	"Ranaway, the black woman Betsy—had an *iron bar on her right leg.*"
William Dyer, sheriff, Claiborne, Louisiana, in the "Herald," Natchitoches, (La.) July 26, 1837.	"Was committed to jail, a negro named Ambrose —has a *ring of iron around his neck.*"
Mr. Owen Cooke, "Mary street, between Common and Jackson streets," New Orleans, in the N. O. "Bee," September 12, 1837.	"Ranaway, my slave Amos, had *a chain* attached to one of his legs."
H. W. Rice, sheriff, Colleton district, South Carolina, in the "Charleston Mercury," September 1, 1838.	Committed to jail, a negro named Patrick, about forty-five years old, and is *handcuffed.*"
W. P. Reeves, jailor, Shelby county, Tennessee, in the "Memphis Enquirer," June 17, 1837,	"Committed to jail, a negro—had on his right leg an *iron band* with one link of a chain."
Mr. Francis Durett, Lexington, Lauderdale county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," August 29, 1837.	"Ranaway, a negro man named Charles—had on a *drawing chain,* fastened around his ankle with a house lock."
Mr. A. Murat, Baton Rouge, in the New Orleans "Bee," June 20, 1837.	"Ranaway, the negro Manuel, *much marked with irons.*"
Mr. Jordan Abbott, in the "Huntsville Democrat," Nov. 17, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro boy named Daniel, about nineteen years old, and was *handcuffed.*"
Mr. J. Macoin, No. 177 Ann street, New Orleans, in the "Bee," August 11, 1838.	"Ranaway, the negress Fanny—had on an *iron band about her neck.*"
Menard Brothers, parish of Bernard, Louisiana, in the N. O. "Bee," August 18, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro named John—having an *iron around his right foot.*"
Messrs. J. L. and W. H. Bolton, Shelby county, Tennessee, in the "Memphis Enquirer," June 7, 1837.	"Absconded, a coloured boy named Peter—had an *iron round his neck* when he went away."
H. Gridly, sheriff of Adam's county, Mi., in the "Memphis (Tenn.) Times," September, 1834.	"Was committed to jail, a negro boy—had on a *large neck iron* with a *huge pair of horns and a large bar or band of iron* on his left leg."
Mr. Lambre, in the "Natchitoches (La.) Herald," March 29, 1837.	"Ranaway, the Negro boy Teams—he had on his neck *an iron collar.*"
Mr. Ferdinand Lemos, New Orleans, in the "Bee," January 29, 1838.	"Ranaway, the negro George—he had on his *neck an iron collar,* the branches of which had been taken off."
Mr. T. J. De Yampert, merchant, Mobile, Alabama, of the firm of De Yampert, King & Co., in the "Mobile Chronicle," June 15, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro boy about *twelve* years old—had round his neck *a chain dog-collar,* with 'De Yampert' engraved on it."
J. H. Hand, jailor, St. Francisville, La. in the "Louisiana Chronicle," July 26, 1837.	"Committed to jail, slave John—had several scars on his wrists, occasioned, as he says, by *handcuffs.*"
Mr. Charles Curcner, New Orleans, in the "Bee," July 2, 1838.	"Ranaway, the negro, Hown—has a ring of iron on his left foot. Also, Grisee, his *wife,* having a *ring and chain on the left leg.*"

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. P. T. Manning, Huntsville, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Advocate," Oct. 23, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro boy named James—said boy was *ironed* when he left me."
Mr. William L. Lambeth, Lynchburg, Virginia, in the "Moulton [Ala.] Whig," January 30, 1836.	"Ranaway, Jim—had on when he escaped a pair of *chain handcuffs*."
Mr. D. F. Guex, Secretary of the Steam Cotton press Company, New Orleans, in the "Commercial Bulletin," May 27, 1837.	"Ranaway, Edmund Coleman—it is supposed he must have *iron shackles on his ankles*."
Mr. Francis Duret, Lexington, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Democrat," March 8, 1838.	"Ranaway————, a mulatto—had on when he left, a *pair of handcuffs* and a *pair of drawing chains*."
B. W. Hodges, jailor, Pike county, Alabama, in the "Montgomery Advertiser," Sept. 29, 1837.	"Committed to jail, a man who calls his name John—he has a *clog of iron on his right foot which will weigh four or five pounds*."
P. Bayhi, captain of police, in the N. O. "Bee," June 9, 1838.	"Detained at the police jail, the negro wench Myra—has several marks of *lashing*, and has *irons on her feet*."
Mr. Charles Kernin, parish of Jefferson, Louisiana, in the N. O. "Bee," August 11, 1837.	"Ranaway, Betsey—when she left she had on her *neck an iron collar*."

"The foregoing advertisements are sufficient for our purpose, scores of similar ones may be gathered from the newspapers of the slave states every month."

"III. BRANDINGS, MAIMINGS, GUN-SHOT WOUNDS, &c.

"The slaves are often branded with hot irons, pursued with fire arms and *shot*, hunted with dogs and torn by them, shockingly maimed with knives, dirks, &c.; have their ears cut off, their eyes knocked out, their bones dislocated and broken with bludgeons, their fingers and toes cut off, their faces and other parts of their persons disfigured with scars and gashes, *besides* those made with the lash. We shall adopt, under this head, the same course as that pursued under previous ones,—first give the testimony of the slaveholders themselves, to the mutilations, &c. by copying their own graphic descriptions of them, in advertisements published under their own names, and in newspapers published in the slave states, and, generally, in their own immediate vicinity. We shall, as heretofore, insert only so much of each advertisement as will be necessary to make the point intelligible.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. Micajah Ricks, Nash County, North Carolina, in the Raleigh "Standard," July 18, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro woman and two children; a few days before she went off, *I burnt her with a hot iron*, on the left side of her face, *I tried to make the letter M*."
Mr. Asa B. Metcalf, Kingston, Adams Co. Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," June 15, 1832.	"Ranaway Mary, a black woman, has a *scar* on her back and right arm near the shoulder, *caused by a rifle ball*."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. William Overstreet, Benton, Yazoo Co. Mi. in the "Lexington (Kentucky) Observer," July 22, 1838.	"Ranaway a negro man named Henry, *his left eye out*, some scars from a *dirk* on and under his left arm, and *much scarred* with the whip."
Mr. R. P. Carney, Clark Co. Ala., in the Mobile Register, Dec. 22, 1832.	One hundred dollars reward for a negro fellow Pompey, 40 years old, he is *branded* on the *left jaw*.
Mr. J. Guyler, Savannah, Georgia, in the "Republican," April 12, 1837.	"Ranaway Laman, an old negro man, grey, has *only one eye*."
J. A. Brown, jailor, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," Jan. 12, 1837.	"Committed to jail a negro man, has *no toes* on his left foot."
Mr. J. Scrivener, Herring Bay, Anne Arundel Co. Maryland, in the Annapolis Republican, April 18, 1837.	"Ranaway negro man Elijah, has a scar on his left cheek, apparently occasioned by *a shot*."
Madame Burvant, corner of Chartres and Toulouse streets, New Orleans, in the "Bee," Dec. 21, 1838.	"Ranaway a negro woman named Rachel, has *lost all her toes* except the large one."
Mr. O. W. Lains, in the "Helena (Ark.) Journal," June 1, 1833.	"Ranaway Sam, he was *shot* a short time since, through the hand, and has *several shots in his left arm and side*."
Mr. R. W. Sizer, in the "Grand Gulf, [Mi.] Advertiser," July 8, 1837.	"Ranaway my negro man Dennis, said negro has been *shot* in the left arm between the shoulders and elbow, which has paralyzed the left hand."
Mr. Nicholas Edmunds in the "Petersburgh [Va.] Intelligencer," May 22, 1838.	"Ranaway my negro man named Simon, he *has been shot badly* in his back and right arm."
Mr. J. Bishop, Bishopville, Sumpter District, South Carolina, in the "Camden [S. C.] Journal," March 4, 1837.	"Ranaway, a negro named Arthur; has a considerable *scar* across his *breast* and *each arm*, made by a knife; loves to talk much of the goodness of God."
Mr. S. Neyle, Little Ogeechee, Georgia, in the "Savannah Republican," July 3, 1837.	"Ranaway, George; he has a *sword cut*, lately received, on his left arm."
Mrs. Sarah Walsh, Mobile, Ala., in the "Georgia Journal," March 27, 1837.	"Twenty-five dollars reward for my man Isaac; he has a scar on his forehead, caused by a *blow*, and one on his back, made by *a shot from a pistol*."
Mr. J. P. Ashford, Adams Co. Mi., in the "Natchez Courier," August 24, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro girl called Mary; has a small scar over her eye, a *good many teeth missing*, the letter A. *is branded on her cheek and forehead*."
"Mr. Ely Townsend, Pike Co. Ala., in the "Pensacola Gazette," Sept. 16, 1837.	"Ranaway, negro Ben; has a scar on his right hand, his thumb and fore finger being injured by being *shot* last fall, a part of *the bone came out*; he has also one or two *large scars* on his back and hips."
S. B. Murphy, jailor, Irvington, Ga., in the "Milledgeville Journal," May 29, 1838.	"Committed, a negro man; is *very badly shot in the right side* and right hand."
M. A. Luminais, parish of St. John, Louisiana, in the New Orleans "Bee," March 3, 1838.	"Detained at the jail, a mulatto named Tom; has a *scar* on the right cheek, and appears to have been *burned with powder* on the face."
Mr. Isaac Johnson, Pulaski Co., Georgia, in the "Milledgeville Journal," June 19, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man named Ned; *three of his fingers* are drawn into the palm of his hand by a *cut*, has a *scar* on the back of his neck, nearly half round, done by a *knife*."
Mr. Thomas Hudnall, Madison Co., Mi., in the "Vicksburg Register," Sept. 5, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro named Hambleton, *limps* on his left foot where he was *shot* a few weeks ago, while runaway."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
M. John McMurrain, Columbus, Ga., in the "Southern Sun," August 7, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro boy named Mose; he has a *wound* in the right shoulder near the back bone, which was occasioned by *a rifle shot*."
Mr. Moses Orme, Annapolis, Maryland, in the "Annapolis Republican," June 20, 1837.	"Ranaway, my negro man Bill; he has a *fresh wound in his head* above his ear."
William Strickland, jailor, Kershaw District, S. C., in the "Camden [S. C.] Courier," July 8, 1837.	"Committed to jail, a negro, says his name is Cuffee; he is lame in one knee, occasioned *by a shot*."
The Editor of the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," Dec. 7, 1838.	"Ranaway, Joshua; his thumb is off of his left hand."
Mr. William Bateman, in the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," Dec. 7, 1838.	"Ranaway, William; *scar* over his left eye, one between his eyebrows, one on his breast, and his right leg has been *broken*."
Mr. B. G. Simmons, in the "Southern Argus," May 30, 1837.	"Ranaway, Mark; his left arm has been *broken*."
Mr. James Artop, in the "Macon [Ga.] Messenger," May 25, 1837.	"Ranaway, Caleb, 50 years old, has an awkward gait, occasioned by his being *shot* in the thigh."
J. L. Jolley, sheriff of Clinton, Co. Mi., in the "Clinton Gazette," July 23, 1836.	"Was committed to jail, a negro man, says his name is Josiah; his back very much scarred by the whip, and *branded on the thigh and hips, in three or four places*, thus (J. M.), the *rim of his right ear has been bit or cut off*."
Mr. Thomas Ledwith, Jacksonville, East Florida, in the "Charleston [S. C.] Courier," September 1, 1838.	"Fifty dollars reward, for my fellow Edward; he has a *scar* on the corner of his mouth, two *cuts* on and under his arm, and the *letter E. on his arm*."
Mr. Joseph James, sen., Pleasant Ridge, Paulding Co., Ga., in the "Milledgeville Union," Nov. 7, 1837.	"Ranaway, negro boy Ellic; has a *scar* on one of his arms *from the bite of a dog*."
Mr. W. Riley, Orangeburg District, South Carolina, in the "Columbia [S. C.] Telescope," Nov. 11, 1837.	"Ranaway, a negro man; has a *scar* on the ankle, produced by a *burn*, and a *mark on his arm* resembling the letter S."
Mr. Samuel Mason, Warren Co., Mi., in the "Vicksburg Register," July 18, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man named Allen; he has a scar on his breast, also a scar under the left eye, and has *two buck shot in his right arm*."
Mr. F. L. C. Edwards, in the "Southern Telegraph," Sept. 25, 1837.	"Ranaway from the plantation of James Surgette, the following negroes: Randal, *has one ear cropped*; Bob, *has lost one eye*; Kentucky Tom, *has one jaw broken*."
Mr. Stephen M. Jackson, in the "Vicksburg Register," March 10, 1837.	"Ranaway, Anthony, one of his *ears cut off*, and his left hand cut with an axe."
Philip Homerton, deputy sheriff of Halifax Co., Virginia, Jan. 1837.	"Was committed, a negro man; has a *scar* on his right side by a burn, one on his knee, and one on the calf of his leg *by the bite of a dog*."
Stearns & Co., No. 28, New Levee, New Orleans, in the "Bee," March 22, 1837.	"Absconded, the mulatto boy Tom, his fingers *scarred* on his right hand, and has a *scar* on his right cheek."
Mr. John W. Walton, Greensboro', Ala., in the "Alabama Beacon," Dec. 13, 1838.	"Ranaway, my black boy Frazier, with a *scar* below and one above his right ear."
Mr. R. Furman, Charleston, S. C., in the "Charleston Mercury," Jan. 12, 1839.	"Ranaway, Dick, about 19, has lost the small toe of one foot."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. John Tart, sen., in the "Fayetteville [N. C.] Observer," Dec. 26, 1838.	"Stolen, a mulatto boy, *ten* years old: he has a *scar* over his eye which was made by an axe."
Mr. Richd. Overstreet, Brook Neal, Campbell Co., Virginia, in the "Danville [Va.] Reporter," Dec. 21, 1838.	"Absconded, my negro man Coleman; has a *very large scar* on one of his legs, also one on *each* arm, by a burn, and his heels have been frosted."
The editor of the New Orleans "Bee," in that paper, August 27, 1837.	"Fifty dollars reward, for the negro Jim Blake; has a *piece cut out of each ear*, and the middle finger of the left hand *cut off* to the second joint."
Mr. Bryant Johnson, Fort Valley, Houston county, Georgia. in the Milledgeville "Union," Oct. 2, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro woman named Maria; has a scar on one side of her cheek, by a *cut*—some scars on her back."
Mr. Lemuel Miles, Steen's Creek, Rankin county, Mi., in the "Southern Sun," Sept. 22, 1838.	"Ranaway, Gabriel; has *two or three scars across his neck* made with a knife."
Mr. Bezou, New Orleans, in the "Bee," May 23, 1838.	"Ranaway, the mulatto wench Mary—has a *cut on the left arm, a scar on the shoulder, and two upper teeth missing*."
Mr. James Kimborough, Memphis, Tenn. in the "Memphis Enquirer," July 13, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro boy named Jerry; has a *scar* on his right cheek two inches long, from the cut of a knife."
Mr. Robert Beasley, Macon, Georgia, in the "Georgia Messenger," July 27, 1837.	"Ranaway, my man Fountain; has *holes in his ears*, a *scar* on the right side of his forehead—has been *shot in the hind parts of his legs*—is marked on the back with the whip."
Mr. B. G. Barrer, St. Louis, Missouri, in the "Republican," Sept. 6, 1837.	"Ranaway, a negro man named Jarrett; has a *scar* on the under part of one of his arms, occasioned by a wound from a knife."
Mr. John D. Turner, near Norfolk, Virginia, in the "Norfolk Herald," June 27, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro by the name of Joshua; he has a cut across one of his ears, which he will conceal as much as possible; one of his ankles is *enlarged by an ulcer*."
Mr. William Stansell, Picksville, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," August 29, 1837.	"Ranaway, negro boy Harper; has a *scar* on one of his hips in the form of a G."
Hon. Ambrose H. Sevier, senator in congress from Arkansas, in the "Vicksburg Register," of Oct. 13.	"Ranaway, Bob, a slave; has a *scar across his breast*, another on the *right side of his head*;—his back is *much scarred* with the whip."
Mr. R. A. Greene, Milledgeville, Georgia, in the "Macon Messenger," July 27, 1837.	"Two hundred and fifty dollars reward, for my negro man Jim; he is much marked with *shot* in his right thigh; the shot entered on the outside, half way between the hip and the knee joints."
Benjamin Russel, deputy sheriff, Bibb county, Ga., in the "Macon Telegraph," Dec. 25, 1837.	"Brought to jail, John—*left ear cropt*."
Hon H. Hitchcock, Mobile, judge of the Supreme Court, in the "Commercial Register," Oct. 27, 1837.	"Ranaway, the slave Ellis; he has *lost one of his ears*."
Mrs. Elizabeth L. Carter, near Groveton, Prince William county, Virginia, in the "National Intelligencer," Washington, D. C., June 10, 1837.	"Ranaway, a negro man, Moses; he has *lost a part* of one of his ears."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. William D. Buckels, Natchez, Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," July 28, 1838.	"Taken up, a negro man—is *very much scarred* about the face and body, and has the left *ear bit off*."
Mr. Walter R. English, Monroe county, Ala. in the "Mobile Chronicle," Sept. 2, 1837.	"Ranaway, my slave Lewis; he has lost a *piece of one ear*, and a *part of one of his fingers*, a *part of one of his toes* is also lost."
Mr. James Saunders, Grany Spring, Hawkins county, Tenn, in the "Knoxville Register," June 9, 1838.	"Ranaway, a black girl named Mary; has a *scar* on her cheek, and the end of one of her toes *cut off*."
Mr. John Jenkins, St. Joseph's, Florida, captain of the steamboat Ellen, "Apalachicola Gazette," June 7, 1838.	Ranaway, the negro boy Cæsar; he has *but one eye*."
Mr. Peter Hanson, Lafayette city, La., in the New Orleans "Bee," July 28, 1838.	"Ranaway, the negress Martha; she has *lost her right eye*."
Mr. Orren Ellis, Georgeville, Mi. in the "North Alabamian," Sept. 15, 1837.	"Ranaway, George; has had the lower part of *one of his ears bit off*."
Mr. Zadock Sawyer, Cuthbert, Randolph county, Georgia, in the "Milledgeville Union," Oct. 9, 1838.	"Ranaway, my negro Tom—has a piece *bit off the top of his right ear*, and his little finger is *stiff*."
Mr. Abraham Gray, Mount Morino, Pike county, Ga., in the "Milledgeville Union," Oct. 9, 1838.	"Ranaway, my mulatto woman Judy—she has had her *right arm broke*."
S. B. Tuston, jailor, Adams county, Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," June 15, 1838.	"Was committed to jail, a negro man named Bill —has had the *thumb of his left hand split*."
Mr. Joshua Antrim, Nineveh, Warren county, Virginia, in the "Winchester Virginian," July 11, 1837.	"Ranaway, a mulatto man named Joe; his fingers on the left hand are *partly amputated*."
J. B. Randall, jailor, Marietta, Cobb county, Ga., in the "Southern Recorder," Nov. 6, 1838.	"Lodged in jail—a negro man named Jupiter; is very *lame in his left hip*, so that he can hardly walk —has lost a joint of the middle finger of his left hand."
Mr. John N. Dillahunty, Woodville, Mi., in the "N. O. Commercial Bulletin" July 21, 1837.	"Ranaway, Bill—has a scar over one eye, also one on his leg, from *the bite of a dog*—has a *burn on his buttock, from a piece of hot iron, in shape of a T*."
William K. Ratcliffe, sheriff, Franklin county, Mi. in the "Natchez Free Trader," Aug. 23, 1838.	"Committed to jail, a negro named Mike—*his left ear off*."
Mr. Preston Halley, Barnwell, South Carolina, in the "Augusta [Ga.] Chronicle," July 27, 1838.	"Ranaway, my negro man Levi; his left hand has been *burnt*, and I think the end of his fore finger *is off*."
Mr. Welcome H. Robbins, St. Charles county, Mo. in the "St. Louis Republican," June 30, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro named Washington; has *lost a part of his middle finger and the end of his little finger*."
G. Gourdon & Co. druggists, corner of Rampart and Hospital streets, New Orleans, in the "Commercial Bulletin," Sept. 18, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro named David Drier; has *two toes cut*."
Mr. William Brown, in the "Grand Gulf Advertiser," August 29, 1838.	"Ranaway, Edmund; has a *scar* on his right temple, and under his right eye, and *holes in both ears*."
Mr. James McDonnell, Talbot county, Georgia, in the "Columbus Enquirer," Jan. 18, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro boy *twelve or thirteen* years old; has a scar on his left cheek *from the bite of a dog*."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. John W. Cherry, Marengo county, Ala. in the "Mobile Register," June 15, 1838.	"Fifty dollars reward, for my negro man John; he has a considerable scar on his *throat*, done with a *knife*."
Mr. Thos. Brown, Roane co. Tenn. in the "Knoxville Register," Sept, 12, 1838.	"Twenty-five dollars reward, for my man John; the *tip* of his nose is *bit off*."
Messrs. Taylor, Lawton & Co. Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," Nov. 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro fellow called Hover; has a *cut* above the right eye."
Mr. Louis Schmidt, Faubourg, Sivaudais, La. in the New Orleans "Bee," Sept. 5, 1837.	"Ranaway, the negro man Hardy; has a *scar* on the upper lip, and another made with a *knife* on his neck."
W. M. Whitehead, Natchez, in the "New Orleans Bulletin," July 21, 1837.	"Ranaway, Henry; has half of one *ear bit off*."
Mr. Conrad Salvo, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," August 10, 1837.	"Ranaway, my negro man Jacob; he has but *one eye*."
William Baker, jailor, Shelby county, Ala., in the "Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser" Oct. 5, 1838.	"Committed to jail, Ben; his *left thumb off* at the first joint."
Mr. S. N. Hite, Camp-street, New Orleans, in the "Bee," Feb. 19, 1838.	"Twenty-five dollars reward, for the negro slave Sally; walks as though *crippled* in the back."
Mr. Stephen M. Richards, Whitesburg, Madison county, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Democrat," Sept. 8, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man named Dick—has a *little finger off* the right hand."
Mr. A. Brose, parish of St. Charles, La., in the "New Orleans Bee," Feb. 19, 1838.	"Ranaway, the negro Patrick; has his little finger of the right hand *cut close to the hand*."
Mr. Needham Whitefield, Aberdeen, Mi. in the "Memphis (Tenn.) Enquirer," June 15, 1838.	"Ranaway, Joe Dennis; has a small *notch* in one of his ears."
Col. M. J. Keith, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," Nov. 27, 1837.	"Ranaway, Dick—has *lost the little toe* of one of his feet."
Mr. R. Lancette, Haywood, North Carolina, in the "Raleigh Register," April 30, 1838.	"Escaped, my negro man Eaton—his *little finger* of the right hand has been *broke*."
Mr. G. C. Richardson, Owen Station, Mo., in the St. Louis "Republican," May 5, 1838.	"Ranaway, my negro man named Top—has had one of his *legs broken*."
Mr. E. Han, La Grange, Fayette county, Tenn. in the "Gallatin Union," June 23, 1837.	"Ranaway, negro boy Jack—has a small *crop out of his left ear*."
D. Herring, warden of Baltimore city jail, in the "Maryland er," Oct. 6, 1837.	"Was committed to jail, a negro man; has *two scars* on his forehead, and the *top of his left ear cut off*."
Mr. James Marks, near Natchitoches, La. in the "Natchitoches Herald," July 21, 1838.	"Stolen, a negro man named Winter; has a *notch* cut out of the left ear, and the mark of *four or five buck shot* on his legs."
Mr. James Barr, Amelia Court House, Virginia. in the "Norfolk Herald," Sept. 12, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man; *scar back of his left eye*, as if from the *cut* of a knife."
Mr. Isaac Michell, Wilkinson county, Georgia, in the "Augusta Chronicle," Sept. 21, 1837.	"Ranaway, negro man Buck; has a very *plain mark* under his ear on his jaw, about the size of a dollar, having been *inflicted by a knife*."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. P. Bayhi, captain of the police, Suburb Washington, third municipality, New Orleans, in the "Bee," Oct. 13, 1837.	"Detained at the jail, the negro boy Hermon; has a scar below his left ear, from the *wound of a knife.*"
Mr. Willie Paterson, Clinton, Jones county, Ga. in the "Darien Telegraph," Dec. 5, 1837.	"Ranaway, a negro man by the name of John; he has a *scar* across his cheek, and one on his right arm, apparently done with a *knife.*"
Mr. Samuel Ragland, Triana, Madison county, Alabama, in the "Huntsville Advocate," Dec. 23, 1837.	"Ranaway, Isham; has a *scar* upon the breast and upon the under lip, from the *bite of a dog.*"
Mr. Moses E. Bush, near Clayton, Ala. in the "Columbus [Ga.] Enquirer," July 5, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man; has a *scar* on his hip and on his breast, and *two front teeth out.*"
C. W. Wilkins, sheriff, Baldwin Co. Ala. in the "Mobile Advertiser," Sept. 22, 1837.	"Committed to jail, a negro man; he is *crippled* in the right leg."
Mr. James H. Taylor, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Courier," August 7, 1837.	"Absconded, a colored boy, named Peter, *lame* in the right leg."
N. M. C. Robinson, jailor, Columbus, Georgia, in the "Columbus [Ga.] Enquirer," August 2, 1838.	"Brought to jail, a negro man; his left ankle has been *broke.*"
Mr. Littlejohn Rynes, Hinds Co. Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," August 17, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man named Jerry; has a small piece *cut out of the top of each ear.*"
The Heirs of J. A. Alston, near Georgetown, South Carolina, in the "Georgetown [S.C.] Union," June 17, 1837.	"Absconded, a negro named Cuffee; has *lost one finger;* has an *enlarged leg.*"
A. S. Ballinger, sheriff, Johnston Co. North Carolina, in the "Raleigh Standard," Oct. 18, 1838.	"Committed to jail, a negro man; has a *very sore leg.*"
Mr. Thomas Crutchfield, Atkins, Ten. in the "Tennessee Journal," Oct. 17, 1838.	"Ranaway, my mulatto boy Cy; has but *one hand,* all the fingers of his right hand were *burnt* off when young."
J. A. Brown, jailor, Orangeburg, South Carolina, in the "Charleston Mercury," July 18, 1838.	"Was committed to jail, a negro named Bob; appears to be *crippled* in the right leg."
S. B. Turton, jailor, Adams Co. Miss. in the "Natchez Courier," Sept. 28, 1828.	"Was committed to jail, a negro man; has his *left thigh broke.*"
Mr. John H. King, High-street, Georgetown, in the "National Intelligencer," Aug. 1, 1837.	"Ranaway, my negro man, he has the *end of one* of his fingers *broken.*"
Mr. John B. Fox, Vicksburg, Miss. in the "Register," March 29, 1837.	"Ranaway, a yellowish negro boy named Tom; has a *notch* in the back of one of his ears."
Messrs. Fernandez & Whiting, auctioneers, New Orleans, in the "Bee," April 8, 1837.	"Will be sold, Martha, aged nineteen; *has one eye out.*"
Mr. Marshall Jett, Farrowsville, Fauquier Co. Virginia, in the "National Intelligencer," May 30, 1837.	"Ranaway, negro man, Ephraim; has a *mark* over one of his eyes, occasioned by a *blow.*"
S. B. Turton, jailor, Adams Co. Miss. in the "Natchez Courier," Oct. 12, 1838.	"Was committed, a negro, calls himself Jacob; has been *crippled* in his right leg."
John Ford, sheriff of Mobile county, in the "Mississippian," Jackson, Mi. Dec. 28, 1838.	"Committed to jail, a negro man, Cary; a *large scar on his forehead.*"

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
E. W. Morris, sheriff of Warren county, in the "Vicksburg [Mi.] Register," March 28, 1838.	"Committed as a runaway, a negro man, Jack; he has *several scars* on his face."
Mr. John P. Holcombe, in the "Charleston Mercury," April 17, 1828.	"Absented himself, his negro man Ben; *has scars* on his throat, occasioned by the *cut of a knife.*"
Mr. Geo. Kinlock, in the "Charleston [S. C.] Courier," May 1, 1839.	"Ranaway, negro boy Kitt, 15 or 16 years old; *has a piece taken out of one of his ears.*"
Wm. Magee, sheriff, Mobile Co. in the "Mobile Register," Dec. 27, 1837.	"Committed to jail, a runaway slave, Alexander; a *scar* on his left cheek."
Mr. Henry M. McGregor Prince George county, Maryland, in the "Alexandria [D. C.] Gazette," Feb. 6, 1838.	"Ranaway, negro Phil; *scar through the right eyebrow,* part of the *middle toe* on the right foot *cut off.*"
Green B. Jourdan, Baldwin county, Ga. in the "Georgia Journal," April 18, 1837.	"Ranaway, John; has a *scar* on one of his hands extending from the wrist joint to the little finger, also a *scar* on one of his legs."
Messrs. Daniel and Goodman, New Orleans, in the "New Orleans Bee," Feb. 2, 1838.	"Absconded, mulatto slave Alick; has a *large scar over* one of his cheeks."
Jeremiah Woodward, Goochland, Co. Va. in the "Richmond [Va.] Whig," Jan. 30, 1838.	"200 DOLLARS REWARD for Nelson; has a *scar* on his forehead occasioned by a *burn,* and one on his lower lip, and one about the knee."
Samuel Rawlins, Gwinet Co. Ga. in the "Columbus Sentinel," Nov. 29, 1838.	"Ranaway, a negro man and his wife, named Nat and Priscilla; he has a small *scar* on his left cheek, *two stiff fingers* on his right hand, with a *running sore* on them; his wife has a *scar* on her left arm, and one *upper tooth out.*"

"The reader perceives that we have under this head, as under previous ones, given to the testimony of the slaveholders themselves, under their own names, a precedence over that of all other witnesses. We now ask the reader's attention to the testimonies which follow. They are endorsed by responsible names—men who 'speak what they know, and testify what they have seen'—testimonies which show, that the slaveholders who wrote the preceding advertisements, describing the work of their own hands, in branding with hot irons, maiming, mutilating, cropping, shooting, knocking out the teeth and eyes of their slaves, breaking their bones, &c., have manifested, *as far as they have gone* in the description, a commendable fidelity to truth.

"It is probable that some of the scars and maimings in the preceding advertisements were the result of accidents; and some *may be* the result of violence inflicted by the slaves upon each other. Without arguing that point, we say, these are the *facts;* whoever reads and ponders them, will need no argument to convince him, that the proposition which they have been employed to sustain, *cannot be shaken.* That any considerable portion of them were *accidental,* is totally improbable, from the nature of the case; and is in most instances disproved by the advertisements themselves. That they have not been produced by assaults of the slaves

upon each other, is manifest from the fact, that injuries of that character inflicted by the slaves upon each other, are, as all who are familiar with the habits and condition of slaves well know, exceedingly rare; and of necessity must be so, from the constant action upon them of the strongest dissuasives from such acts that can operate on human nature.

"Advertisements similar to the preceding may at any time be gathered by scores from the daily and weekly newspapers of the slave states. Before presenting the reader with further testimony in proof of the proposition at the head of this part of our subject, we remark, that some of the tortures enumerated under this, and the preceding heads, are not in all cases inflicted by slaveholders as *punishments*, but sometimes merely as preventives of escape, for the greater security of their 'property.' Iron collars, chains, &c. are put upon slaves when they are driven or transported from one part of the country to another, in order to keep them from running away. Similar measures are often resorted to upon plantations. When the master or owner suspects a slave of plotting an escape, an iron collar with long 'horns,' or a bar of iron, or a ball and chain, are often fastened upon him, for the double purpose of retarding his flight, should he attempt it, and of serving as an easy means of detection.

"Another inhuman method of *marking* slaves, so that they may be easily described and detected when they escape, is called cropping. In the preceding advertisements, the reader will perceive a number of cases, in which the runaway is described as '*cropt*,' or a '*notch cut* in the ear,' or a 'part' or 'the whole of the ear *cut off*,' &c.

"Two years and a half since, the writer of this saw a letter, then just received by Mr. Lewis Tappan, of New York, containing a negro's ear cut off close to the head. The writer of the letter, who signed himself Thomas Aylethorpe, Montgomery, Alabama, sent it to Mr. Tappan as 'a specimen of a negro's ears,' and desired him to add it to his 'collection.'

"Another method of *marking* slaves, is by drawing out or breaking off one or two *front teeth*—commonly the upper ones, as the mark would in that case be the more obvious. An instance of this kind is mentioned by Sarah M. Grimké, of which she had *personal* knowledge; being well acquainted both with the inhuman master, (a distinguished citizen of South Carolina,) by whose order the brutal deed was done, and with the poor young girl whose mouth was thus barbarously mutilated, to furnish a convenient mark by which to describe her in case of her elopement, as she had frequently run away.

"The case stated by Miss G. serves to unravel what, to one un-initiated, seems quite a mystery: i. e, the frequency with which, in the advertisements of runaway slaves published in southern papers, they are describ-

ed as having *one or two front teeth out.* Scores of snch advertisements are in southern papers now on our table. We will furnish the reader with a dozen or two.

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Jesse Debruhl, sheriff, Richland district, "Columbia (S. C.) Telescope," Feb. 24, 1838.	"Committed to jail, Ned, about 25 years of age; has lost his *two upper front teeth.*"
Mr. John Hunt, Black Water Bay, "Pensacola (Ga.) Gazette," Oct. 14, 1837.	"100 DOLLARS REWARD, for Perry; *one under front tooth* missing; aged 23 years."
Mr. John Frederick, Branchville, Orangeburgh district, S. C. "Charleston [S. C.] Courier," June 12, 1837.	"10 DOLLARS REWARD, for Mary: *one* or *two upper teeth* out; about 25 years old."
Mr. Egbert A. Raworth, eight miles west of Nashville on the Charlotte road, "Daily Republican Banner," Nashville, Tennessee, April 30, 1838.	"Ranaway, Myal, 23 years old; one of his *fore teeth out.*"
Benjamin Russel, deputy sheriff, Bibb Co Ga. "Macon (Ga.) Telegraph," Dec. 25, 1837.	"Brought to jail, John, 23 years old; *one fore tooth out.*"
F. Wisner, master of the workhouse, "Charleston (S. C.) Courier," Oct. 17, 1837.	"Committed to the Charleston workhouse, Tom; *two of his upper front teeth out;* about 30 years of age."
Mr. S. Neyle, "Savannah (Ga.) Republican," July 3, 1837.	"Ranaway, Peter; has lost *two front teeth* in the upper jaw."
Mr. John McMurrain, near Columbus, "Georgia Messenger," August 2, 1838.	"Ranaway, a boy named Moses; some of his *front teeth out.*"
Mr. John Kennedy, Stewart Co. La. "New Orleans Bee," April 7, 1837.	"Ranaway, Sally; her *fore teeth out.*"
Mr. A. J. Hutchings, near Florence, Ala. "North Alabamian," Aug. 25, 1838.	"Ranaway, George Winston; two of his *upper fore teeth out* immediately in front."
Mr. James Purdon, 33, Common-street, N. O. "New Orleans Bee," Feb. 13, 1838.	"Ranaway, Jackson; has lost *one of his front teeth.*"
Mr. Robert Calvert, in the "Arkansas State Gazette," Aug. 22, 1838.	"Ranaway, Jack, 25 years old; has lost *one of his fore teeth.*"
Mr. A. G. A. Beazley, in the "Memphis Gazette," March 18, 1838.	"Ranaway, Abraham, 20 or 22 years of age; *his front teeth out.*"
Mr. Samuel Townsend, in the "Huntsville [Ala.] Democrat," May 24, 1837.	"Ranaway, Dick, 18 or 20 years of age; *has one front tooth out.*"
Mr. Philip A. Dew, in the "Virginia Herald," of May 24, 1837.	"Ranaway, Washington, about 25 years of age; has *an upper front tooth out.*"
J. G. Dunlap, "Georgia Constitutionalist," April 24, 1838.	"Ranaway, negro woman Abbe; *upper front teeth out.*"
John Thomas, "Southern Argus," August 7, 1838.	"Ranaway, Lewis, 25 or 26 years old; *one or two of his front teeth out.*"
M. E. W. Gilbert, in the "Columbus [Ga.] Enquirer," Oct. 5, 1837.	"50 DOLLARS REWARD, for Prince, 25 or 26 years old; *one or two teeth out* in front, on the upper jaw."
Publisher of the "Charleston Mercury," August 31, 1838.	"Ranaway, Seller Saunders, one *fore tooth out;* about 22 years of age."

WITNESSES.	TESTIMONY.
Mr. Byrd M. Grace, in the "Macon [Ga.] Telegraph," Oct. 16, 1838.	"Ranaway, Warren, about 25 or 26 years old; has lost *some of his front teeth.*"
Mr. George W. Barnes, in the "Milledgeville [Ga.] Journal," May 22, 1837.	"Ranaway, Henry, about 23 years old; has one of his *upper front teeth out.*"
D. Herring, warden of Baltimore jail, in "Baltimore Chronicle," Oct. 6, 1837.	"Committed to jail, Elizabeth Steward, 17 or 18 years old; has *one of her front teeth out.*"
Mr. J. L. Colborn, in the "Huntsville [Ala.] Democrat," July 4, 1837.	"Ranaway, Liley, 26 years of age; *one fore tooth gone.*"
Samuel Harman, Jr. in the "New Orleans Bee," October 12, 1838.	"50 DOLLARS REWARD, for Adolphe, 28 years old; *two of his front teeth* are missing."

"Were it necessary, we might easily add to the preceding list, *hundreds*. The reader will remark that all the slaves, whose ages are given, are *young*—not one has arrived at middle age; consequently it can hardly be supposed that they have lost their teeth either from age or decay. The probability that their teeth were taken out by force, is increased by the fact of their being *front teeth* in almost every case, and from the fact that the loss of no *other* is mentioned in the advertisements. It is well known that the front teeth are not generally the first to fail. Further, it is notorious that the teeth of the slaves are remarkably sound and serviceable, that they decay far less, and at a much later period of life than the teeth of the whites: owing partly, no doubt, to original constitution; but more probably to their diet, habits, and mode of life.

"As an illustration of the horrible mutilations *sometimes* suffered by them in the breaking and tearing out of their teeth, we insert the following, from the New-Orleans Bee of May 31, 1837.

"TEN DOLLARS REWARD.—Ranaway, Friday, May 12, JULIA, a negress, EIGHTEEN OR TWENTY YEARS OLD. SHE HAS LOST HER UPPER TEETH, and the under ones ARE ALL BROKEN. Said reward will be paid to whoever will bring her to her master, No. 172, Barracks-street, or lodge her in the jail.

"The following is contained in the same paper.

"RANAWAY, NELSON, 27 years old,—'ALL HIS TEETH ARE MISSING.'

"This advertisement is signed by 'S. ELFER,' Faubourg Marigny."

To the preceding we subjoin a few testimonies from the same work, respecting the hunting of slaves with dogs and guns. The Rev. Horace Moulton, a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Marlborough, Massachusets, who resided five years in Georgia, gives the following testimony.

"Some obtain their living in hunting after lost slaves. The most common way is to train up young dogs to follow them. This can easily be done by obliging a slave to go out into the woods, and climb a tree, and

then put the young dog on his track, and with a little assistance he can be taught to follow him to the tree, and when found, of course the dog would bark at such game as a poor negro on a tree. There was a man living in Savannah when I was there, who kept a large number of dogs for no other purpose than to hunt runaway negroes. And he always had enough of this work to do, for hundreds of runaways are never found, but could he get news soon after one had fled, he was almost sure to catch him. And this fear of the dogs restrains multitudes from running off."

"When he went out on a hunting excursion, to be gone several days, he took several persons with him, armed generally with rifles and followed by the dogs. The dogs were as true to the track of a negro, if one had passed recently, as a hound is to the track of a fox when he has found it. When the dogs draw near to their game, the slave must turn and fight them or climb a tree. If the latter, the dogs will stay and bark until the pursuers come. The blacks frequently deceive the dogs by crossing and recrossing the creeks. Should the hunters who have no dogs, start a slave from his hiding place, and the slave not stop at the hunter's call, he will shoot at him, as soon as he would at a deer. Some masters advertise so much for a runaway slave, dead or alive. It undoubtedly gives such, more satisfaction to know that their property is dead, than to know that it is alive without being able to get it. Some slaves run away who never mean to be taken alive. I will mention one. He ran off and was pursued by the dogs, but having a weapon with him he succeeded in killing two or three of the dogs; but was afterwards shot. He had declared, that he never would be taken alive. The people rejoiced at the death of the slave, but lamented the death of the dogs, they were such ravenous hunters."

Rev. Francis Hawley, who was for some years the general agent of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, gives the following testimony.

"Runaway slaves are frequently hunted with guns and dogs. *I was once out on such an excursion, with my rifle and two dogs.* I trust the Lord has forgiven me this heinous wickedness! We did not take the runaways."

The following are taken from the same work, p. 159.

"The 'public opinion' of slaveholders is illustrated by scores of announcements in southern papers, like the following, from the Raleigh, (N.C.) Register, August 20, 1838. Joseph Gales and Son, editors and proprietors—the father and brother of the editor of the National Intelligencer, Washington city, D.C.

"On Saturday night, Mr. George Holmes, of this county, and some of his friends, were in pursuit of a runaway slave (the property of Mr. Holmes) and fell in with him in attempting to make his escape. Mr. H. discharged a gun at his legs, for the purpose of disabling him; but unfortunately, the slave stumbled, and the shot struck him near the small of the back, of which wound he died in a short time. The slave continued to run some distance after he was shot, until overtaken by one of the party. We are satisfied, from all that we can learn, that Mr. H. had no intention of inflicting a mortal wound."

"Oh! the *gentleman*, it seems, only shot at his legs, merely to 'disable'—and it must be expected that every *gentleman* will amuse himself in shooting at his own property whenever the notion takes him, and if he should happen to hit a little higher and go through the small of the back instead of the legs, why everybody says it is 'unfortunate,' and the whole of the editorial corps, instead of branding him as a barbarous wretch for shooting at his slave, whatever part he aimed at, join with the oldest editor in North Carolina, in complacently exonerating Mr. Holmes by saying, 'We are satisfied that Mr. H. had no intention of inflicting a mortal wound.' And so 'public opinion' wraps it up!

"The Franklin (La.) Republican, August 19, 1837, has the following:

"'*Negroes Taken.*—Four gentlemen of this vicinity, went out yesterday for the purpose of finding the camp of some noted runaways, supposed to be near this place; the camp was discovered about 11 o'clock; the negroes four in number, three men and one woman, finding they were discovered, tried to make their escape through the cane; two of them were fired on, one of which made his escape; the other one fell after running a short distance, his wounds are not supposed to be dangerous; the other man was taken without any hurt; the woman also made her escape.'

"Thus terminated the mornings' amusement of the '*four gentlemen*,' whose exploits are so complacently chronicled, by the editor of the Franklin Republican. The three men and one woman were all fired upon, it seems, though only one of them was shot down. The half famished runaways made not the least resistance, they merely rushed in panic among the canes, at the sight of their pursuers, and the bullets whistled after them and brought to the ground one poor fellow, who was carried back by his captors as a trophy of the 'public opinion' among slaveholders.

"In the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, Nov. 27, 1838, we find the following account of a runaway's den, and of the good luck of a 'Mr. Adams,' in running down one of them 'with his excellent dogs.'

"'A runaway's den was discovered on Sunday near the Washington Spring, in a little patch of woods, where it had been for several months

so artfully concealed under ground, that it was detected only by accident, though in the sight of two or three houses, and near the road and fields where there has been constant daily passing. The entrance was concealed by a pile of pine straw, representing a hog bed—which being removed, discovered a trap door and steps that led to a room about six feet square, comfortably ceiled with plank, containing a small fire-place, the flue of which was ingeniously conducted above ground and concealed by the straw. The inmates took the alarm and made their escape; but Mr. Adams' and his excellent dogs being put upon the trail, soon ran down and secured one of them, which proved to be a negro fellow who had been out about a year. He stated that the other occupant was a woman, who had been a runaway a still longer time. In the den was found a quantity of meal, bacon, corn, potatoes, &c., and various cooking utensils and wearing apparel.'

"Yes, Mr. Adams' 'EXCELLENT DOGS' did the work! They were well trained, swift, fresh, keen-scented, 'excellent' men-hunters, and though the poor fugitive, in his frenzied rush for liberty, strained every muscle, yet they gained upon him, and after dashing through fens, brier-beds, and the tangled undergrowth till faint and torn, he sinks, and the blood-hounds are upon him. What blood-vessels the poor struggler burst in his desperate push for life—how much he was bruised and lacerated in his plunge through the forest, or how much the dogs tore him, the Macon editor has not chronicled—they are matters of no moment—but his heart is touched with the merits of Mr. Adams' 'EXCELLENT DOGS,' that 'soon *run down* and *secured*' a guiltless and trembling human creature!

"The Georgia Constitutionalist, of Jan. 1837, contains the following letter from the coroner of Barnwell District, South Carolina, dated Aiken, S.C. Dec. 20, 1836.

"'*To the Editor of the Constitutionalist*:—

"'I have just returned from an inquest I held over the body of a negro man, a runaway, that was shot near the South Edisto, in this District, (Barnwell,) on Saturday last. He came to his death by his own recklessness. He refused to be taken alive—and said that other attempts to take him had been made, and he was determined that he would not be taken. He was at first, (when those in pursuit of him found it absolutely necessary,) shot at with small shot, with the intention of merely crippling him. He was shot at several times, and at last he was so disabled as to be compelled to surrender. He kept in the run of a creek in a very dense swamp all the time that the neighbours were in pursuit of him. As soon as the negro was taken, the best medical aid was procured, but he died on the same evening. One of the witnesses at the Inquisition, stated that the negro boy said he was from Mississippi, and

belonged to so many persons that he did not know who his master was, but again he said his master's name was Brown. He said his name was Sam, and when asked by another witness, who his master was, he muttered something like Augusta, or Augustine. The boy was apparently above thirty-five or forty years of age, about six feet high, slightly yellow in the face, very long beard or whiskers, and very stout built, and a stern countenance; and appeared to have been a runaway for a long time.

"'WILLIAM H. PRITCHARD,

"'*Coroner (Ex-officio,) Barnwell Dist. S C.*'

"The Norfolk (Va.) Herald, of Feb. 1837, has the following:

"'Three negroes in a ship's yawl, came on shore yesterday evening, near New Point Comfort, and were soon afterward apprehended and lodged in jail. Their story is, that they belonged to a brig from New York bound to Havana, which was cast away to the southward of Cape Henry, some day last week; that the brig was called the Maria, Captain Whittemore. I have no doubt they are deserters from some vessel in the bay, as their statements are very confused and inconsistent. One of these fellows is a mulatto, and calls himself Isaac Turner; the other two are quite black, the one passing by the name of James Jones and the other John Murray. They have all their clothing with them, and are dressed in sea-faring apparel. They attempted to make their escape, and *it was not till a musket was fired at them, and one of them slightly wounded*, that they surrendered. They will be kept in jail till something further is discovered respecting them."

"The 'St. Francisville (La.) Chronicle,' of Feb. 1, 1839, give the following account of a 'negro hunt,' in that parish.

"'Two or three days since a gentleman of this parish, in *hunting runaway negroes*, came upon a camp of them in the swamp on Cat Island. He succeeded in arresting two of them, but the third made fight; and upon *being shot in the shoulder*, fled to a sluice, where the *dogs succeeded* in drowning him before assistance could arrive.'

"'The dogs *succeeded* in drowning him'! Poor fellow! He tried hard for his life, plunged into the sluice, and, with a bullet in his shoulder, and the blood hounds unfleshing his bones, he bore up for a moment with feeble stroke as best he might, but 'public opinion' *succeeded* in drowning him, and the same 'public opinion' calls the man who fired and crippled him, and cheered on the dogs, 'a gentleman,' and the editor who celebrates the exploit is a 'gentleman' also!'

"A large number of extracts similar to the above, might here be inserted from southern newspapers in our possession, but the foregoing are more than sufficient for our purpose, and we bring to a close the testimony on this point, with the following:

"Extract of a letter, from the Rev. Samuel J. May, of South Scituate, Mass. dated Dec. 20, 1838.

"'You doubtless recollect the narrative given in the 'Oasis,' of a slave in Georgia, who having run away from his master, (accounted a very hospitable and even humane gentleman,) was hunted by his master and his retainers with horses, dogs, and rifles, and having been driven into a tree by the hounds, was shot down by his more cruel pursuers. All the facts there given, and some others equally shocking, connected with the same case, were first communicated to me in 1833, by Mr. W. Russel, a highly respectable teacher of youth in Boston. He is doubtless ready to vouch for them. The same gentleman informed me that he was keeping school on or near the plantation of the monster who perpetrated the above outrage upon humanity, that he was even invited by him to join in the hunt, and when he expressed abhorrence at the thought, the planter holding up the rifle which he had in his hand said with an oath, 'd—n that rascal, this is the third time he has run away, and he shall never run again. I'd rather put a ball into his side, than into the best buck in the land.'

"Mr. Russell, in the account given by him of this tragedy in the 'Oasis,' page 267, thus describes the slaveholder who made the above expression, and was leader of the 'hunt,' and in whose family he resided at the time as an instructor; he says of him—He was 'an opulent planter, in whose family the evils of slaveholding were palliated by every expedient that a humane and generous disposition could suggest. He was a man of noble and elevated character, and distinguished for his generosity, and kindness of heart.'

"In a letter to Mr. May, dated Feb. 3, 1839, Mr. Russell, speaking of the hunting of runaways with dogs and guns, says: 'Occurrences of a nature similar to the one related in the 'Oasis,' were not unfrequent in the interior of Georgia and South Carolina twenty years ago. *Several* such fell under my notice within the space of fifteen months. In two such 'hunts,' I was solicited to join.'"

The subjoined extract is from a letter written from Natchez, Mississippi, in 1833, to Arthur Tappan, Esq., New York. The writer is a highly respectable clergyman. His name is withheld because the publication would endanger his life.

"Not six months since, I saw a number of my *Christian* neighbours packing up provisions, as I supposed for a deer hunt; but as I was about offering myself to the party, I learned that their powder and balls were destined to a very different purpose: it was, in short, the design of

the party to bring home a number of runaway slaves, or to shoot them if they should not be able to get possession of them in any other way."

The following is taken from the New York Commercial Advertiser, of June 8, 1827.

"*Hunting men with dogs.*—A negro who had absconded from his master, and for whom a reward of 100 dollars was offered, has been apprehended and committed to prison in Savannah. The editor who states the fact adds, with as much coolness as though there were no barbarity in the matter, that he did not surrender till *he was considerably* MAIMED BY THE DOGS that had been set on him."

We conclude our extracts under this head by a few additional illustrations taken principally from "American Slavery as it is."

"The following horrible transaction took place in Perry county, Alabama. We extract it from the African Observer, a monthly periodical, published in Philadelphia, by the society of Friends. See No. for August, 1827.

"'Tuscaloosa, Ala. June 20, 1827.

"'Some time during the last week a Mr. M'Neilly having lost some clothing, or other property of no great value, the slave of a neighbouring planter was charged with the theft. M'Neilly in company with his brother, found the negro driving his master's wagon; they seized him and either did or were about to chastise him, when the negro stabbed M'Neilly, so that he died in an hour afterwards. The negro was taken before a justice of the peace, who *waved his authority*, perhaps through fear, as a crowd of persons had collected to the number of seventy or eighty, near Mr. People's (the justice) house. *He acted as president of the mob*, and put the vote, when it was decided he should be immediately executed by *being burnt to death.* The sable culprit was led to a tree, and tied to it, and a large quantity of pine knots collected and placed around him, and the fatal torch applied to the pile, even against the remonstrances of several gentlemen who were present; and the miserable being was in a short time burned to ashes.

"'This is the SECOND negro who has been THUS put to death, without judge or jury, in this county.'

"On the 28th, of April 1836, in the city of St. Louis, Missouri, a black man, named McIntosh, who had stabbed an officer, that had arrested him, was seized by the multitude, fastened to a tree *in the midst of the city*, wood piled around him, and in open day and in the presence

of an immense throng of citizens, he was burned to death. The Alton (Ill.) Telegraph, in its account of the scene says;

"'All was silent as death while the executioners were piling wood around their victim. He said not a word, until feeling that the flames had seized upon him. He then uttered an awful howl, attempting to sing and pray, then hung his head, and suffered in silence, except in the following instance:—After the flames had surrounded their prey, his eyes burnt out of his head, and his mouth seemingly parched to a cinder, some one in the crowd, more compassionate than the rest, proposed to put an end to his misery by shooting him, when it was replied, 'that would be of no use, since he was already out of pain.' 'No, no,' said the wretch, 'I am not, I am suffering as much as ever; shoot me, shoot me.' 'No, no,' said one of the fiends who was standing about the sacrifice they were roasting, 'he shall not be shot. *I would sooner slacken the fire, if that would increase his misery;*' and the man who said this was, as we understand, an OFFICER OF JUSTICE!'

"The St. Louis correspondent of a New York paper adds,

"'The shrieks and groans of the victim were loud and piercing, and to observe one limb after another drop into the fire was awful indeed. He was about fifteen minutes in dying. I visited the place this morning, and saw his body, or the remains of it, at the place of execution. He was burnt to a crump. His legs and arms were gone, and only a part of his head and body were left.'

"Lest this demonstration of 'public opinion' should be regarded as a sudden impulse merely, not an index of the settled tone of feeling in that community, it is important to add, that the Hon. Luke E. Lawless, Judge of the Circuit Court of Missouri, at a session of that Court in the city of St. Louis, some months after the burning of this man, decided officially that since the burning of McIntosh was the act, either directly or by countenance of a *majority* of the citizens, it is 'a case which transcends the jurisdiction,' of the Grand Jury! Thus the state of Missouri has proclaimed to the world, that the wretches who perpetrated that unspeakably diabolical murder, and the thousands that stood by consenting to it, were *her representatives*, and the Bench sanctifies it with the solemnity of a judicial decision.

"The 'New Orleans Post,' of June 7, 1836, publishes the following:

"'We understand, that a negro man was lately condemned by the mob, to be BURNED OVER A SLOW FIRE, which was put into execution at Grand Gulf, Mississippi, for murdering a black woman, and her master.'

"Mr. Henry Bradley, of Penyan, N. Y., has furnished us with an extract of a letter written by a gentleman in Mississippi to his brother

in that village, detailing the particulars of the preceding transaction. The letter is dated Grand Gulf, Miss. August 15, 1836. The extract is as follows:

"'I left Vicksburgh and came to Grand Gulf. This is a fine place immediately on the banks of the Mississippi, of something like fifteen hundred inhabitants in the winter, and at this time, I suppose, there are not over two hundred white inhabitants, but in the town and its vicinity there are negroes by thousands. The day I arrived at this place there was a man by the name of G—— murdered by a negro man that belonged to him. G—— was born and brought up in A——, state of New York. His father and mother now live south of A——. He has left a property here, it is supposed, of forty thousand dollars, and no family.

"'They took the negro, mounted him on a horse, led the horse under a tree, put a rope around his neck, raised him up by throwing the rope over a limb; they then got into a quarrel among themselves; some swore that he should be burnt alive; the rope was cut and the negro dropped to the ground. He immediately jumped to his feet; they then made him walk a short distance to a tree; he was then tied fast and a fire kindled, when another quarrel took place; the fire was pulled away from him when about half dead, and a committee of twelve appointed to say in what manner he should be disposed of. They brought in that he should then be cut down, his head cut off, his body burned, and his head stuck on a pole at the corner of the road in edge of the town. That was done and all parties satisfied!

"'G—— *owned the negro's wife, and was in the habit of sleeping with her!*' The negro said he had killed him, and he believed he should be rewarded in heaven for it.

"'This is but one instance among many of a similar nature.

S. S.'

"We have received a more detailed account of this transaction from Mr. William Armstrong, of Putnam, Ohio, through Maj. Horace Nye, of that place. Mr. A. who has been for some years employed as captain and supercargo of boats descending the river, was at Grand Gulf at the time of the tragedy, and *witnessed* it. It was on the sabbath. From Mr. Armstrong's statement, it appears that the slave was a man of uncommon intelligence; had the over-sight of a large business—superintended the purchase of supplies for his master, &c.—that exasperated by the intercourse of his master with his wife, he was upbraiding her one evening, when his master, overhearing him, went out to quell him, was attacked by the infuriated man and killed on the spot. The name of the master was Green; he was a native of Auburn, New York, and had been at the south but a few years.

"Mr. Ezekiel Birdseye, of Cornwall, Conn., a gentleman well known and highly respected in Litchfield county, who resided a number of years in South Carolina, gives the following testimony:—

"'A man by the name of Waters was killed by his slaves, in Newbury District. Three of them were tried before the court, and ordered to be burnt. I was but a few miles distant at the time, and conversed with those who saw the execution. The slaves were tied to a stake, and pitch pine wood piled around them, to which the fire was communicated. Thousands were collected to witness this barbarous transaction. *Other executions of this kind took place in various parts of the state, during my residence in it, from* 1818 *to* 1824. About three or four years ago, a young negro was burnt in Abbeville District, for an attempt at rape.'

"In the fall of 1837, there was a rumour of a projected insurrection on the Red River, in Louisiana. The citizens forthwith seized and hanged NINE SLAVES, AND THREE FREE COLOURED MEN, WITHOUT TRIAL. A few months previous to that transaction, a slave was seized in a similar manner and publicly burned to death, in Arkansas. In July, 1835, the citizens of Madison county, Mississippi, were alarmed by rumours of an insurrection, arrested five slaves and publicly executed them without trial.

"The Missouri Republican, April 30, 1838, gives the particulars of the deliberate murder of a negro man named Tom, a cook on board the steamboat Pawnee, on her passage up from New Orleans to St. Louis. Some of the facts stated by the Republican are the following;

"'On Friday night, about 10 o'clock, a deaf and dumb German girl was found in the store-room with Tom. The door was locked, and at first Tom denied she was there. The girl's father came. Tom unlocked the door, and the girl was found secreted in the room behind a barrel. The next morning some four or five of the deck passengers spoke to the captain about it. This was about breakfast time. Immediately after he left the deck, a number of the deck passengers rushed upon the negro, bound his arms behind his back and carried him forward to the bow of the boat. A voice cried out 'throw him overboard,' and was responded to from every quarter of the deck—and in an instant he was plunged into the river. The whole scene of tying him and throwing him overboard scarcely occupied *ten minutes*, and was so precipitate that the officers were unable to interfere in time to save him.

"'There were between two hundred and fifty and three hundred passengers on board.'

"The whole process of seizing Tom, dragging him upon deck, binding his arms behind his back, forcing him to the bow of the boat, and throwing him overboard, occupied, the editor informs us, about TEN NUTES; and of the two hundred and fifty or three hundred deck pas-

sengers, with perhaps as many cabin passengers, it does not appear that *a single individual raised a finger to prevent this deliberate murder ;* and the cry 'throw him overboard,' was, it seems, 'responded to from every quarter of the deck!'"

A bare enumeration of the various modes of torture known to be practised in the planting states, must convince the most incredulous, that our picture of slaveholding cruelty has not been overdrawn. In contemplating the following, it is difficult to resist the conviction, that a more profound and malicious cunning than belongs to *mere man*, has been employed in contriving such a diversity of hellish torments to plague mankind; at the same time we must confess that their *invention* displays no more of the fiend than their *application* which is daily made by beings wearing the form of men.

The slaves are suspended by the wrists, with their toes just touching the ground; their ankles having been tied, a heavy log or fence rail is thrust between their legs. In this situation, naked, they are flogged with a cow-hide* till their blood and bits of mangled flesh stream from their shoulders to the ground. Again, they are stretched at full length upon the earth, their faces downwards, each of their wrists and ankles is lashed to a stake driven firmly into the ground. Thus stretched so that they cannot shrink in the least from the descending blows, they receive sometimes hundreds of lashes on their naked backs. So protracted is the flogging frequently that the overseer stops in the midst of it to take breath and rest his tired muscles, only to resume it with increased violence. In such cases the back of the slave presents to the beholder one mass of clotted blood and mangled flesh. Sometimes instead of lashing the ankles and wrists to stakes, the overseer orders four strong slaves to hold the victim. The persons selected to do this are sometimes, through a refinement of cruelty, the relatives of the sufferer. Again the slaves are stripped and bound upon a log, and in this position they are tortured with heavy paddles bored full of

* This is a strip of a *raw hide*, cut the whole length of the ox, and twisted while in that state until it tapers off to a point; when it has become dry and hard it has somewhat the appearance of a drayman's whip, but the sharp edges projecting at every turn, cut into the flesh at every stroke; it is indeed a dreadful instrument of punishment.

holes, each of which raises a blister at every stroke: or infuriated cats are repeatedly dragged backwards from their shoulders to their hips. After either of the foregoing modes of lacerating the flesh, spirits of turpentine, or a solution of salt, or cayenne pepper, or pulverized mustard is rubbed into the bleeding wounds to aggravate and prolong the torment.

Sometimes the slaves are buried to their chins in holes dug in the damp ground, just large enough for them to stand erect with their arms close by their sides. They are also fastened in the stocks for several successive nights, being released during the day for work, or confined both night and day. Instead of stocks, the feet are sometimes thrust between the rails of the fence.

The slaves are beaten with heavy clubs over the head, arms, shoulders, or legs. Walking canes are broken over their heads, sometimes fracturing the skull, or causing permanent insanity, or even death. In moments of passion the planter or overseer seizes any instrument within reach, often prostrating the slave at a blow; and then stamps upon him till his fury is spent. During these paroxysms of rage the slaves frequently suffer the most frightful mutilations and fractures. Their limbs are broken, joints dislocated, faces bruised, eyes and teeth knocked out, lips mangled, cheeks gashed, ears cropped, slit, or shaved close to the head, fingers and toes cut off; red hot branding irons with the initials of their masters are stamped into the cheeks, the fleshy parts of the thighs, and legs, and shoulders. They are maimed by gun and pistol shots, and lacerated with knives.

Again: they are handcuffed, manacled, loaded with chains and balls; iron yokes are fastened about their necks with long prongs extending outward and upward, or meeting above the head, where a bell is suspended.

They are punished by confinement in loathsome dungeons, by starvation, by nakedness, by protracted watchings, by long separation from their companions night and day,—as husband from wife, by being forced to flog the naked bodies of their own relatives,—as sons their mothers,—or fathers their own daughters.

Woman in her most delicate condition is subjected to humiliation and suffering, by being driven, up to the day, and sometimes to the moment of her delivery to labor with the promiscuous gang, and to feel the overseers lash in case she lags behind.

When runaways are discovered and attempt to flee they are fired upon, and maimed or killed. They are pursued by trained dogs, which worry them and tear their flesh, not unfrequently taking their lives. When retaken, though worn by their struggles and faint with the loss of blood, they are attached by a long rope to their master's saddle, and furiously dragged homeward, while an attendant, riding behind, plies the bloody lash. They often fall dead on the road in the midst of these forced marches.

Tenth Question. *What are the disabilities and disqualifications under which the people of colour labor?*

In a subsequent part of this document a number of pages are devoted to the subject of "prejudice against colour," in which the outrages perpetrated, upon our coloured fellow citizens by a ferocious public sentiment are drawn out in detail. We will therefore in reply to this query merely refer you to a pamphlet recently published by the American Anti-Slavery Society "On the Condition of the free people of Colour in the United States." The Pamphlet will be forwarded herewith.

Eleventh Question. *How far are the professors of religion tacitly, or actively, implicated in the guilt of slaveholding, or any of its attendant evils?*

The abolitionists of the United States have always insisted that professors of religion, both in the free and slave states, are deeply implicated in the guilt of slavery. They have been fully convinced that the American churches were mainly answerable for the continuance of American slavery, and it has been a prominent object with them to arouse professed Christians to testify, both in their individual and associated capacities, against the sin of oppression. The hostility which their efforts to this end have excited within the church, has more than justified their convictions—it has betrayed an extent and inveteracy of proslavery feeling in the professed church of Christ, of which even abolitionists had not conceived.

In making the developments which our query calls for, far be it from us to set aught down in censoriousness against the

professed followers of Jesus; and as far be it from our hearts to triumph in the exposure of their awful guilt touching the subject of slavery. Rather would we cover our faces in shame and weep at the thought, that professing Christians sanction and uphold such a system of outrages upon man and God.

We will first consider how far professors of religion, living in the slave states are implicated in the guilt of slaveholding, and subsequently exhibit the implication of professors in the free states.

Professors of religion in the slave states are implicated very extensively *as a body*, in the guilt of slaveholding,

1. By holding slaves themselves.

2. By vying with non-professing masters, in cruel treatment of their slaves.

3. By selling and buying human beings, and often separating husbands and wives, parents and children.

4. By defending slavery as a "Bible Institution."

5. By denouncing, opposing, and reviling abolitionists.

1. By actually holding slaves. Professors of religion are slaveholders to as great an extent proportionably as the openly irreligious. There is no obstacle whatever to church members holding slaves. With the exception of the Friends or Quakers, the Reformed Presbyterians or Covenanters, and three other small sects—the United Brethren in Christ, the Primitive Methodists, and the Emancipation Baptists,*—there is not a single denomination in the slave states which forbids slaveholding among its members. So far from any obstacles being placed in the way, there is every encouragement held out to professed Christians to hold slaves. If any one should feel conscientious scruples about it, the example of his pastor and the church officers amply satisfies him that his misgivings are the result of weakness. Or if this should not perfectly convince him, a lecture or sermon from his minister, proving slavery a *divine institution* cannot fail to do so.

From the following testimony we learn to what extent professed Christians are engaged in actual slaveholding. The witness is a minister of high standing in the Presbyterian denomi-

* Each of the four sects last named has not probably half a score of churches in all the slave states; and some of them we believe have only three or four churches.

nation at the south, and has been for many years stated clerk of a Presbytery in Mississippi.

"If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law, and if the *buying, selling, and holding a slave* FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily, THREE FOURTHS OF ALL THE EPISCOPALIANS, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, AND PRESBYTERIANS, IN ELEVEN STATES OF THE UNION, are of the devil. They HOLD, if they do not buy and sell slaves; and *with few exceptions*, they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaway slaves when in their power."—*Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*—vol. ii. p. 386.

This clerical defender of slavery informs us that THREE FOURTHS of the members of the large denominations in the south *hold slaves for gain.* So extensive is the practice of slaveholding among church members, that it constitutes an argument with this divine, and a conclusive one too, against the doctrine that *slavery is sin.* What a proclamation this, of the prevalence of slavery in the church! Further testimony is needless. Of the remaining one fourth, assuming the above estimate to be correct, a very small portion refrain from slaveholding upon principle. The great majority of non-slaveholding professors are such for the same reason that often prevents non-professors from owning slaves—*inability.*

2. By vying with non-professing masters, in cruel treatment of their slaves. Slaveholding professors of religion do in the main exact as much labor, employ as barbarous overseers, stint the food, clothing, and sleep of their slaves, and furnish them as wretched shelter and lodgings, as other masters. They flog as severely and as frequently, lacerate, bruise, maim, crop, brand, gash, kick, chain, and imprison with the same relentless barbarity. They allow licentiousness to as great an extent, and they equally neglect the education and religious instruction of their slaves.

The testimony which follows is taken from "American Slavery as it is." We will first present that of Rev. Francis Hawley, who resided fourteen years in North and South Carolina. Mr. H. is now pastor of the Baptist Church in Wallingford, Connecticut.

1. "'I WILL NOW GIVE A FEW FACTS SHOWING THE WORKINGS OF THE SYSTEM.

" 'Some years since, a Presbyterian minister moved from North Carolina to Georgia. He had a negro man of an uncommon mind. For some cause, I know not what, this minister whipped him most unmercifully. He next nearly *drowned* him; he then put him *in the fence;* this is done by lifting up the corner of a 'worm' fence, and then putting the feet through; the rails serve as *stocks.* He kept him there some time, how long I was not informed, but the poor slave *died* in a few days; and, if I was rightly informed, nothing was done about it, either in church or state. After some time, he moved back to North Carolina, and is now a member of —— Presbytery. I have heard him preach, and have been in the pulpit with him. May God forgive me!'

2. "'While travelling as agent for the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, I attended a three days' meeting in Gates County. Friday, the first day, passed off. Saturday morning came, and the pastor of the church, who lived a few miles off, did not make his appearance. The day passed off and no news from the pastor. On Sabbath morning, he came hobbling along, having but little use of one foot. He soon explained: said he had hired a negro man, who, on Saturday morning, gave him a 'little *slack jaw.*' Not having a stick at hand, he fell upon him with his fist and foot, and in *kicking* him, he injured his foot so seriously, that he could not attend meeting on Saturday.

3. " 'Some of the slaveholding ministers at the south, put their slaves under overseers, or hire them out, and then take the pastoral care of churches. The Rev. Mr. B——, formerly of Pennsylvania, had a plantation in Marlborough District, South Carolina, and was the pastor of a church in Darlington District. The Rev. Mr. T——, of Johnson county, North Carolina, has a plantation in Alabama.

4. " 'I was present, and saw the Rev. J.—— W——, of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, hire out four slaves to work in the gold mines in Burke county. The Rev. H.—— M——, of Orange county, sold, for 900 dollars, a negro man to a speculator, on a Monday of a camp meeting.'

5. "Extract from an editorial article in the 'Lowell (Mass.) Observer' a religious paper, edited at the time (1833) by the Rev. Daniel S. Southmayd, who recently died in Texas.

" 'We have been among the slaves at the south. We took pains to make discoveries in respect to the evils of slavery. We formed our sentiments on the subject of the cruelties exercised towards the slave from having witnessed them. We now affirm, that we never saw a man, who had never been at the south, who thought as much of the cruelties practised on the slaves, as we *know* to be a fact.

" 'A slave whom I loved for his kindness and the amiableness of his disposition, and who belonged to the family where I resided, happened to stay out *fifteen minutes longer* than he had permission to stay. It was a

mistake—it was *unintentional.* But what was the penalty? He was sent to the house of correction with the order that he should have *thirty lashes upon his naked body with a knotted rope!!!* He was brought home and laid down in the stoop, in the back of the house, *in the sun, upon the floor.* And there he lay, with more the appearance of a rotten carcass than a living man, for four days before he could do more than move. And who was this inhuman being, calling God's property his own, and using it as he would not have dared to use a beast? You may say he was a tiger—one of the more wicked sort, and we must not judge others by him. *He was a professor of that religion which will pour upon the willing slaveholder the retribution due to his sin.*

6. "Rev. Huntington Lyman late pastor of the Free Church in Buffalo, New York, says:

"'Walking one day in New Orleans with a professional gentleman, who was educated in Connecticut, we were met by a black man; the gentleman was greatly incensed with the black man for passing so *near* him, and turning upon him *he pushed him with violence off the walk into the street.* This man was a professor of religion.'

"[And *we* add, a member, and if we mistake not, an *officer* of the Presbyterian Church which was established there by Rev. Joel Parker, and which was then under his teachings.—Ed.]

"Mr. Ezekiel Birdseye, a gentleman of known probity, in Cornwall, Litchfield county, Conn. gives the testimony which follows:—

"'A Baptist clergyman in Laurens district, S. C., whipped his slave to death, whom he *suspected* of having stolen about sixty dollars. The slave was in the prime of life, and was purchased a few weeks before for 800 dollars of a slave trader from Virginia or Maryland. The coroner, Wm. Irby, at whose house I was then boarding, *told me,* that on reviewing the dead body, he found it *beat to a jelly from head to foot.* The master's wife discovered the money a day or two after the death of the slave. She had herself removed it from where it was placed, not knowing what it was, as it was tied up in a thick envelope. I happened to be present when the trial of this man took place, at Laurens Court-house. His daughter testified that her father untied the slave, when he appeared to be failing, and gave him cold water to drink, of which he took freely. His counsel pleaded that his death *might* have been caused by drinking cold water in a state of excitement. The judge charged the jury, that it would be their duty to find the defendant guilty, if they believed the death was caused by the whipping; but if they were of opinion that *drinking cold water* caused the death, they would find him not guilty! The jury found him—not guilty!'

"Dr. Jeremiah S. Waugh, a physician in Somerville, Butler county, Ohio, testifies as follows:

"'In the year 1825, I boarded with the Rev. John Mushat, a seceder minister, and principal of an academy in Iredel county, N. C. He had slaves, and was in the habit of restricting them on the sabbath. One of his slaves, however, ventured to disobey his injunctions. The offence was, he went away on sabbath evening, and did not return till Monday morning. About the time we were called to breakfast, the rev. gentleman was engaged in chastising him *for breaking the sabbath.* He determined not to submit—attempted to escape by flight. The master immediately took down his gun and pursued him; levelled his instrument of death, and told him, if he did not stop instantly *he would blow him through.*

"'The poor slave returned to the house and submitted himself to the lash; and the good master, while YET PALE WITH RAGE, *sat down to the table, and with a trembling voice* ASKED GOD'S BLESSING!'

"The following letter was sent by Capt. Jacob Dunham, of New York city, to a slaveholder in Georgetown, D. C., more than twenty years since:

"'Georgetown, June 13, 1815.

"'Dear sir,—Passing your house yesterday, I beheld a scene of cruelty seldom witnessed; that was the brutal chastisement of your negro girl, *lashed to a ladder and beaten in an inhuman manner, too bad to describe.* My blood chills while I contemplate the subject. This has led me to investigate your character from your neighbours; who inform me that you have *caused the death* of one negro man, whom you struck with a sledge for some trivial fault; that you have beaten another black girl with such severity that the *splinters* remained in her back for some weeks after you sold her; and many other acts of barbarity, too lengthy to enumerate. And to my great surprise, I find you are a *professor of the Christian religion!*

"'You will naturally inquire, why I meddle with your family affairs. My answer is, the cause of humanity and a sense of my duty requires it. With these hasty remarks I leave you to reflect on the subject; but wish you to remember, that there is an all-seeing eye who knows all our faults and will reward us according to our deeds.

"'I remain, sir, yours, &c.

"'JACOB DUNHAM,

"'Master of the brig Cyrus, of N. Y.'

"Rev. Sylvester Cowles, pastor of the Presbyterian church, in Fredonia, N. Y., says:

"'A young man, a member of the church in Conewango, went to

Alabama last year, to reside as a clerk in an uncle's store. When he had been there about nine months, he wrote his father that he must return home. To see members of the same church sit at the communion table of our Lord one day, and the next to see one seize any weapon and knock the other down, *as he had seen*, he *could not* live there. His good father forthwith gave him permission to return home.'

"The following is a specimen of the shameless hardihood with which a professed minister of the gospel, and editor of a religious paper, assumes the right to hold God's image as a chattel. It is from the 'Southern Christian Herald':

"'It is stated in the Georgetown Union, that a negro, supposed to have died of cholera, when that disease prevailed in Charleston, was carried to the public burying-ground to be interred; but before interment signs of life appeared, and, by the use of proper means, he was restored to health. And now the man who first perceived the signs of life in the slave, and that led to his preservation, claims the property as his own, and is about bringing suit for its recovery. As well might a man who rescued his neighbour's slave, or his *horse*, from drowning, or who extinguished the flames that would otherwise soon have burnt down his neighbor's house, claim the *property* as his own.'

"Rev. George Bourne, of New York city, late editor of the 'Protestant Vindicator,' who was a preacher seven years in Virginia, gives the following testimony:*

"'Benjamin Lewis, who was an elder in the Presbyterian church, engaged a carpenter to repair and enlarge his house. After some time

* A few years since Mr. Bourne published a work entitled "Picture of Slavery in the United States;" in which he describes a variety of horrid atrocities perpetrated upon slaves; such as brutal scourgings and lacerations, with the application of pepper, mustard, salt, vinegar, &c. to the bleeding gashes; also maimings, cat-haulings, burnings, and other tortures similar to hundreds described on the preceding pages. These descriptions of Mr. Bourne were at that time thought by multitudes *incredible*, and probably even by some abolitionists who had never given much reflection to the subject. We are happy to furnish the reader with the following testimony of a Virginia slaveholder, to the *accuracy* of Mr. Bourne's delineations, especially as this slaveholder is a native of one of the counties (Culpepper) near to which the atrocities described by Mr. B. were committed.

Testimony of Mr. William Hansborough, of Culpepper county, Virginia, the 'owner' of sixty slaves, to Mr. Bourne's "Picture of Slavery" as a *true delineation.*

Lindley Coates, of Lancaster Co. Pa., a well known member of the late Pennsylvania Convention for revising the constitution of the state, in a letter now before us describing a recent interview between him and Mr. Hansborough, of several days continuance, says, "I handed him Bourne's 'Picture of Slavery' to read; *after reading it*, he said, that all the sufferings of slaves therein related were *true delineations, and that he had seen all those modes of torture himself.*"

had elapsed, Kyle, the builder, was awakened very early in the morning by a most piteous moaning and shrieking. He arose, and following the sound, discovered a coloured woman nearly naked, tied to a fence, while Lewis was lacerating her. Kyle instantly commanded the slave-driver to desist. Lewis maintained his jurisdiction over his slaves, and threatened Kyle that he would punish him for his interference. Finally Kyle obtained the release of the victim.

" 'A second and a third scene of the same kind occurred, and on the third occasion, the altercation almost produced a battle between the elder and the carpenter.

" 'Kyle immediately arranged his affairs, packed up his tools, and prepared to depart. 'Where are you going?' demanded Lewis. 'I am going home,' said Kyle. 'Then I will pay you nothing for what you have done,' retorted the slave-driver, 'unless you complete your contract.' The carpenter went away with this edifying declaration, 'I will not stay here a day longer; for I expect the fire of God will come down and burn you up altogether, and I do not choose to go to hell with you.' Through hush-money and promises not to whip the women any more, I believe Kyle returned and completed his engagement.

" 'James Kyle, of Harrisonburgh, Virginia, frequently narrated this circumstance, and his son, the carpenter, confirmed it with all the minute particulars combined with his temporary residence on the Shenandoah river.

" 'John M'Cue, of Augusta county, Virginia, a *Presbyterian preacher*, frequently on the Lord's day morning, tied up his slaves and whipped them; and left them bound, while he went to the meeting-house and preached; and after his return home repeated his scourging. That fact, with others more heinous, was known to all persons in his congregation and around the vicinity; and so far from being censured for it, he and his brethren justified it as essential to preserve their 'domestic institutions.'

" 'Mrs. Pence, of Rockingham county, Virginia, used to boast,—'I am the best hand to whip a *wench* in the whole county.' She used to pinion the girls to a post in the yard on the Lord's day morning, scourge them, put on the '*negro plaster*,' salt, pepper, and vinegar, leave them tied, and walk away to church as demure as a nun, and after service repeat her flaying, if she felt the whim. I once expostulated with her upon her cruelty. 'Mrs. Pence, how can you whip your girls so publicly and disturb your neighbours so, on the Lord's day morning?' Her answer was memorable. 'If I were to whip them on any other day I should lose a day's work; but by whipping them on Sunday, their backs get well enough by Monday morning.' That woman, if alive, is doubtless a member of the church now, as then.

" 'Rev. Dr. Staughton, formerly of Philadelphia, often stated, that when he lived at Georgetown, S. C., he could tell the doings of one of the slaveholders of the Baptist church there by his prayers at the prayer meeting. 'If,' said he, 'that man was upon good terms with his slaves, his words were cold and heartless as frost; if he had been whipping a man, he would pray with life; but if he had left a woman whom he had been flogging, tied to a post in his cellar, with a determination to go back and torture her again, O! how he would pray!' The Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor, of Massachusetts, can confirm the above statement by Dr. Staughton.

" 'William Wilson, a Presbyterian preacher, of Augusta county, Virginia, had a young colored girl who was constitutionally unhealthy. As no means to amend her were availing, he sold her to a member of his congregation, and in the usual style of human flesh dealers, warranted her 'sound,' &c. The fraud was instantly discovered; but he would not refund the amount. A suit was commenced, and was long continued, and finally the plaintiff recovered the money out of which he had been swindled by slave-trading with his own preacher. No Presbytery censured him, although Judge Brown, the chancellor, severely condemned the imposition.

" 'In the year 1811, Jehab Graham, a preacher, lived with Alexander Nelson, a Presbyterian elder, near Stanton, Virginia, and he informed me that a man had appeared before Nelson, who was a magistrate, and swore falsely against his slave,—that the elder ordered him thirty-nine lashes. All that wickedness was done as an excuse for his dissipated owner to obtain money. A negro trader had offered him a considerable sum for the 'boy,' and under the pretence of saving him from the punishment of the law, he was trafficked away from his woman and children to another state. The magistrate was aware of the perjury, and the whole abomination, but all the truth uttered by every coloured person in the southern states would not be of any avail against the notorious false swearing of the greatest white villain who ever cursed the world. 'How,' said Jehab Graham, 'can I preach to-morrow?' I replied, 'Very well; go and thunder the doctrine of retribution in their ears, Obadiah 15, till by the divine blessing you kill or cure them.' My friends, John M. Nelson of Hillsborough, Ohio, Samuel Linn, and Robert Herron, and others of the same vicinity, could 'make both the ears of every one who heareth them tingle' with the accounts which they can give of slave-driving by professors of religion in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia.

" 'In 1815, near Frederick, in Maryland, a most barbarous planter was killed in a fit of desperation, by four of his slaves *in self-defence.* It was declared by those slaves while in prison that, besides his atrocities among

their female associates, he had deliberately butchered a number of his slaves. The four men were murdered by law to appease the popular clamor. I saw them executed on the twenty-eighth day of Jan. 1816. The facts I received from the Rev. Patrick Davidson of Frederick, who constantly visited them during their imprisonment—and who became an abolitionist in consequence of the disclosures which he heard from those men in the jail. The name of the planter is not distinctly recollected, but it can be known by an inspection of the record of the trial in the clerk's office, Frederick.

"'A minister of Virginia, still living, and whose name must not be mentioned for fear of Nero Preston and his confederate-hanging myrmidons, informed me of this fact in 1815, in his own house. 'A member of my church, said he, lately whipped a coloured youth to death. What shall I do?' I answered, 'I hope you do not mean to continue him in your church.' That minister replied, 'How can we help it!' We dare not call him to an account. We have no legal testimony.' Their communion season was then approaching. I addressed his wife,—'Mrs.—— do you mean to sit at the Lord's table with that murderer?'—'Not I,' she answered: 'I would as soon commune with the devil himself.' The slave killer was equally unnoticed by the civil and ecclesiastical authority.

"'John Baxter, a Presbyterian elder, the brother of that slaveholding doctor in divinity, George A. Baxter, held as a slave the wife of a Baptist colored preacher, familiarly called 'Uncle Jack.' In a late period of pregnancy he scourged her so that the lives of herself and her unborn child were considered in jeopardy. Uncle Jack was advised to obtain the liberation of his wife. Baxter finally agreed, I think, to sell the woman and her children, three of them, I believe, for six hundred dollars, and an additional hundred if the unborn child survived a certain period after its birth. Uncle Jack was to pay one hundred dollars per annum for his wife and children for seven years, and Baxter held a sort of mortgage upon them for the payment. Uncle Jack showed me his back in furrows like a ploughed field. His master used to whip up the flesh, then beat it downwards, and then apply the '*negro plaster*,' salt, pepper, mustard, and vinegar, until all Jack's back was almost as hard and unimpressible as the bones. There is slaveholding religion! A Presbyterian elder receiving from a Baptist preacher seven hundred dollars for his wife and children! James Kyle and uncle Jack used to tell that story with great Christian sensibility; and uncle Jack would weep tears of anguish over his wife's piteous tale, and tears of ecstasy at the same moment that he was free, and that soon, by the grace of God, his wife and children, as he said, 'would be all free together.'

"Rev. James Nourse, a Presbyterian clergyman of Mifflin co., Penn., whose father is, we believe, a slaveholder in Washington city, says,

"'The Rev. Mr. M——, now of the Huntingdon Presbytery, after an absence of many months, was about visiting his old friends on what is commonly called the 'Eastern Shore.' Late in the afternoon, on his journey, he called at the house of Rev. A. C., of P——town, Md. With this brother he had been long acquainted. Just at that juncture Mr. C. was about proceeding to whip a colored female, who was his slave. She was firmly tied to a post in FRONT of his dwelling-house. The arrival of a clerical visitor at such a time, occasioned a temporary delay in the execution of Mr. C.'s purpose. But the delay was only temporary; for not even the presence of such a guest could destroy the bloody design. The guest interceded with all the mildness yet earnestness of a brother and new visitor. But all in vain; 'the woman had been SAUCY, and must be punished.' The cowhide was accordingly produced, and the *Rev. Mr. C.*, a large and very stout man, applied it 'manfully' on 'woman's' bare and 'shrinking flesh.' I say *bare*, because you know that the slave women generally have but three or four inches of the arm near the shoulder covered, and the neck is left entirely exposed. As the cowhide moved back and forward, striking right and left, on the head, neck, and arms, at every few strokes the sympathising guest would exclaim, 'O, brother C. desist.' But brother C. pursued his brutal work, till, after inflicting about *sixty* lashes, the woman was found to be suffused with blood on the hinder part of her neck, and under her frock between the shoulders. Yet this rev. gentleman is well esteemed in the church; was, three or four years since, moderator of the synod of Philadelphia, and yet walks abroad, feeling himself unrebuked by law or gospel. Ah, sir, does not this narration give fearful force to the query—'*What has the church to do with slavery?*' Comment on the facts is unnecessary, yet allow me to conclude by saying, that it is my opinion such occurrences *are not rare in the south.* J. N.'

"Rev. Charles Stewart Renshaw, of Quincy, Illinois, in a recent letter, speaking of his residence, for a period, in Kentucky, says,

"'In a conversation with Mr. Robert Willis, he told me that his negro girl had run away from him some time previous. He was convinced that she was lurking round, and he watched for her. He soon found the place of her concealment, drew her from it, got a rope, and tied her hands across each other, then threw the rope over a beam in the kitchen, and hoisted her up by the wrists; 'and,' said he, 'I whipped her there till I made the lint fly, I tell you.' I asked him the meaning of making 'the lint fly,' and he replied, '*till the blood flew.*' I spoke of the iniquity and cruelty of slavery, and of its immediate abandonment. He

confessed it an evil, but said, 'I am a *colonizationist*—I believe in that scheme.' Mr. Willis is a teacher of sacred music, and a member of the Presbyterian church in Lexington, Kentucky.'

"Mr. R., speaking of the PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER and church where he resided, says,

"'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* neighbours, either in their physical, intellectual, or moral state: in some cases they would *suffer* in the comparison.

"'In the kitchen of the minister of the church, 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.

"'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.'

"The following communication from the Rev. William Bardwell, of Sandwich, Massachusetts, has just been published in 'Zion's Watchman,' New York city:

"'*Mr. Editor*,—The following fact was given me last evening, from the pen of a shipmaster, who has traded in several of the principal ports in the south. He is a man of unblemished character, a member of the M. E. church in this place, and familiarly known in this town. The facts were communicated to me last fall in a letter to his wife, with a request that she would cause them to be published. I give them verbatim, as they were written from the letter by brother Perry's own hand while I was in his house.

"'A Methodist preacher, Wm. Whitby by name, who married in Bucksville, S. C., and by marriage came into possession of some slaves, in July, 1838, was about moving to another station to preach, and wished, also, to move his family and slaves to Tennessee, much against the will of the slaves, one of which, to get clear from him, ran into the woods after swimming a brook. The parson took after him with his gun, which, however, got wet and missed fire, when he ran to a neighbour for another gun, with the intention, as he said, of killing him; he did not, however, catch or kill him; he chained another for fear of his running away also.

The above particulars were related to me by William Whitby himself.

" ' THOMAS C. PERRY.

" ' March 3, 1839.'

" ' I find by examining the minutes of the S. C. Conference, that there is such a preacher in the conference, and brother Perry further stated to me that he was well acquainted with him, and if this statement was published, and if it could be known where he was since the last conference, he wished a paper to be sent him containing the whole affair. He also stated to me, verbally, that the young man he attempted to shoot was about nineteen years of age, and had been shut up in a corn-house, and in the attempt of Mr. Whitby to chain him, he broke down the door and made his escape as above-mentioned, and that Mr. W. was under the necessity of hiring him out for one year, with the risk of his employer's getting him. Brother Perry conversed with one of the slaves, who was so old that he thought it not profitable to remove so far, and had been sold; *he* informed him of all the above circumstances, and said, with tears, that he thought he had been so faithful as to be entitled to liberty, but instead of making him free, he had sold him to another master, besides parting one husband and wife from those ties rendered a thousand times dearer by an infant child, which was torn for ever from the husband.

" ' WILLIAM BARDWELL.

" ' *Sandwich, Mass.*, March 4, 1839.'

" Mr. Samuel Hall, a teacher in Marietta college, Ohio, says, in a recent letter:

" ' A student in Marietta college, from Mississippi, a professor of religion, and in every way worthy of entire confidence, made to me the following statement. [If his name were published it would probably cost him his life.]

" ' When I was in the family of the Rev. James Martin, of Louisville, Winston county, Mississippi, in the spring of 1838, Mrs. Martin became offended at a female slave, because she did not move faster. She commanded her to do so; the girl quickened her pace; again she was ordered to move faster, or, Mrs. M. declared, she would break the broomstick over her head. Again the slave quickened her pace; but not coming up to the *maximum* desired by Mrs. M., the latter declared she would *see* whether she (the slave) could move or not; and, going into another apartment, she brought in a raw hide, awaiting the return of her husband for its application. In this instance I know not what was the final result, but I have heard the sound of the raw hide in at least *two* other instances, applied by this same reverend gentleman to the back of his *female* servant.'

"Mr. Hall adds—'The name of my informant must be suppressed, as he says, 'there are those who would cut my throat in a moment, if the information I give were to be coupled with my name.' Suffice it to say that he is a professor of religion, a native of Virginia, and a student of Marietta college, whose character will bear the strictest scrutiny. He says:—

"'In 1838, at Charlestown, Va., I conversed with several members of the church under the care of the Rev. Mr. Brown, of the same place. Taking occasion to speak of slavery, and of the sin of slaveholding, to one of them who was a lady, she replied, 'I am a slaveholder, and I *glory* in it.' I had a conversation, a few days after, with the pastor himself, concerning the state of religion in his church, and who were the most exemplary members in it. The pastor mentioned several of those who were of that description; the *first* of whom, however, was the identical lady who *gloried* in being a slaveholder! That church numbers nearly two hundred members.

"'Another lady, who was considered as devoted a Christian as any in the same church, but who was in poor health, was accustomed to flog some of her female domestics with a raw hide till she was exhausted, and then go and lie down till her strength was recruited, rising again and resuming the flagellation. This she considered as not at all derogatory to her Christian character.'

"Mr. Joel S. Bingham, of Cornwall, Vermont, lately a student in Middlebury college, and a member of the Congregational church, spent a few weeks in Kentucky, in the summer of 1838. He relates the following occurrence which took place in the neighbourhood where he resided, and was a matter of perfect notoriety in the vicinity:

"'Rev. Mr. Lewis, a Baptist minister in the vicinity of Frankfort, Ky. had a slave that ran away, but was retaken and brought back to his master, who threatened him with punishment for making an attempt to escape. Though terrified, the slave immediately attempted to run away again. Mr. L. commanded him to stop, but he did not obey. *Mr. L. then took a gun, loaded with small shot, and fired at the slave, who fell;* but was not killed, and afterwards recovered. Mr. L. did not probably intend to kill the slave, as it was his legs which were aimed at and received the contents of the gun. The master asserted that he was driven to this necessity to maintain his authority. This took place about the first of July, 1838.'

"The following is given upon the authority of Rev. Orange Scott, of Lowell, Mass., for many years a presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal church:

"'Rev. Joseph Hough, a Baptist minister, formerly of Springfield,

Mass., now of Plainfield, N. H., while travelling in the south, a few years ago, put up one night with a Methodist family, and spent the sabbath with them. While there, one of the female slaves did something which displeased her mistress. She took a chisel and mallet, and very deliberately cut off one of her toes!' "

3. By selling and buying human beings, and often separating husbands and wives, parents and children. It is a notorious fact, that professors of religion do buy and sell slaves regardless of family ties, without losing thereby their church standing.

The practice of professing Christians is an open sanction of the internal slave trade.

The Address of the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky to the churches under their care, after testifying to the prevalence of the internal slave trade, as quoted above, thus affirms the implication of the church in it:

"Our church, years ago, raised its voice of solemn warning against this flagrant violation of every principle of mercy, justice, and humanity. Yet we blush to announce to you and the world, that this warning has been often disregarded, even by those who hold to our communion. Cases have occurred in our own denomination, where professors of the religion of mercy have torn the mother from her children, and sent her into a merciless and returnless exile. *Yet acts of discipline have rarely followed such conduct.*"—p. 14.

The address proceeds to show that discipline is almost *impracticable.* Lest, however, it may be supposed that church censure falls more frequently than it really does upon the perpetrators of such enormities, we quote the declaration of the secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, contained in a note on page 53 of the Fifth Annual Report.

"After diligent inquiry, we are aware of only one church in the slave-holding states, which has disciplined its members for wrongs which could be *legally* inflicted upon the slave; that is the Presbyterian church at Madisonville, East Tennessee, under the pastoral care of the late Rev. Elijah M. Eagleton (a thorough abolitionist). That church, we think, in 1836, cut off two of its members for the crime of selling slaves."

The following testimony to slave dealing among church members and ministers is taken from "American Slavery as it is."

The Rev. Francis Hawley, of Connecticut, testifies as follows:

"One of my neighbours sold to a speculator a negro boy, about 14 years old. It was more than his poor mother could bear. Her reason fled, and she became a perfect *maniac*, and had to be kept in close confinement. She would occasionally get out and run off to the neighbours. On one of these occasions she came to my house. She was, indeed, a pitiable object. With tears rolling down her cheeks, and her frame shaking with agony, she would cry out, '*don't you hear him—they are whipping him now, and he is calling for me!*' This neighbour of mine, who tore the boy away from his poor mother, and thus broke her heart, was a *member of the Presbyterian church.*

"An elder in the Presbyterian church related to me the following:—'A speculator with his drove of negroes was passing my house, and I bought a little girl, nine or ten years old. After a few months, I concluded that I would rather have a plough-boy. Another speculator was passing, and I sold the girl. She was much distressed, and was very unwilling to leave.' She had been with him long enough to become attached to his own and his negro children, and he concluded by saying, that in view of the little girl's tears and cries, he had determined never to do the like again. I would not trust him, for I know him to be a very avaricious man.

"I was present, and saw the Rev. J—— W——, of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, hire out four slaves to work in the gold mines in Burke county. The Rev. H—— M——, of Orange county, sold, for 900 dollars, a negro man to a speculator, on a Monday of a camp meeting."

Testimony of the Rev. Charles Renshaw:

"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 Natchez; 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 Natchez 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.'

"Mr. William Poe, till recently a slaveholder in Virginia, now an elder in the Presbyterian church at Delhi, Ohio, gives the following testimony:

"'An elder in the Presbyterian church in Lynchburg had a most faithful servant, whom he flogged severely and sent him to prison, and had him confined as a felon a number of days, for being *saucy*. Another elder of the same church, an auctioneer, habitually sold slaves at his stand

—very frequently *parted families*—would often go into the country to sell slaves on execution, and otherwise; when remonstrated with, he justified himself, saying, 'it was his business;' the church also justified him on the same ground.

"'A Doctor Duval, of Lynchburg, Va., got offended with a very faithful, worthy servant, and immediately sold him to a negro trader, to be taken to New Orleans; Duval *still keeping the wife* of the man as his slave. This Duval was a *professor of religion.*'

"Rev. W. T. Allan, of Chatham, Illinois, gives the following in a letter dated Feb. 4, 1839:

"'Mr. Peter Vanarsdale, an elder of the Presbyterian church in Carrollton, formerly from Kentucky, told me, the other day, that a Mrs. Burford, in the neighbourhood of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, had *separated a woman and her children* from their husband and father, taking them into another state. Mrs. B. was a member of the *Presbyterian church.* The bereaved husband and father was also a professor of religion.

"'Mr. V. told me of a slave woman who had lost her son, separated from her by public sale. In the anguish of her soul, she gave vent to her indignation freely, and perhaps harshly. Some time after, she wished to become a member of the church. Before they received her, she had to make humble confession for speaking as she had done. *Some of the elders that received her, and required the confession, were engaged in selling the son from his mother.*'"

4. Professors of religion in the south are implicated in the guilt of slaveholding by defending slavery as a scriptural institution and a political blessing.

One of the most revolting spectacles that Christianity has ever been called to weep over has, within a few years past, been exhibited in the American church—that of a generation of gospel ministers prostituting the BIBLE to a defence of slavery. The pulpit and the press, the ecclesiastical meeting and the social circle, have repeatedly been employed to vindicate slavery as a heaven-born institution. Books, pamphlets, sermons, reviews, letters, and newspaper articles have been most industriously multiplied to demonstrate the scriptural authority, and to illustrate the "sublime merits" of American slavery. Religious periodicals have of late been established in the south, avowedly and prominently to maintain slavery. Ministers, doctors of divinity, professors in theological and literary institutions have outvied corrupt politicians, unprincipled demagogues, and infidels, in

fabricating ingenious sophistries to shield slavery from the assaults of truth. Learned dissertations have been written to prove that the patriarchs held slaves, that slavery was one of the Jewish institutions, and that Christ and his apostles sanctioned the slavery of their times. Presbyteries, Synods, Conferences, and other ecclesiastical bodies in the south, have at sundry times and places, passed resolutions approbatory of slavery, with the view, as expressed in their preambles, of quieting the consciences of church members, who are beginning to be disturbed by the anti-slavery sentiments of the north. The same bodies, in reply to brotherly epistles and remonstrances, from similar bodies in the free states, have directed to be prepared, and then sanctioned and sent forth, documents vindicating their pro-slavery course, and avowing their determination to persist in it. They have met remonstrance with flippant and angry retort, and often with menace and defiance. Argument has been answered by crimination, and affectionate appeal requited by reproach. All these things southern professors of religion have done, and ceased not to do for these several years.

We will now present some specimens of southern ecclesiastical action on the subject of slavery.

The Charleston, South Carolina, Baptist Association, in a memorial to the legislature of that state, says,

"The undersigned would further represent, that the said association does not consider that the holy scriptures have made the *fact* of slavery a question of *morals* at all." Again, "*The right of masters to dispose of the time of their slaves, has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things.*"

The Charleston, South Carolina, Union Presbytery, unequivocally avow their opinion as follows:

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this Presbytery the holding of slaves, so far from being a SIN in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy word;—that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles;—that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge; and that therefore they who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion that slavery is wrong, proceed upon false principles!"

Such extracts might be multiplied indefinitely. Indeed there is scarcely an ecclesiastical body of any note throughout the slaveholding states, which has not repeatedly given its sanction to the system of slavery.

Of the general practice of southern ministers we are fully informed by Miss Martineau, in her work on America.

"Of the Presbyterian, as well as other clergy of the south, some are even planters, superintending the toils of their slaves, and making purchases, or effecting sales in the slave-markets, during the week, and preaching on Sundays whatever they can devise that is least contradictory to their daily practice. I watched closely the preaching in the south, —that of all denominations,---to see what could be made of Christianity, 'the highest fact in the Rights of Man,' in such a region. The clergy were pretending to find express sanctions of slavery in the bible: and putting words to this purpose into the mouths of public men, who do not profess to remember the existence of the bible in any other connexion. The clergy were boasting at public meetings, that there was not a periodical south of the Potomac which did not advocate slavery; and some were even setting up a magazine, whose 'fundamental principle is, that man ought to be the property of man.' The clergy who were to be sent as delegates to the general assembly, were receiving instructions to leave the room, if the subject of slavery was mentioned; and to propose the cessation of the practice of praying for slaves."

It cannot be doubted that this ardent zeal on the part of the southern church to defend "the domestic institution," has been chiefly enkindled by the movements of the abolitionists. Until they uplifted their rebuke, nothing had awakened the conscience, or startled the fears of a slaveholding church. Professing Christians at the south slept undisturbed, and the great body of the northern church consented to their slumber. Alas! that when finally aroused, they did *not* "awake unto righteousness and sin not;"—"then had their peace been as a river, and their righteousness as the waves of the sea." But they awoke, like those possessed of evil spirits, to curse the light and cry, "Torment us not."

5. By denouncing abolitionists, and striving to exclude anti-slavery publications from the south.

It cannot be denied that southern ministers have occupied the

front rank among the vilifiers of the abolitionists. They have threatened their persons, impugned their motives, loaded them with abusive epithets, assailed their characters, and denounced their piety. At one moment they have ridiculed them as weak enthusiasts, and the next they have anathematized them as fell incendiaries. They have successively despised them for the smallness of their numbers, and hated them for their growing strength and gathering hosts. In no cause, it is believed, have the southern clergy ever evinced so much industry and earnestness as in contending against the doctrines that *slavery is a sin*, and *immediate emancipation a duty*. If these two propositions had embodied the sum and substance of all "damnable heresies," they could not have excited greater opposition.

The following resolutions and doings of southern religious bodies in the slaveholding states, illustrate the spirit entertained toward abolitionists and their doctrines.

The clergy of Richmond, Virginia, on the 29th of August, 1835,

"Resolved, that the suspicions that have prevailed to a considerable extent against ministers of the gospel, and professors of religion in the state of Virginia, as identified with abolitionists, are wholly unmerited, believing as we do, from extensive acquaintance with our churches and brethren, that they are unanimous in opposing the pernicious schemes of abolitionists."

The Synod of Va. subsequently passed the following resolution:

"'Resolved, unanimously, that we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said associations—that slavery, as it actually exists in our slaveholding states, *is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished*, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, as *directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense, and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God.*'"

The Edgefield (S. C.) Baptist Association,

"'Resolved, that the practical question of slavery, in a country where the system has obtained as a part of its stated policy, is settled in the scriptures by Jesus Christ and his apostles.'

"'Resolved, that these uniformly recognized the relation of master and slave, and enjoined on both their respective duties, under a system of servitude more degrading and absolute than that which obtains in our country.'

"The same association appointed a *day of fasting*, not to 'undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free,' but to entreat God to give to our brethren and all others at the north, who are embarked in the unscriptural cause of the abolition of slavery among us, right views of the course pursued by our Lord and his apostles under a similar state of things, when they were upon the earth, in imitation of whose example they should be found, that instead of scattering firebrands into the southern portion of the Union, and stirring up a servile war, they may 'endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'"

Surely this is fasting "to smite with the fist of wickedness."

We are told by the southern Christian Herald that the Rev. J. H. Thornwell, and Rev. Mr. Carlisle addressed a meeting in Lancasterville, S. C., in support of the following among other resolutions:

"1. That slavery, as it exists in the south, is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion; that all opposition to it arises from a *misguided* and *fiendish fanaticism*, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold."

"2. That all interference with this subject by fanatics, is a violation of our civil and social rights—is unchristian and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed; and that the instigators are *murderers* and *assassins*."

"3. That any interference with this subject, on the part of Congress, must lead to a dissolution of the Union."

A clergyman of Virginia closes a letter "To the Sessions of the Presbyterian congregations, within the bounds of West Hanover Presbytery," published in the Richmond Whig, as follows:

"'If there be any stray-goat of a minister among us, tainted with the bloodhound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.

"Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

"ROBERT N. ANDERSON.'"

We next present an extract of a letter from Rev. George W. Langhorne a methodist minister, to the editor of Zion's Watchman, a methodist anti-slavery paper in New York, dated Raleigh, North Carolina, June 25, 1836.

"'I, sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with Arthur Tappan and his wanton coadjutors. Nothing is more

appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a Christian, and *repugnant* to my soul as a *minister*, than the insidious proceedings of such men.

"'If you have not resigned your credentials, as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, I really think that, as an *honest* man, you should now do it. In your ordination vows, you solemnly promised to be obedient to those who have the rule over you; and since they have spoken, and that *distinctly*, too on this subject, and disapprobate your conduct, I conceive that you are bound to submit to their authority, or *leave the church*.'"

Again, at a public meeting held at Orangeburgh, S. C., on the 21st of July, 1836, which had been called for the purposes of considering what should be done with a copy of Zion's Watchman, which had been sent to the Rev. J. C. Postell, a member of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist E. Church, Mr. Postell read an address to the citizens of that place, which was published in the Charleston Courier of August 5, 1836, and of which the following is an extract:

"From what has been premised, the following conclusions result: 1. That slavery is a judicial visitation. 2. *That it is not a moral evil.* 3. *That it is supported by the bible.* 4. It has existed in all ages.

"IT IS NOT A MORAL EVIL. The fact, that slavery is of DIVINE APPOINTMENT, would be proof enough with the Christian that it cannot be a moral evil. So far from being a moral evil, it is a MERCIFUL VISITATION —'IT IS THE LORD'S DOINGS, AND MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES.' And had it not been for the best, God alone, who is able, long since would have overruled it. IT IS BY DIVINE APPOINTMENT.'"

At the same meeting, the Rev. Mr. Postell read a letter which he had addressed to the editor of Zion's Watchman, of which the following are extracts:

"*To* LA ROY SUNDERLAND, *Editor of Zion's Watchman, New-York:*

"Did you calculate to misrepresent the Methodist discipline, and say it supported abolitionism, when the General Conference, in their late resolutions, denounced it as a *libel on truth?* '*Oh, full of all subtlety,* THOU CHILD OF THE DEVIL.' 'All *liars*,' saith the sacred volume, 'shall have their part in the lake of fire and brimstone.'

"I can only give one reason why you have not been indicted for a libel. The law says, the greater the truth, the greater the libel; and as your paper has no such ingredient, it is construed but a small matter. But if you desire to educate the slaves, I will tell you how to raise the money, without editing Zion's Watchman: *you and old Arthur Tappan*

come out to the South this winter, and they will raise one hundred thousand dollars for you—New Orleans of herself will be pledged for it. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, *and never expecting to see you but once in time or in eternity*, which is at judgment, I subscribe myself the friend of the bible, and the opposer of abolitionism,

" *Orangeburgh, July* 21, 1836. J. C. POSTELL.' "

We conclude our extracts under this head with the following Preamble and Resolutions of the Harmony Presbytery of South Carolina,—passed " unanimously."

" Whereas, sundry persons in Scotland and England, and others in the north, east, and west of our country, have denounced slavery as obnoxious to the laws of God; some of whom have presented before the General Assembly of our church, and the congress of the nation, memorials and petitions, with the avowed object of bringing into disgrace, slaveholders, and abolishing the relation of master and slave.

" And whereas, from the said proceedings, and the statements, reasonings, and circumstances connected therewith, it is most manifest that those persons 'know not what they say nor whereof they affirm;' and with this ignorance discover a spirit of self-righteousness and exclusive sanctity, while they indulge in the most reckless denunciations of their neighbour, as false in fact as they are opposed to the spirit and dictates of our holy religion.

" Therefore, *Resolved*,

" 1. That as the kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, his church as such has no right to abolish, alter, or affect any institution or ordinance of men political and civil merely: nor has the church even in our midst the right to prescribe rules and dictate principles which can bind or affect the conscience with reference to slavery, and any such attempt would constitute ecclesiastical tyranny. Much less has any other church or churches, or bodies of men, ecclesiastical, civil, or political under heaven, any the slightest right to interfere in the premises.

" 2. That slavery has existed from the days of those good old slaveholders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (who are now in the kingdom of heaven,) to the time when the apostle Paul sent a runaway slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a Christian and fraternal epistle to this slaveholder, which we find still stands in the canons of the scriptures; and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the apostle and does now exist.

" 3. That as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the scriptures, in the same manner as those of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God; and whosoever has a conscience too tender to recognise this re-

lation as lawful, is 'righteous over much,' is 'wise above what is written, and has submitted his neck to the yoke of man, sacrificed his Christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men."

From this view of the pro-slavery influence of the southern church, we turn to contemplate the position of the church in the free states. From the fact that slavery, as a permanent institution, does not exist in the northern or free states, a stranger might suppose the *church* in these states to be clear of the guilt of slaveholding. Facts however establish a very different conclusion, and demonstrate that the northern church is but little less, if indeed not *more*, implicated than the southern church. The relations of the North to the South devolve special and weighty responsibilities upon the church in the free states touching the question of slavery. From the nature of the case the northern church must exert a mighty influence either for the removal or the continuance of slavery in the south. Its influence over the south in all matters of a moral and religious nature is acknowledged to be great. From the bosom of the northern church the south receives a majority of its most influential ministers, editors of religious papers, and teachers from the theological professor and college president, to the village schoolmaster and family tutor. From the north, too, the south receives many, perhaps most, of its religious periodicals, from the Quarterly Theological Review to the Weekly Sheet; also by far the greater proportion of its religious books and pamphlets. It may be asserted that the religious press of the north has an almost absolute sway over the south. Moreover sentiments of the northern church on slavery uttered in the pulpit, or expressed by ecclesiastical bodies, carry with them very great weight. If the various denominations of the north would bear a decided and unanimous testimony against slavery *as a sin, to be immediately renounced,* it could not long exist at the south, at least among professing Christians. It would then require no mighty and expensive machinery of agencies and presses, devoted especially to the agitation of the slavery question. Its doom would be pronounced by the northern church.

But it may be asked, is not the church in the free states unanimous against slavery? Do they not regard it as a sin of no

ordinary magnitude? Do they not believe that it should be immediately abolished? Do they not proclaim these sentiments from the pulpit, from the press, and from the ecclesiastical meeting?

We reply by stating a few facts.

First, with regard to ecclesiastical action. One of the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian church, at their last annual meeting, refused to entertain the subject of slavery at all; the other refused to act upon it in any other way than by referring to the lower judicatories, for such disposal as they might think best.

The general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, at its last meeting, refused to sanction or renew its usual testimony against slavery, but passed sundry resolutions bitterly denouncing "modern abolitionism."

These bodies represent both the northern and southern sections of their respective churches, a large majority of which are in the north. Let us see what the exclusively northern judicatories of these and other denominations have done. Of the Presbyteries to whom the disposal of the subject was committed by one of the General Assemblies (the New School) *a majority, we believe, have maintained entire silence.* A number of them, situated in sections of the country where anti-slavery societies have been operating most successfully, have spoken out strongly for the slave. It is only within a few years that these, or any of the religious bodies of the north, with very few exceptions, have taken up their testimony against slavery. Some of the northern conferences, (of the Methodist Episcopal church) have prohibited their travelling ministry from meddling with the subject of slavery, and have refused to license candidates for the ministry, who are known to be abolitionists, and who would not pledge themselves to entire silence on the subject of slavery. There is not a single conference, with the exception of two in New England, which has decidedly condemned slavery as sin.

The Baptist church at the north has not been so extensively recreant to the cause of the slave; but still the great body of that denomination, have thrown their influence on the side of the oppressor. So have the Episcopal clergy, with scarcely an

exception, even up to the present hour; and with a few distinguished exceptions, the same may be said of the laity of that church.

The great body of the Congregational clergy of New England, divided into those called orthodox, and the unitarians, were for some years after the commencement of the anti-slavery effort in this country, among its most strenuous opposers. None perhaps were more zealous in advancing the objects of the Colonization Society. None have contributed more powerfully to crush the free people of colour by sanctioning and strengthening the unchristian prejudice against them. Though large numbers of the Congregational clergy have within the last five years joined the abolitionists; yet even now the majority of them exert an influence, which countenances the slaveholder and crushes the slave, and free people of color. This is pre-eminently true of those who are settled in cities and large towns.

The fact that the pulpit in the free states is very extensively closed against the advocate of the slave, plainly indicates the position of the main body of the clergy of all denominations. A few years ago, when the anti-slavery cause was more unpopular than it now is, there was probably not one pulpit in a hundred throughout the free states which was not barred against it, and it was obliged to resort to court houses, town houses, school houses, bar rooms, barns, private houses, and often to the open air. Now the cause has won its way into a large number of churches which were formerly inaccessible; but at the present moment the great majority of pulpits in the free states are closed against the advocacy of human rights. The ministers who occupy them will not for the most part even read a notice of an anti-slavery meeting. Still they disclaim all friendship for slavery. But do they manifest their sincerity by preaching on the subject themselves? Not they. Slavery is a topic which they studiously avoid. True, they endeavour to *justify* their silence by alleging that it is a *political* subject, not befitting the pulpit, or that it is a matter which does not concern them, but belongs exclusively to the south. Still the fact remains that they observe a studied silence respecting the iniquities and enormities of American oppression. If they break silence, as they sometimes do, it is too often to speak in extenuation

of the guilt of slaveholders, or to denounce the fanaticism of the abolitionists. Large numbers of ministers in the free states add to the sin of neglecting slavery in their ministrations, the grosser guilt of excluding it from their public prayers. Amid the numerous subjects of prayer gathered from the ends of the earth, and from the islands of the sea,—subjects never forgotten in the great congregation, the poor slave finds no place, though he lies bleeding under the droppings of the sanctuary.

But while multitudes of the northern clergy exclude the anti-slavery minister from their pulpits, and close their own lips in the cause of the dumb, they welcome the *slaveholding preacher from the south.* To bar *him* from their pulpits, though his hands have clutched the bloody whip, would be a breach of Christian courtesy. If the southern *layman* visits their parish, bringing with him his retinue of human property, and leaving behind his half-thousand slaves, subject to the lash and the lust of the brutal overseer, he is invited cordially to the communion table. While ecclesiastical chivalry is doing all these honours to the slaveholding minister and layman, it is making a still more shocking display of its pro-slavery sympathy in its treatment of the coloured members of the church. To them a seat is assigned in an obscure corner, or in the gallery,—a seat odious not only from its position in the house, but principally from its being a *negro seat,* out of which the coloured man, however worthy or pious, is not allowed to sit. In the very communion itself, which should be a scene of unrestricted Christian union, and equality, the colored brother is mortified and insulted by being repeatedly passed by in the dispensing of the elements, until all the whites are served; while perhaps the slaveholding brother from the south, is honored with the first presentation.

These are some of the ways in which the northern clergy and churches are implicated in the guilt of slaveholding, and a fearful amount of guilt have they accumulated.

We next come to speak of the position and influence of the northern religious press.

We have already alluded to its extensive circulation in the slaveholding states. Were its attitude a manly and upright one, it would soon subvert the foundations of slavery. While with some editors the policy is entire silence on the

subject, others maintain a perpetual war against the abolitionists. There are religious papers which are incessantly opposing the doctrine of immediate emancipation, as wild, visionary, dangerous, and impracticable. If they speak of slavery at all, it is to cavil about the doctrine of its being *in all cases sin*, and to expose their want of sympathy for the slave by speculating about imaginary cases in which they suppose slaveholding would not be sin. Meanwhile they are symphonious in the praises of the Colonization Society—an institution whose partialities for the oppressor, whose indifference for the fate of the slave, and exterminating hatred of the free people of color, have been a thousand times exposed. While they are trumpeting the honors of this negro-hating society, they are dumb respecting the glorious events which have transpired in the West Indies. For aught the mass of northern religious papers have said about it, their readers would scarcely have learned the fact of the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British colonies, and would be in utter ignorance of the happy and triumphant issue of that great experiment. Such has been the course of the weekly press. In unison with these the grave Quarterly publications established at the seats of theological learning, and conducted by theological professors, have been lending their influence to vindicate slavery from the bible. The writers and publishers of religious books at the north have likewise contracted the dreadful guilt of being *silent* upon the abominations of slavery. The guilt of *silence* is after all the most general and the most shameful guilt of northern Christians respecting slavery. It betrays a hardness of heart towards their poor brother in bonds, a blindness to the sin of slavery, and a recreancy to their responsibilities in the matter which are truly deplorable. It betrays still more, a most humiliating fear of incurring southern displeasure and losing southern patronage.

We have not yet completed the humiliating exposure of the northern church, which faithfulness to the slave demands of us. Professors of religion have borne no small part in the pro-slavery mobs which have disgraced the free states for the last seven years. They have been known to be active in instigating them, and they have been concerned in carrying them out; and after mobs have spent their fury upon abolitionists, men of grave

church titles have been known to give their sanction to the deed:—"good enough for the fanatics," "just what the rascals deserve," "the only way to deal with incendiaries," and such like endorsements of mob violence, have fallen from the lips of many a minister, deacon, elder, and class leader in the free states.

Again, large numbers of northern church members and not a few northern clergymen, are actually owners of slaves in the south.

To those ignorant of the numerous relations which subsist between northern and southern Christians, the representations we have given above might appear incredible. What inducement, such persons might ask, can the northern churches have to thus favor the system of slavery? It is far removed from them, they are not corrupted by daily contact with oppression, they are constantly witnessing the benign results of a system of free labor, they see the superiority of freedom in the incomparably greater prosperity of the free states, everything around them condemns slavery; and we might conclude that if the whole population of the free states were not abolitionists, at least the whole northern church would be. But there are very many circumstances which connect the northern church with the south, and give the former an interest in the continuance of slavery, scarcely inferior to that of the southern church.

First, there are numerous ecclesiastical relations between the north and the south.

Each of the large denominations have an extensive branch in the south. These southern branches are very influential, and when they threaten to secede from their brethren in the free states in case they meddle with slavery, the northern churches are strongly tempted to silence, for the sake of peace, union, and denominational power.

Again, most of the active benevolent operations of the northern church derive a part of their patronage from the south.

Such is the case with Boards for Foreign and Domestic Missions, the Bible, Tract, and Education societies. Here is another strong inducement to the northern churches to propitiate the favour of the south by silence upon slavery.

Again, church members at the north are connected with the south to an unlimited extent by marriage alliances.

Northern ministers and theological professors have sons and daughters married at the south and owning large slave properties. So with elders, deacons, class-leaders, and private members generally. There is scarcely a family in the free states which has not some relative residing at the south, usually married. Many a son, too, of northern religious parents is to be found on southern plantations, flourishing the whip of the overseer. This extensive family connexion with the south has a tendency to make northern professing Christians very loath to speak aught against southern "institutions."

Again, there is an almost infinite variety of business relations between the north and the south.

Almost every trade and handicraft pursued at the north, has its market at the south. Thus members of churches, equally with other classes of persons in the free states, are connected in business with the south, and are of course interested in preserving the amicable relations between the two sections of the union, and strongly tempted to refrain from everything that will offend slaveholders. They are too far-sighted not to discover that any movement at the north against slavery, must materially affect business intercourse with the south; and hence they are constantly plied with motives urging them to be silent on the subject of slavery, and not only to be silent themselves, but to endeavour to keep all others so.

Besides business and other connexions already mentioned the friendly relations and social intercourse which are constantly maintained between the citizens of the free and the slave states are as largely participated in by the religious as by any other class.

Thousands of Christian families at the north entertain visiters from the south during the summer, many of whom are themselves entertained in turn as visiters at the south during the winter. The strongest social attachments not unfrequently exist between northern and southern families, who are in no wise related. And surely this sort of intercourse between the inhabitants of such widely separated portions of our common country, is, when contemplated as an illustration of human friendship, a delightful spectacle. But the aspect in which we are called to view it is certainly more painful than pleasing. Its tendency has been to blind northern Christians to the enormities

and guilt of slavery, and even when not wholly blinded the entanglements of social etiquette have restrained them from speaking out in the language of faithful rebuke. They feel that this would be a sort of breach of faith to their southern friends, a betrayal of the confidence reposed in them, and an ungrateful requital of the hospitalities which have been showered upon them. Unworthy as such feelings are, *they are entertained* and have no small influence in closing the mouths if not the minds of professing Christians in the free states against the claims of the slave. Strange indeed that Christians should not have learned that first lesson of the religion of Christ, that *duty* is not created by smiles nor annihilated by frowns. But multitudes at the north who freely admit the theory of that lesson, refuse to reduce it to practice in the case under consideration. They have found it no easy task to espouse the cause of the slave when that act severs for ever the ties which bind them to the slaveholder. Those who are not in the habit of making every other consideration bow before duty, are not the men to resist so formidable a temptation.

Lastly, *northern ministers* have a strong interest in the slave states. Not a few of them are natives of the slave states, some of whom still hold slaves, others have married wives with slave dowers, others contemplate a future settlement or sojourn there. A variety of causes may bring about such an event. Their health may fail, and render a visit or removal to the south indispensable, or they may receive a tempting call, or from some other cause they may one day become residents of the south. It behoves them therefore to stand either uncommitted on the question of slavery, or committed on the wrong side.

From these observations it is evident that there are numerous temptations operating upon professing Christians at the north to become implicated in the guilt of slaveholding. That they should be so often found apologizing for the slaveholder, welcoming him to the communion, and inviting him to the pulpit, while they close it against him who would plead for the slave, can be accounted for upon the plainest principles of human nature.

In conclusion, we would say that though a multitude of professing Christians at the north are implicated in the guilt of

slaveholding, there is a large number of honorable exceptions both among individuals and societies. There are ecclesiastical bodies that dare to pronounce slaveholding in all cases a heinous sin to be repented of, and abandoned immediately. There are not a few pulpits that stand wide open to the advocates of the oppressed but close instinctively at the approach of a clerical man-stealer; there are many ministers who speak boldly for the slave, and remember him in the prayers of the sanctuary; there are churches, very few though they be, which repudiate the God-dishonoring distinctions of colour in the house of worship, and which hesitate not to debar from their communion the slaveholding professor. There are portions of the public press who assert their freedom, and meet their responsibilities in the cause of human rights without shrinking.

There are Christians who are willing to forego southern trade, favor, friendship, and marriage alliances, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the slave, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. And thanks be unto God, the number of these is rapidly increasing, and will, we doubt not, continue to increase until the whole northern church shall have cleansed its skirts from the blood of the slave.

Twelfth Question. *Could a law for the registration of slaves be passed in the United States or other countries to prevent the introduction of slaves when the trade is illegal?*

Such a law, if faithfully and vigorously executed, would doubtless accomplish much; but we have no idea that any such law could be passed at present in the United States, or if passed that it would be faithfully enforced. There is so little true respect for the principles of liberty in the nation, and so little just appreciation of human rights, that a law of this kind could neither be passed nor properly executed.

Thirteenth Question. *Is any slave trade carried on with Texas; if so, to what extent, from whence are the slaves obtained, and what is the present number of slaves in that country?*

The answer to this question will be found in connexion with the replies to other queries upon Texas.

FOURTEENTH QUESTION. *What are the means which the abolitionists in different parts of the world could most effectually use, consistently with the principles recognized by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for the extinction of the slave trade and slavery?*

Our suggestions under this inquiry will have reference only to American slavery.

1. The incalculable benefits which the anti-slavery cause in this country has already realized from the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, convinces us that our foreign friends cannot in any way more effectually aid us than by laboring for the utter extinction of slavery and the instruction and elevation of the emancipated slaves in all their national domains. Already the abolition of slavery in the British West Indian colonies has struck a decisive blow at the roots of our system. No one event has occurred for which we have greater reason to magnify the God of the oppressed. Let this be followed by the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, and American slavery would totter to its fall. Further, let the friends of freedom in England redouble their efforts for the extinction of East India slavery. The effect of emancipation in the West Indies, *as an example*, is greatly counteracted in its operation upon a large portion of our countrymen by the continuance of slavery in the East Indies. This is seized upon as an inconsistency, and wielded as a proof of British insincerity in the cause of human liberty. It is greatly important, therefore, that every ground and pretext of cavil against British sincerity should be taken away, that the example of a nation of abolitionists may bear upon us with all its weight. The eradication of slavery in the East Indies would give the English nation just such a power. Besides it would almost inevitably either wholly exclude American slave cotton from the English market, or greatly reduce its price. In either case a shock would be given to American slavery from which it could never recover.

May we not moreover rely upon the combined anti-slavery power in England and France for effecting the abolition of slavery in the Spanish colonies? The single island of Cuba wields a greater influence over the United States than all the other

West India colonies together. From its size, wealth, and contiguity, and from the constant intercourse maintained between us, it serves to keep our slaveholders in countenance. Were slavery abolished there we should care but little for its continuance in the minor Danish and Dutch colonies, so far as respects their influence over us. But we feel little encouragement to look to SPAIN for so desirable a consummation.

2. We would next mention as an auxiliary the guarding of the great experiment in the West Indies from all adverse influences. Our countrymen are intently observing the operation of this experiment, and they are observing it with partial and prejudiced eyes, with the secret wish and hope that it may fail; at the same time they realize that if it *succeeds* it must go far towards demonstrating the safety and policy of immediate emancipation. Their readiness to seize upon every vague rumour adverse to the experiment illustrates both their wishes and their fears. Many unfavorable influences may be, and have already been brought to bear upon this experiment, and the evil results are charged, by the prejudiced here, though very unjustly, against the cause of emancipation. We need not here specify these influences. The friends of human rights in Great Britain have already a painful acquaintance with them, and are well aware that the colonies abound with agencies in the shape of unequal laws, partial magistrates, and unprincipled planters, hostile to the interests of freedom. Over these agencies British Abolitionists may exert a control: *we cannot.*

3. The friends of human rights in Great Britain may further aid in the anti-slavery work, by keeping our countrymen advised of the happy results of emancipation in the West India colonies. It is true those islands are open to *our* inspection, and we have not been slow to gather the results and proclaim them in the ears of our countrymen; but in the estimation of the proslavery class we are partizans, and heated ones too, yea fanatical, and our testimony is received with suspicion. The testimony of Englishmen themselves relative to the working of emancipation in the West India colonies, would we are persuaded claim far greater attention. But to be effectual, it should be oft repeated. We would respectfully suggest that frequent statements of the condition of the colonies, conduct of the peo-

ple, state of the crops, causes of difficulties if any, and many other like items, carefully made out and sent to our religious weekly, and commercial daily publications, in New York and other cities, would be of incalculable service.

4. Another way in which our cause may be greatly furthered, is by awakening more and more the British public to the abominations of American slavery. A deep abhorrence of our oppressions should pervade universally the British people, so that whenever Americans travel or tarry within the bounds of the empire they should meet a solemn and uncompromising testimony against American slavery, American "prejudice against color," and the multiform pro-slavery spirit of the free states. Even now the influence of such a public sentiment is beginning to be felt by Americans who cross the Atlantic. Great Britain is already regarded here as a nation of abolitionists and her frown is greatly dreaded by the advocates of slavery. If the impression could be made upon the British people at large, that they may do much toward the removal of American slavery, this would be a great point gained. If they could be made to appreciate the mighty influence which they may wield by the bare expression of their public sentiment against our slavery, this would be a still greater gain. If also the responsibilities of Englishmen visiting the United States were deeply felt, and if they were in all cases faithful in condemning our slavery, and prejudice, and all who uphold them, they would produce the happiest effects. How few Englishmen, visiting the United States, are faithful in this respect! How few sustain the reputation of their country as a nation of abolitionists! How many, who are regarded at home as abolitionists, come here only to weaken our hands, and strengthen those of slaveholders and their apologists!

5. Again, the cause of American emancipation might be greatly promoted by communications from distinguished persons in Great Britain, prepared expressly for publication under their own signatures, in our most influential moral and religious periodicals. But little has been hitherto done in this way, but still enough to show the importance of this instrumentality. The letters of the Rev. John Angell James, of Birmingham, addressed to the editor of the New York Observer, were extensively read, and produced

a most salutary impression. These letters were kind and courteous, yet firm and faithful in their rebuke of American slavery and prejudice, and coming as they did from one extensively known and respected amongst us, they were most welcome auxiliaries. Let such letters be multiplied a hundred fold. There are many names in Great Britain, both in church and state, that are cherished in the hearts of multitudes of our countrymen; and communications signed by them would secure an extensive perusal. We need not say that the course here suggested would be wholly unexceptionable. American slavery is a *public thing* —as much so as American liberty. It stands out before the world claiming to be "the corner stone of the Republic," "an essential element in a free government." With such high pretensions it should surely seek to attract toward it the searching scrutiny of the master spirits of all lands. We earnestly solicit your attention to this as an important means of promoting the extinction of American slavery; and trust that it will not be found impracticable to enlist many in this most promising agency.

6. The anti-slavery cause in this country may also be greatly subserved by securing the general discussion of American slavery by the British press—religious, literary, commercial, and political. All your ablest reviews are reprinted and widely circulated in all parts of the United States. Anti-slavery articles published in them would reach every portion of the union. The friends of human rights in Great Britain could not more essentially promote the cause in this country than by securing the co-operation of those pre-eminently powerful instrumentalities in holding up American slavery to the scorn and indignant reprobation of the civilized world. The service which would hereby be rendered, may be inferred from the loud outcry of a prominent slaveholder, "*the literature of the world is against us.*" There is not, perhaps, in the world a class of persons more sensitive to public opinion than slaveholders. Hence all their frenzied excitement because abolitionists will discuss slavery. It is not because they believe that their slaves will thereby be instigated to rebellion, or that any compulsory measures will be used to effect the overthrow of slavery; but simply because they foresee that the inevitable consequence of discussion will be the creation of a

strong public sentiment at the north against their favorite system. Regard for public favor, strong in every community, is doubly so among slaveholders, for with them it is an indispensable prop to a misgiving conscience. With the slaveholder *accredited respectability* becomes a substitute for *self respect*, which gradually abandons him amid the perpetual developments of passion and meanness. Hitherto the slaveholder has been *living upon his respectability*, and he has certainly had an unreasonable stock of it both at home and abroad. But his glory is passing away. The disguises of generosity, hospitality, and chivalry, under which he has so long contrived to practise his impositions upon the world, are being torn off, and he must soon appear in his naked deformity the abhorrence of mankind. To hasten this desirable consummation we would enlist the British press widely in the discussion of American slavery. Let American slaveholders feel not merely that the literature of the world is against them, but that the British press, with its piety, talent, learning, eloquence, and philanthropy marshals and leads on the host.

7. Lastly, most valuable aid may be rendered by the extensive introduction into the British market of free grown cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, and the other products of our slave labor. Our slave states are so greatly dependent upon British markets for the profitable disposal of their products that if Great Britain should give adequate encouragement to her East India products of the same kind, the main staff of American slavery would be broken.

We have thus taken the liberty, in compliance with the desire expressed in the preceding query, to make a number of suggestions relative to the co-operation of British abolitionists in the extinction of American slavery. That co-operation we most highly appreciate and earnestly invoke. Similarity of language, laws, manners, and pursuits, and the great and increasing intercourse between the two nations, give to Britons a moral hold upon our countrymen which no other people on the globe possess. We entreat them not to be deterred from the most active advocacy of this cause by the consideration that Great Britain and America are distinct nations. What though we are politically two people—are we not morally one? Are we not one

brotherhood of human kind? Is it in the nature of the geographical lines which separate the family of man into various nations and governments, to absolve one portion of that family from all obligation to exert a moral influence over others? We feel assured that such a sentiment will find no tolerance with British abolitionists. Whether Americans desire, deprecate, or defy their rebukes, they will be uttered, and they *will be heard.*

FIFTEENTH QUESTION. *What is the practice of the American abolitionists in reference to the use of slave grown produce?*

In this respect there is no uniformity in the practice of American abolitionists. Some abstain entirely from slave grown produce as a matter of conscience; others regard it as a question of expediency merely, and abstain so far as they find it convenient. Others still—and large numbers—view it neither as a question of conscience nor expediency; consequently they purchase and use slave grown produce of all descriptions without compunction and probably without giving a thought to the subject. It should, however, be observed that this subject has been but little discussed among American abolitionists—far less in our opinion than its intrinsic importance demands.

SIXTEENTH QUESTION. *Would the recommendation to give a preference to the use of free instead of slave grown produce, be likely to have an extensively practical good effect, and if cotton, the exclusive growth of free labor, were manufactured in England, would it find a sale in America to any extent?*

Our views respecting the first part of the above query have been already given in the remarks under the fourteenth question. To the latter part of the question we reply that free labor cotton fabrics would probably be bought by a majority of American abolitionists. Beyond this we do not suppose they would find much demand. Could it be furnished at the same prices for which slave labor fabrics can be had, it would probably stand in the American market on the same footing with the latter; for very few, we suppose, give a preference to slave grown articles on account of their being slave grown.

SEVENTEENTH QUESTION. *Would fiscal regulations by European countries favorable to the consumption of free grown cotton, sugar, rice, coffee, tobacco, and other tropical productions, have a beneficial effect?*

Such regulations, if made in good faith and vigorously carried out, would doubtless yield most happy results.

EIGHTEENTH QUESTION. *Would Denmark, France, Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Brazils, consent to abolish slavery, if all the tropical productions of these countries or their colonies were admitted for consumption in the European market on the same terms as their own colonial produce—no discriminating duty being placed against British manufactures in the countries from which such produce is admitted?*

We have not sufficient data in our possession to enable us to furnish a satisfactory answer to this query.

NINETEENTH QUESTION. *What is the number of slaves still remaining in the so called free states?*

The answer to this query will be seen by a reference to the statistics, and observations under the first question.

TWENTIETH QUESTION. *What are the laws of the northern states affecting slaves and the rights (so called) of slave-masters?*

These laws may be considered in two points of view—as affecting the slaves still remaining in the nominally free states, and as affecting those brought thither from slave states, for a temporary sojourn.

In some of the states slavery was abolished by judicial decisions made on the ground of express constitutional declarations that "all men are born free and equal." The states which thus abolished slavery are Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. In these cases the act of abolition extended of course to all the slaves; though a very few aged persons may, though legally free, be still held in nominal slavery, and as slaves, be enumerated in the national census.

The western free states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, were rescued from slavery previous to their existence as states, by the "ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States, north west of the river Ohio," ratified by congress July 13th, 1787.

Maine never held slaves as a state, being a part of Massachusetts at the time slavery was abolished there.

In the remaining free states, slavery was abolished by acts of their respective legislatures in a gradual way. In these cases emancipation was secured only to those born after a fixed period. The slaves then living were unaffected by it, and remained slaves till death.

The act passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania, on the 1st day of March, 1780, entitled "An act for the gradual abolition of Slavery," provided that all coloured persons born in the state after that date should be free. It required the owners of slaves, i. e. of persons born previous to 1780, to register the name, age, &c. of every such slave, with their own (the master's) name, occupation, residence &c., in a place designated, on or before the 1st day of November next ensuing the date of the act. It further provided that all slaves not thus registered, should after the said 1st of November be free. But to this provision there were sundry exceptions, such as the slaves of members of congress from other states, in attendance upon their masters during the sessions of Congress,* the slaves of foreign ministers and consuls, and of persons passing through or sojourning in the state, but not residing therein, also seamen belonging to, and employed on vessels belonging to the inhabitants of other states; these continued slaves provided they were not sold to an inhabitant of the state "nor (except in the case of members of congress, foreign ministers and consuls) *retained in the state longer than six months.*" †

The Abolition Act of Connecticut, which came next in order of time, provided that all colored persons born in that state after the 1st day of March, 1784, should be free on reaching the age of twenty-five years, till which time they might be held in ser-

* At the date of this law the national congress held its sessions in Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania.

† Stroud's "Laws of Slavery," chap. iv.

vitude. All slaves, born previous to that date, remained such for life.

The Act of Rhode Island was substantially the same with that of Connecticut, and came into operation on the same day, 1st of March, 1784.

The first Act of New York bears date the 29th day of March, 1799, and provides that all born of slaves after the 4th of July, 1799, should be held as slaves by the owners of their mothers, until the males were twenty-eight years old and the females twenty-five.

Another Act was passed April 8th, 1801, not materially differing from the former.

By a third Act, passed March 31st, 1817, it was provided that all descendants of slaves born after the 4th of July, 1799, should be free, but should continue in the service of the former owner, "as if bound to service by the overseers of the poor"—males till twenty-eight, and females till twenty-five years old; and all born after the date of the last Act were to remain "servants as aforesaid until the age of twenty-one, and no longer." The Act of 1817 declared that all slaves within the state, born before the 4th of July, 1799, should, after the 4th of July, 1827, *be free.*

Slavery, strictly speaking, was terminated in New York in 1827. Still, however, the descendants of slaves, born after July 4th, 1799, were continued in service, as if bound; and this species of service exists at this time, and will not cease with some till 1845, with others till 1848.

The following is the legal remedy provided for these bound servants in New York, in case of misusage or violations of the conditions of service on the part of the master:

"If any master be guilty of any cruelty, &c., or any violations of the provisions of this title (title 7, Part 2, chap. 8th, Revised Statutes), or of the terms of the indenture or contract, towards any person bound to contract, such persons may complain to any two justices of the peace of the county, &c., who shall summon the parties before them, &c., and may, by certificate under their hands, discharge such person from his obligations of service."—[2 Revised Statutes, 91; section 32.]

The Abolition Act of New Jersey went into effect on the 4th day of July, 1804. It provided that all who were slaves on the 14th day of March, 1798, should continue such during life.

That every child born of a slave after the 4th of July, 1804, should be free, but should remain in the service of the mother's owner, the same as if bound by the overseers of the poor; if a male until twenty-five, if a female until twenty-one years of age. It made it the duty of the grand jury to indict any person for inhumanly treating or abusing his slave; and the person so offending was, on conviction, to be punished by a fine, not exceeding forty dollars, for the use of the poor of the township. It further provided that no slave should be admitted a witness in any matter, except in criminal cases, where the evidence of one slave may be admitted *for or against another slave.*

This last provision makes the *preceding* almost wholly a dead letter; for in the great majority of cases the only evidence would be that of the slave and his fellows.

The New Jersey Act forbade the introduction of slaves into the state, either for sale or servitude, under a penalty of forty dollars, but inserted a provision to this effect, "that this shall not prevent any person from *bringing his slaves,* who shall remove into this state *to make a settled residence;* nor *foreigners,* nor others having only a temporary residence for the purpose of transacting business, or on their travels, from bringing and employing their slaves during their stay, provided each slave shall not be sold, or disposed of in this state."

If we understand this provision correctly, it opens the door for any number of slaveholders to remove to this state and bring their slaves. They may not only come from any place, but may bring their slaves from any place. A citizen of New York or Philadelphia may send to Washington and buy slaves, and then remove to this state, and bring his slaves and hold them for life. So that it does, in fact, give to citizens of other states greater power than to its own citizens. Only that a citizen of New Jersey, wishing to become a slaveholder, might remove to another state, obtain his slaves, and then remove again to New Jersey and hold them. A gentleman from Guadaloupe who brought his servant to New York, was indicted for importing a slave, and was obliged to declare him free. But a foreign traveller, from Cuba, Brazil, or Africa, might bring a whole retinue of slaves to New Jersey, and hold them under the statute during his stay.

In Illinois there is a system of *indentured servitude* or appren-

ticeship, and the constitution recognizes the masters as "owners" of the apprentices. This system is thus described in a religious periodical published in the state of Illinois.

"Under the territorial government, by a legislative provision, slaveholders were permitted to emigrate with their negroes, set them free, and immediately *indenture* them for a term of years. The future progeny of these servants may become free; but the condition of the present race differs not in a single particular, so far as to evils and restrictions, from that of their colour in Missouri or Kentucky, except in one feature. There (in Missouri or Kentucky) a slave is free at death—here he is *legally* bound to serve ninety years after he is dead! Cases existed in which the indentures were drawn for ninety-nine years. If the 'servant' died within nine years, the indenture law holds him still in bondage."

We will now notice the laws of free states affecting the slaves brought thither from slave states for a temporary residence.

The Revised Statutes of the state of New York (Vol. I. pages 657, 658), provide as follows:

"Section 6th. Any person, not being an inhabitant of this state, who shall be travelling to or from, or passing through this state, may bring with him any person lawfully held in slavery, and may take such person with him from this state. But the person so held in slavery shall not reside or continue in this state more than nine months, and if such residence be continued beyond that time, such person shall be free.

"Section 7th. Any person, who, or whose family, shall reside part of the year in this state, and part of the year in any other state, may remove and bring with him or them, from time to time, any person lawfully held by him in slavery, into this state, and may carry such person with him or them out of the state."

By this statute slaves may be held in New York by non-residents for nine months; and if their masters choose to make a permanent residence in the state, they can retain their slaves perpetually by removing them once every nine months out of the state and returning with them the next day.

In Pennsylvania and Indiana, slaves may be held in the same way six months; in Rhode Island indefinitely as domestics. In New Jersey "persons making a temporary residence in the state may bring their slaves and remove them again."

By a law of congress passed February 12th, 1793, any *state magistrate* is authorized to decide in the case of persons claimed

as fugitives from labor, *or slaves.* This manifestly unconstitutional law has been set aside in New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Vermont (in 1837), and in Connecticut (in 1838), by laws granting a jury trial. Besides these, no other free states has borne testimony against the unconstitutionality of this law, although the legislatures of the free states have been repeatedly petitioned to grant the trial by jury in such cases. On the contrary, some of them have, with a gratuitous servility, proffered and pledged their utmost assistance toward the arrest and return of the fugitive to slavery. In this pro-slavery legislation, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, have rendered themselves infamous; Ohio pre-eminently so. At the instance of the state of Kentucky the legislature of Ohio passed, February 26th, 1839, a law containing the following remarkable provisions:

The first section enacts that any person claimed as a fugitive from labor in any other state (meaning slaves) shall, on application made by the master or his agent, to any judge or justice of the peace, be delivered to the claimant; the judge or justice of the peace being satisfied of the genuineness of the claim. A *trial by jury* is in all cases denied the person claimed to be a fugitive.

Another section makes it penal for any person or persons to attempt to prevent the arrest of an alleged fugitive:

"Every person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in the jail of the county not exceeding sixty days, at the discretion of the court; and shall, moreover, be liable in an action at the suit of the claimant."

The fourth section provides that in case the claimant is not prepared for trial, it may be postponed for a time not exceeding sixty days; and that in the meantime the person arrested must be committed to jail to await trial.

Section sixth we quote entire; it is in the following words:

"If any person or persons in this state shall counsel, advise, or entice any other person, who by the laws of another state, shall owe labor, or service to any other person, or persons, to leave, abandon, abscond, or escape from the person or persons to whom such labor or service according to the laws of such other state is or may be due, or shall furnish money or conveyance of any kind, or any other facility, with intent or for the purpose of enabling such person, owing labor or service as afore-

said, to escape from or elude the claimant of such person owing labor or service as aforesaid, knowing such person or persons to owe labor or service as aforesaid, every person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in the jail of the county not exceeding sixty days, at the discretion of the court; and shall, moreover, be liable in an action at the suit of the party injured."

The next section declares that if any one in the state, who shall "harbor or conceal any person owing labor or service, as aforesaid, who may come into this state without the consent of the person to whom such labor or service may be due," shall be fined, or imprisoned as above.

Such are some of the provisions of this extraordinary Act, which still stands unrepealed.

TWENTY-FIRST QUESTION. *What are the most striking features of the laws of slave states affecting slaves? And what new laws have been enacted since* 1825?

Judge Stroud, in his "Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the several states of the United States of America," has embodied the main features of American slavery in twelve propositions, which we insert in this place, subjoining to each such laws, judicial decisions, &c., as may serve to establish the truth of the proposition and illustrate the spirit of the slave codes.

PROPOSITION FIRST. The master may determine the kind and degree, and time of labour, to which the slave shall be subjected.

Most of the slave states have no law upon this subject. Consequently the slaveholder violates none though he may drive the slave to the field, and force him to work at the top of his strength night and day, till he drops dead. In Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, there are laws professing to curtail in some respects the power of the master over the duration of the slave's labor. The law of South Carolina prohibits the working of slaves more than fifteen hours in the twenty-four, and fourteen in winter."—See 2 *Brevard's Digest of the Laws of South Carolina,* 243.

The law of Louisiana requires the master to allow his slaves

TWO AND A HALF HOURS for "rest" in the twenty four.—See 1 *Martin's Digest of the Laws of Louisiana*, 610.

PROPOSITION SECOND. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper or find convenient.

In all the slave states except three, slaveholders would violate no law if they forced their slaves, male and female, to go naked or to starve. The North and South Carolina and Louisiana codes contain provisions concerning food and clothing.

The law of North Carolina requires the master to furnish his slave "a quart of corn per day."—See *Haywood's Manual of the Laws of North Carolina*, 524.

The allowance of clothing prescribed by the law of Louisiana is for one half the year, one linen shirt and pantaloons.—*Martin's Digest*, 610.

PROPOSITION THIRD. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

By this it is not meant that there are no laws professing to protect the life and limbs of the slave; but that the slave derives no actual protection from such laws. The following is an illustration. Forty years since the state of North Carolina repealed a law making imprisonment the penalty for the wilful and malicious killing of a slave, and enacted in its stead a law prescribing the same penalty for the malicious killing of a slave as for the murder of a freeman. The following comments on this law, we quote from "American Slavery as it is," page 148:

"After declaring that he who is 'guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a freeman;' the act concludes thus: 'Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this state; or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful overseer, or master, or to any slave dying under *moderate correction*.' Reader, look at this proviso. 1. It gives free license to all persons to kill *outlawed slaves*. Well, what is an outlawed slave? A slave who runs away, lurks in swamps, &c., and kills a *hog* or any other domestic animal to keep himself from starving, is subject to a proclamation of *outlawry* (Haywood's Manual, 521); and then whoever finds him may shoot him, tear him in pieces with dogs, burn him to death over a slow

fire, or kill him by any other tortures. 2. The proviso grants full license to a master to kill his slave, if the slave *resist* him. The North Carolina bench has decided that this law contemplates not only actual resistance to punishment, &c., but also *offering* to resist. (Stroud's Sketch, 37.) If, for example, a slave undergoing the process of branding should resist by pushing aside the burning stamp; or if wrought up to frenzy by the torture of the lash, he should catch and hold it fast; or if he break loose from his master and run, refusing to stop at his command; or if he *refuse* to be flogged; or struggle to keep his clothes on while his master is trying to strip him; if, in these, or any one of a hundred other ways he *resist*, or offer, or *threaten* to resist the infliction; or, if the master attempt the violation of the slave's wife, and the husband resist his attempts without the least effort to injure him, but merely to shield his wife from his assaults, this law does not merely permit, but it *authorizes* the master to murder the slave on the spot.

"The brutality of these two provisos brands its authors as barbarians. But the third cause of exemption could not be outdone by the legislation of fiends. 'DYING under MODERATE *correction!*' MODERATE *correction* and DEATH—cause and effect! 'Provided ALWAYS,' says the law, 'this act shall not extend to *any* slave dying under *moderate correction!*' Here is a formal proclamation of impunity to murder—an express pledge of *acquittal* to all slaveholders who wish to murder their slaves, a legal absolution—an indulgence granted before the commission of the crime! Look at the phraseology. Nothing is said of maimings, dismemberments, skull fractures, of severe bruisings, or lacerations, or even of floggings; but a word is used the common-parlance import of which is, *slight chastisement;* it is not even *whipping*, but '*correction.*' And as if hypocrisy and malignity were on the rack to outwit each other, even that weak word must be still farther diluted; so '*moderate*' is added: and, to crown the climax, compounded of absurdity, hypocrisy, and cold-blooded murder, the *legal definition* of 'moderate correction' is covertly given; which is, *any punishment* that KILLS the victim. All inflictions are either *moderate* or *immoderate;* and the design of this law was manifestly to shield the murderer from conviction, *by carrying on its face the rule for its own interpretation;* thus advertising, beforehand, courts and juries, that the fact of any infliction *producing death*, was no evidence that it was *immoderate*, and that beating a man to death came within the legal meaning of 'moderate correction!' The *design* of the legislature of North Carolina in framing this law is manifest; it was to produce the impression upon the world, that they had so high a sense of justice as voluntarily to grant adequate protection to the lives of their slaves. This is ostentatiously set forth in the preamble, and in the body of the law. That this

was the most despicable hypocrisy, and that they had predetermined to grant no such protection, notwithstanding the pains taken to get the *credit* of it, is fully revealed by the *proviso*, which was framed in such a way as to nullify the law, for the express accommodation of slaveholding gentlemen murdering their slaves. All such, find in this proviso a convenient accomplice before the fact, and a packed jury, with a ready-made verdict of 'not guilty,' both gratuitously furnished by the government! The preceding law and proviso are to be found in Haywood's Manual, 530; also in Laws of Tennessee, Act of October 23, 1791; and in Stroud's Sketch, 37."

The following judicial decisions of the highest courts in North and South Carolina will serve still further to confirm the preceding position. We quote from "American Slavery as it is," page 143:

"See Devereaux's North Carolina Reports, 263.—Case of the State vs. Mann, 1829; in which the Supreme Court decided, that a master who *shot* at a female slave and wounded her, because she got loose from him when he was flogging her, and started to run from him, had violated *no law*, AND COULD NOT BE INDICTED. It has been decided by the highest courts of the slave states generally, that assault and battery upon a slave is not indictable as a criminal offence.

"The following decision on this point was made by the Supreme Court of South Carolina, in the case of the State vs. Cheetwood, 2 Hill's Reports, 459:

"'*Protection of slaves.*—The criminal offence of assault and battery *cannot, at common law, be committed on the person of a slave.* For, notwithstanding for some purposes a slave is regarded in law as a person, yet generally he is a mere chattel personal, and his right of personal protection belongs to his master, who can maintain an action of trespass for the battery of his slave.

"'There can be therefore no offence against the state for a mere beating of a slave, unaccompanied by any circumstances of cruelty, or an attempt to kill and murder. The peace of the state is not thereby broken; for a slave is not generally regarded as legally capable of being within the peace of the state. He is not a citizen, and *is not in that character entitled to her protection.*'"

To the foregoing we add from the same work (page 144) the following specimens of the laws of slave states, and of judicial decisions embodying their spirit:

"'Any person may lawfully kill a slave, who has been outlawed for

running away and lurking in swamps, &c.'—Law of North Carolina; Judge Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws, 103; Haywood's Manual, 524. 'A slave *endeavouring* to entice another slave to run away, if provisions, &c., be prepared for the purpose of aiding in such running away, shall be punished with DEATH. And a slave who shall aid the slave so endeavouring to entice another slave to run away, shall also suffer DEATH.'---Law of South Carolina; Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws, 103–4; 2 Brevard's Digest, 233, 244. Another law of South Carolina provides that if a slave shall, when absent from the plantation, refuse to be examined by '*any white* person,' (no matter how crazy or drunk,) 'such white person may seize and chastise him; and if the slave shall *strike* such white person, such slave may be lawfully killed.'---2 Brevard's Digest, 231.

"The following is a law of Georgia: 'If any slave shall presume to strike any white person, such slave shall, upon trial and conviction before the justice or justices, suffer such punishment for the first offence as they shall think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the second offence, DEATH.'---Prince's Digest, 450. The same law exists in South Carolina, with this difference, that death is made the punishment for the *third* offence.

"In both states, the law contains this remarkable proviso: 'Provided always, that such striking be not done by the command and in the defence of the person or property of the owner, or other person having the government of such slave, in which case the slave shall be wholly excused.' According to this law, if a slave, by the direction of his OVERSEER, strike a white man who is beating said overseer's *dog*, 'the slave shall be wholly excused;' but if the white man has rushed upon the slave himself, instead of the *dog*, and is furiously beating him, if the slave strike back but a single blow, the legal penalty is, 'ANY *punishment* not extending to life or limb;' and if the tortured slave has a second onset made upon him, and, after suffering all but death, again strike back in self-defence, the law KILLS him for it. So, if a female slave, in obedience to her mistress, and in defence of 'her property,' strike a white man who is kicking her mistress's pet kitten, she 'shall be wholly excused,' saith the considerate law; but if the unprotected girl, when beaten and kicked *herself*, raise her hand against her brutal assailant, the law condemns her to '*any* punishment, not extending to life or limb;' and if a wretch assail her again, and attempt to violate her chastity, and the trembling girl, in her anguish and terror, instinctively raise her hand against him in self-defence, she shall, saith the law, 'suffer DEATH.'

"Reader, this diabolical law is the 'public opinion' of Georgia and South Carolina toward the slaves. This is the vaunted 'protection' afforded them by their 'high-souled chivalry.' To show that the 'public

opinion' of the slave states far more effectually protects the *property* of the master than the *person* of the slave, the reader is referred to two laws of Louisiana, passed in 1819. The one attaches a penalty 'not exceeding one thousand dollars,' and 'imprisonment not exceeding two years,' to the crime of 'cutting or breaking any iron chain or collar,' which any master of slaves has used to prevent their running away; the other, a penalty 'not exceeding five hundred dollars' to 'wilfully cutting out the tongue, putting out the eye, *cruelly* burning, or depriving any slave of *any limb*.' Look at it—the most horrible dismemberment conceivable cannot be punished by a fine of *more* than five hundred dollars. The law expressly fixes that as the utmost limit, and it *may* not be half that sum; not a single moment's imprisonment stays the wretch in his career, and the next hour he may cut out another slave's tongue, or burn his hand off. But let the same man break a chain put upon a slave, to keep him from running away, and, besides paying double the penalty that could be exacted from him for cutting off a slave's legs, the law imprisons him not exceeding two years!

"This law reveals the *heart* of slaveholders towards their slaves, their diabolical indifference to the most excruciating and protracted torments inflicted on them by '*any* person;' it reveals, too, the *relative* protection afforded by 'public opinion' to the *person* of the slave, in appalling contrast with the vastly surer protection which it affords to the master's *property* in the slave. The wretch who cuts out the tongue, tears out the eyes, shoots off the arms, or burns off the feet of a slave, over a slow fire, *cannot* legally be fined more than five hundred dollars; but if he should in pity loose a chain from his galled neck, placed there by the master to keep him from escaping, and thus put his property in some jeopardy, he may be fined *one thousand dollars*, and thrust into a dungeon for two years! and this, be it remembered, not for *stealing* the slave from the master, nor for *enticing*, or even advising him to run away, or giving him any information how he can effect his escape; but merely, because, touched with sympathy for the bleeding victim, as he sees the rough iron chafe the torn flesh at every turn, he removes it;—and, as escape without this incumbrance would be easier than with it, the master's property in the slave is put at some risk. For having caused this slight risk, the law provides a punishment—fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding *two years*. We say *slight risk*, because the slave may not be disposed to encounter the dangers, and hunger, and other sufferings of the woods, and the certainty of terrible inflictions if caught; and if he should attempt it, the risk of losing him is small. An advertisement of five lines will set the whole community howling on his track; and the trembling and famished fugitive is soon scented out in his retreat, and dragged back and delivered over to his tormentors.

"The preceding law is another illustration of the 'protection' afforded to the limbs and members of slaves, by 'public opinion' among slaveholders.

"Here follow two other illustrations of the brutal indifference of 'public opinion' to the *torments* of the slave, while it is full of zeal to compensate the master, if any one disables his slave so as to lessen his market value. The first is a law of South Carolina. It provides, that if a slave, engaged in his owner's service, be attacked by a person 'not having sufficient cause for so doing,' and if the slave shall be '*maimed or disabled*' by him, so that the owner suffers a loss from his inability to labor, the person maiming him shall pay for his 'lost time,' and 'also the charges for the cure of the slave!' This Vandal law does not deign to take the least notice of the anguish of the '*maimed*' slave, made, perhaps, a groaning cripple for life; the horrible wrong and injury done to *him*, is passed over in utter silence. It is thus declared to be *not a criminal act*. But the pecuniary interests of the master are not to be thus neglected by 'public opinion.' Oh, no! its tender bowels run over with sympathy at the master's injury in the 'lost *time*' of his slave, and it carefully provides that he shall have pay for the whole of it.---See 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231, 232.

"A law similar to the above has been passed in Louisiana, which contains an additional provision for the benefit of the *master*---ordaining, that 'if the slave' (thus *maimed and disabled*,) 'be for ever rendered unable to work,' the person maiming shall pay the master the appraised value of the slave before the injury, and shall, in addition, *take* the slave, and maintain him during life.' This 'public opinion' transfers the helpless cripple from the hand of his master, who, as he has always had the benefit of his services, might possibly feel some tenderness for him, and puts him in the sole power of the wretch who has disabled him for life —protecting the victim from the fury of his tormentor, by putting him into his hands! What but butchery by piecemeal can, under such circumstances, be expected from a man brutal enough at first to 'maim' and 'disable' him, and now exasperated by being obliged to pay his full value to the master, and to have, in addition, the daily care and expense of his maintenance. Since writing the above, we have seen the following judicial decision, in the case of Jourdan vs. Patton---5 Martin's Louisiana Reports, 615. A slave of the plaintiff had been deprived of his *only eye* and thus rendered *useless*, on which account the court adjudged that the defendant should pay the plaintiff his full value. The case went up, by appeal, to the Supreme court. Judge Mathews, in his decision, said, that 'when the defendant had paid the sum decreed, the slave ought to be placed in his possession,'---adding, that 'the judgment making full compensation to the owner *operates a change of property*.' He adds, 'The

principle of humanity, which would lead us to suppose that the mistress whom he had long served would treat her miserable blind slave with more kindness than the defendant, to whom the judgment ought to transfer him, CANNOT BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION!' The full compensation of the mistress for the loss of the services of the slave, is worthy of all 'consideration,' even to the uttermost farthing; 'public opinion' is omnipotent for *her* protection; but when the food, clothing, shelter, fire and lodging, medicine and nursing, comfort and entire condition and treatment of her poor blind slave, throughout his dreary pilgrimage, is the question---ah! that, says the mouth-piece of the law, and the representative of 'public opinion,' CANNOT BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION.' Protection of slaves by 'public opinion' among slaveholders!!

"The foregoing illustrations of southern 'public opinion,' from the laws made by it and embodying it, are sufficient to show, that, so far from being an efficient protection to the slaves, it is their deadliest foe, prosecutor, and tormentor.

"But here we shall probably be met by the legal lore of some 'Justice Shallow,' instructing us that the *life* of the slave is fully protected by law, however unprotected he may be in other respects. This assertion we meet with a point blank denial. The law does not, in reality, protect the life of the slave. But even if the *letter* of the law would fully protect the life of the slave, 'public opinion' in the slave states would make it a *dead* letter. The letter of the law would have been all-sufficient for the protection of the lives of the miserable gamblers in Vicksburg, and other places in Mississippi, from the rage of those whose money they had won; but 'gentlemen of property and standing' laughed the law to scorn, rushed to the gamblers' house, put ropes round their necks, dragged them through the streets, hanged them in the public square, and thus saved the sum they had not yet paid. Thousands witnessed this wholesale murder, yet of the scores of legal officers present, not a soul raised a finger to prevent it, the whole city consented to it, and thus aided and abetted it. How many hundreds of them helped to commit the murders, *with their own hands*, does not appear, but not one of them has been indicted for it, and no one made the least effort to bring them to trial. Thus, up to the present hour, the blood of those murdered men rests on that whole city, and it will continue to be a CITY OF MURDERERS, so long as its citizens agree together to shield those felons from punishment; and they do thus agree together so long as they encourage each other in refusing to bring them to justice. Now, the *laws* of Mississippi were not in fault that those men were murdered; nor are they now in fault, that their murderers are not punished; the laws demand it, but the people of Mississippi, the legal officers, the grand juries and legislature of the

state, with one consent agree, that the law *shall be a dead letter*, and thus the whole state assumes the guilt of those murders, and in bravado, flourishes her reeking hands in the face of the world.

"The letter of the law on the statute book is one thing, the practice of the community under that law often a totally different thing. Each of the slave states has laws providing that the life of no *white* man shall be taken without his having first been indicted by a grand jury, allowed an impartial trial by a petit jury, with the right of counsel, cross-examination of witnesses, &c.; but who does not know that if ARTHUR TAPPAN were pointed out in the streets of New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, Natchez, or St. Louis, he would be torn in pieces by the citizens with one accord, and that if any one should attempt to bring his murderers to punishment, he would be torn in pieces also. The editors of southern newspapers openly vaunt, that every abolitionist who sets foot in their soil, shall, if he be discovered, be hung at once, without judge or jury. What mockery to quote the *letter of the law* in those states, to show that abolitionists would have secured to them the legal protection of an impartial trial!

"Before the objector can make out his case, that the life of the slave is protected by the law, he must not only show that *the words of the law* grant him such protection, but that such a state of public sentiment exists as will carry out the provisions of the law in their true spirit. Anything short of this will be set down as mere prating, by every man of common sense. It has been already abundantly shown in the preceding pages, that the public sentiment of the slaveholding states toward the slaves is diabolical. Now, if there were laws in those states, the *words* of which granted to the life of the slave the same protection granted to that of the master, what would they avail? ACTS, constitute protection; and is that public sentiment which makes the slave 'property,' and perpetrates hourly robbery and batteries upon him, so penetrated with a sense of the sacredness of his right to life, that it will protect it at all hazards, and drag to the gallows his OWNER, if he take the life of his own *property*?

"Enough has been said to show, that though the laws of the slave states profess to grant adequate protection to the life of the slave, such professions are mere empty pretence, no such protection being in reality afforded by them. But there is still another fact, showing that all laws which profess to protect the slaves from injury by the whites are a mockery. It is this—that the testimony, neither of a slave nor of a free colored person, is *legal* testimony against a white. To this rule there is *no exception* in any of the slave states: and this, were there no other evidence, would be sufficient to stamp, as hypocritical, all the provisions

of the codes which *profess* to protect the slaves. Professing to grant *protection*, while, at the same time, it strips them of the only *means* by which they can make that protection available! Injuries must be legally *proved* before they can be legally *redressed:* to deprive men of the power of *proving* their injuries, is itself the greatest of all injuries; for it not only exposes to all, but invites them, by a virtual guarantee of impunity, and is thus the *author* of all injuries. It matters not what other laws exist, professing to throw safeguards round the slave—*this* makes them blank paper. How can a slave prove outrages perpetrated upon him by his master or overseer, when his own testimony and that of all his fellow-slaves, his kindred, associates, and acquaintances, are ruled out of court? and when he is entirely in the *power* of those who injure him, and when the only care necessary, on their part, is, to see that no *white* witness is looking on. Ordinarily, but *one* white man, the overseer, is with the slaves while they are at labor; indeed, on most plantations, to commit an outrage in the *presence* of a white witness would be more difficult than in their absence. He who wished to commit an illegal act upon a slave, instead of being obliged to *take pains* and watch for an opportunity to do it unobserved by a white, would find it difficult to do it in the presence of a white if he wished to do so. The supreme court of Louisiana, in their decision, in the case of Crawford vs. Cherry, 15, (*Martin's La. Rep.* 142; also '*Law of Slavery*,' 249) where the defendant was sued for the value of a slave whom he had shot and killed, say, 'The act charged here, is one *rarely* committed in the presence of *witnesses*' (whites). So in the case of the State vs. Mann (*Devereux, N. C. Rep.* 263; and '*Law of Slavery*,' 247), in which the defendant was charged with shooting a slave girl 'belonging' to the plaintiff; the supreme court of North Carolina, in their decision, speaking of the provocations of the master by the slave, and the consequent wrath of the master prompting him to *bloody vengeance*, add, '*a vengeance generally practised with impunity, by reason of its privacy.*'

"*Laws* excluding the testimony of slaves and free colored persons, where a white is concerned, do not exist in all the slave states. One or two of them have no legal enactment on the subject; but, in those, '*public opinion*' acts with the force of law, and the courts *invariably reject it.* This brings us back to the potency of that oft-quoted 'public opinion,' so ready, according to our objector, to do battle for the *protection* of the slave!"

Proposition Fourth. All the power of the master over his slave may be exercised not by himself only in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent.

This practice throughout all the slaveholding states is uniform. The following law of the state of Louisiana is an illustration.

"The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master and to all who *represent* him is not susceptible of any modification or restriction (except in what can excite the slave to the commission of crime), in such manner that he owes to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds, and an absolute obedience. (1 Martin's Digest, 616.)

Proposition Fifth. Slaves have no legal rights of property in things real or personal, but whatever they may acquire belongs in point of law to their masters.

To quote in detail the laws of slaveholding states to establish a proposition which none will question, would be useless. For the benefit of such, however, as may have access to the legal codes of our slaveholding states, we subjoin the following references. James' Digest of the Laws of South Carolina, 385, 386. Prince's Digest of the Laws of Georgia, 453 and 457. Revised Code of Mississippi, 375, 389. Laws of Tennessee, chapter 135. Missouri Laws, 743. Haywood's Manual of the Laws of North Carolina, 526, 534. Kitty's Laws of Maryland, chapter 15, section 6. Civil Code of Louisiana, article 175 945.

Proposition Sixth. The slave, being a personal chattel, is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged or leased at the will of his master.

In proof that American slaves are "Chattels personal in the hands of their owners, possessors, executors, administrators, and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever," we refer to Brevard's Digest, 229, and Prince's Digest, 446. To make specific quotations establishing the liabilities of chattels personal, as stated in the proposition, would be quite unnecessary. The law of Louisiana is an exception, in that state slaves are real estate, and not personal chattels.

Proposition Seventh. The slave may also be sold by process of law for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees.—See *Laws of American Slave States, passim.*

Proposition Eighth. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal in any species of action against his master—no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.

It would be needless to prove what is notoriously unquestionable.

Proposition Ninth. Slaves cannot redeem themselves nor obtain a change of masters; though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety.

Upon this proposition Judge Stroud remarks; "this proposition holds good as to the right of redemption in all the slave-holding states, and equally true is it as respects the right to compel a change of masters except in Louisiana. The new civil code of that state contains a regulation by which the latter privilege may sometimes perhaps be obtained by the slave. Yet the conditions are such that it needs strong proof to induce the belief that the law has ever been called into action."

Proposition Tenth. Slaves being objects of property, if injured by third persons, their owners may bring suit and recover damages for the injury.

The following are Judge Stroud's remarks.

"Taken strictly, this does not operate as a shield to the slave against corporal aggression; unless the violence used is so great as to deteriorate the property of the master. And so a decision of the Supreme Court of Maryland has established the law to be in that state. 'There must be a loss of service or at least a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labour to warrant an action by the master.' 1 Harris and Johnson's Reports 4."

Proposition Eleventh. Slaves can make no contract.

This follows of course from the preceding propositions.

Proposition Twelfth. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual.

Here also quotations are needless.

To the preceding propositions we add that the penal codes of

the slaveholding states bear much more severely upon slaves than upon free white persons. Upon this point we quote the following remarks from "American Slavery as it is."

"The following legal penalties are by the laws of slave states attached to the various acts of slaves therein described. If more than seven slaves are found together in any road without a white person in company the penalty is twenty lashes apiece.

"For visiting a plantation without a written pass, *ten lashes;* for letting loose a boat from where it was made fast, *thirty-nine lashes for the first offence;* and for the second, '*shall have cut off from his head one ear;*' for keeping or carrying a *club*, *thirty-nine lashes;* for having any article for sale, without a ticket from his master, *ten lashes;* for travelling in any other than 'the most usual and accustomed road,' when going alone to any place, *forty lashes;* for travelling in the night, without a pass, *forty lashes;* for being found in another person's negro-quarters, *forty lashes;* for hunting with dogs in the woods, *thirty lashes;* for being on *horseback* without the written permission of his master, *twenty-five lashes;* for riding or going abroad in the night, or riding horses in the day time, without leave, a slave may be whipped, *cropped*, or *branded in the cheek* with the letter R, or otherwise punished, *not extending to life*, or so as to render him *unfit for labor*. The laws referred to may be found by consulting 2 Brevard's Digest, 228, 243, 246; Haywood's Manual, 78, chap. 13, pp. 518, 529; 1 Virginia Revised Code, 722, 723; Prince's Digest, 454; 2 Missouri Laws, 741; Mississippi Revised Code. 371. Laws similar to these exist throughout the southern slave code.

The laws of slave states inflict *capital* punishment on slaves for a variety of crimes, for which, if their masters commit them, the legal penalty is merely *imprisonment*. Judge Stroud, in his Sketch of the Laws of Slavery, says, that, by the laws of Virginia, there are 'seventy-one crimes for which slaves are capitally punished, though in none of these are whites punished in a manner more severe than by imprisonment in the penitentiary' (p. 107, where the reader will find all the crimes enumerated). It should be added, however, that though the penalty for each of these seventy-one crimes is 'death,' yet a majority of them are, in the words of the law, 'death within clergy;' and in Virginia, *clergyable* offences, though *technically* capital, are not so in fact. In Mississippi, slaves are punished capitally for more than *thirty* crimes, for which whites are punished only by fine or imprisonment, or both. Eight of these are not *recognised as crimes*, either by common law or by statute, when committed by whites. In South Carolina slaves are punished capitally for *nine* more crimes than the whites—in Georgia, for

six—and in Kentucky, for *seven* more than whites, &c. We surely need not detain the reader by comments on this monstrous inequality with which the penal codes of slave states treat slaves and their masters. When we consider that guilt is in proportion to intelligence, and that these masters have by law doomed their slaves to ignorance, and then, as they darkle and grope along their blind way, inflict penalties upon them for a variety of acts regarded as praiseworthy in whites; killing them for crimes, when whites are only fined or imprisoned—to call such a 'public opinion' inhuman, savage, murderous, diabolical, would be to use tame words, if the English vocabulary could supply others of more horrible import.

"But slaveholding brutality does not stop here. While punishing the slaves for crimes with vastly greater severity than it does their masters for the same crimes, and making a variety of acts *crimes* in law, which are right, and often *duties*, it persists in refusing to make known to the slaves that complicated and barbarous penal code which loads them with such fearful liabilities. The slave is left to get a knowledge of these laws as he can, and cases must be of constant occurrence at the south, in which slaves get their first knowledge of the existence of a law by suffering its penalty. Indeed, this is probably the way in which they commonly learn what the laws are; for how else can the slave get a knowledge of the laws? He cannot *read*—he cannot *learn* to read; if he try to master the alphabet, so that he may spell out the words of the law, and thus avoid its penalties, the law shakes its terrors at him; while at the same time, those who made the laws refuse to make them known to those for whom they are designed. The memory of Caligula will blacken with execration while time lasts, because he hung up his laws so high that people could not read them, and then punished them because they did not keep them. Our slaveholders aspire to blacker infamy. Caligula was content with hanging up his laws where his subjects could *see* them; and if they could not read them, they knew where they were, and might get at them, if, in their zeal to learn his will, they had used the same means to get up to them that those did who hung them there. Even Caligula, wretch as he was, would have shuddered at cutting their legs off, to prevent their climbing to them; or, if they had got there, at boring their eyes out, to prevent their reading them. Our slaveholders virtually do both; for they prohibit their slaves acquiring that knowledge of letters which would enable them to read the laws; and if, by stealth, they get it in spite of them, they prohibit them books and papers, and flog them if they are caught at them. Further—Caligula merely hung up his laws so high that they could not be *read*—our slaveholders have hung theirs, so high above the slave that they cannot

be *seen*---they are utterly out of sight, and he finds out that they are there only by the falling of the penalties on his head.* Thus the 'public opinion' of slave states protects the defenceless slave by arming a host of legal penalties and setting them in ambush at every thicket along his path, to spring upon him unawares.

Stroud, in his Sketch of the Laws of Slavery, page 100, thus comments on this monstrous barbarity:

"'The hardened convict moves their sympathy, and is to be taught the laws before he is expected to obey them ;† yet the guiltless slave is subjected to an extensive system of cruel enactments, of no part of which, probably, has he ever heard.'

As the "most striking features of the laws of slave states affecting" the moral and intellectual condition of the slaves will be exhibited in reply to subsequent queries, we need not introduce them here.

In reply to the inquiry respecting the new laws which have been enacted since 1825, we remark that we know of no laws enacted since that period which materially alter the condition of slaves in any of the slaveholding states. In many of the states, however, laws have been enacted since 1825, increasing the privations and disabilities of the free people of colour.

* The following extract from the Alexandria (D. C.) Gazette is an illustration. "CRIMINALS CONDEMNED.—On Monday last the Court of the borough of Norfolk, Va. sat on the trial of four negro boys arraigned for burglary. The first indictment charged them with breaking into the hard-ware store of Mr. E. P. Tabb, upon which two of them were found guilty by the Court, and condemned to suffer the penalty of the law, which, in the case of a slave, is death. The second Friday in April is appointed for the execution of their awful sentence. *Their ages do not exceed sixteen.* The first, a fine active boy, belongs to a widow lady in Alexandria: the latter, a house servant, is owned by a gentleman in the borough. The value of one was fixed at 1000 dollars, and the other at 800 dollars; which sums are to be reimbursed to their respective owners out of the state treasury." In all probability these poor boys, who are to be hung for stealing, never dreamed that death was the legal penalty of the crime.

Here is another, from the "New Orleans Bee" of——14, 1837.—"The slave who STRUCK some citizens in Canal street, some weeks since, has been tried and found guilty, and is sentenced to be HUNG on the 24th."

† "It shall be the duty of the keeper [of the penitentiary] on the receipt of each prisoner, to *read* to him or her such parts of the penal laws of this state as impose penalties for escape, and to make all the prisoners in the penitentiary acquainted with the same. It shall also be his duty, on the discharge of such prisoner, to read to him or her such parts of the said laws as impose additional punishments for the repetition of offences."—*Rule 12th, for the internal government of the Penitentiary of Georgia. See* 26 *of the Penitentiary Act of* 1816.—*Prince's Digest,* 386.

TWENTY-SECOND QUESTION. *Do any means exist of ascertaining the waste of life occasioned by the culture of any of the products of slave labor on the unexhausted soils of the new states?*

There is abundant evidence that the waste of life is prodigious; though the precise amount of the waste cannot be easily ascertained. The following considerations will give some conception of the fearful expenditure of human life.

1. The testimony which has already been given respecting the condition and treatment of the field slaves, the defective quality and quantity of their food, their inadequate clothing, shelter and lodging, the habitual severity of their labor, the insufficiency of the time allotted for sleep, and the violent flogings, long fastings, and protracted confinements inflicted as punishments, are grounds on which you may fairly conclude that the waste of life is vast.

2. The statements made respecting the *neglect of the sick*, with the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses that it is common not to *employ a physican* when slaves are sick, are further evidence in point. What can be the result of such utter inattention to the sick but a shocking waste of life?

3. The immense importation of slaves into the planting states, by means of the internal and foreign slave trades, argue a great waste of life. What can give rise to so large and constant a demand for slaves but an enormous consumption of them? What can call for such vast annual conscriptions but the mowing down of whole ranks on the field of death? Certainly the clearing of new lands, and the settlement of new states, are causes utterly incompetent to account for the great demand for slaves in the far south and south-west.

4. But we have still more decisive proof on this point in the declarations of planters themselves, that they consider it *profitable* to work a gang of slaves to death every seven years, since the extra amount of labor thereby extorted from them will much more than pay for a new supply of hands. A variety of testimony establishing this point, has been already inserted in reply to the 9th query; "the features of slavery in the consuming states."

TWENTY-THIRD QUESTION. *Have American citizens any interest in slavery in foreign countries, as owners or mortgagees, and to what probable extent?*

We are not able to give very definite information under this query. It is well known, however, that merchants and others in the free states own slaves in several of the West India islands, especially in Cuba. The number of persons in the free states, thus implicated in foreign slaveholding, is probably, far from being small, and we have reason to believe is annually increasing.

TWENTY-FOURTH QUESTION. *Are vessels adapted only to the slave-trade (or piracy) openly built in American ports?*

TWENTY-FIFTH QUESTION. *To what ascertained or supposed extent are the citizens and flag of the United States, engaged in the slave carrying trade from Africa for the supply of foreign countries?*

We regret our inability to give more full information on the subject embraced in these queries. What we shall furnish will afford some insight into this mystery of abominations, and show that the number of vessels built in American ports, and expressly designed for the foreign slave-trade is very great.

The following testimony is quoted from Jay's View, p. 111.

"The Boston Express of 17th December, 1838, thus gives the substance of the statements made by Mr. Elliott Cresson, of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, in a public address delivered a few days before in Boston :—

"'Out of 177 slave ships which arrive at Cuba every year, five-sixths are owned and fitted out from ports in the United States; and the enormous profits accruing from their voyages remitted to this country. One house in New York received lately for its share alone the sum of 250,000 dollars. Baltimore is largely interested in this accursed traffic as well as New York—and even Boston, with all her religion and morality, does not disdain to increase her wealth by a participation in so damnable a business. A gentleman of the highest respectability lately informed Mr. Cresson, that a sailor in this city told him that he had received several hundred dollars of hush money, to make him keep silent, and

when he mentioned the names of his employers, the gentleman says he was actually afraid to repeat them, so high do they stand in society. A captain in the merchant service, from New York, was lately offered his own terms by two different houses, provided he would undertake a slave voyage.'

"Of the truth of these statements we know nothing."

The annexed paragraph is from the same work, p. 107.

"In 1819, Judge Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a charge to a grand jury, thus expresses himself:—'We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it (the African trade) is still carried on with all the implacable ferocity and insatiable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. *American citizens* are steeped to their very mouths (I can scarcely use too bold a figure,) in this stream of iniquity.'"

The subjoined statements are extracted from the "First Annual Report of the New York Committee of Vigilance for the year 1837," p. 33, 34.

"A gentleman in this city, whose name we are not at liberty to mention, an owner of Texan lands, informed a member of our Executive Committee, a few months since, that another gentleman, in this city, also an owner of Texan lands, had, a short time previous, formally proposed to him to invest funds in a ship to go into the slave-trade from Africa to Texas, assuring him that an *immense profit would be realized on the investment!*

"The New Orleans Bulletin of December 10, declares 'on high authority, that the Texan government intends entering a formal complaint to the Cabinet at Washington, against the practice pursued by *American citizens*, of introducing into their territory, *in vessels belonging to the United States*, negroes, coming from *other quarters* than this Union; and further, that their ministers at Washington, will be instructed to ask of our government, that a vessel be ordered to cruise along their coast, to prevent such introduction, and also that a small force be stationed at the mouth of the Sabine, to guard against their being *landed on the coast of the United States and immediately transferred to the Texan territory*'—thus publishing it to the world, that the foreign slave-trade is extensively carried on from Africa to Texas 'by AMERICAN CITIZENS,' and 'IN VESSELS BELONGING TO THE UNITED STATES!'"

The following is from the Emancipator (New York), Nov. 28, 1839.

("From the Journal of Commerce.)

"Havana, Oct. 25, 1839.—By an arrival from Bahia, in a very short passage, we learn that the slave factories at Onin, on the coast of Africa, have been destroyed by the natives, and that establishment for the present entirely broken up. The interests destroyed, belonged to some of our principal citizens, and from thence an immense traffic in slaves was carried on by vessels under many flags, particularly the American. A large amount of goods was burnt and pillaged."

A late number of the New York Commercial Advertiser contains the following.

"Good.—The Baltimore Chronicle of yesterday contains this little, but meaning paragraph:

"'We regret to learn that three gentlemen of this city, occupying respectable positions in society, were arrested and held to bail on Saturday, upon a charge of being concerned in fitting out vessels designed to be employed in the slave-trade.'

"We call this good news—not because we hope that the three gentlemen will be proved guilty, but simply because we are glad to find that inquiry is to be made into the charges so frequently brought against Baltimore, of late, imputing to her citizens an active participation in that 'hideous traffic.'"

The following paragraphs went the round of the papers last Fall (1839).

"Slave Ships.—Capt. Fitzgerald, of the British sloop of war, Buzzard, arrived at quarantine yesterday, bringing with him from Barbados, two prize vessels, the Eagle and the Clara, which were captured while cruising as slavers. They were seized within three months of each other, on the coast of Africa, before they had actually engaged in the traffic, but on the ground that they were furnished with all the implements and tools of the trade. Since their capture, the crews of both vessels have admitted that their object was to procure slaves. One of the captains is a native of New York, and the other of Philadelphia. The design of this visit is to deliver the offenders to the American authorities for trial. In consequence of an application made yesterday afternoon to the United States court, the deputy United States marshal went down to quarantine to take the officers into custody."

"*The Slavers*, the Eagle and Clara, brought to New York a short time since by the English brig of war, Buzzard, are to sail in a few days for Jamaica, the United States government having declined to exercise

any jurisdiction over them. The object of the federal authorities in neglecting to bring this subject before the judicial tribunals of the United States, is undoubtedly to prevent any light from falling upon the flagrant proceedings of Mr. Consul Trist, in reference to the slave-trade, so extensively carried on from Havana under his immediate auspices. What cares Van Buren, for the requirements of the Constitution and the laws, or the claims of injured humanity, when they conflict with his electioneering prospects at the South?"

The Cincinnati (Ohio) Gazette of October, 1839, after quoting the latter of the above paragraphs, thus comments upon it.

"The American government have, it would seem, determinately set their faces against taking any part in suppressing the African slave-trade. In this there is strong reason to believe that the voice of a vast majority is ready, at this moment, to sustain them. It is a strange revulsion of public sentiment and of public feeling. One cannot repress surprise at its universality. Nothing can be effected for good by any speculations on the matter, we, therefore, content ourselves by merely noticing the facts."

Twenty-sixth Question. *What provision is made for the education of the slaves, and what obstacles exist to the advancement of education among them?*

So far from any provision being made for the education of the slaves, it is either entirely prohibited or universally discouraged. In some of the states the education of the slave is expressly forbidden by law, and any attempt made to educate them, whether by whites or blacks, is severely punished. In some of the less important slaveholding states, instruction in letters is not prohibited by law; but it is effectually prevented by public opinion. Such is the case in Kentucky.

The following are a few specimens of the laws which forbid the education of slaves. Jay's Inquiry—p. 136.

"A law of South Carolina passed in 1800, authorizes the infliction of twenty lashes on every slave found in an assembly convened for the purpose of 'mental instruction,' held in a confined or secret place, although in the presence of a white. Another law imposes a fine of £100 on any person who may teach a slave to write. An act of Virginia, of 1829, declares every meeting of slaves at any school by day or night, for *instruction* in *reading* or *writing*, *an unlawful assembly; and any justice may inflict twenty lashes on each slave found in such school.*

In North Carolina, to teach a slave to read or write, or to sell or give him *any* book (*bible not excepted*) or pamphlet, is punished with thirty-nine lashes, or imprisonment if the offender be a free negro, but if a white, then with a fine of 200 dollars. The reason for this law assigned in its preamble is, that 'teaching slaves to read and write, tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion.'

"In Georgia, if a white teach a free negro or slave to read or write, he is fined 500 dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court; if the offender be a colored man, bond or free, he is to be fined or whipped at the discretion of the court. Of course a father may be flogged for teaching his own child. This barbarous law was enacted in 1829.

"In Louisiana, the penalty for teaching slaves to read or write, is one year's imprisonment.

"These are specimens of the efforts made by slave legislatures, to enslave the *minds* of their victims; and we have surely no reason to hope that their *souls* are regarded with more compassion."

The reason honestly assigned in the preamble to the North Carolina law, i. e. that "teaching slaves to read or write tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion," is doubtless the ground of all these prohibitory enactments. The law of South Carolina in 1740 says, "The allowing of slaves to read would be attended with many inconveniences." In plain English, education is regarded as positively inconsistent with slavery, and its prohibition as indispensable to the continuance of the system.

But let us see what is the extent of instruction in those states which do not expressly interdict it by statute. We have specified Kentucky as an example of this nature, and she is perhaps the fairest specimen among all the slaveholding states. The following testimony is quoted from the address of the Kentucky Synod already referred to.

"Slavery dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance. Throughout our whole land,* so far as we can learn, there is but one school in which, during the week, slaves can be taught. Here and there a family is found, where humanity and religion impel the master, mistress, or children, to the laborious task of private instruction. But after all, what is the utmost amount of instruction given to slaves? Those

* The state of Kentucky.

who enjoy the most of it are fed with but the crumbs of knowledge which fall from their master's table. The impression is almost universal, that intellectual elevation unfits men for servitude, and renders it impossible to retain them in this condition. Hence in some of our states, laws have been enacted, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the instruction of the blacks; and even where such laws do not exist, there *are formidable numbers who oppose with deep hostility every effort to enlighten the mind of the negro.*"

TWENTY-SEVENTH QUESTION. *What number of slaves can read in proportion to the population?*

From the statements just made it may be inferred that the number is very inconsiderable. In those states where education is punished by fines, stripes, and imprisonment we may conclude that *none learn to read*, save perhaps a few domestics, who steal their letters from the children of their masters. Even in Kentucky the number that can read is exceedingly small as appears from the testimony of the Presbyterian Synod of that state. The hostility of many whites and the indifference of the remainder, must for ever keep the great body of slaves, even in Kentucky, in abject ignorance.

The Western Luminary, a religious periodical, published a few years since in Lexington, Kentucky, says,

"It is a well known fact that to meet with a black person who can read and understand the bible is considered a phenomenon, and excites wonder and astonishment. When it is said that Kentucky has been supplied with the bible, let it be remembered that one fourth of her population are as ignorant of its contents as if they were not inhabitants of a Christian country."

TWENTY-EIGHTH QUESTION. *Do the slaves enjoy any religious privileges?*

Their religious privileges are but little superior to their educational. Religion seems to be regarded as a foe not less dangerous to slavery than education itself.

We quote the following abstract of the principal laws of the slave states pertaining to the religious privileges of the slaves from Jay's Inquiry—pp. 136, 137.

"In vain has the Redeemer of the world given the command to preach the gospel to every creature; his professed disciples in the slave states have issued a counter order; and, as we have already seen, have, by their laws, incapacitated 2,000,000 of their fellow-men from complying with the injunction, 'Search the scriptures.' Not only are the slaves debarred from reading the wonderful things of God---they are practically prevented with a few exceptions from even *hearing* of them.

"In Georgia, any justice of the peace may, at his discretion, break up any religious assembly of slaves, and may order *each slave present* to be 'corrected without trial, by receiving, on the bare back, twenty-five stripes with a whip, switch, or cow-skin.'

"In South Carolina, slaves may not meet together for the purpose of 'religious worship' before sunrise or after sunset, unless the *majority* of the meeting be composed of white persons, under the penalty of 'twenty lashes well laid on.' As it will be rather difficult for the slave to divine, before he goes to the meeting, how many blacks, and how many whites will be present, and of course which color will have the 'majority,' a due regard for his back will keep him from the meeting.

"In Virginia, all evening meetings of slaves at any meeting house, are unequivocally forbidden.

"In Mississippi, the law *permits* the master to suffer his slave to attend the preaching of a *white* minister.

"It is very evident that when public opinion tolerates such laws, it will not tolerate the general religious instruction of the slaves."

We quote some additional statements from the same writer.—pp. 137—139.

"On this, as well as on every other subject relating to slavery, we would rather fall short of, than exceed the truth. We will not assert there are no Christians among the slaves, for we trust there are some. When, however, we recollect, that they are denied the scriptures, and all the usual advantages of the Sunday-school, and are forbidden to unite among themselves in acts of social worship and instruction, and that almost all the sermons they hear, are such as are addressed to educated whites, and of course above their own comprehension, we may form some idea of the obstacles opposed to their spiritual improvement. Let it be recollected, that every master possesses the *tremendous* power of keeping his slaves in utter ignorance of their Maker's will, and of their own immortal destinies. And now with all these facts and their consequences and tendencies in remembrance, we ask, if we do not make a most abundant and charitable allowance when we suppose that 245,000 slaves possess a saving knowledge of the religion of Christ? And yet after this

admission, one which probably no candid person will think too limited, there will remain in the bosom of our country TWO MILLIONS of human beings, who, in consequence of our laws, are in a state of heathenism! But probably many will refuse their assent to this conclusion, without further and more satisfactory evidence of its correctness. To such persons we submit the following testimony, furnished by slaveholders themselves. In 1831, the Rev. Charles C. Jones preached a sermon before two associations of planters in Georgia, one of Liberty County, and the other of McIntosh County. This sermon is before us, and we quote from it.

"'Generally speaking they (the slaves) appear to us to be without God and without hope in the world, a NATION OF HEATHENS in our very midst.—We cannot cry out against the Papists for withholding the scriptures from the common people, and keeping them in ignorance of the way of life; for we *withhold* the bible from our servants, and *keep* them in ignorance of it, while we *will* not use the means to have it read and explained to them. The cry of our perishing servants comes up to us from the sultry plains as they bend at their toil—it comes up to us from their humble cottages when they return at evening to rest their weary limbs---it comes up to us from the midst of their ignorance, and superstition, and adultery, and lewdness. We have manifested no emotions of horror at abandoning the souls of our servants to the adversary, the roaring lion that walketh about seeking whom he may devour.'

"On the 5th December, 1833, a committee of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, to whom was referred the subject of the religious instruction of the coloured population, made a report which has been published, and in which this language is used.

"Who would credit it, that in these years of revival and benevolent effort, in this Christian republic, there are over TWO MILLIONS of human beings in the condition of HEATHEN, and in some respects in a worse condition. From long continued and close observation, we believe that their moral and religious condition is such that they may justly be considered the HEATHEN of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The negroes are destitute of the gospel, and *ever will be under the present state of things.* In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac to the Sabine river, and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are to the best of our knowledge not *twelve* men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes. In the present state of feeling in the south, a ministry of their own color could neither be obtained NOR TOLERATED.

"But do not the negroes have access to the gospel through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer NO; the negroes have no regular

and efficient ministry; as a matter of course no churches; neither is there sufficient room in white churches for their accommodation. We know of but *five* churches in the slaveholding states built expressly for their use; these are all in the state of Georgia. We may now inquire if they enjoy the privileges of the gospel in their own houses, and on our plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They have no bibles to read by their own firesides---they have no family altars; and when in affliction, sickness, or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services.

"In a late number of the Charleston (S. C.) Observer, a correspondent remarked: 'Let us establish missionaries among our own negroes, who, in view of religious knowledge, are as debasingly ignorant as any one on the coast of Africa; for I hazard the assertion, that throughout the bounds of our synod, there are at least one hundred thousand slaves, speaking the same language as ourselves, who never *heard* of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer.'

"The editor, instead of contradicting this broad assertion, adds: 'We fully concur with what our correspondent has said respecting the benighted heathen among ourselves.'"

"A writer in the Lexington, (Ky.) WESTERN LUMINARY, remarks—

"'I proclaim it abroad to the Christian world, that *heathenism* is as real in the slave states as it is in the South Sea Islands, and that our negroes are as justly objects of attention to the American and other Boards of foreign missions, as the Indians of the western wilds. What is it that constitutes heathenism? Is it to be destitute of a knowledge of God—of his holy word—never to have heard hardly a sentence of it read through life—to know little or nothing of the history, character, instruction, and mission of Jesus Christ—to be almost totally devoid of moral knowledge and feeling—of sentiments and probity—truth—and of *chastity?* If this constitute heathenism, then there are thousands—millions of heathen in our own beloved land.

"'Gracious God! merciful Redeemer! shall thy word and thy gospel be proclaimed in simplicity and truth to one portion of our population, and shall another be born, and live, and die, where the sun of righteousness shines freely and fully, and never receive more than a dim and wandering ray of his light and glory?'"

This testimony, it will be borne in mind, is from the heart of Kentucky, a state which has the reputation of granting greater religious privileges to its slaves than any other in the Union. In

this connexion we will give the sentiments of the Presbyterian Synod of that state, contained in their address, from which extracts have been already made.

"*It deprives its subjects, in a great measure, of the privileges of the gospel.* You may be startled at this statement, and feel disposed to exclaim, 'our slaves are always permitted and even encouraged to attend upon the ordinances of worship.' But a candid and close examination will show the correctness of our charge. The privileges of the gospel, as enjoyed by the white population in this land, consist in *free access to the scriptures, a regular gospel ministry, and domestic means of grace.* Neither of these is, to any extent worth naming, enjoyed by slaves, as a moment's consideration will satisfactorily show. The law, as it is here, does not prevent *free access to the scriptures*—but ignorance, the natural result of their condition, does. The bible is before them, but it is to them a sealed book. 'The light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not.' Like the paralytic, who lay for years by the pool of Bethesda, the waters of healing are near them, but no kind hand enables them to try their efficacy. Very few enjoy the advantages of a *regular gospel ministry.* They are, it is true, permitted generally, and often encouraged, to attend upon the ministrations specially designed for their masters. But the instructions communicated on such occasions are above the level of their capacities. They listen as to prophesyings in an unknown tongue.

"The galleries of our own churches, which are set apart to their use, would not hold the tenth part of their numbers—and even these few seats are, in general, thinly occupied. So that, as a body, it is evident that our slaves do not enjoy the public ordinances of religion. *Domestic means of grace* are still more rare among them.

"We do not wish to exaggerate the description of this deplorable religious condition of our colored population. We know that instances of true piety are frequently found among them; but these instances we all know to be awfully disproportionate to their numbers, and to the extent of those means of grace which exist around them. When the missionaries of the cross enter a heathen land, their hope of fully christianizing it rests upon the fact that they can array and bring to bear upon the minds of these children of ignorance and sin, all those varied means which God has appointed for the reformation of man. But while the system of slavery continues among us, these means can never be efficiently and fully employed for the conversion of the degraded sons of Africa. Yet 'God hath made them of one blood' with ourselves; hath provided for them the same redemption; hath in his providence cast

souls upon our care; and hath clearly intimated to us the doom of him, who 'seeth his brother hath need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him.' If by our example, our silence, or our sloth, we perpetuate a system which paralyzes our hands when we attempt to convey to them the bread of life, and which inevitably consigns the great mass of them to unending perdition, can we be guiltless in the sight of him who hath made us stewards of his grace?"

The following testimony is taken from a tract on the moral condition of slaves, published by the American Anti-slavery Society, and "compiled chiefly from recent publications."

"Not many years ago a protracted meeting was held at Petersburgh, Virginia. During the first two days, the attendance was very great. The ministers were much encouraged. The prospect was that many souls would be converted. It was suggested that the third day had best be devoted entirely to the religious instruction of the coloured part of the population. The ministers acceded to the request; notice was given accordingly, in the church, and throughout the place, and masters were requested to give their slaves liberty to attend the whole day, so that the church might be filled. Great excitement prevailed. A meeting of slaveholders was held. A threatening message was sent to the ministers. The consequence was that the protracted meeting was broken up, there being no meeting after the second day. In whose skirts will be found the blood of those souls that may perish in consequence of the breaking up of that protracted meeting?

"A correspondent of the Church Advocate, published in Kentucky, uses the following language, in relation to the blacks of that state:

"'The poor negroes are left in the ways of spiritual darkness, no efforts are being made for their enlightenment, no seed is being sown in this portion of our Lord's vineyard: here nothing but a moral wilderness is seen, over which the soul sickens—the heart of Christian sympathy bleeds. Here nothing is presented but a moral waste, as extensive as our influence, as appalling as the valley of death to the repenting, conscience-stricken sinner.'

"The following extracts are from a letter of Bishop Andrew, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, directed to Messrs. Garrit and Maffit.

"'*Augusta, Jan.* 29, 1835.

"'The Christians of the south owe a heavy debt to slaves on their plantations, and the ministers of Christ especially are debtors to the whole slave population. I fear a cry goes up to heaven on this subject against us; and how, I ask, shall the scores who have left the ministry

of the Word, that they may make corn and cotton, and buy and sell, and get gain, meet this cry at the bar of God? and what shall the hundreds of money-making and money-loving masters, who have grown rich by the toil and sweat of their slaves, and *left their souls to perish*, say when they go with them to the judgment of the great day?'

The following testimony with regard to the slaves in Alabama, is from a letter published in the Southern Religious Telegraph, and is dated June 20, 1836:

"'Yesterday afternoon, I attended divine service in this place. The afternoon sermon is always intended especially for the blacks. The number present yesterday was probably over 400. Rev. Mr. Houp informed me that preaching was not kept up regularly in any other Methodist church in Middle Alabama, except Montgomery. I have myself visited all the Presbyterian churches belonging to Tuscaloosa and South Alabama Presbyteries, except Mobile and three others, and have found the *blacks almost entirely neglected in all but two.*'

"The Rev. Mr. Converse, who was at one period an agent of the Colonization Society, and resided for some time in Virginia, states in a discourse before the Vermont Colonization Society, that 'almost nothing is done to instruct the slaves in the principles and duties of the Christian religion. The laws of the south strictly forbid their being taught to read; and they make no provision for their being orally instructed. Ministers sometimes preach to them under peculiar and severe restrictions of the law. But with all that has yet been done, the majority are emphatically *heathens*, and what is very strange, heathens in the midst of a land of sabbaths and of churches, of bibles and of Christians.... Pious masters (with honorable exceptions) are criminally negligent of giving religious instruction to their slaves.... They can and do instruct their own children, and *perhaps* their house servants; while those called 'field hands' live, and labor, and die, without being told by their pious masters (?) that Jesus Christ died to save sinners."

The following is the testimony of Dr. Nelson, late President of Marion College, Missouri, a Presbyterian Clergyman of high respectability, who was born and educated in Tennessee, and till forty years old, a slaveholder.

"'I have been asked concerning the religious instruction of slaves; and I feel safe in answering, that in general it amounts to little or nothing. Hundreds and thousands never heard of a Saviour; and of those who are familiar with his name, few have any comprehension of its meaning. I remember one grey headed negro, with whom I tried to

talk concerning his immortal soul. I pointed to the hills and told him God made them. He said he did not believe any body made the hills. I asked another slave about Jesus Christ. I found he had heard his name, but thought he was the son of the Governor of Kentucky.'"

To show how masters, even professedly religious ones, often discourage attention to the subject of religion among their slaves, we give the following extract from the "Report on the Condition of the People of Colour in the State of Ohio."

"Said a coloured 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 and catched me looking in them, he would always strike me and sometimes knock me down.'"

TWENTY-NINTH QUESTION. *What number of slaves are members of Christian churches?*

The number of nominal professors among the slaves is not far from 200,000. Of these many are habitually and openly living in adultery, polygamy, drunkenness, lying, theft, and profaneness; although they rarely incur thereby church censure. The great mass of these being entirely ignorant of letters, and receiving their instruction chiefly from ministers whose style of preaching is above their capacity, must be without the knowledge of that truth which maketh wise unto salvation. The religion of slaves must, therefore, for the most part, be merely nominal. The testimony of Dr. Nelson, from whom we have already quoted, is melancholy enough on this point. He says,

"I have heard hundreds make such professions of love to God and trust in a Saviour, that the church did not feel at liberty to refuse them membership. I have reason to believe they were poor deluded mistaken creatures. The concentrated recollection of thirty years furnishes me with three instances only where I could say I had reason, from the known walk of that slave, to believe him or her to be a sincere Christian."

THIRTIETH QUESTION. *Do the inhabitants of the free state hold, by deed, bond, or mortgage, property in slaves—if so, to what extent?*

We have satisfactory evidence that the inhabitants of the free states are very extensively owners of slaves. There is hardly a city or large town in the free states in which there are not living the holders of slave property in the south. In the year 1837, merchants and others in the single city of New York, held by bond and mortgage, not less than ten millions of property in southern estates and slaves together, and it is probable that that city is at the present time equally implicated.

We would state that the Executive Committee of the American Anti-slavery Society are now gathering a mass of authentic materials, to be embodied in a work exhibiting the pro-slavery of the free states, and containing a variety of details upon the subject of this query.

THIRTY-FIRST QUESTION. *Is the District of Columbia the property of the United States, and under the Government of Congress?*

The land in the district of Columbia is not national property, but, like that of the different states, is owned by individuals, but the exclusive government of the district is vested in the Congress of the United States. Nothing can be more explicit than the article in the constitution which relates to this point. It is in the following language; "The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation *in all cases whatsoever*, over such district."

This provision, one might suppose, could not be mistaken. Since, however, the power of Congress over the district of Columbia has been made of late a disputed question, even in Congress itself, we beg leave to refer you to an argument in the Anti-Slavery Examiner, No. 5, entitled "The Power of Congress over the District of Columbia;" also to the late speech of Hon. Mr. Slade of Vermont, in the House of Representatives of the United States, both of which may be found in the parcel forwarded with this.

THIRTY-SECOND QUESTION. *Does slavery actually exist in the district of Columbia; if so, what is its character, and what is the number of slaves in it?*

Slavery exists in the district of Columbia. Its character is substantially the same with that of slavery in the breeding states, already described. The number of slaves in the district is about 6000.

THIRTY-THIRD QUESTION. *Is this district a slave mart, if so to what extent, and what is the nature of the traffic?*

The district of Columbia is not only a slave mart, but the principal slave mart in the United States. We at once refer you to the observations and statements of Judge Jay in his "View," pp. 92—98,—

"Let us now visit the 'Metropolis of the Nation,' the very heart of this mighty commerce in the bodies and souls of men. The district of Columbia, from its relative situation to the breeding states, forms a convenient depôt for the negroes, previous to their exportation; and the non-interference of Congress, gives the traders 'under the exclusive jurisdiction' of the Federal Government, as unlimited power over the treatment and stowage of their human cargoes, as their brethren enjoy on the coast of Guinea.

"Hence large establishments have grown up upon the national domain, provided with prisons for the safe-keeping of the negroes till a full cargo is procured; and should at any time the factory prisons be insufficient, *the public ones, erected by Congress*, are at the service of the dealers, and the United States marshal becomes the agent of the slave trader!

"It must be admitted, that the following pictures of the scenes witnessed in the district of Columbia, are drawn by impartial hands. So long ago as 1802, the grand jury of Alexandria, complaining of the trade, remarked: 'These dealers in the persons of our fellow-men collect within this district, from various parts, numbers of these victims of slavery, and lodge them in some place of confinement until they have completed their numbers. They are then turned out into our streets, and exposed to view *loaded with chains*, as though they had committed some heinous offence against our laws. We consider it as a grievance that citizens from a distant part of the United States should be permitted to come within the district, and pursue a traffic fraught with so much misery to a class of beings entitled to our protection, by the laws of justice and humanity; and that the interposition of civil authority cannot be had to prevent parents being wrested from their offspring, and children from their parents, without respect to the ties of nature. We

consider these grievances demanding legislative redress'---that is, redress by congress.

"In 1816, Judge Morell of the Circuit Court of the United States, in his charge to the Grand Jury of Washington, observed, speaking of the slave trade, 'The frequency with which the streets of the city had been *crowded with manacled captives*, sometimes on the sabbath, could not fail to shock the feelings of all humane persons.'

"The same year, JOHN RANDOLPH moved in the House of Representatives for a committee 'to inquire into the existence of an inhuman and illegal traffic of slaves carried on, in and through the district of Columbia, and report whether any or what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.' The motion was adopted; had it been made twenty years later, it would, under the rules of the House, have been laid on the table, 'and no further action had thereon.'

"The Alexandria Gazette of June 22nd, 1827, thus describes the scenes sanctioned by our professedly republican and Christian legislature: 'Scarcely a week passes without some of these wretched creatures being driven through our streets. After having been confined, and sometimes manacled in a loathsome prison, they are turned out in public view to take their departure for the south. The children and some of the women are generally crowded into a cart or waggon, while others follow on foot, not unfrequently *handcuffed and chained together*. Here you may behold fathers and brothers leaving behind them the dearest objects of affection, and moving slowly along in the mute agony of despair—there the young mother sobbing over the infant whose innocent smiles seem but to increase her misery. From some you will hear the burst of bitter lamentation, while from others, the loud hysteric laugh breaks forth, denoting still deeper agony.'"

"In 1828, a petition for the suppression of this trade was presented to Congress signed by more than *one thousand inhabitants of this district.*

"In 1829, the Grand Jury of Washington made a communication to Congress, in which they say, 'Provision ought to be made to prevent purchasers, for the purpose of removal and transportation, from making the cities of the district depots for the *imprisonment* of the slaves they collect. The manner in which they are brought and confined in these places, *and carried through our streets*, is necessarily such as to excite the most painful feelings. It is believed that the whole community would be gratified by the *interference of Congress* for the suppression of these receptacles, and the exclusion of this *disgusting traffic* from the district.'

"In 1830, the 'Washington Spectator' thus gave vent to its indignation.

"'*The slave trade in the Capital.*---Let it be known to the citizens of America, that at the very time when the procession which contained the President of the United States and his cabinet was marching in triumph to the Capitol, another kind of procession was marching another way; and that consisted of coloured human beings, *handcuffed in pairs*, and driven along by what had the appearance of a man on horseback! A similar scene was repeated on Saturday last; a drove, consisting of males and females, *chained in couples*, starting from Roly's tavern on foot for Alexandria, where with others they are to embark on board a slave ship in waiting to convey them to the south. Where is the O'Connell in this republic that will plead for the emancipation of the district of Columbia?'

"The advertisements of the dealers indicate the *extent* of the traffic. The National Intelligencer of the 28th March, 1836, printed at Washington, contained the following advestisements.

"'*Cash for five hundred. Negroes*, including both sexes, from *ten* to twenty-five years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will find it their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser who is now or may hereafter come into the MARKET.

'FRANKLIN & AMFIELD, Alexandria.'

"'*Cash for three hundred Negroes.*—The highest cash price will be given by the subscriber, for negroes of both sexes, from the ages of twelve to twenty-eight.

WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS, Washington.'

"'*Cash for four hundred Negroes*, including both sexes, from twelve to twenty-five years of age.

'JAMES H. BIRCH, Washington City.'

"'*Cash for Negroes.*—We will at all times give the highest prices in cash for likely young negroes of both sexes, from ten to thirty years of age.

'J. W. NEAL & Co., Washington.'

"Here we find three traders in the district, advertising in one day for *twelve hundred* negroes, and a fourth offering to buy an indefinite number.

"In a later number of the Intelligencer, we find the following.

"'*Cash for Negroes.*---I will give the highest price for likely negroes from ten to twenty-five years of age.

'GEORGE KEPHART.'

"'*Cash for Negroes.*---I will give cash and liberal prices for ANY number of young and likely negroes, from *eight* to forty years of age. Per-

sons having negroes to dispose of will find it to their advantage to give me a call at my residence on the corner of Seventh-street and Maryland Avenue, and opposite Mr. William's *private jail.*

'WILLIAM H. RICHARDS.'

"'*Cash for Negroes.*—The subscriber wishes to purchase a number of negroes for the *Louisiana and Mississippi market.* Himself or an agent at all times can be found at *his jail* on Seventh-street.

'WM. H. WILLIAMS.'

"The unhappy beings purchased by these traders in human flesh, men and women, and children of *eight* years old, are sent to the south, either over land in coffles, or by sea, in crowded slavers. Fostered by congress, these traders lose all sense of shame; and we have in the National Intelligencer the following announcement of the regular departure of *three slavers*, belonging to a single factory.

"'*Alexandria and New Orleans Packets.*—Brig Tribune, Samuel C. Bush, master, will sail as above on the 1st January---Brig Isaac Franklin, Wm. Smith, master, on the 15th January---Brig Uncas, Nath. Boush, master, on the 1st February. They will continue to leave this port on the 1st and 15th of each month, throughout the shipping season. *Servants that are intended to be shipped, will at any time be received for safe-keeping at twenty-five cents a day.*

'JOHN AMFIELD, Alexandria.'

"This infamous advertisement of the regular sailing of three slavers, and the offer of the use of the factory prison, appears in one of the principal journals of the United States. Its proprietor has several times been chosen printer to congress, and there is no reason for believing that he has ever lost the vote of a northern member for this prostitution of his columns.

"But the climax of infamy is still untold. This trade in blood; this buying, imprisoning, and exporting of boys and girls eight years old; this tearing asunder of husbands and wives, parents and children, is all legalized *in virtue of authority delegated by congress!!* The 249th page of the laws of the city of Washington, is polluted by the following enactment, bearing date 28th July, 1838:

"'For a LICENSE to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, four hundred dollars.'"

The following is from the "Anti-Slavery Manual," p. 114:

"One of the private prisons in Washington used for keeping slaves, is owned by W. Robey, who is also engaged in the trade. In May, 1834, a gentleman visited it, and fell into conversation with the overseer of the pen. He heard the clanking of chains within the pen. 'O,' said the

overseer—himself a slave, 'I have seen *fifty* or *seventy* slaves taken out of the pen, and the males chained together in pairs, and drove off to the south—and how they would cry, and groán, and take on, and wring their hands, but the driver would put on the whip, and tell them, to shut up—so that they would go off, and bear it as well as they could.'

"'Franklin and Armfield alone shipped to New Orleans during the year 1835, according to their own statement, not less than 1000 slaves. They own brigs of about 160 to 200 tons burthen, running regularly every thirty days, during the trading season, to New Orleans, and carrying about one slave to the ton.' "

The subjoined testimony is extracted from Jay's Inquiry, pp. 158, 159.

"From a letter of the 23d of January, 1834, by the Rev. Mr. Leavitt, and published in New York, it appears, that he visited the slave factory of Franklin and Armfield at Alexandria, and 'was informed by one of the principals, that the number of slaves carried from the district, last year, was about one thousand, but it would be much greater this year. He expected *their house* alone would ship at least eleven or twelve hundred. They have *two* vessels of their own, constantly employed in carrying slaves to New-Orleans.' One of the vessels being in port, Mr. Leavitt went on board of her. 'Her name is the TRIBUNE. The captain very obligingly took us to all parts of the vessel. The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after hold will carry about eighty women, and the other about one hundred men. On either side were *two platforms* running the whole length; one raised a few inches, and the other half way up to the deck. They were about five or six feet deep. On these the slaves lie, as close as they can stow away.' "

From the pamphlet entitled "Why work for the Slave?" we extract the following, p. 3,—

"The case of Burditt Washington is another among the many proofs that all protection is withheld from our coloured brothers and sisters, within sight of our national Capitol, while congress shout to the slave-trader, 'Here's free plunder!'

"One of the nine children sold away from him, was a daughter about eighteen. A slave-trader came to the house,—seized and carried her aboard the steamboat. The aged father followed. 'I then went into

the hold,' said he, 'and found my child among the other slaves. She threw her arms about my neck and said, 'Father, I'm gone, can't you do something for me?' I could'nt stay there any longer. I broke away from her.' Here the old man's tears stopped his voice. After some time, he said: 'I have not seen or heard of her since. Oh, it hurts me every time I think of it.'

"I had this from his own lips. He was a member of a Baptist church in Alexandria. Rev. Spencer H. Cone, and Rev. Samuel Cornelius, his pastor, testified to the excellence of his character."

For further exposures of these abominations in the District of Columbia we refer you to Jay's View, commencing on page 50.

THIRTY-FOURTH QUESTION. *Has congress, by any direct action or vote, expressed its disapprobation of the sale of slaves in the district of Columbia?*

Congress, although repeatedly petitioned and memorialized on this subject, has never once expressed its disapprobation of the sale of slaves in the district. It has either maintained entire silence, or attempted to justify the traffic.

The following declarations were made on the floor of congress by the Hon. Mr. Slade, December 20, 1837,—

"While, however, I thus speak, it is, I confess, enough to destroy all courage in attempting anything for the suppression of this abominable and disgraceful traffic, to recollect how abortive have proved all efforts hitherto, to effect that object. I open the journals of this house, and find that, in 1816, Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, moved a resolution providing for the appointment of a special committee 'to inquire into the existence of an inhuman and illegal traffic in slaves, carried on in, and through, the district of Columbia, and to report whether any, and what, measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.'

"On the occasion of offering this resolution, it is said in the journal of the debates of that period, that—

"'Mr Randolph moved the [foregoing] resolution, the necessity of which, and of providing a remedy for a practice so heinous and abominable (making this district a depôt for the slave trade of the neighbouring states, and a medium for evading the laws in force by collusive sales), he impressed by a variety of remarks, and concluded by declaring that, if the business was declined by the house, he would undertake it him-

self, and ferret out of their holes and corners the villains who carried it on.'

"This was on the 1st of March. On the 30th of April, Mr. Randolph, it appears, reported sundry depositions on the subject, taken by the committee; which were ordered to lie on the table—*and there*, Mr. Speaker, *they lie to this day!* Not another step that I can find, was taken under the resolution. Neither congress nor the mover of the resolution appear to have done anything further to 'ferret out of the holes and corners, the villains who carried on' the 'heinous and abominable' traffic.

"Another movement was made in 1829, by an able and estimable son of Pennsylvania (Mr. CHARLES MINER), looking to a remedy for this evil, in regard to which he made some most astounding disclosures, and supported a proposition for the gradual abolition of slavery, and the immediate prohibition of the slave trade in this district, in an able and eloquent speech. If fact, and argument, and eloquence, could have effected anything, surely it would have been effected by this effort. But it availed nothing. The proposition went to a committee, and *slept the sleep of death!* Enormities startling enough to wake the dead, were like galvanism upon a lifeless carcass. There was a slight convulsion, and all was over!"*

We find the following statement in Jay's View, p. 54,—

"On the 29th January, 1829, the committee on the district of Columbia made a report in obedience to the instructions of the House of Representatives, 'to inquire into the slave trade as it exists in and is carried on through the district.' The report proposes no interference on the part of congress, but is virtually an apology for this vile traffic, as is apparent from the following heartless sentiments and false assertions.

"'The trade alluded to, is presumed to refer more particularly to that which is carried on with the view of transporting slaves to the south, which is one way of gradually diminishing the evil complained of here; while the situation of these persons is considerably *mitigated by being transplanted to a more genial and bountiful clime.* Although violence

* Since writing the above, I have found that a bill for suppressing the trade in this district was reported by Mr. Washington, of Maryland, chairman of the committee on the district, in April, 1830. It was read a first and second time, and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the union; and that is the last that has been heard of it! If the committee should take it into their heads to report such a bill *now*, it would not be as fortunate as the bill of 1830, but would be *nailed to the table, 'without being debated, printed, read or referred!'*"

may sometimes be done to their feelings in the separation of families, it is by the laws of society which operate upon them as property, and cannot be avoided as long as they exist; yet it should be some consolation to those whose feelings are interested in their behalf, to know that *their condition is more frequently bettered, and their minds happier by the exchange.*"*

Having now replied to the queries, we proceed in accordance with your "suggestions," to notice some other points connected with the general subjects of slavery and abolition.

And first we call your attention to the *political power* of the slaveholding states in the Federal Government. The subjoined developments are taken from Jay's View—pp. 23—26.

"THE FEDERAL RATIO OF REPRESENTATION.

"The constitution provides that the members of the Lower House of congress shall be proportioned to the free inhabitants of the states they represent, *except* that in each state three-fifths of the slave population shall be for this purpose considered as free inhabitants. In other words, every five slaves are to be counted as three white persons. For example, if by law every 60,000 free inhabitants may elect a representative, a district containing 45,000 whites and 25,000 slaves, becomes by the *federal ratio* entitled to a member. This stipulation in the constitution has from the beginning given the slaveholders an undue weight in the national councils. A few instances will illustrate its practical effect. The whole number of the House of Representatives is at present 242—sent from 26 states. Of these the following are *slave* states, viz.:—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas. These states, with a free population of 3,823,389, have 100 members; while the *free* states, with a free population nearly double, viz. 7,003,451, have only 142 members. One representative is at present allowed to 47,700 inhabitants. Now, were the slaves omitted in the enumeration, the slave states would have only 75 members. Hence it follows, that at the present moment, the slaveholding interest has a representation of TWENTY-FIVE members in *addition* to the fair and equal representation of the free inhabitants. There is certainly no good reason why the owners of human chattels should, by the fundamental laws of a *republic*, have greater privileges awarded to them than to the holders of any other kind of property whatever. But such is the com-

* Reports of Committees, 2 Sess. 20 Cong. No. 60."

pact; we seek not to change or violate it, but only to explain its operation.

"Each state has as many votes for President as it has members of congress. The rule of representation in the Lower House has already been explained; in the senate it is different: and *each* state, whatever be its population, has two senators, and no more. The free population of the slave states, as already stated, is *half* that of the others; but their *number* being equal, their representation in the senate is also equal.

"If free population were the principle of representation in the Federal Government, as it is with scarcely an exception in all the states, the slave states would have

In the Senate,	13 members.
In the House,	75
	—
Electoral votes for President,	88
	—
They *have*, In the Senate,	26 members.
In the House,	100
	—
Electoral votes for President,	126

"Here we find the secret of the power of the south, and of the obsequiousness of the north. Ohio, with a population of 947,000 has 19 members; while Virginia, with a free population of 200,000 LESS, has *two* members MORE. Take another example. Pennsylvania has 30 electoral votes; the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, with an *aggregate* free population of 189,791 *less* than Pennsylvania, have 53 electoral votes!

"It cannot be supposed that this vast and most unequal representation and consequent political power, will be unemployed by its possessors. On the contrary, the slaveholders in congress have uniformly succeeded in effecting their objects, when united among themselves. In 1836, this slave power in congress was adroitly turned to pecuniary profit. The surplus revenue remaining in the treasury on the 1st of January, 1837, was to be distributed, and the rule of distribution became a question. The income, it is true, had been derived chiefly from the industry and enterprise of the north; but the south insisted, and with her usual success, that instead of dividing the money according to the population, it should be apportioned among the states according to their *electoral votes*. By this rule, the slave states, notwithstanding their inferiority in population, would share alike with the free, so far as regarded the number of their senators; and with regard to their representatives, they

would secure an apportionment of money on account of three-fifths of their two millions of slaves.

"The sum allotted by this gross and monstrous rule to the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, was 6,754,588 dollars; while Pennsylvania, with a free population *larger* than that of all these six states together, was to receive only 3,823,353 dollars; so that, in fact, the slaveholders of these states received, man for man, just about twice as many dollars from the national treasury as the hard-working citizens of Pennsylvania!

"Notwithstanding this slave representation, the free states have a majority of members; and hence it becomes important to investigate."

The influence of the slaveholding states in securing the appointment of their citizens to high offices in the Federal Government is exhibited in the following extracts from Jay's View—pp. 36—39.

"APPOINTMENTS TO OFFICE.

"As the citizens of the free states are nearly double in number to those of the slave states, it might naturally be supposed that the former would furnish the larger share of the great officers of the Union. To such as have indulged this supposition, the following extract of a speech lately delivered in the Senate of the United States, by Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, will no doubt afford very startling information. 'This interest (slavery) has ruled the destinies of the republic. For FORTY out of FORTY-EIGHT years, it has given us a president from its own territory and of its own selection. During all this time, it has not only had a President, sustaining its own peculiar views of public policy, but through him, has held and used in its own way, the whole organization of all the departments, and all the vast and controlling patronage incident to that office, to aid it in carrying on its views and policy, as well as to protect and secure to it every advantage.

"'Let us explore a little further and see how the houses of congress have been organized. For THIRTY years out of THIRTY-SIX, that interest has placed *its own speaker* in the chair of the other House, thus securing the organization of committees, and the great influence of that station. And, sir, while all other interests have, during part of the time, had the chair (vice-presidency) in which you preside assigned to them as *an equivalent* for these great concessions, yet in each year, when a President *pro tem.* is elected, who, upon the contingencies mentioned in the constitution will be the President of the United States, that interest has INVARIABLY given us that office. Look, I beseech you, through all the places of honor, of profit, and privilege; and there you will find

the representatives of this interest in numbers that indicate its influence. Does not, then, this interest rule, guide, and adapt public policy to its own views, and fit it to suit the action and products of its own labor!'

"Let us see how far the *present* amount of slave interest in the Federal Government justifies the general statement made by Mr. Davis. The presidential chair, it is true, is filled by a northern man! but he is one who pledged himself to this interest before he was elected; who had manifested his devotion to this interest, by giving his vote for a censorship of the press, for the avowed purpose of restraining the circulation of anti-slavery papers; and who was elected to his present station by southern votes! Be it recollected, moreover, that the southern journals have insisted that a *northern* man with *southern* principles, could more effectually subserve this interest as President, than a slaveholder.

"In the office of Vice-President, we have a slaveholder from Kentucky, presiding over the deliberations of the Senate.

"A slaveholder is seated in the chair of the House of Representatives, appointing committees on the district of Columbia, enforcing gag resolutions against such as would repeal or modify the laws of congress violating the rights of man, and deciding all questions of order in discussions bearing upon the GREAT INTEREST.

"A desire is now manifested by the south to bring into the Supreme Court of the United States certain questions touching the rights and duties of the free states, relative to slaves who may come or be brought within their limits. Since the year 1830 there have been FIVE appointments to the bench of this court, and ALL from slave states. The majority of the court, including the chief justice, are citizens of those states. But when these questions come before the court, it may be highly important for the slaveholders to have an ATTORNEY GENERAL to argue them, in whom they can confide. Accordingly the office is filled by Mr. Grundy, who lately evinced his qualifications for the station, by expressing, in his place as senator from Tennessee, his approbation of LYNCH LAW, as applied to abolitionists. At the head of the department of STATE, whence issue instructions for conventions and treaties, protecting the African slave trade from British cruisers, and the American slave trade from the interference of British colonial authorities; and also for conventions for the return of fugitive slaves, is placed a gentleman from GEORGIA.

"At the court of Great Britain we are represented by a slaveholder from Virginia, who, under the direction of the gentleman from Georgia, is bargaining about the value of shipwrecked negroes, and threatening the British government with the vengeance of the republic, if it shall hereafter dare to liberate slaves who may be forced into its colonies.

"At the head of the NAVY DEPARTMENT we behold a citizen of the north, enjoying the reward of his labor, in concocting one of the most virulent volumes in vindication of slavery, and vituperation of its opponents, that has ever issued from the press.

"A slaveholder from SOUTH CAROLINA, distinguished for his negotiation in Mexico for the surrender of fugitive slaves, presides over the WAR DEPARTMENT.

"KENTUCKY furnishes a POST MASTER GENERAL whose devotion to the "interest" has led him to authorize every post master to act as censor of the press, and to take from the mails every paper adverse to slavery. Thus have the slaveholders seized upon the Federal Government, and converted, as we shall presently see, what was intended as the palladium of liberty, into the shield of despotism."

In Mrs. Child's "Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans" (page 118), we find the following summary of favourite measures gained by the south in consequence of her predominant political power in the national government.

"What would the south have? They took the management at the very threshold of our government, and, excepting the rigidly just administration of Washington, they have kept it ever since. They claimed slave representation and obtained it. For their convenience the revenues were raised by imposts instead of direct taxes, and thus they give little or nothing in exchange for their excessive representation. They have increased the slave states, till they have twenty-five votes in congress,—they have laid the embargo, and declared war,—they have controlled the expenditures of the nation,—they have acquired Louisiana and Florida for an eternal slave market, and perchance for the manufactory of more slave states,—they have given five presidents out of seven to the United States,—and in their attack upon manufactures, they have gained Mr. Clay's *concession* bill. 'But all this availeth not, so long as Mordecai the Jew sitteth in the king's gate.' The free states must be kept down. But change their policy as they will, free states *cannot* be kept down."

The manner in which the slaveholding states secure this great political influence is thus described by Judge Jay in his "View," —pp. 26—28.

"These may be regarded as threefold: first, their anxiety to protect and perpetuate slavery, renders the southern members united in whatever measures they consider important for this purpose, while the representatives from the north, having no common bond of union, are divided

in opinion and effort. Secondly, a slave state having more votes to bestow on a presidential candidate, and more members in congress to support or oppose the administration than a free state of equal white population, is of course of greater consequence in the estimation of politicians; and hence arises an influence reaching to every measure, and weighing upon every question. Thirdly, the peculiar temperament of the southern gentlemen, together with their observation of the servility of the northern politicians, have induced them to resort, and with great success, to INTIMIDATION as a means of influence.

"The practice adopted by the slaveholders of threatening on all occasions to dissolve the Union, unless they are permitted to govern it, has been too long and firmly established to need illustration. We will at present merely give a few recent instances of outrageous menaces; and to justify what we have said of the servility of northern politicians, it is sufficient to observe, that these menaces were unrebuked.

"On the 18th of April, 1836, a petition against the continuance of slavery in the district of Columbia, was presented to the House of Representatives, when Mr. Speight, of North Carolina, declared in his place, that 'he had great respect for the chair as an officer of the House, and a great respect for him personally: and *nothing but that respect* prevented him from rushing to the table and *tearing that petition to pieces.* Of course it was to be understood, that the order of the house and the rights of northern petitioners were respected, not from any constitutional obligations, but solely because the speaker, himself a slaveholder, was acceptable to southern gentlemen.

"Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, the same session, in a speech, used the following language: 'I warn the abolitionists—ignorant, infatuated barbarians as they are, that if chance shall throw any of them into *our hands*, he may expect a *felon's death.*'

"Mr. Lumpkin remarked in the senate, (January 1838,) 'If abolitionists went to Georgia, they would be *caught;*' and Mr. Preston declared in the same debate—'Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina, if we can catch him, we will try him, and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments on earth, including the Federal Government, we will HANG him.'

"It seems probable from these declarations that abolitionists in their southern travels, will meet with 'barbarians' quite as 'ignorant and infatuated' as themselves; and also that the gibbet is to be the fate of any member of congress, who shall by his votes or speeches dare to identify himself with the abolitionists, and afterwards enter the slave region."

Such are the sources of the slaveholding influence in congress.

The following pages will exhibit many of the results of this influence:

First. By filling the Presidential chair with incumbents of their own principles, and by procuring the appointment of southern men, or "northern men with southern principles" to the cabinet offices, the slave states manage to secure both the aspect and spirit of a pro-slavery government at home.

By sending southern men as ambassadors to all the principal foreign courts, they contrive to keep up pro-slavery appearances abroad. And by effecting all their favorite measures in congress, which they have rarely failed to do, they succeed in holding the whole nation in a disgraceful subserviency to the slave power. Gradually, but to a fearful extent, the anti-republican spirit of the slaveholding states has infused itself into the entire government, insomuch that the whole policy of the government is now shaped in accordance with the *slavery interest.* So that while slavery should be craving its last foot-hold, and obliged to surrender even that, and slink away into a mere nominal and temporary existence on its own domain, we are compelled to acknowledge it the paramount interest of the nation. The fundamental maxims of freedom have been sacrificed one by one, at the shrine of this national idol. The most mournful and alarming indication of the encroachments of the slave power is, the immolation at its nod of the *right of petition.* This has been done by congress—done deliberately, done with the warnings and remonstrances of the faithful few sounding in their ears. This sacrilege has been repeated at each successive session since 1836, and with aggravated atrocity at each subsequent period; until during the present session congress has fully consummated its own ignominy by embodying the shameless outrage among the standing rules of the House. It is in the following form;

"'Upon the presentation of any memorial or petition praying for the abolition of slavery or the slave trade in any district, territory, or state of the Union, and upon the presentation of any resolution or other paper touching these subjects, the question of the reception of such memorial, petition, resolution, or paper shall be considered as made, and the question of its reception shall be laid upon the table without debate or further action of the house.'"

Whether federal devotion to southern slavery will perpetrate any grosser outrages we know not, but no violations of the constitution, no indignities offered to inalienable rights can hereafter surprise us.

The subject of prejudice against colour (so called) next demands attention.

It is well known that there exists in the United States a ferocious prejudice against the coloured population. This feeling is, apparently, as virulent against those who have but a slight intermixture of African blood, as against the jet black negro; and if possible, even more inveterate in the free, than in the slave states. It is called by those who entertain it, "prejudice against colour," and not without a shrewd design. They seek thus to justify a most unchristian scorn by representing it as the spontaneous and irrepressible sentiment of the mind, in view of contrariety of colour. Accordingly it has been unblushingly upheld as a proper feeling, which it was duty to foster, and to extinguish which, if it were practicable, would be rebellion against the will of God, by whom it has been interposed as a permanent barrier between the two races. On the contrary, the friends of the negro contend that this is not a prejudice against *colour*,—that it is not an involuntary instinct of nature, whose existence is the voice of God bespeaking its propriety, and demanding its perpetuity; but that it is an incidental feeling resulting from the enslavement of the negroes, an aversion and disdain on account of their condition, which attach to their colour, only because the latter is in the mind associated with the former, and an index of it. They contend, moreover, that this prejudice is an outrageous insult toward a deeply injured class, whom it reproaches and spurns for a degradation which those who cherish the feeling, have caused; and that it is a heinous sin against that God, who alike ordained the complexion of the black and the white man.

In the early days of the republic, when the national pulse beat strongly for universal liberty, this feeling was comparatively weak. Then slavery had but a feeble existence. Its presence was regarded with jealousy, and tolerated only in the hope and expectation of its speedy extinction. The generous purpose that our land should be an asylum for the oppressed of all other

lands, did not at that time overlook the slave; he was prospectively, at least, included within its ample embrace.

The following are a few of a multitude of illustrations, which might be adduced, showing that "prejudice against colour" found slight encouragement among the fathers of the republic. Washington himself set an example of courteous respect for people of colour, which reflects the deepest shame upon his degenerate countrymen. The following letter, addressed to Phillis Wheatley, a native African, and a slave, is found in his published correspondence.

"CAMBRIDGE, *February* 28, 1776.

"MISS PHILLIS,—Your favor of the 26th of October did not reach my hands till the middle of December. Time enough, you will say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences, continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming, but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honor of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive, that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints.

"If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head-quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am, with great respect, your obedient humble servant, GEORGE WASHINGTON."

We have evidence of the weakness of this feeling, during the early periods of our history, in the testimony of General Lafayette. It is said of him,

"Lafayette, in his last visit to the United States, expressed his astonishment at the increase of prejudice against colour. He remembered, he said, how the black soldiers used to mess with the whites in the revolutionary war. The leaders of that war are gone, where principles are all, where prejudices are nothing. If their ghosts could arise in majestic array, before the American nation on their great anniversary, and hold up be-

fore them the mirror of their constitution, in the light of its first principles, where would the people hide themselves from the blasting radiance."

The liberty feeling which carried forward the American revolution to its issue, soon after began to wane, and the slavery spirit to gather strength; "prejudice," as a consequence, increased, insomuch that the "nation's guest," on revisiting our shores, remarked, with grief and surprise, its fearful prevalence. That sagacious philanthropist saw in this a result of the rapidly growing slavery spirit, which it is well known he noticed with still greater grief and astonishment.

That prejudice should have constantly gained force in the south, where slavery was strengthening its stakes, can excite no surprise; but that it should have increased in the north, where the little slavery that remained was fast retreating, before the advance of free principles would seem to be unaccountable. The same cause, however, which promoted its increase in the south, viz., the progressive popularity of southern slavery, fostered its growth in the free states. Contradictory as the statement may seem, it is, nevertheless, true that a pro-slavery spirit was fast growing at the north, while slavery itself was dying away. The same considerations which promoted the one, abolished the other. Slavery was a burden upon the north—its removal was foreseen to be a pecuniary benefit. On the other hand, slavery at the south began to be regarded as a great source of wealth, in which the north might share as well as the south; therefore, while abolishing their own slavery, the free states joined league with the slaveholding in supporting theirs. The commerce, the manufactures, and the numerous trades of the north, became more or less dependent upon slavery; her literary, benevolent, and religious institutions wooed its alliance; her colleges looked to the south for patronage and pupils, while her educated sons flocked thither to conduct institutions of learning, fill professions, edit newspapers, and marry fortunes. Her benevolent societies turned to the south for money, and even her religion clutched for its share in the emoluments of slavery, by annually commissioning scores of her youthful ministers to officiate at its blood stained altars.

In process of time the prejudice of which we speak, sunk so

deeply into the national heart, that it became the basis of a great national institution—the American Colonization Society; one of whose cardinal maxims was the *invincibility of negro prejudice.* This society contributed greatly to augment and embolden the feeling in which it had its origin. By asserting its invincibility, and defending it as growing out of an "ordination of providence," and a "law of nature," it imparted to it not only a respectability, but a sort of sacredness which added greatly to its sway. Under such fostering influences, negro prejudice rose to an almost incredible pitch of audacity, impiety, and power; and well it might. The rabble shouted its praises, "men of property and standing" endorsed it, and the learned vindicated it by argument. Professing Christians were its votaries, ministers its priests, and temples dedicated to God its sanctuaries and shrines. It controlled both the pulpit and the press, presided in the halls of justice, swayed the legislative assembly, gave law to the jury-box, expurgated the school room, governed the festive board, was omnipotent in the social circle, stereotyped regulations for all public conveyances, stood door-keeper at all places of amusement, partitioned off the house of God, and made the communion cup a respecter of persons.

A few facts will illustrate the prevalence and inveteracy of this feeling.

First, it excludes coloured persons of both sexes, whatever their respectability or refinement, from the public vehicles of travel, or thrusts them into parts of them designed expressly for the degraded. On this point there are facts innumerable. We give a few only.

In Mrs. Child's "Appeal," we find the following, pp. 203—205,—

"Men whose education leaves them less excuse for such illiberality, are yet vulgar enough to join in this ridiculous prejudice. The coloured woman, whose daughter has been mentioned as excluded from a private school, was once smuggled into a stage, upon the supposition that she was a white woman, with a sallow complexion. Her manners were modest and prepossessing, and the gentlemen were very polite to her. But when she stopped at her own door, and was handed out by her curly-headed husband, they were at once surprised and angry to find they had been riding with a mulatto—and had, in their ignorance, been really civil to her!

"A worthy coloured woman, belonging to an adjoining town, wished to come into Boston to attend upon a son, who was ill. She had a trunk with her, and was too feeble to walk. She begged permission to ride in the stage. But the passengers, with *noble* indignation, declared they would get out, if she were allowed to get in. After much entreaty, the driver suffered her to sit by him upon the box. When he entered the city, his comrades began to point and sneer. Not having sufficient moral courage to endure this, he left the poor woman, with her trunk, in the middle of the street, far from the place of her destination; telling her, with an oath, that he would not carry her a step further.

"A friend of mine lately wished to have a coloured girl admitted into the stage with her, to take care of her babe. The girl was very lightly tinged with the sable hue, had handsome Indian features, and very pleasing manners. It was, however, evident that she was not white; and therefore the passengers objected to her company. This of course, produced a good deal of inconvenience on one side, and mortification on the other. My friend repeated the circumstance to a lady, who, as the daughter and wife of a clergyman, might be supposed to have imbibed some liberality. The lady seemed to think the experiment was very preposterous; but when my friend alluded to the mixed parentage of the girl, she exclaimed, with generous enthusiasm, 'Oh, that alters the case, *Indians* certainly *have* their rights.'

"Every year a coloured gentleman and scholar is becoming less and less of a rarity—thanks to the existence of the Haytian republic, and the increasing liberality of the world! Yet if a person of refinement from Hayti, Brazil, or other countries, which we deem less enlightened than our own, should visit us, the very boys of this republic would dog his footsteps with the vulgar outcry of 'Nigger! Nigger!' I have known this to be done, from no other provocation than the sight of a coloured man with the dress and deportment of a gentleman. Were it not that republicanism, like Christianity, is often perverted from its true spirit by the bad passions of mankind, such things as these would make every honest mind disgusted with the very name of republics.

"I am acquainted with a gentleman from Brazil who is shrewd, enterprising, and respectable in character and manners; yet he has experienced almost every species of indignity on account of his colour. Not long since, it became necessary for him to visit the southern shores of Massachusetts, to settle certain accounts connected with his business. His wife was in a feeble state of health, and the physicians had recommended a voyage. For this reason, he took passage for her with himself in the steam-boat; and the captain, as it appears, made no objection to a coloured gentleman's money. After remaining on deck some time, Mrs. ——— attempted

to pass into the cabin; but the captain prevented her; saying, 'You must go down forward.' The Brazilian urged that he had paid the customary price, and therefore his wife and infant had a right to a place in the ladies' cabin. The captain answered, 'Your wife a'n't a lady; she is a nigger.' The forward cabin was occupied by sailors—was entirely without accommodations for women, and admitted the sea-water, so that a person could not sit in it comfortably without keeping the feet raised in a chair. The husband stated that his wife's health would not admit of such exposure; to which the captain still replied, 'I don't allow any niggers in my cabin.' With natural and honest indignation, the Brazilian exclaimed, 'You Americans talk about the Poles! You are a great deal more Russian than the Russians.' The affair was concluded by placing the coloured gentleman and his invalid wife on the shore, and leaving them to provide for themselves as they could. Had the cabin been full, there would have been some excuse; but it was occupied only by two sailors' wives. The same individual sent for a relative in a distant town on account of illness in his family. After staying several weeks, it became necessary for her to return; and he procured a seat for her in the stage. The same ridiculous scene occurred; the passengers were afraid of losing their dignity by riding with a neat respectable person, whose face was darker than their own. No public vehicle could be obtained, by which a coloured citizen could be conveyed to her home; it therefore became absolutely necessary for the gentleman to leave his business and hire a chaise at great expense. Such proceedings are really inexcusable. No authority can be found for them in religion, reason, or the laws."

Second, It shuts against them all places of public exhibition and amusement, which are at all respectable. It matters not, so far as prejudice is concerned, whether the places of amusement be in themselves innocent or otherwise.

The proprietors of the Zoological Institute in New York, have the following standing advertisement.

"The proprietors wish it to be understood that people of colour are not permitted to enter, except when in attendance upon children and families."

The manner in which this rule is carried out may be seen in the following letter from a respectable citizen of New York.

"'I was very desirous of taking my family to the Zoological Institute in the Bowery, to see the specimens of wild animals. So I hired a car-

riage, took my family, and went up to the place. When we drove up in front of the door, I got out and went to get a ticket. When I got to the door a well dressed man gave me a very hard punch in the breast with his cane, which knocked me very nearly flat upon the steps. Said I, 'What did you do that for?'

"'Clear the door,' said he.

"'I want to go in, sir,' said I.

"'You cannot go in.'

"'I am ready to pay,' said I.

"'We don't admit *niggers*.'

"'Why did you not tell me that coloured people were not admitted before you punched me so?'

"'If you don't clear out, I will put you in the watch-house.'

"'Do you suppose, sir,' said I, 'that I am to be treated in this manner, and not be permitted to speak about it?'

"'He then called for two officers to take me to the watch-house. I replied, 'I think one will be enough, as I shall offer no resistance.' The officers came—laid hold of me with great violence, and walked off with me about a hundred yards; leaving my wife and family in the carriage in front of the door. The officers now said to me, 'If we will let you go will you say no more about it?' 'Gentlemen, do your duty, for I will come to no such terms.'

"'They then whispered to each other a moment, and let me go. They returned to their employer, I suppose. I got into my carriage and came home, thankful for having escaped from the jaws of such savage beasts.

"'Yours, in the bonds of the gospel,

"'THOMAS VAN RENNSELAER.'"

It is unnecessary to specify all the privileges from which prejudice debars the colored man in the United States. Suffice it to say, that there is not a single point within the entire circle of personal, social, religious, and political privileges, where the man of colour is allowed to occupy an equal footing with his white brother.

We shall mention but one other instance—the existence of caste, in the house of God.

Humbling as is the acknowledgment, truth impels us to declare that this hideous development of prejudice is almost universal. It is found in the city and in the country, and among all denominations. A folio would not contain the disgraceful and

monstrous facts in illustration of this point. Religion hangs her head, and goes heart-broken from her temples, as she sees her sable children thrust into obscure corners, and separated from the whites as strictly as though they were infected with the leprosy.

The following is stated by Mrs. Child, in her "Appeal" pp. 212, 213.

"A fierce excitement prevailed, not long since, because a coloured man had bought a pew in one of our churches. I heard a very kind-hearted and zealous democrat declare his opinion that 'the fellow ought to be turned out by constables, if he dared to occupy the pew he had purchased.' Even at the communion-table, the mockery of human pride is mingled with the worship of Jehovah. Again and again have I seen a solitary negro come up to the altar meekly and timidly, after all the white communicants had retired. One episcopal clergyman of this city, forms an honorable exception to this remark. When there is room at the altar, Mr. ——— often makes a signal to the colored members of his church to kneel beside their white brethren; and once, when two white infants and one coloured one were to be baptized, and the parents of the latter bashfully lingered far behind the others, he silently rebuked the unchristian spirit of pride, by first administering the holy ordinance to the little dark-skinned child of God.

"An instance of prejudice lately occurred, which I should find it hard to believe, did I not positively know it to be a fact. A gallery pew was purchased in one of our churches for two hundred dollars. A few sabbaths after, an address was delivered at that church, in favour of the Africans. Some coloured people, who very naturally wished to hear the discourse, went into the gallery; probably because they thought they should be deemed less intrusive there than elsewhere. The man who had recently bought the pew, found it occupied by coloured people, and indignantly retired with his family. The next day, he purchased a pew in another meeting-house, protesting that nothing would tempt him again to make use of seats that had been occupied by negroes.

"A well known country representative, who makes a very loud noise about his democracy, once attended the Catholic church. A pious negro requested him to take off his hat, while he stood in the presence of the Virgin Mary. The white man rudely shoved him aside, saying, 'You son of an Ethiopian, do you dare to speak to me!' I more than once heard the hero repeat this story; and he seemed to take peculiar satisfaction in telling it. Had he been less ignorant, he would not have chosen 'son of an *Ethiopian*,' as an *ignoble* epithet; to have called the African

his own equal would have been abundantly more sarcastic. The same republican dismissed a strong, industrious coloured man, who had been employed on the farm during his absence. 'I am too great a democrat,' quoth he, 'to have any body in my house, who don't sit at my table; and I'll be hanged, if I ever eat with the son of an Ethiopian.'"

In another work by the same author—"The Oasis"—the following fact is stated.

"The following account is a literal matter of fact. The names of persons and places are concealed by the editor, because she wishes to excite no angry feelings in attempting to show how many discouragements are thrown in the way of coloured people who really desire to be respectable. The letters are copied from the originals, with merely a few alterations in the orthography of the last.

"Mr. James E—— was a respectable coloured man, residing in Massachusetts, in a certain town not far from Boston. He had been early impressed with the importance of religious subjects, and at twenty-six years of age made a public profession of his faith. He had a large family, and when they were all old enough to attend church, it was found difficult to accommodate them on the seats their parents had usually occupied. Mr. E—— was desirous of purchasing a pew which stood as it were by itself, being surrounded by the aisle and the staircase. Some difficulty occurred because a widow had a right to one third; but this was finally arranged to the satisfaction of all parties. Mr. E.'s eldest son paid the purchase money, and received a deed of the pew. As soon as this became known, a member of the church called upon Mr. E., and exhorted him not to injure the sale of the pew by occupying it. Mr E. answered, that it had been bought for the accommodation of his family, and they had no wish to sell it. The church brother answered, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'

"Private meetings were immediately held, which resulted in summoning Mr. E. to appear before the church, to give an account of his proceedings. Here he was accused of a wilful and flagrant outrage upon the church and upon the society. In reply he called their attention to the covenant by which each church member was bound to share the burdens of the church, and promised full enjoyment of all its privileges. He thought this gave any member a right to own a pew, provided he could honestly pay for one. As a citizen of a free country, he conceived that he had a right to purchase a pew; nor could he find anything in the whole tenor of the bible opposed to it.

"When requested to declare the price his son had paid for the pew,

he declined answering. A committee was appointed, and the meeting adjourned.

"This committee called on Mr. E. to 'labor with him,' as they termed it. The elder attempted to justify their proceedings by talking of a gradation in creation, from the highest seraph to the meanest insect. To support this doctrine, he quoted from the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians: 'All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds.'

"On the third Sunday, a cord was observed suspended from the gallery; on examination, is was found that a jug of filthy water was tied to it, and so arranged as to empty itself upon whoever touched the line in entering the pew. The remainder of the seats and the walls were soon after torn down, and thrown into an adjoining pasture. A temporary seat answered the purposes of the family for a while; but in a short time this was demolished, and the platform itself torn up, leaving a hole about two feet square.

"The son of Mr. E. related these facts to the editor, and added very dryly: 'When the cold weather came on, this proved a serious inconvenience to the whole congregation; but they bore it for some time, with Christian fortitude.'"

The subjoined fact is taken from the "Cleveland (Ohio) Messenger."

"A coloured man, in the state of Ohio, at a meeting not long since, was the first, when awakened sinners were invited to come forward for prayer and conversation, who took the anxious seat. A *leader* in the meeting went up to him and said, you must not come forward here, for you will keep away many that we want to see amongst the anxious."

Rev. James A. Thome, recently of Kentucky, relates the following circumstance, of which he was an eye-witness:

"At a Methodist camp-meeting, held in Kentucky, when the Lord's supper was being administered, the officiating preacher arose and made the following announcement: 'As the white brethren have all partaken, the coloured communicants can now come forward.' Several coloured men and women approached the altar. At that moment it was discovered that some whites had not yet received the sacrament; whereupon the same preacher proclaimed from the pulpit, 'The coloured people will wait a little while, as there are some of our white brethren, who have not yet partaken.' After these 'white brethren' had retired from the altar, the invitation was a second time extended to the coloured people. Some went forward, but the most withdrew in silence."

We conclude our extracts with the following summary of the systematic and almost universal outrages perpetrated upon the free people of colour in the so-called free states of the American Union. It is taken from the American Anti-slavery Almanack for 1839 :

"Our churches, with few exceptions, have a 'negro seat,' where coloured persons, even clergymen in churches of their own denomination, are *compelled* to sit, or leave the house. Almost all our literary institutions exclude coloured applicants for admission, while the sons of slaveholders are eagerly beckoned in. Coloured persons, whatever their respectability, are driven from the cabins of our steamboats and packets, from our rail-cars, stages, hotels, boarding-houses, tables, theatres, (except the upper gallery), reading-rooms, libraries, museums, and from the platforms of our religious anniversaries, from the learned professions, from literary societies and corporations, from scientific and professional lectures, from military and fire companies, from the jury-box, and from all civil offices. They are refused all licenses in most of our cities, and, generally, the benefit of all asylums and public charities. Merchants will not take them as clerks, nor lawyers and physicians as students, nor mechanics as apprentices, nor benevolent societies as agents."

It may well excite surprise that a feeling so irrational and wicked should be vindicated by the professed disciples of him who is no respecter of persons ; yet so it is,—and we may add, that one of the chief grounds of the bitter hostility, both in church and state, against the abolitionists, is their denunciation of this unchristian prejudice. We rejoice to add that the power of this feeling has been already perceptibly weakened by the efforts of abolitionists.

We now turn to another topic named in your suggestions—a brief outline of the abolition movement in the United States.

It may not be amiss to premise by glancing at the rise and progress of the pro-slavery spirit. The predominant feeling in this country at the establishment of our independence, and for some time afterwards, was, as we have already shown, unquestionably favourable to universal liberty. The countenance of slavery in the union, at the time of its formation, seems inconsistent with this supposition; but facts innumerable, demonstrate that to have been a misjudged measure of temporary policy, rather than the result of a deliberate purpose to establish slavery as a permanent

system. True, it was both a blunder and an enormity, but that it proceeded from a wish to perpetuate slavery is contradicted by the entire history of the times and of the men. Such might have been the motive with some of the southern delegation, but we have the clearest evidence that it was only a small portion even of them, who were prompted by such considerations. The tolerance of slavery as a temporary system was an expedient to conciliate and secure immediate adherence to the union; while in all the states it was conceded, that from the time specified in the constitution of the United States for the abolition of the African slave trade (1808), slavery itself would rapidly tend to extinction. Ardent attachment to liberty, and sympathy for all who were oppressed, which were strong feelings of the rising nation, it was confidently anticipated, would speedily sweep away the last vestige of American bondage. To the natural, and, as it was believed, the certain operation of these sentiments, the extinction of slavery was too securely committed. Had any other result been anticipated, it would have found no tolerance with a large majority of the founders of our government. Nearly all the prominent statesmen of the first days of the republic have left on record their unqualified reprobation of slavery. We should rejoice to quote largely from their testimony, but must content ourselves with a bare reference to a pamphlet, already mentioned, entitled the "Power of Congress over the District of Columbia." See especially pages 25—37.

A strong anti-slavery feeling pervaded at that period the various denominations of Christians. Slavery was then the common mark for denunciation. No one feared, as now most do, to launch the bolts of truth against it. Statesmen could utter their abhorrence of it boldly, without fear of losing office. Ministers could direct against it the artillery of inspiration without incurring dismission. Editors could wield the influence of the press against it without forfeiting their lives or their living. Even in slave states, slavery could be held up to public execration without calling down the inflictions of lynch law.

Numerous associations were formed both in the free and slave states, styled Abolition Societies, and expressly avowing as their object the extinction of slavery.

Of one of these societies, formed in the state of New York, the

Hon. John Jay was first president; and of another in Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin was first president. These societies proposed only a gradual abolition of slavery. *Immediatism* was not then dreamed of. But as it was, these early associations had a remote influence in effecting the abolition of slavery in the northern states. We say a remote influence, because it is well understood that the abolition in those states was dictated in the main by mere state policy. The discussions of natural rights which preceded the revolutionary war, contributed in the first place to arouse public attention to the subject of slavery. This gave rise to abolition societies and publications, by which a public sentiment, to some extent previously formed, was greatly strengthened. The conviction that slavery is a sin, obtained to a considerable extent; the conviction that it was a burthen and a curse became in the free states nearly universal.

We will here make a brief digression to state, in accordance with your suggestion, our views of the gradual abolition plans adopted by the northern states.

That they were wrong in principle and disastrous in their operations we unhesitatingly affirm. Had the projectors of these plans, recognized the invariable sinfulness of slavery; had they been deeply impressed with the wrongs of the slave, and imbued with a proper sympathy for those who had been so grossly outraged, under the influence of such sentiments they would, we doubt not, have adopted more decisive measures. There was no serious obstacle to immediate abolition. The number of their slaves was small; their fitness for entire freedom was, in comparison with that of any large number of slaves that had ever been emancipated, quite conspicuous. The nature of their employments, and the interests involved in their enslavement, were not such that immediate abolition could have produced serious derangements in business or extensive embarrassment of personal fortunes; besides, hostility to immediate emancipation was then undeveloped, and the national prejudice had not then grown into a frightful monster. Indeed every circumstance was favourable to a fair experiment of immediate emancipation. It can never be forgotten, nor—we were about to say—forgiven, to those states that when they held in their hands the golden opportunity of demonstrating the safety and policy of immediate emancipation, and settling for ever

a question which has ever since been under controversy, they not only allowed it to pass unimproved, but abused it to establish a precedent of gradualism, which is now in every pro-slavery mouth as the decisive argument, against what are called the wild and impracticable schemes of immediate abolition. There can be no question but that the influence of abolition in northern states has fortified southern slavery. Its influence, moreover, upon the emancipated, has been far less benign, than immediate emancipation would have been. In the first place, the time intervening between the passing of the abolition acts and the actual emancipation, afforded ample opportunity for masters to transfer their slaves to the southern planter. How many of the expectants of freedom were, by ingenious evasions, thus consigned to a more merciless slavery than ever, can never be known. But conjecture itself could hardly form an exaggerated estimate.

In the next place, the proposed end for which gradualism was mainly adopted—i. e., a preparation for the rights and immunities of freedom,—was never prosecuted.

No suitable efforts were made to instruct the slaves and qualify them for the highest privileges of a state of freedom. In this respect the acts of abolition we are now considering answered one good end, and so far as we know, but one—they illustrated the impracticability of all plans projected to *prepare* slaves for freedom.

In the third place gradual abolition in the northern states, served effectually to increase and embitter the prejudice against the coloured race.

The very feeling in which it originated, ensured this result, it was a desire not so much to get rid of slavery as of the *slaves*, who were considered an intolerable nuisance. It was hoped that their emancipation would lead to their gradual removal, but as most of them continued in the same states, they became the objects of a far stronger hate as *free men*, than was ever felt towards them as slaves—hatred which exhibited itself in ridicule, scornful reproaches, neglect, exclusion from society, schools, churches, and all reputable employments—and, after thus effectually debasing them, reviled them for their degradation, and charged it upon their incapacity for improvement. This abolition in the northern states has thus plunged large

numbers of the emancipated into ignorance, indolence, poverty, and vice; and that there are, among the free people of colour, so many exceptions to this dreadful wreck of human intellect and soul, must be a matter of astonishment to all who appreciate the influences which combined to crush them.

Bad as have been the results of gradual abolition in these cases, they must undoubtedly be far worse in the planting states, where the slaves are very numerous, and where the business carried on demands large bodies of labourers, with hard and long continued labour, and special regularity in the management.

We return from this digression with the single remark, that nothing admits of clearer demonstration, than that the superiority of immediate, over gradual emancipation, increases with the number of the enslaved, and the magnitude of all the interests concerned.

In view of the strong repugnance to slavery which pervaded our government in its infancy, the inquiry is very naturally suggested—what could so soon have given rise to a marked partiality for it, which has gathered strength ever since, and threatens to extinguish in Americans all love of liberty and law? What could have so completely revolutionized the national sentiments, that a system which was first regarded with jealousy, and tolerated only on the supposition that it must soon die of itself, should in a few years become the paramount national interest?

We will glance at some of the causes which have produced this humiliating change, by which our nation has been struck down from its sublime attitude as the asserter of human rights, and degraded into a champion of oppression in its foulest form.

1. THE FIRST GREAT CAUSE HAS BEEN THE INCREASING PROFITABLENESS OF SLAVERY.

For a time, the products of slave labour constituted a comparatively small item in the national wealth, and slavery was correspondingly unimportant. But gradually the cotton and sugar cultivation, especially the former, became the commanding interests of the land. The south was growing rich apace, and the north, with characteristic eagerness for gain, entered by every crevice through which she could thrust herself, and began the scramble for gold. Her manufactories, her various

mechanical trades, and her commerce, entered the alliance. Her adventurous sons, from the shrewd lawyer to the shrewder pedlar, with his "notions," rushed southward. Her fair daughters, in alarming numbers, began to discover that their native climate was too severe for their lungs, and that nothing could rescue them from untimely graves but a residence in the sunny south. The south soon became the centre of attraction to the whole union. Her estates were the most splendid, her cultivation the most lucrative, her manners the most fascinating, and her hospitalities the most princely. Of all these attractions, *slavery* was seen to be the basis. *This* gave to the south her resources, her leisure, her polished courtliness, and open-handed generosity. This made her a land of princes, and a school of Chesterfields. It was very natural to transfer the admiration from the effects to the cause; hence slavery came to be regarded, by the south herself and by all her admirers, as an "institution" most important and indispensable. It could no longer be viewed in the light of its intrinsic attributes, but was contemplated through the medium of the magnificent ends which it subserved. It ceased to be beheld as the vortex of the slaves' rights, interests, and hopes, and was seen only as the full fountain, out-pouring its golden sands at the master's feet.

2. LONG FAMILIARITY WITH SLAVERY ALSO VERY NATURALLY BEGAT FORBEARANCE FOR IT, AND FORBEARANCE AS NATURALLY RIPENED INTO FRIENDSHIP.

3. THE SPIRIT OF SLAVERY LIVES ONLY BY AGGRESSIONS UPON LIBERTY. IT CANNOT LIVE ON THE SOIL OF FREEDOM WITHOUT MAKING INROADS UPON IT.

Having once obtained a foothold in the republic, it has made steady and rapid advances, and unless speedily exterminated, must gain sole possession.

4. VARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES CONTRIBUTED TO MAKE THE MASTER THE OBJECT OF SYMPATHY, AND THE SLAVE THE VICTIM OF CONTEMPT AND DETESTATION.

The master was white—the slave black; the master was elevated—the slave degraded; the master was an equal—the slave an inferior; the master was a fellow-countryman, a friend, a relative, a "Christian"—the slave was a stranger, a suspected foe, a barbarian. Besides, the master was such, by a sort of

necessity, and could not get rid of his slaves without evil to them, and peril to himself and his country; therefore, his holding them was esteemed both patriotic and humane. Such was the verdict of public sentiment. Sympathy was thus entirely misplaced; while it should have been operating to shield the helpless against the strong, it was weaving sophistical defences for the oppressor. This monstrous perversion of sympathy sealed the fate of the slave almost beyond redemption.

5. We must not omit to notice the agency of the Colonization Society in extending the influence of slavery.

We see this imposing organization claiming to be the only practicable remedy for slavery, yet powerfully contributing to the growth and permanence of the most hideous oppression under the sun. Had its principles been righteous and true, its great power would have annihilated slavery; but with such principles as it boldly avows, and acts upon, its influence is all on the side of the oppressor. It acknowledges the right of property in man; it publicly disclaims all interference with that right; it openly discountenances emancipation on the soil, declaring *slavery* to be preferable; it reviles and traduces the free people of colour, representing them as incomparably worse off than the slaves; it sanctifies the ferocious prejudice against them by declaring it "an ordination of providence," and "a law of nature;" it urges virtual expatriation as a condition of manumission, teaches that slavery is not essentially a sin, contends that immediate emancipation is not a duty, but an egregious folly and a wrong, and, to crown all its pro-slavery demonstrations, it formally pledges its opposition to all schemes of abolition which reject the barbarous policy of expatriation.

Nothing could more effectually lull to sleep the fears and consciences of slaveholders, than such principles, urged by *such a society*. The society was an imposing one. It numbered among its officers, advocates, and members, nearly all the ministers, churches, presses, statesmen, judges, professional men, philanthropists, and men of wealth in all parts of the land. It had its head quarters at Washington city, and its auxiliaries in nearly every state capitol, with minor branches in almost every county. It claimed, withal, to be a religious institution, an organized

missionary society, for the christianization of Africa. For a society of such pretensions and such patronage to endorse the system of slavery—at least to assert its present rightfulness, was reason enough, were there no other, for its growth and stability. This was a far more effectual support to slavery than if the clergy or the church, as a body, had sanctioned it, or than if it had the full concurrence of congress, the judiciary, or the executive,—for the society combined the sanction of all these, and of every other class, rank, and condition in the community.

6. THE LAST CAUSE WHICH WE SHALL MENTION OF THE RAPID INCREASE OF SLAVERY, WAS THE PROSCRIPTION ON ALL DISCUSSION OF ITS MERITS.

The causes which we have specified, very soon arrested that spirit of inquiry into slavery, which existed at the establishment of the government. This was one of their first effects, and in turn it became a cause—a most efficient one too—of the promotion of slavery. "Error, whether of opinion or practice, may safely be tolerated so long as truth is left free to combat it;" and in no other way can error be effectually reached and routed. But when error is left rampant, and truth is struck dumb, when the foulest principles are suffered to grow under the cover of *silence*, rank luxuriance is the certain result. Under just such circumstances slavery has been growing. The south has demanded that it shall not be discussed, and the north has protested that it is no concern of hers. The church has called it a political matter, and politicians have called it a domestic institution, and so all sects and parties have agreed to leave it with the south to alter or amend, abolish or perpetuate, as in her wisdom and mercy she might deem best.

Of course, not to discuss slavery and expose it to the public gaze, was virtually bidding it God speed. It needs no patronage of the rich, it craves no advocacy of the learned, it asks no fostering hand nor watchful care, it begs only for *silence*—it has obtained, not only this, but patronage, vindication, fostering, and vigilance besides.

Considering the causes which have been enumerated, the enormous growth of slavery is no matter of wonder. The only wonder is that it has not wholly supplanted the love of liberty, law, and religion throughout the land.

We come now to glance at the abolition movements.

Perhaps there could not be a more striking evidence of the torpifying effects of slavery upon the public conscience, than the fact that no thoroughly serious and systematic effort in the form of an organization, was made to overthrow it until the commencement of the year 1832. In the following year, the American Anti-slavery Society was organized at Philadelphia. The first anniversary of this society held in New York in May, 1834, greatly aroused popular indignation. The daily, commercial, and political papers, backed by religious periodicals, continued thenceforward the most persevering attacks upon the principles and measures of the society. These efforts to excite the mob effected their desired object. About two months after the Anti-slavery anniversary, an abolition meeting was held in New York. The city papers redoubled the fury of their attack, and beckoned on the mob to crush this "treason in the egg." The mob accordingly assembled, and proceeding to the place of meeting, dispersed the assembly. Having once broken loose, they raged unchecked for several days. They sacked churches, broke into the houses of some of the most respectable citizens, dragged out their furniture, and burned it in the streets. They assailed the dwellings of the coloured people, demolished many of them, and sought the lives of some of the most prominent abolitionists, who were obliged to flee from the city.

The doctrines and measures of the Anti-slavery Society were assailed unceasingly with every form of attack. How far it gave cause for such unprecedented persecution, may be judged from the following statement of the measures which it has pursued from the date of its organization up to the present time.

1. The American Anti-slavery Society, and its auxiliaries, have employed agents and established presses in the free states, to advocate the duty and safety of immediate emancipation. Through these organs they have constantly urged the sinfulness of slavery, and the consequent duty of immediately abandoning it.

2. They have contended earnestly against all plans of gradual abolition as wrong in theory, inefficient in practice, and fatally quieting to the slaveholders' conscience. Against the Colonization Society especially, as embodying gradualism in its most odious form, they have always protested.

3. They have illustrated the safety and policy of immediate emancipation by a multitude of well authenticated facts. Keeping their eye upon the experiment in the British West Indies, after a suitable time had elapsed, delegates were dispatched thither by the American Anti-slavery Society, to examine minutely into the operation of the new system. The report of their delegates was published and has been extensively circulated in the United States.

4. They have appealed to slaveholders in the language of affectionate entreaty, and faithful warning, and rebuke, urging them to do their duty, demonstrating, both from reason and history, that the path of duty was to them the path of safety.

5. They have laboured to bring the testimony of the bible to bear with its full force against the abomination of slavery—and the more so as they have witnessed the numerous attempts to distort it into a vindication of oppression.

6. They have sought to bring the power of religion in the free states to bear against slavery, by urging ecclesiastical bodies to condemn it, and by persuading churches to exclude slaveholders from their communion, and slaveholding ministers from their pulpits. These objects have to some extent been effected; though still the predominant influence of the church in the north is against the benevolent efforts of the abolitionists. We are, however, greatly encouraged by the steady revolution which is going on in this respect; every year witnesses the accession or decided approach of Presbyteries, Consociations, Conferences, and other religious bodies to our principles.

7. The society has maintained an unwavering testimony against prejudice, whether exercised toward the slave of the south, or the free coloured man of the north. It has denounced it as unchristian, unmanly, absurd, and cruel; as a principal means of riveting the fetters of the slave, and preventing the improvement of the free.

8. A cherished object with the society has been the education and moral improvement of the nominally free people of colour residing in the free states. Spurned from respectable society, debarred from schools, excluded from honorable business pursuits, and virtually shut out of the sanctuary, no one has cared for their souls. Heart-sick at these horrible prejudices and im-

pious revilings, the abolitionists have labored to elevate this outcast people. They have established day, and night, and sabbath schools for their benefit; they have formed temperance, moral reform, and other societies among them; they have visited them at their houses, and freely associated with them at the table, in the street or in the church, to obtain opportunities of benefiting them, as well as to administer a practical rebuke to the prejudices of their white brethren. They have also encouraged them to form habits of industry, by furnishing or procuring for them respectable employments. They have, in numerous instances, induced them to leave the cities (where they have hitherto been in the habit of congregating) and become cultivators of the soil. In these efforts to instruct the free coloured people, abolitionists have been actuated both by a desire to benefit them personally, and to remove a standing argument against the emancipation of the enslaved, viz., *the degraded condition of the free.*

9. Besides the national society, state societies have been formed in every free state in the Union, auxiliary to the former; and these have branch societies in counties and towns. Each of the state societies, like the parent society, holds a public anniversary; each branch society also holds its annual meeting. Besides these meetings, there are frequent occasional conventions, either national, state, or county, which serve greatly to keep the public attention awake, and to disseminate the principles of the society.

Several of the state organizations support anti-slavery papers. Massachusetts has two, New York two, Pennsylvania two, Maine one, Vermont one, New Hampshire one, Connecticut one, Ohio one, Illinois one, and Michigan one—in all thirteen periodicals devoted exclusively to the anti-slavery cause. Most of the state societies likewise employ lecturers within their own bounds, and sustain depositories of anti-slavery books.

10. Within the last three or four years, the Anti-slavery Society has effected much in the field of *political action.* The objects they have sought to accomplish by this kind of action are the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and in the territories under the jurisdiction of congress; the extinction of the internal slave trade; the rejection of all slaveholding territories

demanding admission as slave states into the union; and the recognition of the independence of Hayti. Over these subjects congress has constitutional control, and, therefore, they are legitimate objects of effort politically on the part of abolitionists. Besides the above-named objects, the abolitionists have sought the repeal of certain laws in several of the nominally free states, which are oppressive to the coloured citizen, and to the fugitive from slavery who may take refuge in these states, or pass through them on their way to Canada. These ends have been sought by means of *petitions* addressed to the national and state legislatures respectively. Many of the latter have been induced to pass laws, securing the objects sought by the petitioners. With this mode of action the abolitionists have connected the questioning of candidates for state and national offices, respecting their views upon the various subjects embraced in the petitions. Hitherto the abolitionists have abstained from forming a separate political party, though the necessity of this measure, as the only practical and efficient one, is now strongly advocated by some of the most prominent abolitionists. The friends of the slave throughout the country are now discussing this question. What the result will be is not yet fully developed.

11. We think we may add, without incurring the charge of self-praise, that the abolitionists, in the prosecution of their objects, have evinced no ordinary zeal and self-sacrifice. This has been the legitimate and almost inevitable consequence of their situation. If they have been distinguished for their labours and sufferings, it is because such a necessity was laid upon them by the unpopularity, dangers, and difficulties of their cause. To one thing, however, they have (though for the credit of our countrymen, generally, we blush to say it) but too exclusive a claim—i. e., to a cordial sympathy with a despised and trampled race. We cannot avoid the conviction that nearly all the sympathy of the country, in behalf of the slaves, is to be found among the abolitionists. There are, doubtless, some at the north, and we know many at the south, who secretly remember, to some extent, them that are in bonds, *but not "as bound with them."* Fear, pride, self-interest, public sentiment, or mistaken notions of policy constrain them to hide their sympathies in silence. Of such we have reason to believe there are many scattered over the slave states, who are struck dumb by the threats of *lynch*

law. That there may be a considerable number likewise in the free states, who would willingly be abolitionists *if abolition were less unpopular*, we are not disposed to doubt.

But the fears and heart sinkings of the many, do but render more conspicuous the heroism of the few, who have perilled all personal interests in the cause of the slave.

This deep sympathy with the outcast has led to the most indefatigable labours and self-denial. No opportunity of promoting the cause of emancipation has been allowed to pass unimproved. No plan that wisdom could devise has been left untried. No agency nor instrumentality which money could enlist has remained unemployed. The suggestions of friends and the censures of enemies have alike been weighed and turned to account. Whenever an individual, whether of the north or south, conspicuous or obscure, has been known to be at all disposed to consider the subject candidly, suitable publications have been despatched to win him over to the cause of the slave. Numberless private letters have been addressed to ministers, editors, statesmen, and other influential classes of citizens in all parts of the country, in order to acquaint them with the principles of the Anti-slavery Society, and to impress them with a conviction of their own obligations. The principles, measures, and objects of the society have ever been open to the inspection of all; and it has repeatedly solicited investigation into them, both from individuals and bodies of men. They have formally and earnestly solicited an examination by the national congress, offering to submit for inspection, all their records, proceedings, and measures. The only step approximating to a compliance with these solicitations, was a letter of inquiry into the operation and extent of the American Anti-slavery Society, addressed to James G. Birney, Esq., one of the society's secretaries, by the Hon. F. H. Elmore, member of congress from South Carolina. This letter was most cordially received, and elicited an extended reply. The entire correspondence was embodied in a pamphlet, and very widely circulated.

The society has ever maintained the same testimony against slavery, as sin—against gradualism, as sin—against compensation, as sin—against prejudice, as sin—against expatriation, as sin—against southern defences and northern apologies for slavery, as sin; and in favour of immediate emancipation, as duty, safety, and policy.

That such a society should have been popular at a time when slavery had become the idol of the nation, was not to be expected; but equally far was it from rational anticipation, that it would have encountered such lawless and ferocious opposition. No preceding reform had excited a hundredth part of the popular odium which this incurred; though several reformations not dissimilar in principle, had arisen in this country before it. It might have been supposed that these would have so habituated the public mind to moral agitations, and so thoroughly established the right of free discussion, that the car of abolition would have encountered in its progress no very serious obstructions. But the trumpet of immediate emancipation was no sooner sounded than the blast of war broke from the south, and reverberated through the nation. WAR, WAR, was the universal outcry. All, everywhere, were ready to *put down* the "fanaticism." The alarming conspiracy *must be* arrested, *peaceably* if possible, but *forcibly* if necessary.

For the first time in the history of our government an emergency arose so critical and imminent that the arm of *law* could not be relied upon for protection; that alarming emergency was the *discussion of slavery.* For the first time it was deliberately resolved to abandon the sacred ægis of LAW, and invoke the aid of the mob-demon. Reason and argument likewise retired from the field, and committed the defence of the "patriarchal institution" to this Goliath. At every turn and step, abolition was confronted by this omnipresent monster. Especially during the earlier efforts in the anti-slavery cause, furious mobs were encountered in every place. There is scarcely a city in the free states, where the subject of slavery has been at all agitated, in which there have not been most frightful scenes of violence. And not only have cities been disgraced with these lawless outrages, but obscure villages and farming districts in every section of the country have been convulsed by them. The whole number of pro-slavery mobs in the free states within the last seven years, if it were accurately stated, would almost exceed belief. For many months they were an almost daily occurrence. Every newspaper recorded some fresh instance of these popular outbreaks.

In speaking of the opposition which the anti-slavery society has encountered, it is almost needless to allude to any other than

mobs. Revilings, misrepresentations, and abusive epithets were abundant indeed, but these only seemed intended as so many excitants to the grand extinguisher—the mob. Great "indignation meetings" were held in the principal cities at the north in which speeches were made and resolutions passed denouncing the "incendiary abolitionists." These also were only a means to an end, and that end was to embolden the mob. The press thundered its anathemas against the "fanatics and traitors;" but this was only to call out the vengeance of the mob. Governors gravely recommended to the legislatures of free states to enact laws making it penal to discuss the question of slavery; but this was to give the high sanction of gubernatorial authority to the more efficient enginery of the mob. Whatever else was done or said, it is notorious that the great reliance among the enemies of abolition was the MOB. The result has proved how vain was the reliance.

The repeated outbreaks of popular fury have indeed shaken most fearfully the pillars of the government, but they have given no shock to the cause of abolition; they have covered the American name with dishonour, but they have only furthered the progress of the anti-slavery reformation; they have exposed the weakness of slavery which has no better arguments to support it, but they have only developed the indomitable energy and inextinguishable vitality of immediate emancipation.

This document, protracted as it is, would still be deficient if it were concluded without adverting to the effects which the abolition movement has already produced. That its influence must have been far from insignificant may be inferred from the rapidity with which it has attracted to its standard vast numbers of every rank and calling. As no benevolent society in the land had ever before suffered so much persecution, so none ever made such rapid progress.

In the commencement of 1832 the first anti-slavery society was formed at Boston, in Massachusetts, and called the New England Anti-slavery Society; it consisted of but twelve members. In 1833 the American Anti-slavery Society was formed. In May, 1835, there were 225 auxiliaries. In May, 1836, 527. In May, 1837, 1006. In May 1838, 1346. In May, 1839, 1650. The auxiliaries average not less than eighty members

each, making an aggregate of ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-TWO THOUSAND MEMBERS.

But the number of auxiliaries and members gives by no means an adequate idea of the prevalence of anti-slavery principles. In various degrees they have found a response in the minds of multitudes beyond the limits of our organization. Nearly all these acquisitions from the twelve members, in 1832, to the scores of thousands in 1839, and the hundreds of thousands who are beginning to favour our views, have been made out of original opposers, revilers, and persecutors.

We will now glance at some of the principal effects which have been produced by the abolition movement.

1. It has broken up the apathy which prevailed throughout the free states. The absurd notion that the south is alone responsible for slavery, it has exploded, and furnished an answer to the question, what has the north to do with slavery? The abolitionists have shifted the burthen of the responsibility, and placed it where it belongs,—upon northern shoulders.

2. The labours of abolitionists have exposed the boundless participation of the north in the guilt of southern slavery.

The people of the free states, indeed abolitionists themselves, have been astounded at the extent of northern implication in slave-holding and slave-trading; and yet these shocking disclosures are only beginning to open upon us.

3. The anti-slavery movements have served to arouse large numbers of ministers and Christians in the free states, to feel, pray, and act for the oppressed. Ecclesiastical bodies in increasing numbers, have spoken out in strong condemnation of slavery, and have repeatedly addressed letters to similar bodies in the south filled with faithful remonstrance. The influence of the northern church is gradually, but surely shifting ground from the side of the oppressor to that of the slave; yet even now it must be confessed that the opposition of professed ministers of the gospel in the free states is the great obstacle to the progress of the anti-slavery cause.

4. Another result of the anti-slavery efforts has been the awakening both of the religious and secular press, to the advocacy of human rights. In addition to the numerous papers devoted entirely to the anti-slavery cause, there are many that do

not hesitate to avow anti-slavery principles. Such are found in various parts of the free states.

5. Another effect of the abolition movement has been the direction of public attention to slavery in the district of Columbia as a reproach and sin, in which the whole nation is involved, and for the continuance of which the free states are especially responsible. The foul stigma of slavery in the capital of this republic, and of the slave trade carried on under the sanction of congress in the district of Columbia; the power of congress to abolish these atrocities; and the ability of the free states by their superior numbers in congress, to secure such abolition—are considerations which have been constantly pressed upon the public mind. Large numbers of petitions have been sent to congress for several successive years, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia. Notwithstanding the contemptuous spurning of these petitions their number has steadily increased. The petitioners show no symptoms of weariness in well-doing. Meanwhile the discussion of the great question has thus been thrown into congress, and the arguments on both sides have been brought before the nation. A deep and extensive impression has been made of the monstrous inconsistency of maintaining slavery at the seat of the federal government; a feeling of abhorrence has been aroused which can never be satisfied with anything short of abolition in the district!

6. The anti-slavery enterprise has been highly useful in an indirect way, by testing the strength of the people's attachment to the freedom of the press, the freedom of speech, and the right of petition. During the brief conflict which has been waged with slavery, each of these pillars of the republic has in its turn undergone a terrific trial, and the last of the three is at this moment trembling on its base; but the triumphant result in the case of the two former encourages the hope, that, though now jostled from its centre, it will regain its position and survive the shock.

7. The anti-slavery efforts have done much to break the power of negro prejudice. The thousands of abolitionists themselves were but so many bond-servants of this despot; and thousands and tens of thousands out of the society have been made ashamed of their prejudices, who once gloried in them.

8. Abolitionists have also been instrumental in improving the condition of the free people of color. They have demonstrated that the so-called *coloured race* are highly susceptible of intellectual and moral culture (a point gravely questioned by most hitherto) and that kindness and respectful attentions will be properly appreciated and reciprocated by them.

9. The anti-slavery efforts have in some degree dissolved the charm of "southern chivalry" and hospitality, by exposing southern oppressions. Formerly the southerner was thought to be quite above a mean act. So high was his reputation in the free states for nobleness, generosity, and honor, that whatever in him was inconsistent with these virtues, could hardly gain credit.

To disabuse the public mind in this respect was indeed a mighty task; and after the ceaseless reiteration of incontestible facts, and unimpeachable testimony for nearly ten years, this witching spell of "southern chivalry" is only beginning to break. *Now* when "southern chivalry" is vaunted, it is almost sure to draw out an allusion to southern cruelties. Once the former was alleged to disprove the latter, now the latter begins to be urged against the pretensions of the former.

10. The anti-slavery movements have begun to emancipate the north from its "*dough-faced*" submission to southern arrogance and intimidation. Hitherto the tone of the south toward the north has been, you *shall not* discuss slavery, you *shall* surrender our fugitive slaves, &c., and the servile free states have crouched and trembled at the feet of their haughty master. But this base servility is beginning to give place to an honorable independence. Instead of demanding, the south has now to beg; and still with all her craving, she gets fewer concessions every year.

11. The abolitionists have been instrumental in exciting a deep abhorrence of slavery in the minds of multitudes throughout the free states, which slaveholders see and feel wherever they traverse them. They can hardly travel in a stage, rail car, or steam-boat in any of the free states, without finding abolitionists, and hearing slavery rebuked.

12. Even the unexampled rage which our movements have instrumentally kindled in the south is an indication of good. That

it is not desirable in itself, is readily granted; but that it is the invariable first fruits of truth, and the evidence of its having taken effect is unquestionable, and, as such, we hail it with joy.

13. But our exertions have already begun to excite other feelings in the slave states besides "anger, wrath, and malice." They have opened the eyes of many persons to the enormities of slavery. Several slaveholders have already been induced to emancipate their slaves. Many others are known to the society's officers to adopt its sentiments and pray in secret places for its success.

It may be added that one of the society's secretaries, James G. Birney, Esq. is a native, and was till a few years since a resident of a slave state, and a slaveholder. He has manifested the thoroughness of his devotion to anti-slavery principles, by emancipating his slaves, nearly thirty in number. Two other gentlemen, natives of slave states, and heirs of slave inheritances, have been zealous and efficient public lecturers of the American Anti-slavery Society. One of these, Rev. James A. Thome, of Kentucky, now a professor in the Oberlin college in Ohio, was one of the delegates deputed by the American Anti-slavery Society, to visit the British West Indies in 1837, and investigate the results of emancipation there. Mr. Thome is the author of the work entitled "Emancipation in the West Indies."

The time necessary to repair the providential loss by fire of a large amount of materials prepared for these replies, has rendered it impracticable to draw up the Answers which were intended to make in reply to the Queries upon Canada, and Texas, in season for their transmission. A friend in London, intimately acquainted with the subject, has, however, kindly supplied the following in respect to Texas.

TEXAS.

1. *What is the number of slaves, and rate of increase from all causes?*

It is impossible to state with accuracy the entire number of slaves in Texas at the present time. It is, however, certain that a large number have been first and last introduced into that province. Previous to the separation of Texas from Mexico, many were introduced as indented servants, say for ninety-nine years, for the purpose of evading the penalties of the Mexican laws against the slave trade and slavery; the former having been abolished by that Republic the 13th July, 1834; the latter the 15th September, 1829.* Three years ago the slaves in Texas were estimated at 20,000.†

2. *What is the known or probable extent of the slave trade from the United States to Texas?*

On this point no satisfactory information can be obtained. It is presumed, however, that the slave trade, technically so called, has not been considerable, though the number of slaves conveyed to Texas from the United States has been large. Planters from various parts of the southern states have emigrated to Texas, taking their slaves with them; and fraudulent debtors, especially from Mississippi, have run a considerable number of slaves into that province during the last two years. It is fully expected, however, that as soon as the country is in a settled state, the slave trade will very rapidly increase. The slave-breeders of the United States look to it, not only as opening a vast market to them, but as greatly increasing the value of their slave property at home. By some it has been estimated that the acquisition of Texas as a slave-market, would raise the price of their slaves *fifty per cent.* at least.

* Since the separation has taken place the number introduced has been very considerable.

† It is said that at various times there has been an immense mortality among the slaves in Texas, and that they are most cruelly used.

3. *What is the known African slave trade to Texas, and where are the cargoes landed?*

By some it has been estimated as high as 7,000 per annum, but the data has not been furnished. It is quite certain, however, that many cargoes of Africans have been introduced into Texas, *via* Cuba. The Slave Trade papers of 1837 contain the following notices of the subject:—"In the spring of last year, an American agent from Texas purchased in the Havannah 250 newly imported Africans, at 270 dollars a head, and carried them away with him to that district in Mexico—having first procured from the American consul here, certificates of their freedom;" and it is added, "within the last six weeks, considerable sums of money have been deposited by American citizens in mercantile houses here for the purpose of making purchases of bozal negroes for Texas." Dr. Thompson, of H. M. ship Sappho, in a communication dated 14 August, 1838, states, "Slaves are still imported into Texas from Cuba, and *the African coast*;" and within the last few months information has been obtained of the safe landing of two cargoes of Africans in that republic.

There can be little doubt that the African slave trade has been regularly carried on for some time past by the Texians; and when the weakness of that government is considered, and its utter inability to prevent it, even were it honestly desirous of doing so, and when we add to this the facilities which its creeks and coves, its rivers and inlets, afford for carrying it on with impunity, and add the fact that prime negroes can be purchased at the Havannah from 300 to 500 dollars, which would cost, if imported from the United States from 600 to 1,000 dollars, it may be confidently stated that the Texian law against the African slave trade will either be set at defiance or evaded, and that, as is the case in the Brazils and Cuba, the authorities will connive at it where they have neither the will nor the power to punish its abettors.

It appears also certain that African slaves have been landed on the territory of the United States first, and then introduced into Texas. This can be easily done, for adjacent to the mouth of the Sabine there are many inlets and coves, where small vessels may be easily concealed, and from these points, at present

very remote from settlements or garrisons, it is easy, without fear of detection, to transport slaves across the Sabine, and thereby escape the laws of both countries.

4. *Where is the Texas slave produce shipped, and to what market?*

Galveston is one of its principal ports, and no doubt much of the produce is finally shipped for foreign markets there. Some of it has reached this country, and has been admitted as the produce of Mexico. Until the late commercial treaty between this country and Texas, its flag was not recognised, and all vessels from its ports were considered to be Mexican property, and were treated accordingly.*

In addition to the foregoing particulars, it may be added that Texas comprehends a large extent of territory, and that whatever may be the disadvantages of its low, flat, alluvial lands, it possesses, in the judgment of practical men, an unrivalled soil for the growth of the very finest kind of cotton. General Hamilton, formerly governor of South Carolina, and who recently negociated the commercial treaty referred to, with Lord Palmerston, has given it as his opinion that cotton can be raised in Texas at Thirty per cent. less than in the United States.

LAWS OF TEXAS ON SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

To mark the iniquity of the present Laws of the Republic of Texas, they are placed in juxta-position with those of Mexico, of which it recently formed a part.

LAWS OF MEXICO.	LAWS OF TEXAS.
The Slave Trade.	*Slavery and the Slave Trade.*
"1. The commerce and traffic in slaves, *proceeding from whatever power, and under whatever flag, is for ever prohibited within the territories of the United Mexican States.*	"Sec. 9. All persons of colour, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who *are now held in bondage*, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall
"2. 'The slaves who may be in-	

* Much produce has not, however, been hitherto raised in Texas for exportation. The unsettled state of the country—the exhaustion of its treasury—the clearing of its lands, and the raising of bread stuff for the use of the constantly arriving settlers, will account for this.

troduced contrary to the tenor of the preceding article, shall remain *free in consequence of treading the Mexican soil.'*—Decree of July 13, 1834.

"*Slavery.*

"The President of the United Mexican States to the inhabitants of the republic:

"Be it known, that in the year 1829, being desirous of signalizing the anniversary of our independence by *an act of national justice and beneficence*, which may contribute to the strength and support of such inestimable welfare, as to secure more and more the public tranquillity, and reinstate an unfortunate portion of our inhabitants in *the sacred rights* granted them by nature, and may be protected by the nation under wise and just laws, according to the provision in article 30 of the Constitutive Act; availing myself of the extraordinary faculties granted me, I have thought proper to decree:---

"1. THAT SLAVERY BE EXTERMINATED IN THE REPUBLIC.

"2. CONSEQUENTLY THOSE ARE FREE, WHO UP TO THIS DAY HAVE BEEN LOOKED UPON AS SLAVES."—

"Decree of President GUERRERO, 15th September, 1829."

be the bonâ fide property of the persón so holding the said slave as aforesaid. CONGRESS *shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them*, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States, nor shall CONGRESS HAVE THE POWER TO EMANCIPATE SLAVES; NOR SHALL ANY SLAVE-HOLDER BE ALLOWED TO EMANCIPATE HIS OR HER SLAVES WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No *free* person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall *be permitted to reside permanently in the republic*, without the consent of Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited and declared to be piracy."

"NOTE.---The prohibition of the African slave trade was designed to assimilate the Texian laws to those of the United States, and to give the slave-breeders of the Southern States the monopoly of the slave-market. But notwithstanding the prohibition, African slaves, *via* Cuba, are continually introduced."

APPENDIX.

BRITISH RECOGNITION OF TEXAS.

At an adjourned meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad Street, London, on Wednesday, the 2nd day of December, 1840; Jacob Post, Esq., in the chair—

It was unanimously resolved,

"I. That, inasmuch as the system of slavery forms an integral part of the constitutional law of the new republic of Texas, this committee have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow and humiliation, that Her Majesty's government have been induced to enter into a commercial treaty with its representative, by which act that republic has been introduced to the high distinction of a place amongst the great family of civilized nations; and that thus the moral dignity and national honour of this great country have been outraged, the dearest interests of multitudes of human beings—their liberty and happiness---trampled under foot, a fearful impulse given to slavery and the slave trade, and the sacred cause of Christianity, civilization, and freedom immeasurably retarded.

"II. That, in view of the great fact that the legislature of this country, stimulated by the Christian zeal of its people, has abolished for ever the guilty traffic in human beings, and terminated the atrocious system of bondage which formerly existed in the British colonies; and that the government has perseveringly, if not hitherto successfully, sought the entire suppression of the foreign slave trade, at an enormous cost of the national treasure and of human life; the committee cannot but express their great astonishment, as well as their profound regret, that Her Majesty's ministers should have entered into friendly relations with a people whose first act, after a successful but wholly unjustifiable revolt, was to engraft on their constitution the system of slavery, to create a slave trade between the United States and themselves, as well as for the utter expulsion of all free persons of African descent, and the final extirpation of the aboriginal tribes from the soil; and thus to violate every principle of humanity and justice, and to consolidate, extend, and perpetuate slavery and the slave trade in a country, which, as part of the Mexican Empire, had been previously devoted to freedom.

"III. That, therefore, this committee, as the organ of the Anti-slavery principles and feelings of the country, feel bound to enter their solemn protest against the recognition of the independence of Texas as a most immoral and impolitic act---alike uncalled for by the justice or the exigency of the case---as fraught with the most injurious consequences to mankind, and as consequently deserving the unqualified reprobation of all good men.

"(Signed) JACOB POST, Chairman."

The preceding resolutions were transmitted to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, accompanied by the following letter.

"To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston, &c. &c.

"27, New Broad Street, London, 7th December, 1840.

"MY LORD,—I beg to transmit to your lordship a copy of resolutions of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society of the 2nd instant, and deeply regret the occasion which has called these resolutions forth; and permit me to solicit your lordship's attention to them as the unanimous and deliberate expression of their sentiments.

"Whilst Great Britain sanctioned by her laws, or by a guilty connivance, the system of slavery and the African slave trade which formerly prevailed in her colonies, it was impossible, consistently with her own evil practice, to have on this ground avoided the recognition of other states, who, having followed her wicked example in this matter, had sought commercial and political relations with her. But I humbly conceive that, having abandoned both slavery and the slave trade, and fixed publicly and for ever the brand of moral reprobation on these enormous crimes, it became her duty thenceforward to act in conformity with her noble decisions---and to maintain the honourable position to which she had been exalted among the nations of the earth. It follows, therefore, in my apprehension, that she was brought under solemn obligations to discountenance slavery and the slave trade, wherever they might exist---to foster the spirit of humanity and justice among the nations with which she might be connected---to encourage free and liberal institutions in new and rising states; and to refuse friendly relations with any people who might seek to establish slavery in countries where it had heretofore been unknown, or to re-establish it where it had been previously abolished. In this way she might have become the guardian of the liberties of mankind; and her mighty influence have been exerted for good, and not for evil, in time to come.

"I need hardly state, that few indeed were the native Mexicans or Texans engaged in the revolt which led to the formation of the Texan

republic, and which has terminated most unhappily in the establishment of a wicked and cruel despotism, by the overthrow of a generous system of government, which had secured liberty to the slave, the suppression of the slave trade, and the protection of the aboriginal tribes. The Americans invaded the territory, and by brute force have wrenched Texas from the parent state, reversed the Mexican laws, established slavery in perpetuity, and have already issued a proclamation commanding all free persons of African descent, whether born in the land or not, whether possessed of property or not, to quit the republic within a given period of time; and an army of twelve hundred men has been levied for the extermination of the Indian tribes. Humanity cannot but shudder at the sufferings which must ensue from the working out of this iniquitous policy; and religion must again weep over scenes of devastation and blood, which have too often and too long covered the name of nominal Christians with ignominy.

"In concluding these remarks, I cannot but contrast the painful fact of the recognition of Texas with the non-recognition of Hayti. In the one case, I perceive a band of marauders and slaveholders, after having deprived a friendly power of part of its dominions and "framed iniquity by a law," admitted to the highest distinctions and privileges this country can confer upon them; whilst, in the other case, I behold a people, who for centuries had been enslaved and oppressed, after having achieved their liberty, and established free institutions on a firm foundation, treated with scorn and indignity.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant.

"(Signed) J. H. Tredgold, Secretary."

To this communication His Lordship was pleased to forward the following reply:

"Foreign Office, December 14th, 1840.

"Sir,---I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, addressed to his Lordship, transmitting a copy of resolutions which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society passed on the 2nd instant, expressing their concern that Her Majesty's government should have entered into a commercial treaty with Texas, and protesting against the recognition of the independence of that republic by Great Britain.

"I am, in reply, directed to state to you, that Lord Palmerston very much regrets that the committee should take this view of the measure which has been adopted by Her Majesty's government in regard to Texas; but that it does not appear to Lord Palmerston, on the one hand,

that the refusal of Great Britain to conclude a commercial treaty with Texas would have had any effect in inducing the Texans to abolish slavery within their territory; nor, on the other hand, that the conclusion of such a treaty can have the effect of affording the Texans any encouragement to continue the condition of slavery as part of their law.

"It may indeed be hoped, that the greater intercourse between Great Britain and Texas, which will probably result from the treaty, may have the effect of mitigating, rather than of aggravating, the evils arising out of the legal existence of slavery in that republic.

"Lord Palmerston desires me to mention, that you appear to be under a misapprehension as to the state of the relation between Great Britain and Hayti; inasmuch as Great Britain has actually concluded a treaty with Hayti, as an independent state: and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the specific object and purpose of that treaty is the suppression of the slave trade.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"(Signed) LEVESON.

"To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.,
"Secretary to the Anti-slavery Society."

THE CONDITION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.*

IT appears from the census of 1830, that there were then 319,467 free coloured persons in the United States. At the present time the number cannot be less than 360,000. Fifteen states of the Federal Union have each a smaller population than this aggregate. Hence if the whole mass of human beings inhabiting Connecticut, or New Jersey, or any other of these fifteen states, were subjected to the ignorance, and degradation, and persecution, and terror we are about to describe, as the lot of this much injured people, the amount of suffering would still be numerically less than that inflicted by a professedly Christian and republican community upon the free negroes. Candor, however, compels us to admit that, deplorable as is their condition, it is still not so wretched as Colonizationists and slaveholders, for obvious reasons, are fond of representing it. It is not true that free negroes are "more vicious and miserable than slaves *can* be,"† nor that "it would be as

* Reprinted from No. XIII. of the Anti-slavery Examiner, published at New York, 1839.

† Rev. Mr. Bacon, of New Haven, 7 Rep. Am. Col. Soc. p. 99.

humane to throw slaves from the decks of the middle passage, as to set them free in this country,"* nor that "a sudden and universal emancipation without colonization, would be a greater CURSE to the slaves themselves, than the bondage in which they are held."

It is a little singular, that in utter despite of these rash assertions slaveholders and colonizationists unite in assuring us, that the slaves are rendered *discontented* by *witnessing* the freedom of their coloured brethren; and hence we are urged to assist in banishing to Africa these sable and dangerous mementoes of liberty.

We all know that the wife and children of the free negro are not ordinarily sold in the market—that he himself does not toil under the lash, and that in certain parts of our country he is permitted to acquire some intelligence, and to enjoy some comforts, utterly and universally denied to the slave. Still it is most unquestionable, that these people grievously suffer from a cruel and wicked prejudice—cruel in its consequences; wicked in its voluntary adoption, and its malignant character.

Colonizationists have taken great pains to inculcate the opinion that prejudice against colour is implanted in our nature by the Author of our being; and whence they infer the futility of every effort to elevate the coloured man in this country, and consequently the duty and benevolence of sending him to Africa, beyond the reach of our cruelty.† The theory is as false in fact as it is derogatory to the character of that God whom we are told is LOVE. With what astonishment and disgust should we behold an earthly parent exciting feuds and animosities among his own children; yet we are assured, and that too by professing

* African Repository, vol. iv. p. 226.

† "Prejudices, which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, NOR RELIGION ITSELF can subdue, mark the people of colour, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable and incurable.*"—*Address of the Connecticut Col. Society.* "The managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are now operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class in this country, which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of *any human power*: CHRISTIANITY cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the *fault* of the coloured man, *nor of the white man*, but an ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE, *and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.*" 15th Report of the American Colonization Society, page 47.

"The people of colour must, in this country, remain for ages, probably for ever, a separate and distinct caste, weighed down by causes powerful, universal, invincible, which neither legislation nor CHRISTIANITY can remove."—African Repository, vol. viii. p. 196.

"Do they (the abolitionists) not perceive that in thus confounding all the distinctions which GOD himself has made, they arraign the wisdom and goodness of Providence itself? It has been HIS divine pleasure, to make the black man black, and the white man white, and to distinguish them by other *repulsive* constitutional differences." Speech in the Senate of the United States, February 7th, 1839, by HENRY CLAY, PRESIDENT OF THE AM. COL. SOC.

Christians, that our heavenly Father has implanted a principle of hatred, repulsion, and alienation between certain portions of his family on earth, and then commanded them, as if in mockery, to "love one another."

In vain do we seek in nature, for the origin of this prejudice. Young children never betray it, and on the continent of Europe it is unknown. We are not speaking of matters of taste, or of opinions of personal beauty, but of a prejudice against complexion, leading to insult, degradation and oppression. In no country in Europe is any man excluded from refined society, or deprived of literary, religious, or political privileges on account of the tincture of his skin. If this prejudice is the fiat of the Almighty, most wonderful is it, that of all the kindreds of the earth, none have been found submissive to the heavenly impulse, excepting the white inhabitants of North America; and of these, it is no less strange than true, that this divine principle of repulsion is most energetic in such persons as, in other respects, are the least observant of their Maker's will. This prejudice is sometimes erroneously regarded as the *cause* of slavery; and some zealous advocates of emancipation have flattered themselves that, could the prejudice be destroyed, negro slavery would fall with it. Such persons have very inadequate ideas of the malignity of slavery. They forget that the slaves in Greece and Rome were of the same hue as their masters; and that at the South, the value of a slave, especially of a female, rises, as the complexion recedes from the African standard.

Were we to inquire into the geography of this prejudice, we should find that the localities in which it attains its rankest luxuriance, are not the rice swamps of Georgia, nor the sugar fields of Louisiana, but the hills and vallies of New England, and the prairies of Ohio! It is a fact of acknowledged notoriety, that however severe may be the laws against coloured people at the south, the prejudice against their *persons* is far weaker than among ourselves.

It is not necessary for our present purpose, to enter into a particular investigation of the condition of the free negroes in the slave states. We all know that they suffer every form of oppression which the laws can inflict upon persons not actually slaves. That unjust and cruel enactments should proceed from a people who keep two millions of their fellow men in abject bondage, and who believe such enactments essential to the maintenance of their despotism, certainly affords no cause for surprise.

We turn to the free states, where slavery has not directly steeled our hearts against human suffering, and where no supposed danger of insurrection affords a pretext for keeping the free blacks in ignorance

and degradation; and we ask, what is the character of the prejudice against colour *here?* Let the Rev. Mr. Bacon, of Connecticut, answer the question. This gentleman, in a vindication of the Colonization Society, assures us, "The *Soodra* is not further separated from the *Bramin* in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual, and moral, than the negro from the white man by the prejudices which result from the difference made between them by THE GOD OF NATURE."—(*Rep. Am. Col. Soc.* p. 87.)

We may here notice the very opposite effect produced on Abolitionists and Colonizationists, by the consideration that this difference *is* made by the GOD OF NATURE; leading the one to discard the prejudice, and the other to banish its victims.

With these preliminary remarks we will now proceed to take a view of the condition of the free people of colour in the non-slaveholding states; and will consider in order, the various disabilities and oppressions to which they are subjected, either by law or the customs of society.

1. GENERAL EXCLUSION FROM THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

Were this exclusion founded on the want of property, or any other qualification deemed essential to the judicious exercise of the franchise, it would afford no just cause of complaint; but it is founded solely on the colour of the skin, and is therefore irrational and unjust. That taxation and representation should be inseparable, was one of the axioms of the fathers of our revolution; and one of the reasons they assigned for their revolt from the crown of Britain. But *now*, it is deemed a mark of fanaticism to complain of the disfranchisement of a whole race, while they remain subject to the burden of taxation. It is worthy of remark, that of the thirteen original states, only *two* were so recreant to the principles of the revolution, as to make a *white skin* a qualification for suffrage. But the prejudice has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength; and it is believed that in *every* state constitution subsequently formed or revised, [excepting Vermont and Maine, and the Revised constitution of Massachusetts,] the crime of a dark complexion has been punished, by debarring its possessor from all approach to the ballot-box.* The necessary effect of this proscription in aggravating the oppression and degradation of the coloured inhabit-

* From this remark the revised constitution of New York is *nominally* an exception; coloured citizens, possessing a *freehold* worth two hundred and fifty dollars, being allowed to vote; while suffrage is extended to *white* citizens without any property qualification.

ants must be obvious to all who call to mind the solicitude manifested by demagogues, office-seekers, and law makers, to propitiate the good will of all who have votes to bestow.

2. DENIAL OF THE RIGHT OF LOCOMOTION.

It is in vain that the Constitution of the United States expressly guarantees to "the citizens of each state, all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states:"—It is in vain that the Supreme Court of the United States has solemnly decided that this clause confers on every citizen of one state the right to "pass through, or reside in any other state for the purposes of trade, agriculture, professional pursuits, or *otherwise*." It is in vain that "the members of the several state legislatures" are required to "be bound by oath or affirmation to support" the constitution conferring this very guarantee. Constitutions, and judicial decisions, and religious obligations are alike outraged by our state enactments against people of colour. There is scarcely a slave state in which a citizen of New York, with a dark skin, may visit a dying child without subjecting himself to legal penalties. But in the slave states we look for cruelty; we expect the rights of humanity and the laws of the land to be sacrificed on the altar of slavery. In the free states we had reason to hope for a greater deference to decency and morality. Yet even in these states we behold the effects of a miasma wafted from the south. The Connecticut Black Act, prohibiting, under heavy penalties, the instruction of any coloured person from another state, is well known. It is one of the encouraging signs of the times, that public opinion has recently compelled the repeal of this detestable law. But among all the free states, Ohio stands pre-eminent for the wickedness of her statutes against this class of our population. These statutes are not merely infamous outrages on every principle of justice and humanity, but are gross and palpable violations of the state constitution, and manifest an absence of moral sentiment in the Ohio legislature as deplorable as it is alarming. We speak the language, not of passion, but of sober conviction; and for the truth of this language we appeal, first, to the statutes themselves, and then to the consciences of our readers. We shall have occasion to notice these laws under the several divisions of our subject to which they belong; at present we ask attention to the one intended to prevent the coloured citizens of other states from removing into Ohio. By the constitution of New York, the coloured inhabitants are expressly recognized as "citizens." Let us suppose that a New York freeholder and voter of this class, confiding in the guarantee given by the Federal constitution removes into Ohio. No matter how much

property he takes with him; no matter what attestations he produces to the purity of his character, he is required, by the act of 1807, to find, within twenty days, two freehold sureties in the sum of five hundred dollars for his *good behaviour*; and likewise for his *maintenance*, should he at any future period from any cause whatever be unable to maintain himself, and in default of procuring such sureties he is to be removed by the overseers of the poor. The legislature well knew that it would generally be utterly impossible for a stranger, and especially a *black* stranger, to find such sureties. It was the *design* of the act, by imposing impracticable conditions, to prevent coloured emigrants from remaining within the state; and in order more certainly to effect this object, it imposes a pecuniary penalty on every inhabitant who shall venture to "harbour," that is, receive under his roof, or who shall even "employ" an emigrant who has not given the required sureties; and it moreover renders such inhabitant so harbouring or employing him, legally liable for his future maintenance!!

We are frequently told that the efforts of the abolitionists have in fact aggravated the condition of the coloured people, bond and free. The *date* of this law, as well as the date of most of the laws composing the several slave codes, show what credit is to be given to the assertion. If a barbarous enactment is *recent*, its odium is thrown upon the friends of the blacks—if *ancient*, we are assured it is *obsolete*. The Ohio law was enacted only four years after the state was admitted into the Union. In 1800 there were only three hundred and thirty-seven free blacks in the territory, and in 1830 the number in the state was nine thousand five hundred. Of course a very large proportion of the present coloured population of the state must have entered it in ignorance of this iniquitous law, or in defiance of it. That the law has not been universally enforced, proves only that the people of Ohio are less profligate than their legislators—that it has remained in the statute book for thirty-two years, proves the depraved state of public opinion and the horrible persecution to which the coloured people are legally exposed. But let it not be supposed that this vile law is in fact obsolete, and its very existence forgotten.

In 1829, a very general effort was made to enforce this law, and about *one thousand free blacks* were in consequence of it driven out of the state; and sought a refuge in the more free and Christian country of Canada: Previous to their departure, they sent a deputation to the Governor of the Upper Province, to know if they would be admitted, and received from Sir James Colebrook this reply,—"Tell the *republicans* on your side of the line, that we royalists do not know men by their colour. Should you come to us, you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his

majesty's subjects." This was the origin of the Wilberforce colony in Upper Canada.

We have now before us an Ohio paper, containing a proclamation by John S. Wiles, overseer of the poor in the town of Fairfield, dated 12th March, 1838. In this instrument, notice is given to all "black or mulatto persons" residing in Fairfield, to comply with the requisitions of the act of 1807 within twenty days, or the law would be enforced against them. The proclamation also addresses the white inhabitants of Fairfield in the following terms.—"Whites, look out! If any person or persons *employing* any black or mulatto person, contrary to the 3rd section of the above law, you may look out for the breakers." The extreme vulgarity and malignity of this notice indicates the spirit which gave birth to this detestable law, and continues it in being.

Now what says the constitution of Ohio! "ALL are born free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent, inalienable rights; among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, *acquiring, possessing, and protecting property*, and pursuing and attaining happiness and safety." Yet men who had called their maker to witness, that they would obey this very constitution, require impracticable conditions, and then impose a pecuniary penalty and grievous liabilities on every man who shall give to an innocent fellow-countryman a night's lodging, or even a meal of victuals in exchange for his honest labor!

3. DENIAL OF THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

We explicitly disclaim all intention to imply that the several disabilities and cruelties we are specifying are of universal application. The laws of some states in relation to people of colour are more wicked than others; and the spirit of persecution is not in every place equally active and malignant. In none of the free states have these people so many grievances to complain of as in Ohio, and for the honour of our country we rejoice to add, that in no other state in the Union, has their right to petition for a redress of their grievances been denied.

On the 14th January, 1839, a petition for relief from certain legal disabilities, from coloured inhabitants of Ohio, was presented to the *popular* branch of the legislature, and its rejection was moved by George H. Flood.* This rejection was not a denial of the prayer, but an *expulsion of the petition itself*, as an intruder into the house. "The question presented for our decision," said one of the members, "is simply this—Shall human beings, who are bound by every enactment upon our statute book, be *permitted* to *request* the legislature to modify or soften the laws

* It is sometimes interesting to preserve the names of individuals who have perpetrated bold and unusual enormities.

under which they live ?" To the Grand Sultan, crowded with petitions as he traverses the streets of Constantinople, such a question would seem most strange; but American democrats can exert a tyranny over *men who have no votes*, utterly unknown to Turkish despotism. Mr. Flood's motion was lost by a majority of only *four* votes; but this triumph of humanity and republicanism was as transient as it was meagre. The *next* day, the house, by a large majority, resolved "That the blacks and mulattoes who may be residents within this state, have no constitutional right to present their petitions to the General Assembly for any purpose whatsoever, and that any reception of such petitions on the part of the General Assembly is a mere act of privilege or policy, and not imposed by any expressed or implied power of the constitution."

The phraseology of this resolution is as clumsy as its assertions are base and sophistical. The meaning intended to be expressed is simply that the constitution of Ohio, neither in terms nor by implication, confers on such residents as are negroes or mulattoes, any right to offer a petition to the legislature for any object whatever; nor imposes on that body any obligation to notice such a petition; and whatever attention it may please to bestow upon it, ought to be regarded as an act not of duty, but merely of favour or expediency. Hence it is obvious, that the *principle* on which the resolution is founded is, that the reciprocal right and duty of offering and hearing petitions *rests solely on constitutional enactment*, and not on moral obligation. The *reception* of negro petitions is declared to be a mere act of *privilege or policy*. Now it is difficult to imagine a principle more utterly subversive of all the duties of rulers, the rights of citizens, and the charities of private life. The victim of oppression or fraud has no *right* to appeal to the constituted authorities for redress; nor are those authorities under any obligation to consider the appeal—the needy and unfortunate have no right to implore the assistance of their more fortunate neighbours: and all are at liberty to turn a deaf ear to the cry of distress. The eternal and immutable principles of justice and humanity, proclaimed by Jehovah, and impressed by him on the conscience of man, have no binding force on the legislature of Ohio, unless expressly adopted and enforced by the state constitution!

But as the legislature has thought proper thus to set at defiance the moral sense of mankind, and to take refuge behind the enactments of the constitution, let us try the strength of their entrenchments. The words of the constitution, which it is pretended sanction the resolution we are considering, are the following, viz.—"The *people* have a right to assemble together in a peaceable manner to consult for their common good, to *instruct their representatives*, and to apply to the legislature for a redress of grievances." It is obvious that this clause confers no rights, but is

merely declaratory of existing rights. Still, as the right of the people to apply for a redress of grievances is coupled with the right of *instructing their representatives*, and as negroes are not electors, and consequently are without representatives, it is inferred that they are not part of *the people*. That Ohio legislators are not Christians would be a more rational conclusion. One of the members avowed his opinion that "none but voters had a right to petition." If then, according to the principle of the resolution, the constitution of Ohio denies the right of petition to all but electors, let us consider the practical results of such a denial. In the first place, every female in the state is placed under the same disability with "black and mulattoes." No wife has a right to ask for a divorce—no daughter may plead for a father's life. Next, no man under twenty-one years---no citizen of any age, who from want of sufficient residence, or other qualification, is not entitled to vote---no individual among the tens of thousands of aliens in the state—however oppressed and wronged by official tyranny or corruption, has a right to seek redress from the representatives of the people, and should he presume to do so, may be told, that, like "blacks and mulattoes," he "has no constitutional right to present his petition to the General Assembly for any purpose whatever." Again—the state of Ohio is deeply indebted to the citizens of other states, and also to the subjects of Great Britain for money borrowed to construct her canals. Should any of these creditors lose their certificates of debt, and ask for their renewal; or should their interest be withheld, or paid in depreciated currency, and were they to ask for justice at the hands of the legislature, they might be told, that any attention paid to their request must be regarded as a "mere act of privilege or policy, and not imposed by any expressed or implied power of the constitution," for, not being voters, they stood on the same ground as "black and mulattoes." Such is the folly and wickedness in which prejudice against colour has involved the legislators of a republican and professedly Christian state in the nineteenth century.

4. EXCLUSION FROM THE ARMY AND MILITIA.

The Federal Government is probably the only one in the world that forbids a portion of its subjects to participate in the national defence, not from any doubt of their courage, loyalty, or physical strength, but merely on account of the tincture of their skin! To such an absurd extent is this prejudice against colour carried, that some of our militia companies have occasionally refused to march to the sound of a drum when beaten by a black man. To declare a certain class of the community unworthy to bear arms in defence of their native country, is necessarily to consign that class to general contempt.

5. EXCLUSION FROM ALL PARTICIPATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

No coloured man can be a judge, juror, or constable. Were the talents and acquirements of a Mansfield or a Marshall veiled in a sable skin, they would be excluded from the bench of the humblest court in the American republic. In the slave states generally, no black man can enter a court of justice as a witness against a white one. Of course a white man may, with perfect impunity, defraud or abuse a negro to any extent, provided he is careful to avoid the presence of any of his own caste, at the execution of his contract, or the indulgence of his malice. We are not aware that an outrage so flagrant is sanctioned by the laws of any *free* state, with one exception. That exception the reader will readily believe can be none other than OHIO. A statute of this state enacts, "that no black or mulatto *person* or *persons* shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn, or give evidence in any court of record or elsewhere, in this state, in any cause depending, or matter of controversy, when either party to the same is a WHITE person; or in any prosecution of the state against any WHITE person."

We have seen that on the subject of petition the legislature regards itself as independent of all obligation except such as is imposed by the constitution. How mindful they are of the requirements even of that instrument, when obedience to them would check the indulgence of their malignity to the blacks, appears from the 7th section of the 8th Article, viz.—"All courts shall be open, and every *person*, for any injury done him in his lands, goods, person, or reputation, shall have remedy by due course of law, and right and justice administered without denial or delay."

Ohio legislators may deny that negroes and mulattoes are citizens, or people; but they are prevented by the very words of the statute just quoted, from denying that they are "*persons*." Now, by the constitution, every *person*, black as well as white, is to have justice administered to him without denial or delay. But by the law, while any unknown *white* vagrant may be a witness in any case whatever, no black suitor is permitted to offer a witness of his own colour, however well established may be his character for intelligence and veracity, to prove his rights or his wrongs; and hence, in a multitude of cases, justice is denied in despite of the constitution; and why denied? Solely from a foolish and wicked prejudice against colour.

6. IMPEDIMENTS TO EDUCATION.

No people have ever professed so deep a conviction of the importance of popular education as ourselves, and no people have ever resorted to

such cruel expedients to perpetuate abject ignorance. More than one-third of the whole population of the slave states are prohibited from learning even to read, and in some of them free men, if with dark complexions, are subject to stripes for teaching their own children. If we turn to the free states, we find that in all of them, without exception, the prejudices and customs of society oppose almost insuperable obstacles to the acquisition of a liberal education by coloured youth. Our academies and colleges are barred against them. We know there are instances of young men with dark skins having been received, under peculiar circumstances, into northern colleges; but we neither know nor believe, that there have been a dozen such instances within the last thirty years.

Coloured children are very generally excluded from our common schools, in consequence of the prejudices of teachers and parents. In some of our cities there are schools *exclusively* for their use, but in the country the coloured population is usually too scanty to justify such schools; and white and black children are rarely seen studying under the same roof; although such cases do sometimes occur, and then they are confined to elementary schools. Some coloured young men, who could bear the expense, have obtained in European seminaries the education denied them in their native land.

It may not be useless to cite an instance of the malignity with which the education of the blacks is opposed. The efforts made in Connecticut to prevent the establishment of schools of a higher order than usual for coloured pupils, are too well known to need a recital here; and her Black Act, prohibiting the instruction of coloured children from other states, although now expunged from her statute book through the influence of abolitionists, will long be remembered to the opprobrium of her citizens. We ask attention to the following illustration of public opinion in another New England state.

In 1834 an academy was built by subscription in Canaan, New Hampshire, and a charter granted by the legislature; and at a meeting of the proprietors it was determined to receive all applicants having "suitable moral and intellectual recommendations, without other distinctions;" in other words, without reference to *complexion*. When this determination was made known, a Town Meeting was forthwith convened, and the following resolutions adopted;

"Resolved—That we view with *abhorrence* the attempt of the abolitionists to establish in this town a school for the instruction of the sable sons and daughters of Africa, in common with our sons and daughters.

"Resolved—That we will not associate with, nor in any way countenance, any man or woman who shall hereafter persist in attempting to

establish a school in this town for the *exclusive* education of blacks, *or* for their education in conjunction with the whites."

The frankness of this last resolve is commendable. The inhabitants of Canaan, assembled in a legal town meeting, determined, it seems, that the blacks among them should in future have no education whatever—they should not be instructed in company with the whites, neither should they have schools exclusively for themselves.

The proprietors of the academy supposing, in the simplicity of their hearts, that in a free country they might use their property in any manner not forbidden by law, proceeded to open their school, and in the ensuing spring had twenty-eight white, and fourteen coloured scholars. The crisis had now arrived when the cause of prejudice demanded the sacrifice of constitutional liberty and of private property. Another town meeting was convened, at which, without a shadow of authority, and in utter contempt of law and decency, it was ordered, that the academy should be forcibly removed, and a committee was appointed to execute the abominable mandate. Due preparations were made for the occasion, and on the 10th of August, three hundred men, with about 200 oxen, assembled at the place, and taking the edifice from off its foundation, dragged it to a distance, and left it a ruin. No one of the actors in this high-handed outrage was ever brought before a court of justice to answer for this criminal and riotous destruction of the property of others.

The transaction we have narrated, expresses in emphatic terms the deep and settled hostility felt in the free states to the education of the blacks. The prejudices of the community render that hostility generally effective without the aid of legal enactments. Indeed, some remaining regard to decency and the opinion of the world, has restrained the legislatures of the free states, with *one exception*, from consigning these unhappy people to ignorance by "decreeing unrighteous decrees," and "framing mischief by a law." Our readers, no doubt, feel that the exception must of course be OHIO.

We have seen with what deference Ohio legislators profess to regard their *constitutional* obligations; and we are now to contemplate another instance of their shameless violation of them. The constitution which these men have sworn to obey declares, "NO LAWS SHALL BE PASSED to prevent the poor of the several townships and counties in this state from an *equal* participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and universities in this state, which are endowed in whole, or *in part*, from the revenue arising from *donations* made by the United States, for the support of *colleges and schools*—and the door of said schools, academies, and universities shall be open for the reception of scholars, students, and teachers of every *grade*, without ANY DISTINCTION OR PREFERENCE WHATEVER."

Can language be more explicit or unequivocal? But have any donations been made by the United States for the support of colleges and schools in Ohio? Yes—by an Act of Congress, the sixteenth section of land in *each* originally surveyed townships in the state, was set apart as a donation for the express purpose of endowing and supporting common schools. And now, how have the scrupulous legislators of Ohio, who refuse to acknowledge any other than constitutional obligations to give ear to the cry of distress—how have they obeyed this injunction of the constitution respecting the freedom of their schools? They enacted a law in 1831, declaring that, "when any appropriation shall be made by the directors of any school district, from the treasury thereof, for the payment of a teacher, the school in such district shall be open"—to whom? "*to scholars, students, and teachers of every grade, without distinction or preference whatever*," as commanded by the constitution? Oh, no! "Shall be open to all the WHITE children residing therein!!" Such is the impotency of written constitutions, where a sense of moral obligation is wanting to enforce them.

We have now taken a review of the Ohio laws against free people of colour. Some of them are of old, and others of recent date. The opinion entertained of all these laws, new and old, by the *present* legislators of Ohio, may be learned by a resolution adopted in January last (1839), by both houses of the legislature. "Resolved,—That in the opinion of this general assembly it is unwise, impolitic, and inexpedient to repeal *any* law now in force imposing disabilities upon black or mulatto persons, thus placing them upon an equality with the whites, so far as this legislature can do, and indirectly inviting the black population of other states to emigrate to this, to the manifest injury of the public interest." The best comment on the *spirit* which dictated this resolve is an enactment by the *same* legislature, abrogating the supreme law which requires us to "Do unto others as we would they should do unto us," and prohibiting every citizen of Ohio from *harbouring or concealing* a fugitive slave, under the penalty of fine or imprisonment. General obedience to this vile statute is alone wanting to fill to the brim the cup of Ohio's iniquity and degradation. She hath done what she could to oppress and crush the free negroes within her borders. She is now seeking to re-chain the slave who has escaped from his fetters.

7. IMPEDIMENTS TO RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the laws of the slave states prohibiting the free people of colour from learning to read the bible, and in many instances, from assembling at discretion to worship their Creator. These laws, we are assured, are indispensable to the perpetuity of that "pecu-

liar institution," which many masters in Israel are now teaching, enjoys the sanction of HIM who "will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth," and who has left to his disciples the injunction, "search the scriptures." We turn to the free states, in which no institution requires that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should be prevented from shining on any portion of the population, and inquire how far prejudice here supplies the place of southern statutes.

The impediments to education already mentioned, necessarily render the acquisition of religious knowledge difficult, and in many instances impracticable. In the northern cities, the blacks have frequently churches of their own, but in the country they are too few, and too poor to build churches and maintain ministers. Of course they must remain destitute of public worship and religious instruction, unless they can enjoy these blessings in company with the whites. Now there is hardly a church in the United States, not exclusively appropriated to the blacks, in which one of their number owns a pew, or has a voice in the choice of a minister. There are usually, indeed, a few seats in a remote part of the church, set apart for their use, and in which no white person is ever seen. It is surely not surprising, under all the circumstances of the case, that these seats are rarely crowded.

Coloured ministers are occasionally ordained in the different denominations, but they are kept at a distance by their white brethren in the ministry, and are very rarely permitted to enter their pulpits; and still more rarely, to sit at their tables, although acknowledged to be ambassadors of Christ. The distinction of *caste* is not forgotten, even in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and seldom are coloured disciples permitted to eat and drink of the memorials of the Redeemer's passion till after every white communicant has been served.

8. IMPEDIMENTS TO HONEST INDUSTRY.

In this country ignorance and poverty are almost inseparable companions; and it is surely not strange that those should be poor whom we compel to be ignorant. The liberal professions are virtually sealed against the blacks, if we except the church, and even in that, admission is rendered difficult by the obstacles placed in their way in acquiring the requisite literary qualifications;* and when once admitted, their admi-

* Of the truth of this remark, the trustees of the Episcopal Theological Seminary at New York, lately (June, 1839) afforded a striking illustration. A young man, regularly acknowledged by the bishop as a candidate for orders, and in consequence of such acknowledgement entitled, by an *express statute* of the seminary, to admission to its privileges, presented himself as a pupil. But God had given him a dark complexion, and *therefore* the trustees, regardless of the statute, barred the doors against him, by a formal and deli-

nistrations are confined to their own colour. Many of our most wealthy and influential citizens have commenced life as ignorant and as pennyless as any negro who loiters in our streets. Had their complexion been dark, notwithstanding their talents, industry, enterprise, and probity, they would have continued ignorant and pennyless, because the paths to learning and to wealth, would then have been closed against them. There is a conspiracy, embracing all the departments of society, to keep the black man ignorant and poor. As a general rule, admitting few if any exceptions, the schools of literature and of science reject him—the counting-house refuses to receive him as a book-keeper, much more as a partner ---no store admits him as a clerk---no shop as an apprentice. Here and there a black man may be found keeping a few trifles on a shelf for sale; and a few acquire, as if by stealth, the knowledge of some handicraft; but almost universally these people, both in town and country, are prevented by the customs of society from maintaining themselves and their families by any other than menial occupations.

In 1836, a black man of irreproachable character, and who by his industry and frugality had accumulated several thousand dollars, made application in the city of New York for a carman's license, and was refused solely and avowedly on account of his complexion! We have already seen the effort of the Ohio legislature, to consign the negroes to starvation, by deterring others from employing them. Ignorance, idleness, and vice, are at once the punishments we inflict upon these unfortunate people for their complexion; and the crimes with which we are constantly reproaching them.

9. LIABILITY TO BE SEIZED, AND TREATED AS SLAVES.

An able-bodied coloured man sells in the southern market for, from eight hundred to a thousand dollars; of course he is worth stealing. Colonizationists and slaveholders, and many northern divines, solemnly affirm, that the situation of a slave is far preferable to that of a free negro; hence it would seem an act of humanity to convert the latter into the

berate vote. As a compromise between conscience and prejudice, the professors offered to give him *private* instruction—to do in secret what they were ashamed to do openly—to confer as a favor, what he was entitled to demand as a right. The offer was rejected.

It is worthy of remark, that of the trustees who took an *active* part against the *coloured* candidate, one is the PRESIDENT *of the New York Colonization Society*: another a MANAGER, and a third, one of its public champions; and that the bishop of the diocese, who wished to exclude his candidate from the theological school of which he is both a trustee and a professor, lately headed a recommendation in the newspapers for the purchase of a packet ship for Liberia, as likely to "render far more efficient than heretofore. the enterprize of colonization."

former. Kidnapping being both a lucrative and a benevolent business, it is not strange it should be extensively practised. In many of the states this business is regulated by law, and there are various ways in which the transmutation is legally effected. Thus, in South Carolina, if a free negro "entertains" a runaway slave, it may be his own wife or child, he himself is turned into a slave. In 1827, *a free woman and her three children* underwent this benevolent process, for *entertaining* two fugitive children of six and nine years old. In Virginia all emancipated slaves remaining twelve months in the state, are kindly restored to their former condition. In Maryland a free negro who marries a white woman, thereby acquires all the privileges of a slave---and generally, throughout the slave region, including the district of Columbia, every negro not known to be free, is mercifully considered as a slave, and if his master cannot be ascertained, he is thrown into a dungeon, and there kept, till by a public sale a master can be provided for him. But often the law grants to coloured men, *known to be free*, all the advantages of slavery. Thus, in Georgia, every *free* coloured man coming into the state, and unable to pay a fine of one hundred dollars, becomes a slave for life; in Florida, insolvent debtors, *if black*, are SOLD for the benefit of their creditors; and in the district of Columbia a free coloured man, thrown into jail on suspicion of being a slave and proving his freedom, is required by law to be sold as a slave, if too poor to pay his jail fees. Let it not be supposed that these laws are all obsolete and inoperative. They catch many a northern negro, who, in pursuit of his own business, or on being decoyed by others, ventures to enter the slave region; and who, of course, helps to augment the wealth of our southern brethren. On the 6th of March, 1839, a report by a committee was made to the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts legislature, in which are given the *names* of seventeen free coloured men who had been enslaved at the south. It also states an instance in which twenty-five coloured citizens, belonging to Massachusetts, were confined at one time in a southern jail, and another instance in which seventy-five free coloured persons from different free states were confined, all preparatory to their sale as slaves according to law.

The facts disclosed in this report induced the Massachusetts legislature to pass a resolution protesting against the kidnapping laws of the slave states, "as invading the sacred rights of citizens of this commonwealth, as contrary to the constitution of the United States, and in utter derogation of that great principle of the common law which presumes every person to be innocent until proved to be guilty;" and ordered the protest to be forwarded to the governors of the several states.

But it is not at the south alone that freemen may be converted into

slaves "according to law." The Act of Congress respecting the recovery of fugitive slaves, affords most extraordinary facilities for this process, through official corruption and individual perjury. By this Act, the claimant is permitted to *select* a justice of the peace, before whom he may bring or send his alleged slave, and even to prove his property by *affidavit*. Indeed, in almost every state in the Union, a slaveholder may recover at law a human being as his beast of burden, with far less ceremony than he could his pig from the possession of his neighbour. In only three states is a man, claimed as a slave, entitled to a trial by jury. At the last session of the New York legislature a bill allowing a jury trial in such cases was passed by the lower House, but rejected by a *democratic* vote in the Senate, democracy in that state being avowedly only *skin* deep, all its principles of liberty, equality, and human rights depending on complexion.

Considering the wonderful ease and expedition with which fugitives may be recovered by law, it would be very strange if mistakes did not sometimes occur. *How* often they occur cannot, of course, be known, and it is only when a claim is *defeated*, that we are made sensible of the exceedingly precarious tenure by which a poor friendless negro at the north holds his personal liberty. A few years since, a girl of the name of Mary Gilmore was arrested in Philadelphia, as a fugitive slave from Maryland. Testimony was not wanting in support of the claim; yet it was most conclusively proved that she was the daughter of poor *Irish* parents—having not a drop of negro blood in her veins---that the father had absconded, and that the mother had died a drunkard in the Philadelphia hospital, and that the infant had been kindly received and *brought up in a coloured family*. Hence the attempt to make a slave of her. In the spring of 1839, a coloured man was arrested in Philadelphia, on a charge of having absconded from his owner *twenty-three* years before. This man had a wife and family depending upon him, and a home where he enjoyed their society; and yet, unless he could find witnesses who could prove his freedom for more than this number of years, he was to be torn from his wife, his children, his home, and doomed for the remainder of his days to toil under the lash. *Four* witnesses for the claimant swore to his identity, although they had not seen him before for twenty-three years! By a most extraordinary coincidence, a New England captain, with whom this negro had sailed *twenty-nine* years before, in a sloop from Nantucket, happened at this very time to be confined for debt in the same prison with the alleged slave, and the captain's testimony, together with that of some other witnesses, who had known the man previous to his pretended elopement, so fully established his freedom, that the court discharged him.

Another mode of legal kidnapping still remains to be described. By the Federal Constitution, fugitives from *justice* are to be delivered up, and under this constitutional provision, a free negro may be converted into a slave without troubling even a Justice of the Peace to hear the evidence of the captor's claim. A fugitive slave is, of course, a felon—he not only steals himself, but also the rags on his back which belong to his master. It is understood he has taken refuge in New York, and his master naturally wishes to recover him with as little noise, trouble, and delay as possible. The way is simple and easy. Let the grand jury indict A. B. for stealing wearing apparel, and let the indictment, with an affidavit of the criminal's flight, be forwarded by the governor of the state to his excellency of New York, with a requisition for the delivery of A. B. to the agent appointed to receive him. A warrant is, of course, issued to "any constable of the state of New York," to arrest A. B. For what purpose ?---to bring him before a magistrate where his identity may be established ?---no, but to deliver him up to the foreign agent. Hence the constable may pick up the first likely negro he finds in the street, and ship him to the south ; and should it be found, on his arrival on the plantation, that the wrong man has come, it will also probably be found that the mistake is of no consequence to the planter. A few years since, the governor of New York signed a warrant for the apprehension of seventeen Virginia negroes, as fugitives from justice.* Under this warrant, a man who had lived in the neighbourhood for three years, and had a wife and children, and who claimed to be free, was seized, on a Sunday evening, in the public highway, in West Chester county, N. Y., and without being permitted to take leave of his family, was instantly handcuffed, thrown into a carriage, and hurried to New York, and the next morning was on his voyage to Virginia.

Free coloured men are converted into slaves not only by law, but also contrary to law. It is, of course, difficult to estimate the extent to which illegal kidnapping is carried, since a large number of cases must escape detection. In a work published by Judge Stroud, of Philadelphia, in 1827, he states, that it had been *ascertained* that more than *thirty* free coloured persons, mostly children, had been kidnapped in that city within the last two years.†

10. SUBJECTION TO INSULT AND OUTRAGE.

The feeling of the community towards these people, and the contempt

* There is no evidence that he knew they were negroes ; or that he acted otherwise than in perfect good faith. The alleged crime was stealing a boat. The *real* crime, it is said, was stealing themselves and escaping in a boat. The most horrible abuses of these warrants can only be prevented by requiring proof of identity before delivery.

† Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws, p. 94.

with which they are treated, are indicated by the following notice, lately published by the proprietors of a menagerie, in New York, "The proprietors wish it to be understood, that people of colour are not permitted to enter, *except when in attendance upon children and families.*" For two shillings, any white scavenger would be freely admitted, and so would negroes, provided they came in a capacity that marked their dependence ---their presence is offensive *only* when they come as independent spectators, gratifying a laudable curiosity.

Even death, the great leveller, is not permitted to obliterate, among Christians, the distinction of caste, or to rescue the lifeless form of the coloured man from the insults of his white brethren. In the porch of a Presbyterian church, in Philadelphia, in 1837, was suspended a card, containing the form of a deed, to be given to purchasers of lots in a certain burial-ground, and to enhance the value of the property, and to entice buyers, the following clause was inserted, "No person of *colour*, nor any one who has been the subject of *execution*, shall be interred in said lot."

Our coloured fellow-citizens, like others, are occasionally called to pass from one place to another; and in doing so are compelled to submit to innumerable hardships and indignities. They are frequently denied seats in our stage-coaches; and although admitted upon the *decks* of our steamboats, are almost universally excluded from the cabins. Even women have been forced, in cold weather, to pass the night upon deck, and in one instance the wife of a coloured clergyman lost her life in consequence of such an exposure.

The contempt poured upon these people by our laws, our churches, our seminaries, and our professions, naturally invokes upon their heads the fierce wrath of vulgar malignity. In order to exhibit the actual condition of this portion of our population, we will here insert some *samples* of the outrages to which they are subjected, taken from the ordinary public journals.

In an account of the New York riots of 1834, the 'Commercial Advertiser' says—"About twenty poor African (native American) families have had their all destroyed, and have neither bed, clothing, nor food remaining. Their houses are completely eviscerated, their furniture a wreck, and the ruined and disconsolate tenants of the devoted houses are reduced to the necessity of applying to the corporation for bread."

The example set in New York was zealously followed in Philadelphia. "Some arrangement, it appears, existed between the mob and the white inhabitants, as the dwelling-houses of the latter, contiguous to the residences of the blacks, were illuminated and left undisturbed, while the huts of the negroes were singled out with unerring certainty. The fur-

niture found in these houses was generally broken up and destroyed—beds ripped open and their contents scattered in the streets. . . . . The number of houses assailed was not less than twenty. In one house there was a *corpse, which was thrown from the coffin, and in another a dead infant was taken out of the bed, and cast on the floor, the mother being at the same time barbarously treated.*"—Philadelphia Gazette.

"No case is reported of an attack having been *invited or provoked* by the residents of the dwellings assailed or destroyed. The extent of the depredations committed on the *three* evenings of riot and outrage can only be judged of, by the number of houses damaged or destroyed. So far as ascertained, this amounts to FORTY-FIVE. One of the houses assaulted was occupied by an unfortunate cripple—who, unable to fly from the fury of the mob, was so beaten by some of the ruffians, that he has since died in consequence of the bruises and wounds inflicted. . . For the last two days the Jersey steam-boats have been loaded with numbers of the coloured population, who, fearful their lives were not safe in this, determined to seek refuge in another state. On the Jersey side, tents were erected, and the negroes have taken up a temporary residence, until a prospect shall be offered for their perpetual location in some place of security and liberty."---*National Gazette.*

The facts we have now exhibited, abundantly prove the extreme cruelty and sinfulness of that prejudice against colour which we are impiously told is an ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE. Colonizationists, assuming the prejudice to be natural and invincible, propose to remove its victims beyond its influence. Abolitionists, on the contrary, remembering with the Psalmist, that "It is HE that hath made us, and not we ourselves," believe that the benevolent Father of us all, requires us to treat with justice and kindness every portion of the human family, notwithstanding any particular organization he has been pleased to impress upon them. Instead, therefore, of gratifying and fostering this prejudice, by continually banishing from our country those against whom it is directed, abolitionists are anxious to destroy the prejudice itself; feeling, to use the language of another, that "It is time to recognize in the humblest portions of society, partakers of our nature with all its high prerogatives and awful destinies—time to remember that our distinctions are *exterior* and evanescent,---our resemblance real and permanent—that all is transient but what is moral and spiritual—that the only graces we can carry with us into another world, are graces of divine implantation, and that amid the rude incrustations of poverty and ignorance there lurks an imperishable jewel—a SOUL, susceptible of the highest spiritual beauty, destined, perhaps, to adorn the celestial abodes, and to shine for ever in the mediatorial diadem of the Son of God—*Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones.*"

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, LATELY HELD IN LONDON, JUNE, 1840, WILL BE READ WITH MUCH INTEREST, AS THEY ARE MOST INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH THE PRECEDING PAGES:

TEXAS.

"Whereas the people of Texas, by their late revolt, have shown themselves signally ungrateful for the national hospitality that was extended to them as strangers, as well as for the benefits conferred on them as emigrant settlers by the Mexican government; and also in the violent dismemberment of Mexico, have shown themselves reckless of the peace and integrity of states. And, whereas, the said people of Texas, in re-establishing slavery in that country, from which the justice and humanity of Mexico had wholly expelled it, and in their formally authorizing and encouraging the slave trade from the United States, leave no room to doubt, that their aim is to perpetuate those iniquitous systems through all time. And, whereas, the said people of Texas, in thus acting, have shown themselves regardless not only of the claims of natural justice, but of Christianity—have arrayed themselves in hostility to the public sentiment of civilized Europe, but more especially to the principles and measures of the people and government of Great Britain, in relation to the abolition of negro slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. Wherefore be it resolved—

"1. That Texas ought not to be received into the family of nations, whilst she retains in her written form of government, a provision for the establishment and maintenance of negro slavery, or authorizes and encourages the slave trade by granting a monopoly of it to the slave-holders of the United States.

"2. That in the opinion of this Convention, it would justly bring under suspicion the sincerity of those nations who have abolished slavery among themselves, and pledged their efforts for the suppression of the slave trade throughout the world, were they to acknowledge the separate national existence of the people of Texas, whilst they continue their detestable warfare against the happiness and freedom of the negro race."

ON WITHHOLDING CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP.

"1. That it is the deliberate and deeply rooted conviction of this Convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity, and is, therefore, *a sin against God*, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

"2. That this Convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed, in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the Western World, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

"3. That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion, all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery; a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave trade.

"4. That it be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in the name of this Convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions, to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various Christian churches throughout the world."

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

"1. That the practice of excluding people of colour from places of worship, or of allotting to them separate seats therein, tends to perpetuate the unchristian and unfounded prejudices against the COLOURED PEOPLE.

"2. That any distinction in the treatment of them, whether in schools, colleges, houses of public worship, or in any other respect on account of colour, is opposed to the benign spirit of Christianity.

"3. That abolitionists, and all who assume the name of friends of the coloured race, act inconsistently with their profession, unless they use all their influence to put an end to such unchristian practices.

"4. That this Convention most earnestly entreats all Christian professors, all true abolitionists, immediately to give up all those unrighteous distinctions, which have their origin in the prejudice against colour, and that, in their social intercourse as citizens and as Christians, they treat the coloured man as an equal and a brother."

THE INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

"That this Convention has heard with deep regret and sorrow, the extent to which the internal slave trade is carried on, from the older to

the more newly settled slave-states of the American Union, to the extent of upwards of 80,000 victims annually, to this unrighteous traffic.

"That in expressing their detestation of this traffic, and in acknowledging that it excites their deep surprise and abhorrence, that it should be protected and cherished by a nation which has abolished the African slave trade, and declared it to be piracy: this Convention is impressed with the conviction, that such a systematic trade in man must be attended with excessive cruelty and wrong to the objects of it, and involves in its prosecution a fearful extent of barbarity and hardness of heart on the part of the man-trader, and that effectual means ought to be forthwith taken in the United States of America, to remove this stain from the character of that nation."

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

"That this Convention regards the scheme of African Colonization, proposed and urged by the American Colonization Society, as not only totally inadequate to the overthrow of slavery in the United States, but as tending powerfully to strengthen that unrighteous system, as deeply injurious to the best interests of the negro-race, whether bond or free, both in America and Africa, and therefore as wholly unworthy of the countenance and aid of the philanthropist and the Christian."

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