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LECTURES 209
ED
ON
SLAVERY,

BY

REV. BENJAMIN GODWIN, D.D.

AUTHOR OF LECTURES AGAINST ATHEISM.

"Homo sum ; humani nihil a me alienum puto."—TERENCE.

"Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them."—HEB. xiii. 3.

FROM THE LONDON EDITION,

WITH ADDITIONS TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

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JAMES B. DOW.

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PREFACE

TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

THE Lectures upon Slavery, which compose this work, were written by Dr. Godwin, in England, during the period when the question of emancipation, in the British West-India Islands, was before Parliament and the English nation. They were delivered, in that country, to highly intelligent, respectable, and crowded audiences; and were listened to by them with breathless attention and deep interest. The strong impression produced by them upon the public mind and feeling, both in their delivery and perusal, without doubt contributed very much to the production of that powerful national sentiment, which continued to gather strength in its progress, until, with the power of a cataract, it swept over the whole land,—bore down, with irresistible impulse, every obstacle before it, and finally produced the abolition of slavery in the whole British Empire.

That such may be the effect which it shall produce in the United States, also, we ardently hope; and it is only necessary that it should be introduced to the public at-

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ignorance, delusion, infidelity, and barbarism. In their march up the firmament, they have reached our beloved country; and God grant that their cheering rays may enlighten our intellectual atmosphere, and warm and invigorate our moral soil, as they have done that of our father land.

AMERICAN EDITOR,

PREFACE.

WHEN the following Lectures were delivered, the Author had not the remotest idea of publication ; but as he has ventured to come before the public, he begs to say a few words in explanation of his reasons and his object. From his earliest years he felt a hatred to oppression : his love of liberty, civil and religious, “grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength.” He no sooner heard of slavery in the British dominions, and the miseries necessarily attendant on such a state, than he deeply deplored the case of the injured Negro. He was too young to take any part in the great struggle for the abolition of the slave trade, though he sincerely rejoiced in that great triumph of humanity. Since 1823, however, he has taken a more lively interest in the subject ; and towards the close of the last year, by means of the information which was laid before the public, from time to time, his mind became so strongly impressed with the subject, that it followed him night and day : he felt that, for the peace of his own mind, he must make some attempt on behalf of his suffering fellow-creatures ; it be-

came a point of conscience. The inquiry then arose, what could he do, engaged as he was as tutor in a Dissenting college, and pastor of a church and congregation? The first thing suggested was, to preach on the subject; but, besides the probability that many might hesitate to come to a Dissenting chapel, there were many topics connected with slavery which appeared scarcely suited to the pulpit. He thought then of lecturing in the public room of the Exchange; but the idea was new, and he hesitated; but, on mentioning it to some respected friends, he was encouraged to proceed. The experiment succeeded. The delivery of the Lectures was honored by a numerous, respectable, and attentive audience; and he had the happiness of seeing that his immediate object was accomplished,—information was extended, and a general interest was excited in the neighborhood. The Lectures were afterwards delivered, by request, at York and Scarborough. Many invitations came from different places, to which the Author could not attend: in fact, from the additional labor and excitement his health began to suffer, and his immediate duties would not admit of his proceeding any further in this course. He received many requests to publish, which he uniformly resisted, till it was suggested, that, though there were many works extant on the subject, yet there was not one which exhibited it as a whole; and that, as the Lectures gave a connected and condensed view of all the principal facts and arguments connected with Negro slavery, the work

might be useful as a kind of text-book, to those who wished at this particular crisis to make themselves acquainted with the subject, and might not have time or inclination to examine the details in a large number of books and pamphlets. With the hope of serving the cause of Negro freedom, he has committed the Lectures to the press. How far the Author has done right in publishing, and whether the work is adapted to promote the end which he has in view, the public will judge.

As to the execution, there are some circumstances which the Author thinks entitle him to the candor of the public. Such are his engagements, that the time devoted to a preparation of the Lectures for the press has been what should have been given to rest from the fatigues and exhaustion which his various duties occasion; and as it was considered desirable that the work, if published at all, should be out in time for circulation before the meeting of Parliament, there has been and could be no opportunity for a careful revision. The Lectures were not *read*, nor delivered *memoriter*, though copious notes had been taken: in writing them out for the press, it was therefore impossible to secure the same mode of expression in every instance as was employed in the delivery; and this also will account for the additional time requisite in preparing them for publication. The Author wishes that he could have rendered them in this respect more worthy the acceptance of the public: but he wishes this to be understood of the composition only; for the

statements which are made, and the reasonings which are employed, he asks no mercy: let them stand at the bar of justice. He believes that no fact produced will be found to be materially incorrect; nor is he aware of any thing unsound in the various lines of argument which he has taken. These, however, he is perfectly willing to submit to a fair and honest criticism.

*Bowling Cottage, near Bradford, Yorkshire,
September 7, 1830.*

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LECTURES, &c.

LECTURE I.

IN presenting myself to your notice as a Lecturer, the inquiry is very natural and reasonable, why I thus solicit your attention. My reply is, that I stand forward on behalf of suffering humanity, and venture to plead the cause of nearly a million of my fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects.

On most of the topics to which I shall advert, the press has, I admit, communicated ample and authentic information; and through the same medium many powerful appeals have been made to the public feeling. But all that is printed is not read; oral instruction is frequently more effectual than written information; and, in addresses to the consciences or the feelings, there is a power in the living voice which all the machinery of the press cannot command. Hence, on the most sacred themes, the written Scriptures have not rendered

the labors of preachers unnecessary or unprofitable. Most of the sciences have long been taught in this manner in our great seminaries of learning ; and now the importance of public lectures in conveying knowledge begins to be generally recognized, so that this mode of instruction is becoming increasingly prevalent. We have, in the present day, lecturers in almost every branch of science, and in every department of knowledge, traversing the country, enlightening the public mind, and exciting an interest in literature, in philosophy, in politics.

The commodious, I may say, elegant building in which we are now assembled, the erection of which is an honor to those under whose auspices it was raised, and an ornament to the town in which we live, was scarcely finished, when it was occupied by a gentleman who called your attention to the wonders of the Heavens. He was succeeded, with scarcely an interval, by another, who taught the power of Eloquence and the graces of Elocution, and who, by his recitations, afforded no less amusement than instruction. I venture now to follow in the train, but with a far different object. You contemplated with pleasure the harmony, the beauty and the glory of the celestial phenomena : I ask you now to behold the wretchedness and misery of earthly scenes. I hold out no promise of pleasure and amusement : I have to tell a tale of woe, and that not the fiction of creative fancy, framed only for the excitement of sensibility, but real facts and serious truths.—My subject is **SLAVERY** !

The very term is shocking to an Englishman who has not been familiarized to the sad scene till he has ceased to feel. A love of freedom seems to be drawn in with the very air we breathe. Liberty is the spirit which pervades our laws; it is the presiding genius of the constitution. The history of Britain is that of a perpetual struggle for civil and religious liberty. It is a subject on which our historians love to dwell: its blessings are sung by our poets; and often have its inspirations kindled the fire of eloquence and the glow of fancy, while the walls of the British senate have resounded with the favorite theme.

My object in the present lectures is, in the first place, to communicate information. I believe this is needed. I cannot think that, if all England knew the present state of Slavery, in the British dominions, and what is paid in public property and human life to support it, the system would be tolerated by a free and generous people. The condition of the enslaved Negro must, I think, when known, touch a sympathetic chord in every heart, where interest and prejudice do not indurate the feelings and exclude conviction. I wish my present auditory to *know*, that they may feel; and to *feel*, that they may act. The subject is one that should excite commiseration, but not despair. It is an evil of long standing, of enormous extent, and of tremendous power, both in the infliction of misery and in the resistance which it opposes to every effort of amelioration;*

* We wish our readers to notice this. Slavery is a relation *essentially* evil. There is no good in it—nothing that can be made

but it is not beyond the reach of remedy. It can be removed—it must be removed—and sooner or later it will be removed, in mercy or in judgment. And that we may contribute our portion of aid towards the peaceable extinction of this cruel and degrading system, is the final object I propose in these lectures.

I confess that, though accustomed to public speaking, I experience much diffidence on the present occasion; nor is it without a considerable expense of feeling that I engage in this undertaking. But there were two things which strongly urged me to it: the one, a sympathy for the poor suffering Negro; the other, a sense of duty. I felt bound in conscience to contribute my mite of influence towards the removal of an evil, which, while it inflicts unnumbered miseries on hundreds of thousands of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, is a foul blot on our national character, and a crying sin in the sight of Heaven. If I fail in exciting that portion of interest which I humbly hope will attend these lectures, I shall still have the satisfaction of an approving conscience. It was a high commendation bestowed by the Saviour on a poor woman of old, “She hath done what she could.”

The plan I propose is, first, to give a general view of

good. It is a circumstance which robs man of his prerogatives. Disguise it as you may, still it holds the man in subjection to another's will, it holds him liable to the incidents that may befall his property. The first thing, therefore, to be done for the improvement of a slave, is to break this yoke, and secure to him the rights of a man.

AM. ED.

the state of Slavery, as it exists in the British dominions; then, to show more fully the evils of the system; after which I shall endeavor to prove the unlawfulness of it. I shall then give a sketch of what has been done towards the abolition of Slavery; and close with an inquiry as to the duty of British Christians with reference to this subject.

The present lecture will comprise a view of the general character of Slavery, as it exists in the British Colonies. I hope it will not be deemed superfluous if I commence by a few brief notices of the country from which, for ages, the Slaves have been imported, and of that which is the place of their hard servitude.

Africa, which furnishes our colonies with Slaves, is a quarter of the globe which is considerably larger than Europe. It is, indeed, a vast peninsula to the south of Europe, connected with Asia by the Isthmus of Suez. The Mediterranean Sea is its northern boundary; on the east, the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, stretches contiguously from the Isthmus of Suez to the Straits of Babel-mandel; from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, which is its southern extremity, the Indian Ocean washes its coasts; and from this point northward, to the Straits of Gibraltar, the Atlantic Ocean forms its western limit. Its figure is triangular, the base of which is its northern coast, and its vertex the Cape of Good Hope. From its most northerly cape, Bona, in the Mediterranean, which is in 37 deg. 10 min. N. Lat., to the Cape of Good Hope, in 34 deg. 29 min. S. Lat., the distance is about 4980 miles. From Cape Verd, its most west-

erly point, in 17 deg. 33 min. W. Lon. to Cape Guardafui, in 51 deg. 20 min. E. Lon., the extent is about 4790 miles. The far greater part of it, as you will perceive by the map, lies in the torrid zone. "Those parts, however, that lie near the coasts, or in valleys, and on the banks of the rivers, are very fertile and productive; and the country in general is capable of great improvement by cultivation. Its situation for commerce is preferable to that of any other quarter of the globe, as it has a more easy communication with Europe, Asia, and America, than either of these has with the rest."*

A great portion of this vast continent was unknown to those ancient geographers whose works have come down to modern times. The Greeks and Romans knew but little of the interior: their information extended principally to the northern states, with Egypt and Ethiopia to the east. If Africa now ranks low in civilization, and is considered the most degraded of the four quarters of the world, there was a time when she ranked high, and if not equal, was second only to Asia. Before imperial Rome was known even by name, Thebes the wealthy and the great was celebrated in Homeric song, and Memphis was renowned as first in power and magnificence. When Greece was in a state of barbarism, Egypt shone unrivalled in the light and glory of science; its population was immense, and its wealth boundless. Nor was Ethiopia without a name. At a later period Carthage, on the coasts of the Medi-

* Rees's Cyclop. art. Africa.

terranean, was, in riches and grandeur and power, the rival of Rome, and contended long with her for the great prize of universal empire. Other kingdoms and states of Northern Africa dared also, at different times, to enter into conflict with the mistress of the world. At an early period Christianity was introduced into Africa, which gave birth to many of the fathers of the church, eminent for their learning and piety: Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, were all natives of Africa, which at one time numbered among its ecclesiastical officers several hundred bishops. And at a later period, when the dark ages almost threatened the extinction both of Christianity and of human science, the Moors of Africa were distinguished for their superior learning and genius and gallantry. Since then Africa has gone back in civilization: a number of semi-barbarous states on the northern coasts, some of which extend even to the Great Desert, are subject to the Mohammedan power; but Egypt, which is still nominally dependent on the Grand Porte, seems rising of late into considerable importance, under its present intelligent and enterprising Pacha.

One remarkable feature of this country is the immense Desert, which, extending from east to west, through nearly the whole of Africa, to the very borders of Egypt, in a breadth of eight or nine hundred miles, separates the northern states from the interior, and from those regions whence the Negroes are brought for sale to Europeans. South of the great desert is a vast tract of country called Negroland, or Nigritia, through which the river Niger runs; these names being evidently de-

rived from the color of the inhabitants. The population of this part of Africa has never been correctly ascertained: it comprises a great variety of states and tribes, in very different degrees of civilization. It has for more than two centuries been annually drained of immense numbers of its inhabitants, to be exported as slaves to the opposite shores of the Atlantic. A long line of coast has been resorted to for this purpose, by European traders, extending from the river Senegal to the kingdom of Angola. But it is not only from places contiguous to the coast that the unhappy Negroes are drawn: they come sometimes from the very centre of Africa, a journey of many weeks, and even of months, to be transported to a distant land, there to wear out their lives in perpetual bondage.

Let me now take you, not in the suffocating hold of a slave ship, but on the wings of fancy, from the shores of Africa, westward, across the Atlantic Ocean, to those islands which were the first fruits of discovery to the enterprise of Columbus, when the intelligence of a new world was announced to astonished Europe. It was on the 12th of October, 1492,* that this illustrious navigator first beheld one of those islands now called the Bahamas, of which he took possession in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and gave to it the name of St. Salvador. Subsequently, and at different intervals, the other islands, together with the great continent of North and South America, were discovered.

* Robertson's Hist. of America, book ii.

This great man had no idea that a vast continent intervened between the western shores of Europe and the eastern extremity of Asia, which then went by the general name of India. He supposed that by a western passage he had arrived at the Indian, or Asiatic islands, and that the continent was not far distant. These were therefore called the Indian Islands; and after the discovery of the new continent they were called the *West Indies*, Asiatic India acquiring the designation of the *East Indies*. The term *West Indies* now includes all those islands which extend from the Bahamas in the north, to Trinidad, near the coast of South America; and Honduras, Demerara, and Berbice, colonies on the adjacent continent, belonging to the British Crown, are also commonly comprised under this term.

When the Europeans first visited these islands, they were believed by the simple inhabitants to have descended from heaven: the scenes which this part of the world has since witnessed, have, to the lasting shame of humanity, lamentably proved the contrary. Nature, in these islands, appearing to the first discoverers in all her loveliness, adorned with every form of beauty, and exhibiting the richest fertility, at once astonished and delighted them; but it is among the inscrutable mysteries of Providence, that from the first period of their discovery they have continued to be the scenes of the most shocking depravity and heart-sickening misery. No sooner were they known than their original inhabitants became the victims of the sordid avarice and wanton barbarity of their intruders: their beautiful isles resound-

ed with the cries of the tortured natives, and the earth was dyed with their blood. And since the period of these atrocious cruelties, by which the aborigines were soon exterminated, Africa has been stripped of her children to supply the waste, and to minister to the luxuries and to the insatiable cupidity of Europeans;—the soil has been watered with their tears; the air has resounded with their groans; and thousands, and hundreds of thousands, nay, millions, have there worn out their lives in bitterest bondage.

Besides the general appellation of West Indies, by which the whole of these islands are designated, they are also divided into the Greater and Lesser Antilles, the Caribbee Isles, and the Windward and Leeward Islands. These terms, however, have not been always uniformly applied, nor are they now in general use; so that it is less necessary to fix their respective limits. The largest of these islands is Cuba, belonging to Spain: its length is about 700 miles, its average breadth about 70.—The next in size is St. Domingo, called by the Spaniards Hispaniola, and by the natives Hayti. This is now a free and prosperous empire* of Blacks and

* Great pains are taken by the pro-slavery party in this country to make it believed, that the experiment in Hayti has been unsuccessful, going to show, that colored men may not safely be entrusted with their own government. But the fact that the Haytians have maintained their independence until now, and preserved a government at least as good as that of most of the white nations of the earth, should be enough to put their calumniators to shame. And when we consider the condition of the Island, after their struggles for independence—the general impoverish-

persons of color, who, after a desperate struggle against the legions of Bonaparte, secured, by force of arms, the personal freedom which had previously been granted to them by the French Convention, but which, in 1802, Bonaparte iniquitously attempted to wrest from them. The national independence of this Negro state has been since formally recognized by France.—Jamaica, the next in size, was formerly Spanish, but is now possessed by the English: its length is about 120 miles, and its average breadth about 40.—The smaller islands have been possessed as colonies by the Spaniards, the English, the French, the Dutch, and the Danes; but the greater part of them now belong to the British Crown, partly by colonization, and partly by conquest.—Besides their produce for home consumption, their exports consist principally in sugar, rum, cotton, coffee, dye-woods, and some spices.

In addition to the various islands in the West Indies belonging to Great Britain in which slavery prevails, there are three colonies on the adjacent continent of South America, (Demerara, Berbice, and Honduras,) and also the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius, (a small island in the Indian Ocean,)

ment, the mental and moral degradation of the mass of the people, owing to the slavery in which they had been held, the entire derangement of public affairs incident to a revolution, and the dissimilar views of the leaders of the enterprise,—the marvel is that they have done so well; and the result proves any thing but that, which the opposers of Negro emancipation wish should be believed.—AM. ED.

where the bulk of the population are in the same unhappy state of bondage.

Of these colonies,—twenty in all—six, viz. Berbice, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Mauritius, St. Lucia, and Trinidad, are directly subject to the British Crown, and receive their laws from the King in council, through the medium of the local authorities appointed by him. These are termed Crown Colonies. The case of Honduras is anomalous. The other thirteen, which are called Chartered Colonies, have each a legislature of its own, consisting of a governor and council appointed by the King, and an assembly chosen by the White proprietors. These legislatures have the power of making laws, which are in force when approved by the governor, though not established permanently till they receive the assent of the King of Great Britain. The chartered colonies are, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher's, St. Vincent's, Tobago, and Tortola.

To avoid a lengthened description, I must now beg leave to refer to a tabular view, which is prefixed to this lecture, and which exhibits all the slave colonies of Great Britain, the time and manner of their first possession, by the British Crown, their extent, population, produce, &c.

Let us now take a general view of the system itself, not at present to enter into a detail of its many enormities—that we shall reserve for another occasion—but to

notice its principal circumstances, and to pourtray its more prominent features. Look, then, "with your mind's eye," on those beautiful islands already referred to. You see the population distinguished by their color. Here are white men, black men, and those who are partially tinged with the sable hue. None of them are the original inhabitants: these were long ago exterminated by men who called themselves Christians! Some have sprung from Europe, but the greater part from Africa. These White men, who bear themselves so haughtily, and who appropriate to themselves all power, and all the luxuries which a tropical climate can yield, are either Europeans or the descendants of Europeans, who, for the love of enterprise, or in pursuit of gain, left their native shores in the different kingdoms and states of the old world.—These blacks also are a race of foreigners, natives of Africa, or the children of Africans—Negroes, who came hither, not from motives either of enterprise or gain, but bound as prisoners, and sold, as so many head of cattle, to the highest bidder.—Those who by different shades have a less dark complexion, are called, generally, People of Color,* and are

* Under this general term several distinctions are included, which, according to Mr. Edwards, in his History of the West Indies, are thus specified:—The offspring of a

Black Woman by a Mulatto Man, or vice versa, is a Sambo.
 Black Woman - - White Man - - - - - a Mulatto.
 Mulatto Woman - White Man - - - - - a Quadroon.
 Quadroon Woman White Man - - - - - a Mestize.
 The offspring of a Mestize by a White Man are White by law.
 —Creoles are those who, whether white or black, have been born in the colonies.

the offspring of a mixed race. As the children of female slaves are, by the colonial laws, born slaves, many of the children of the white lords of these islands have, by the vices of their parents, the miserable inheritance of slavery entailed on them; while this illicit intercourse has frequently produced the purchase of the freedom of such children by the white parent, or, in cases where the parent was also the owner, the gratuitous manumission of both mothers and children. There are also considerable numbers of free Blacks in these Colonies, who have had their freedom bequeathed or given to them by humane proprietors, or who have found means to purchase it, or who are the descendants of those who had obtained their freedom in some of these ways. In all our slave colonies, the whole number of White inhabitants is not supposed to exceed from 80 to 90,000; a considerably larger number are free Blacks and People of Color; but the great mass of the population, consisting of about 800,000, are enslaved Negroes.

And this immense majority, whose misfortune it is to have a skin different in color from our own, are claimed as the property, and treated as the property, of their fellow-creatures! In the British slave colonies upwards of 800,000 are thus possessed by comparatively a few free men, chiefly Whites. But how was this property acquired? In the same way, in many instances, as you came by your cattle, your horses and dogs. You may have obtained them by bequest, or by inheritance; you may have purchased them together, as the live stock of an estate; or you may have selected them individually;

or they may be the breeding produce of your stock. Just so was this property in human flesh acquired; and those who hold them insist on possessing them, as you do your cattle, male and female, till their last breath is drawn, unless they previously sell them to others: they claim an absolute right of property in them and theirs, not to the third and fourth generation, but forever!

But how came this kind of property to exist? How came this article of traffic in the market? The planters tell you that they, or those from whom they received them, bought them honestly in the market.—But who brought them there? That merciless dealer in human flesh, the slave-captain.—And where did he procure them? Of slave-merchants or agents on the African coast; and these, perhaps, of others in the interior.—But how were they first deprived of freedom? The greater part by wars excited for the express purpose of furnishing supplies for the slave-market, and receiving articles of commerce in return; by the burning of villages and towns, in order to surprise the helpless fugitives; by false accusations, mock trials; by kidnapping some, by decoying others—in short, by every mode of force and fraud which an inhuman spirit of avarice could suggest.*

Let us now glance at their situation and employment in the colonies.† Some are employed as domestic slaves,

* See "Cries of Africa," by Mr. Clarkson; with "Abstract of Evidence before a select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1790 and 1791," chap. i.

† The description here given of the situation and employment

when and how the owner pleases ; by day or by night, on Sundays or other days, in any measure or degree, with any or with no remuneration, with what kind or quantity of food the owner of the human beast may choose. Male or female, young or old, weak or strong, may be punished, with or without reason, as caprice or passion may prompt. When the drudge does not suit, he may be sold, like a horse that has seen his best days, for some inferior purpose, till like a worn-out beast he dies, unpitied and forgotten ! In some cases slaves of this kind are purchased, not because their personal services are needed, but as a profitable speculation, to be let out to hire. Some, having had the opportunity to learn a trade, pay their owners a stipulated sum per week, or month, or otherwise, and have the surplus earnings for themselves ; with which, it may happen, if they are industrious, and have their health, and are successful, they may, in course of time, lay up a sum to purchase their own freedom, or that of a wife or child. But the owner may charge what he pleases for his time : if he be covetous, may screw him to the last farthing ; or, if he need money, may sell him to some distant part of the colony, to any other proprietor, who, again, may do with him just as he pleases.

But the greatest number of these degraded beings are doomed to field labor, and that in a climate the heat of which is intense, and almost unremitted. Almost all

of the West India slaves, prior to their emancipation in 1834, may give our readers a very correct idea of the condition of 2,000,000 of the American People at this time.—AM. ED.

the tillage of the soil, which in our agricultural processes we perform by horses and oxen assisted by machinery, is in the colonies carried on by the manual operations of the enslaved Negroes. The cultivation of cotton, coffee, sugar, indeed of all the productions of the plantations, devolves on them. It is the culture of the last-mentioned article, sugar, which appears to expose them to the most toilsome drudgery and the severest treatment. While my plan does not allow of giving a particular description of every kind of produce which employs slave labor, I feel desirous that my audience should know in what manner that luxury of our tea-table and of our confectionary is raised.

Sugar is the produce of a reed, or cane, the botanical name of which is *arundo saccharifera*. "It is a pointed reed," says Mr. Edwards,* "terminating in leaves or blades, whose edges are finely and sharply serrated. The body of the cane is strong, but brittle, and, when ripe, of a fine straw color inclinable to yellow; and it contains a soft, pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of juice, of a sweetness the least cloying and most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the soil: in general, it is from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of a whole cane depends likewise upon circumstances: in strong lands richly manured I have seen some that measured twelve feet from

* Edwards's History of the West Indies, book V. chap. i.

the stole to the upper joint: the general height, however (the flag part excluded,) is from three feet and a half to seven feet; and in very rich lands the stole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred suckers, or shoots."—The sugar-cane is propagated by cuttings; the most proper season of planting which, is, according to the same author, between August and the beginning of November; so that, as the canes are ordinarily ripe in from twelve to fifteen months, they are fit for the mill in the beginning of the second year. "In most parts of the West Indies it is usual to hole and plant a certain proportion of the cane (commonly one third) in annual succession. The common yielding of this land, on an average, is seven hogsheads of 16 cwt. to ten acres which are cut annually."* The canes, when cut, are carried to the mill, which consists of strong rollers, through which the canes are passed, and which are worked by wind, water, cattle, or steam. By this means the juice is expressed, from which, after it has been clarified and has undergone various processes, the sugar is obtained. From the refuse, which is skimmed from the cane-juice, and the molasses, which are drained from the sugar, rum is produced by distillation.

The first important operation in sugar planting, after the ground has been duly prepared, is that of holeing, which Mr. Edwards thus describes:—"The quantity of land intended to be planted, being cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is first divided into several plats of

* Rees's Cyclop. art. Sugar.

certain dimensions, commonly from fifteen to twenty acres each: the spaces between each plat, or division, are left wide enough for roads, for the convenience of carting, and are called *intervals*. Each plat is then subdivided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into small squares of about three feet and a half. Sometimes, indeed, the squares are a foot larger; but this circumstance makes but little difference. The Negroes are then placed in a row in the first line, one to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes the several squares, commonly to the depth of five or six inches. The mould which is dug up being formed into a bank at the lower side, the excavation, or cane-hole, seldom exceeds fifteen inches in width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at the top. The Negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as before.”*—Into these holes, the cuttings are placed, and covered with mould; and as they grow, the earth is drawn around them, and the ground kept cleared of weeds. As vegetation proceeds, the joints increase in number, one growing out of another. A field of canes, when in full blossom, is said to be one of the most beautiful objects in nature. The field labor of the Negroes, when employed in holeing, is thus described by a gentleman of unimpeachable veracity, who spent many years in the West Indies.†

“In holeing a cane-piece—i. e. in turning up the

* Edwards’s Hist. of West Indies, book V. chap. i.

† “The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated,” by J. Stephen, Esq. vol. I. App. p. 477; where the statement here quoted is vindicated by unexceptionable references.

ground with hoes into parallel trenches, for the reception of the cane-plants—the slaves, of both sexes, from twenty to fourscore in number, are drawn out in a line, like troops on a parade, each with a hoe in his hand, and close to them in the rear is stationed a driver, or several drivers, in number duly proportioned to that of the gang. Each of the drivers, who are always the most active and vigorous Negroes on the estate, has in his hand, or coiled round his neck, from which, by extending the handle, it can be disengaged in a moment, a long, thick, and strongly plaited whip, called a *cart-whip*; the report of which is as loud, and the lash as severe, as those of the whips in common use with our wagoners; and which he has authority to apply at the instant when his eye perceives an occasion, without any previous warning. Thus disposed, their work begins, and continues without interruption for a certain number of hours,* during which, at the peril of the drivers, an adequate portion of the land must be hoed.

“As the trenches are generally rectilinear, and the whole line of holers advance together, it is necessary that every hole or section of the trench should be finished in equal time with the rest; and if any one or more Negroes were allowed to throw in the hoe with less rapidity or energy than their companions in other parts of the line, it is obvious that the work of the latter must be suspended; or else, such part of the trench

* The hours of *field* labor extend by law in Jamaica from five in the morning, to seven in the evening, with intervals of half an hour for breakfast, and two hours at noon.

as is passed over by the former will be more imperfectly formed than the rest. It is therefore the business of the drivers, not only to urge forward the whole gang with sufficient speed, but sedulously to watch that all in the line, whether male or female, old or young, strong or feeble, work as nearly as possible in equal time, and with equal effect. The tardy stroke must be quickened, and the languid invigorated; and the whole line made to *dress* in the military phrase as it advances. No breathing time, no resting on the hoe, no pause of languor, to be repaid by brisker exertion on return to work, can be allowed to individuals. All must work or pause together.

"I have taken this species of work as the strongest example. But other labors of the plantation are conducted on the same principle, and, as nearly as may be practicable, in the same manner.

"When the nature of the work does not admit of the slaves being drawn up in a line abreast, they are disposed, when the measure is feasible, in some other regular order for the facility of the driver's superintendence and coercion. In carrying the canes, for instance, from the field to the mill,* they are marched in files, each with a bundle on his head, and with a driver in the rear: his voice quickens their pace, and his whip, when necessary, urges on those who attempt to deviate or loiter in their march."

* On most estates the canes are carried on the backs of mules, or in carts, from the field to the mill.

As we shall often have, in the subsequent lectures, to refer to that terrible instrument of coercion and punishment, the cartwhip, let me here briefly describe its use and power. The quotation which I shall make, is from the same work of Mr. Stephen, to which I have already adverted.*

“A long, thick, and strongly plaited whip, with a short handle, is coiled and slung like a sash over their shoulders (i. e. of the drivers,) except when extended in the hand for use, as the ensign of their fearful office; and, being long trained to the expert use of it, they well know how to direct, and how to aggravate or mitigate its inflictions, at the will of their employers, or their own. They have an emulation in the loudness of the report which they produce from this instrument of torture, the sound of which is enough to make the stoutest of its male patients tremble; and the smack of the cart-whip, frequently repeated from a distant cane-piece,

* “The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated,” vol. I. p. 49, 50; where Mr. S. has amply corroborated his account of the whip by quotations from Mr. Beckford and Dr. Collins, both avowed apologists of colonial slavery; and from Dr. Pinckard, who has not in his work taken either side of the question. See Beckford’s “Account of Jamaica,” vol. II. p. 51; Dr. Pinckard’s “Notes on the West Indies,” vol. I. p. 257; and Dr. Collins’s “Practical Rules for the Management and Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies,” 1803, p. 209. To which may be added the testimony of Mr. Barrett, whose language in the assembly of Jamaica was, “I do say, that 39 lashes with this horrid instrument can be made more grievous than 500 lashes with a cat.” He calls it also an “odious, horrid, detestable instrument, when used for the punishment and torture of slaves;” “an engine of cruelty,” &c. See extracts from his speech, in vol. I. pp. 306, 307, “Anti-Slavery Reporter.”

serves often instead of a bell or conch-shell, to summon the Negroes from their huts at the earliest dawn to the theatre of their morning labors. The drivers, however, can, when they please, in actual punishment, produce a loud report without proportionate severity of stripes; and, on the other hand, when told to *cut*, as the phrase is, they can easily inflict a gash at every stroke, so as to make even a few lashes a tremendous punishment. A planter, who valued himself on his humanity, once pointed out to me a driver of his then passing by, as a man whose strength of arm and adroitness in the use of the whip were uncommonly great, and who had also a cruel disposition. I once actually saw the fellow, said he, lay open the flank of a mule he was driving, cutting, fairly through its tough hide at a single stroke. He added, that he had him punished for it; and that it was his general injunction, to him and to other drivers, not to *cut* the Negroes in their whippings, upon pain of being laid down and flogged themselves. Cutting does not merely mean drawing blood and peeling off the scarf-skin, for those are the effects of almost every stripe on the naked body with this instrument, however leniently applied, but it means cutting through the *cutis*, or true skin, into the muscles or flesh below; and this is so usual in cart whippings, when regularly inflicted for a serious fault, that confinement to the hospital during the cure is an ordinary consequence, and large scars or weals remain during the life of the patient.* To be

* Let not American readers console themselves with the supposition that such cruelties, as are here described, are unknown.

exempt from such vestiges of severe punishment received, is regarded as a distinction creditable to the character of a plantation slave, and enhancing his value to a purchaser."

How are the Negroes supported? In what manner do they live?

In the Leeward Islands, comprising Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Montserrat, and Tortola, with a slave population of about 62,000, the slaves receive from their masters an allowance of food fixed by law; but so inadequate to the comfortable sustentation of life, that it does not amount to much more than a third of the stipulated allowance in the island of Jamaica to runaway slaves, or other delinquents, confined in the workhouses and prisons. This will appear from the following comparison of the two scales of allowance:

<i>The weekly Legal Allowance of the adult Laboring Slaves in the Leeward Islands.</i>	<i>Weekly Legal Allowance of Per- sons confined in the Prisons and Workhouses of Jamaica.</i>
9 Pints of unground corn, or	16 Pints of unground corn, or
8 Pints of wheat or other flour, or	21 Pints of wheat or other flour,
20 Pounds of yams, or	or
30 Pounds of plantains.	56 Pounds of yams, or
	56 Full-grown plantains, equal to about 75 to 80 pounds.

The legal allowance of the Leeward Islands to working men, therefore, might easily be shown to be a starving allowance, being a little more than one-third of the al-

in our country. They are as frequent in our Southern States as they were in the West Indies.

AM. ED.

lowance which is indispensable to the comfortable subsistence of the laborer.

In Barbadoes, Demerara, and Berbice, the slaves are fed from provisions grown by the labor of the whole gang, and dealt out to them by the master, but without the legal limit by which the allowance of the Leeward Island slave is stinted to the smallest quantity by which his life can be sustained. But if there be no direct legal sanction in these three colonies for the same cruelly penurious system in feeding the slaves which disgraces the legislature of the Leeward Islands, yet it is obvious, that to the discretion, or rather to the caprice or avarice of the owner alone, it is left to decide as to the quantity of food which shall be allowed to the slave for his sustentation and comfort; and neither in these three colonies, nor in the Leeward Islands, is a single hour allotted to the slave by law, which he can employ for eking out his scanty allowance, on any day except on Sunday.

In all the other West India colonies the slaves have usually provision grounds allotted to them,* and a few days in the year, besides Sundays, assigned to them for laboring in these grounds for their sustenance;† the number of days varying in different colonies. In Tobago, it amounts to thirty-five; in Jamaica the number is twenty-six; in Trinidad it amounts only to from four-

*As Jamaica, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Trinidad, Tobago, Dominica, St. Lucia, &c.

† These provision grounds are frequently at a considerable distance from the homestall of the plantation; sometimes three, six, or even ten miles. See "Facts illustrative of the Negro Slaves in Jamaica," by T. Cooper, 1824.

teen to seventeen ; and to about the same in the other colonies. On these, in addition to the Sundays, the Negroes raise vegetables for their own use ; and the surplus, if any, they bring on Sundays to market, at a distance frequently of many miles, sometimes ten, twenty, or even thirty ; the sale of which enables them to purchase a few trifling articles, either of food or apparel. In addition, they are generally allowed a few salt herrings, or other fish, weekly ; and they receive also annually from their masters a small quantity of clothing, the least and the cheapest that can possibly cover them. A few of the more industrious keep a few poultry, and perhaps a pig, which also become articles of traffic. And thus individual slaves sometimes succeed, by dint of extreme parsimony in acquiring a little property ; by which, after a length of time, they are enabled to purchase their freedom. This, however, is a very rare occurrence indeed in the case of field slaves.—Their huts are built by themselves, often of very rude materials, but sometimes with materials furnished by their owners ; and are generally, for the sake of convenience, near the buildings where the manufacture of sugar is conducted, though seldom with much regard to order in their position.

Allow me now, in drawing the first lecture towards a close, to give a summary of the principal characteristics* of our colonial slavery as it existed in the colo-

* We advise the reader to compare the summary here given, with the Digest or Sketch of American Slaves Laws, by George

nies prior to the year 1824, when measures were first taken for its mitigation.

1. *Perpetual bondage*, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants to the latest posterity, unless the owner voluntarily relinquished his claim.

2. *Compulsory and uncompensated labor*. There was no covenant between him and his master; no stipulated remuneration for a certain quantity of labor; no hope of reward cheered him. In the house, a pure despotism controlled him; in the field, the fear of the driver's lash was ever before him.

3. *The right of property was exercised over the Negro slave*. His owner claimed him as his goods and chattels. He might be sold by private sale or public auction; individually, or "in lots to suit the purchaser;" with his family, or separated forever from them. He might be exchanged for other marketable commodities; might be mortgaged; might be taken in *execution* for debts or taxes.

4. *Very great obstructions existed to the manumission of the enslaved Negroes*. Should a slave by any means happen to obtain a sum sufficient to purchase his freedom, a heavy tax threw a formidable difficulty in the way, or a bond to a considerable amount was required; which operated also powerfully against the bestowal of freedom by gift or bequest. In all the colonies, without

M. Stroich, published in Philadelphia, 1824, that he may know how similar the Slavery here is to the Slavery that was in the West Indies.—AM. ED.

exception, it was entirely at the owner's option, whether he should part with his slave for any price.

5. *The Colonial bondman was liable, within certain limits, to severe and arbitrary punishment*—without any trial; without any means of legal redress; whether his offence were real or imaginary; by the owner, the attorney, the overseer, the manager, and the driver.

6. *Females were subject to the same degrading and severe punishments, and that in a manner as indecent** as it was cruel; not only at the order of the magistrate, but at the will of the master, or of any of his subordinate agents.

7. *No legal rights of property were possessed by the slave*: so that if by his industry, or the kindness of friends, he happened to obtain any, it was possessed, not as a matter of right, but by sufferance,† and was legally the property of his master.

8. *The sacred rite of Marriage, instituted by the Great Creator himself, was set at nought by this system.* No legal sanction protected the slave in the enjoyment of conjugal rights; and promiscuous intercourse was not only permitted, but even encouraged, throughout the colonies, and more especially by the general example of licentiousness among the Whites themselves.

9. *The evidence of slaves was not admitted against*

* See Bickell's "West Indies," pp. 48, 49.

† See this illustrated, and the condition of the West India slave, in this respect, compared with that of the villein, when vassalage existed in England. Stephen's "Slavery of the Brit. W. Ind. Col. delineated," vol. I. pp. 46, 47.

a White or free man in a court of justice. He might give testimony against a fellow-slave, even in cases which affected his life; but when a white or free man was concerned, it was universally rejected.

10. *No means of any kind had been provided by law for the education and religious instruction of the slave.* While the master reaped the profits of his labor, till, worn out with toil, he sunk into the tomb, he had in almost all cases too much reason to say "No man careth for my soul."

11. And, finally, the beneficent arrangements of the Creator, in providing one day in seven for bodily rest and holy worship, were frustrated, by *the necessity of the poor slave's laboring for himself on that sacred day, and by the Sunday markets.**

* "It (*i. e.* Sunday) is the only market-day which the poor Negroes and Colored Slaves have; and instead of worshipping their God, they are either cultivating their portions of land to preserve life, or trudging like mules with heavy loads, five, ten, or even twenty miles, to a market, to sell the little surplus of their provision-grounds, or to barter it for a little salt fish to season their poor meals; or, what is much worse, to spend, very often, the value in new destructive rum, which intoxicates them, and drowns for a short time the reflection that they are despised and burdened slaves.

"I shall never forget the horror and disgust which I felt on going on shore, for the first time in Kingston in the month of August, 1819: it was on a Sunday, and I had to pass by the Negro market, where several thousands of human beings, of various nations and color, but principally Negroes, instead of worshipping their Maker on his Holy Day, were busily employed in all kinds of traffic in the open streets. Here were Jews, with shops and standings as at a fair, selling old and new clothes, trinkets, and small wares at cent. per cent. to adorn the Negro person: there were low Frenchmen and Spaniards, and people of color, in petty shops and with stalls; some selling their bad rum, gin, to-

To show that these were, what in too many respects they still are, the true and genuine features of the system, I need only to refer to the unanimous Resolutions of the House of Commons in May, 1823, when the subject was formally brought before it by Mr. Buxton; and to the sentiments of his Majesty's Ministers, expressed in those Resolutions, which were proposed by themselves, and in their subsequent official correspondence with the colonial authorities. This testimony is the more remarkable, considering how great was the influence of the West-India body in Parliament, and how long and powerfully it had operated to shut out from public reprehension the wrongs and the actual miseries of hundreds of thousands of enslaved British subjects. On the motion of the late Mr. Canning, it was then unanimously resolved by the House of Commons,

"1st. That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's dominions.

"2d. That, through a determined and persevering, but judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive im-

bacco, &c., others salt provisions and small articles of dress, and many of them bartering with the slave, or purchasing his surplus provisions to retail again: poor free people and servants also, from all parts of the city, to purchase vegetables, &c., for the following week. The different noises and barbarous tongues recalled to one's memory the confusion of Babel; but the drunkenness of some, with the imprecations and obscenities of others, put one in mind rather of a Pandemonium, or residence of devils."—*"The West Indies as they are,"* by Rev. R. Bickell, p. 66, 67.—1825.

provement in the character of the slave population; such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

"3d. That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the slaves, the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.

"4th. That these resolutions be laid before his Majesty."

These resolutions were subsequently adopted with the same unanimity by the House of Lords.

Here, then, it was assumed, not only that his Britannic Majesty had *slaves* in his dominions, but that *one class of his Majesty's subjects consisted of slaves*;—that such was the condition of the enslaved subjects of Britain, as absolutely to require the "decisive and effectual" interference of Parliament to relieve them;—and that nothing but a "determined and persevering enforcement" of its humane intentions could rescue these unhappy beings from their miserable thralldom.

In consequence of this measure on the part of the House of Commons, his Majesty's Government immediately proposed to introduce into our slave colonies the following reforms:

To provide the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the slave population.

To put an end to markets and to labor on the Sunday, and to appropriate that day entirely to rest and

recreation, and to religious worship and instruction; and instead of Sunday, to allow them equivalent time on other days for the cultivation of their provision-grounds.

To admit the testimony of slaves in courts of justice.

To legalize the marriages of slaves, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.

To protect the slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, and in its transmission by bequest or otherwise.

To remove all the existing obstructions to manumission, and to grant to the slave the power of redeeming himself and his wife and children at a fair price.

To prevent the separation of families by sale or otherwise.

To prevent the seizure and sale of slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belong.

To restrain generally the power, and to prevent the abuse, of arbitrary punishment at the will of the master.

To abolish the degrading corporal punishment of females.

To abolish the use of the driving-whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority or as a stimulus to labor.

To establish savings' banks for the use of the slaves.

These, then, were the measures of amelioration proposed by Government, and with the professed concurrence of the West India body themselves who were resi-

dent in England. And what point of oppression, or of degradation, which has been alleged of this system, is not here either admitted or implied? Does not the application of a remedy involve the admission of an evil? If, therefore, in charging these evils on the system its administrators conceived themselves to be libelled, they were libelled by the British Parliament, by the Government, by their own patrons and supporters.

It may be necessary here to make two or three remarks. The state of slavery varied somewhat in different colonies. Their enactments and usages might bear upon the slave with more or less severity, according to circumstances: but, with specific distinctions, there was a general similitude in the law and the practice of all our slave colonies. It is also admitted that the condition of the slaves may be considerably modified by the views and dispositions of the owners, if resident among them, or of the overseers or managers who exact and superintend their labors: some have more humanity, more calmness and consideration, than others. It does not follow that every slave suffers all the evils to which his condition exposes him; but he is subject to all these miseries, and cannot help himself—many suffer them to the full, and all may. The Resolutions of 1823, and the measures which followed them, have produced some changes; but small, indeed, has been the measure of improvement. The promise they held out has yet produced little better than disappointment; it has been a “hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick.” The boon which the Government of England

vouchsafed to ask of the colonial legislatures for these poor wretches has been contemptuously refused, or evaded; or eked out in so scanty a manner, that next to nothing has hitherto been done; and even in the Crown colonies Government has fallen far short of its pledges. The particulars we shall reserve for a future occasion, and only here remark, that the great mass of evil still remains in undiminished malignity.

What a strange and afflicting state of society is here presented to our view! And that, not in the dark ages of ignorance and barbarity, but in the Nineteenth century, amidst the wide diffusion of knowledge, the numerous and ever-increasing plans of benevolence, and the strong professions of liberality, which mark the present age! Such usages existing, not among hordes of savages, but among men, civilized, enlightened, and calling themselves Christians! Found, not in the territories of some despotic tyrant, but in the dominions of Britain, whose boasted glory is the freedom of her constitution, the liberty of her subjects, the wise and just administration of her laws, the equal rights of all! A state of society so foreign to all we have ever seen, or can conceive of, that it is difficult for one who has a British heart, with a British education, to realize or even to believe it. And we could not have believed it, we would not have believed such libels on our common nature, but for the irresistible evidence of its existence.

Happy for us, we are natives of Britain, and live in the land of freedom: we see no such sights, we hear no such sounds. The West Indies may shine in nature's

glory; may boast of scenery which is enchanting, fruits the most exquisite, and a soil which is fertility itself; but give me England—though rugged be its coasts, and changeful its climate; though, while a summer's splendor shines on these colonies, our streams are stagnant with ice, and our fields covered with snow. Snow, and ice, and vapors may exist here—but *Slavery* cannot. I had rather hear the wintry blast than the sound of the driver's whip, or the groans of the lacerated slave. I had rather see the drifting snow covering every thing that is green, than the luxuriant cane-field with its gang of slaves, and the torturer behind them. Here one law is for all; the rich and the poor, the master and the servant. No man can possess as property, or buy, or sell, or barter, a fellow-creature: no human being is appraised, put up to auction, seized for another's debts, or sold for taxes. None can take our children from us. Our wives and daughters are not exposed to brutal insults or degrading punishments: in our homes they find an asylum; and not a noble in the land can touch them there, nor dares even the Sovereign to injure them. Our offspring inherit, not our chains, but our freedom. We peaceably pursue, according to our inclinations and duties, the various occupations of life; and the law throws over us the shelter of its protection.* We "sit

* How little of the honest exultation of our author over old England, can we utter over New England! Human beings *may* here be seized as slaves! A southern man may come and claim them as his property, make use of *our* magistrates and constables to obtain possession of them, and of *our* jails to keep them safely

under our own vine and under our own fig-tree, none daring to make us afraid."

But in the enjoyment of all this comfort, this peace, this freedom, do you not hear the sighs of the slave wafted over the Atlantic? Do not the groans of his misery reach your heart? Is he not saying, "Pity me, O my friends, for the hand of the oppressor is upon me! Pity me, your fellow-subject, O ye who boast of liberty, and whose benevolence reaches even to the ends of the earth. Pity me, ye British Christians; for ye only can relieve me. Am I not a man, and a brother?"

until he can remove them. Nor is this all, our free colored population, as they are called, are liable to be kidnapped here, and cannot, at the peril of their liberty, venture beyond the boundaries of what are called the "Free States."—AM. ED.

LECTURE II.

How emphatic is the expression which a sacred writer employs when speaking of the state in which we live! He calls it, "*this present evil world.*" This term is not applied to the globe which we inhabit: it is ever obedient to the laws by which the great Creator governs it, and completely answers the end for which it was made. On its surface are a thousand forms of beauty and of grandeur. Its productions are such as minister not only to the necessities, but to the convenience and happiness, of man, and of every inferior creature made to exist upon it. Its hills and its valleys, its springs and rivers, the ocean that washes its shores, and the atmosphere which surrounds it—the whole is good, and was at its creation pronounced "very good." But innumerable are the evils which swarm upon its surface, and intermingle themselves with human society. There is, in this probationary state, much evil which is unavoidable. The present is, more or less, a state of suffering to all. But by far the greatest portion, and the

worst of the evils, are of man's own making. Too often does man become the scourge, the oppressor, the tormentor of man; and, in addition to the miseries incident to frail humanity, creates a large mass of supernumerary and unnecessary evil. Perhaps there are but few objects which exhibit this more strongly than slavery; the slavery which prevails in the colonies of Great Britain and of other European Powers, and which scarcely finds a parallel amongst the most barbarous nations.

From the view already given of the state of our colonies, and the features of this odious system which have been already described, its enormous evils must be apparent; but it is not, I conceive, superfluous to take a more particular survey of it. While most acknowledge that it is an evil generally, few, I imagine, think of its many ramifications. Let us now, therefore, notice its stupendous and varied powers of mischief.

And let me earnestly entreat my readers not to shrink from this survey because the picture is revolting; let them not turn away from the view because it is distressing to the feelings. Why was our nature endowed with sensibilities which are pained at the sight of misery, but that they should prompt us to succor and relieve the wretched? It is a wise and merciful ordination of Providence, not to trust the help of the miserable solely to our judgment. This is too cold and slow in its decisions: while we deliberate, a wretch may perish. But this sympathetic pain is an inward impulse, a powerful instinct, urging us to assist the helpless, to succor the weak, to relieve the wretched, if we would avoid being miserable ourselves. Ought we to shut our eyes to the

agonizing struggle of a drowning man, if there be the most distant possibility of helping him, lest, forsooth, we should be pained at the sight, and be at the trouble of attempting his rescue ?

There are some persons who affect to disbelieve all that is said of the misery of the Negro slave, and who boldly contradict the descriptions of the wretchedness of his condition which have been given by those who advocate his freedom. The laws, they tell us, may be somewhat severe in their letter, but the spirit of their administration is mild and benignant. All that formerly had the appearance of rigor or cruelty is now become obsolete. And sometimes they affect to treat with contempt the ignorance, and at other times they are filled with a virtuous indignation at the falsehood, of those who affirm that the slaves are in a condition the most degraded and unhappy.—Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the numbers who are interested in the continuance of this system, the agency which is employed, and the sums which are expended to prevent the public from calling for Parliamentary interference. I shall, however, advance nothing but what I conscientiously believe to be true. The facts will be drawn principally from official documents laid before Parliament, and from the statements and admissions of those who are planters, or who are friendly to the system : in all cases I shall give my authority, and leave you to judge both of the credibility of the statements and the conclusions which I draw from them.

Far be it from me to wish to excite hostility against any body of men : there is not the individual upon earth

that I would willingly injure "in mind, body, or estate." I have no resentments to gratify in this matter: I have no interests but those of humanity to seek. It is the *measures* which I condemn—the *system* which I deprecate.

Our colonial slavery exhibits so many evils of so many different kinds, they are so varied and complex, that I scarcely know where to begin. It affects not only Africa, but America; it reaches even to Europe and Asia. Its dark shadows are stretched over black men and white, the slave and the slave-holder: it comprehends almost every kind of sin, and nearly every form and degree of suffering. I shall therefore classify these evils, and consider them under three general heads—*natural, moral and political*.

By natural evil, I mean misery, suffering of every kind. Whatever evil attends this system, affecting man in his physical constitution, his intellectual powers, his relation to his fellow-creatures—whatever makes the slave a sufferer—I include under this general head.

Let it be remembered, that the 800,000 * slaves now in our colonies were either brought from Africa, or are the children or descendants of those who were so brought. By the abolition of the slave *trade*, no slave was allowed to be imported into our colonies from the 1st of March, 1808; but as a great part of the Negroes were young when introduced, there must be still many surviving who were torn from their native land.

* The number in the United States is probably more than 2,500,000 at the present time.—AM. ED.

Here, then, we should begin. And were we now to detail all the heart-rending miseries of their first capture, and the horrifying circumstances of the middle passage,* which the investigations of Parliament brought to light, and which have long been before the public, we should, indeed, have to tell such a tale of woe as scarcely finds a parallel in the annals of human suffering. But we shall not harrow up your feelings by a relation of all the cold-blooded atrocities of barbarous chiefs, and piratical bands, and private adventurers, and kidnappers, and agents, and slave-merchants, and slave-captains. We shall not attempt a description of the midnight horrors of villages attacked, and the escape of the trembling fugitives from the flames, to fall into the hands of the traders in human flesh. We shall pass by the dreadful separation, in such circumstances, of husband and wife, parent and child—their passage over mountains and through deserts, chained together like convicts—their agonizing reflections and terrible anticipations—their situation when jammed by hundreds, like bales of goods, between the low decks of their floating dungeon—the putrid air, the stench, the filth, and the diseases which were thus generated—the silent despair, the frantic madness, the self-murders, the lingering deaths, the wretches thrown overboard alive;—the various causes which destroyed about a fourth or fifth part of this living cargo during the passage. The unutter-

* The technical term for the voyage from the African coast to the West Indies.

able, inconceivable sufferings of these poor wretches, from their first seizure till their sale in the colonies, we shall not dwell upon; not because the introduction of them in this place would be improper or irrelevant, but because we do not wish to repeat such horrors, which have been so long before the public, and to which reference has so often been made.

If it be asked, why they should be at all noticed, since Parliament has abolished this trade? we reply, in the first place, because they form a part and parcel of the system; and because, while this country retains in slavery the victims of its former rapine, it encourages other nations to connive at the continuance of the trade. Besides, it was slavery which originated the slave trade and all its abominations. It is no wonder that those who advocate the continuance of slavery feel sore on this point, and manifest the utmost anxiety that the horrible cruelties attendant on the procuring of their slaves should be forgotten. They never will, they never can, be forgotten, while slavery exists; nor, in estimating the amount of evil which this system has produced, must they ever be omitted.—Because, secondly, as we have already noticed, numbers still survive in our colonies who were the subjects of these atrocious cruelties. Parliament has branded with disgrace, and now visits with death, the practice to which they fell victims; it has pronounced the slave trade to be piracy: but what compensation could this Act afford to those who had been thus wickedly torn from their native land, and sold into hopeless bondage? And, thirdly, in order to shew the

obligations we are under to make all the reparation that can be made to the surviving slaves. If men's *rights* are entailed by hereditary descent, are not also their *wrongs*? If those who are now born with the yoke of slavery on their necks, are in that condition only because their fathers were wickedly enslaved, are they not the representatives of the injuries which their parents suffered from white men, under the consequences of which they themselves now groan? We can give no indemnification to the myriads, who, torn from their native Africa, have died in slavery: we owe it all, and we owe it with interest, to the surviving slaves.—Let us proceed to take a brief view of the sufferings to which their present condition exposes them.

That it is a state of severe distress and cruel suffering to the African, must be evident from this one fact, that, during the time of "seasoning," as it is called, many thousands died. This period was considered to be of the duration of two or three years; and such was the oppressive severity of their new condition, that, added to the effect of their grief, no small portion of these unhappy beings sunk under it, and thus escaped a prolongation of their miseries.

Let us first advert to their general treatment. Under this head I include their *labor*, their *mode of living*, and the *punishments* to which they are liable.

Whatever be their situation, predial or domestic, their labor is entirely forced, and not voluntary. The only limits of a slave's labor, are his own physical capabili-

ties and his owner's will.* The only problem for the slave proprietor to solve is, how much can he gain by his article; what is the greatest possible amount which he can extract from all, male and female, old and young, consistently with his own interests. If an extra portion of labor during a short time be considered, as it often may be, more advantageous than more moderate labor during a longer period, interest will, in most cases, prefer the increased gain to the slave's comfort, or even life. And terrible indeed must be the condition of the slaves, when a planter is either struggling with his sinking fortunes, and ready to make the most desperate efforts to protract the period of his ruin; or is desirous to take advantage of a great rise in the price of the commodity which he cultivates, in order to increase his gains. Is it likely that in such circumstances he will be very scrupulous about over-working his human cattle? Failures in planting speculations are more common than in perhaps any department of trade or commerce, and they often either originate in the waste of Negro life, or directly lead to it.

In respect to field labor,† one of the clauses of the Ja-

* The colonial laws have, indeed, sometimes regulated the hours of *field* labor, but in their regulations they have obviously proceeded on the principle of exacting the maximum of which the slave is capable.

† In the slave States in the United States, the time of labor of the slaves is 15 hours from March to September, and 14 from September to March, allowing them half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner. As however the testimony of the

maica Slave Law provides that the slaves shall not be compelled to work *in the field* before five in the morning, nor after seven in the evening; and that they shall have half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner.* The Rev. Richard Bickell, who was for some time curate of Port Royal, says that the slaves "are generally summoned from their slumbers by the cracking of the driver's whip, about half an hour before daylight."† Mr. De la Beche, the proprietor of a sugar estate in Jamaica, in his account of the island, mentions from five to seven one half of the year, and from half past five to half past six the other half, as the hours of labor.—But this is not all; as it is well known that, after the labor of the field is ended, the Negroes on most of the plantations are compelled to collect grass for the horses and cattle, from the hedge-rows, and wherever it may be found, and to bring to the homestall each a bundle. It cannot therefore be supposed that it is before eight or nine at night, perhaps not so soon, that the poor Negro, jaded and exhausted, gets home to

slave is excluded from Courts of Justice in all cases where a white man is a party in the suit, if the law respecting the time of labor should be violated by a longer period being required than 15 hours, it would be almost impossible to prove the fact. Besides, the slave knows nothing probably about the law, or even if he did, would he hazard the chance of being subjected to severe punishment and privations by making a complaint against his master.—AM. ED.

* See Colonial Acts of Jamaica, St. Vincent's, Grenada, &c.

† P. 47, "West Indies as they are."

his hut, then to cook and eat his evening's meal; and after a brief repose to be summoned again to the field. In this daily toil it must be remembered that he works under the constant impulse of the whip, or the dread of it; that females are equally compelled to this drudgery, and the weak as well as the strong. Nor is it likely that in such cases the drivers or managers would be very forward to admit the plea of weakness, or of indisposition; on the contrary, they naturally lean to the side of suspecting that the plea is a fictitious one, framed to escape labor. Does not Major Moody himself, one of the ablest advocates of the planters and their system, admit the excessive toil of field slaves, when he contends that nothing but constant coercion can produce this labor?

But the severity of their toil is greatly increased during a considerable part of the year. In crop-time (varying in its duration from four to five or six months) the law places no limit to the hours of labor, except that it interdicts the sugar-mill on Sundays; but even this provision for rest on the Sabbath, there is too much reason to believe, is not always observed. The Rev. Mr. Bickell says, that "the crop-time generally lasts from Christmas to June or July." The Rev. Mr. Cooper states that where he was situated it continued five months; and that "the plan that was followed on Georgia estate, was to begin the manufacture of sugar on Sunday evening, and to continue it, generally without intermission, either day or night, till about midnight the following Saturday; when the work stops

for about eighteen or twenty hours, to commence again on the Sunday evening. In order to prevent any interruption of this process during the week, the slaves capable of labor are, with some necessary exceptions, divided into two gangs, or spells, which, besides being both fully occupied in the various occupations of the plantation during the day, are engaged the *whole of the night*, on alternate nights, in the business of sugar making.* Their labor during crop-time is thus equal to six days and three nights in the week. And in the exaction of this labor no distinction is made between men and women: both are subject to the same unvarying rule.† In some cases, it appears, that, instead of working the whole of alternate nights during crop-time, they work the half of every night. Can it excite surprise, that, with such labor as this, the mortality among the slaves is such as to be continually diminishing their number?

Nor are the slaves exempt from considerable hardships as to their food and manner of living.‡—Can it be supposed, that, in addition to the vegetables of his own raising, a few herrings weekly, or two pounds of salt fish, are sufficient to sustain a man under all this

* The same practice is said to prevail in Louisiana in crop-time.—AM. ED.

† “Negro Slavery,” p. 48.

‡ The law of Louisiana provides that the slave shall have for food, one pint of salt, and a barrel of Indian corn, rice or beans every month. In North Carolina a quart of corn per day is deemed sufficient.—AM. ED.

labor in the open air in such a climate? Besides, after the fatigue of what is equal to six days and three nights of labor in the week, during crop-time, will not many a slave be inclined to enjoy a little rest for his wearied frame, on the only day on which he can cease from toil, even to the neglect of his provision grounds, which may be several miles distant? And, indeed, what alternative can there be, throughout the whole of the year, but that of either laboring for himself on the day of rest, or living on short allowance? I have already shown you, that in some of the colonies, where they have not provision grounds, the quantity of food prescribed by law is not equal to the jail allowance of Jamaica. And as to these legal allowances, Mr. Stephen has, in his "Delineation of the Slavery of the West Indies," adduced undeniable proof that they are in many, if not in most cases, but a dead letter.* In the petitions of 1811, and 1823, the Assembly of Jamaica—and what can be higher authority for the fact?—declare, that, owing to the general distress of the planters, their slaves are in danger of "absolute want;" that they cannot give to them their usual "comforts" and "remuneration"—(what these usual comforts and remuneration are, we have already seen;)—and therefore they apprehend, from their "rage and despair," a general revolution. That is, that their half-famished slaves will rise on them, through the miseries of starvation. Who, of all the friends of abolition, ever gave a stronger representation

* Pp. 99, 100.

than this, supposing it to be true, of the miseries to which the slave population are liable through a deficiency of food and other comforts? For how should this be, if the masters did not withhold from their slaves the time necessary for raising food?

There are, no doubt, attorneys, overseers, and managers, whose humanity, though not personally interested in the welfare of the slaves, may induce them to treat the infirm and diseased with kindness; yet what must become of the weak and sickly when this is not the case? Dr. Williamson, who lived for some years in Jamaica, on an estate of the Earl of Harewood, with reference to the labor of the healthy being imposed on those who are weakly and unable to bear it, observes, that "it is too true that due consideration is not sometimes given to this point." * The same author also affords proof, that, whatever may be the humane intentions of proprietors, the inconsiderate, not to say inhuman, conduct of those who have the management of the slaves, sometimes occasions increased illness to the sickly Negro, and even loss of life.

The *punishments* to which they are ever subject, form a terrible item in the catalogue of the slaves' miseries. I do not here mean punishments inflicted by magisterial authority, but those to which they are liable from their task-masters, at their mere caprice, without any trial, and for any or for no offence. The owner has an almost

* "Medical and Miscellaneous Observations relative to the West India Islands," vol. ii. p. 223.

unlimited power of punishment* over his slaves, both male and female. Till of late years, indeed, the killing or dismemberment of a slave, by his owner, was in several of the colonies either not punished at all, or by a small fine, or short imprisonment. The number of lashes has been reduced in a few instances, but in general it is limited by law to thirty-nine † by the owner or manager, and to a less number by the driver. Even in the boasted Acts of amelioration, which profess to restrain the masters' power of arbitrary punishment, there are terms introduced which render the whole nugatory, or nearly so; such as, "on the same day"—"for the same fault"—"at the same time"—or "until the slave shall have recovered from the effects of any former punishment."

But, besides this power of the owner or manager, for the employment of which no one has a right to call him to account; the driver possesses also the power of summary punishment, and, besides the presence and actual infliction of the lash as a mere stimulus to exertion, as a waggoner stimulates the horses of his team, not un-

* The punishment which may be inflicted in the slave states in the United States may be said to depend upon the caprice or will of the master or overseer. The mode of punishment, and the number of stripes is in some cases fixed by law, but the exclusion of slave testimony, and the fear on the part of the slave of making complaint against the overseer would render such laws a dead letter.—AM. ED.

† A member of the Jamaica legislature declared, as we have already noticed, that thirty-nine lashes with the whip can be made more grievous than five hundred with the cat.

frequently exercises that power. If the Negroes are late in the field in the morning, or after dinner, he may inflict the lash, within certain limits, on their bare bodies, whether they be men or women.* If they flag in their work, through idleness, or weakness, or fatigue, the driving whip may be employed to quicken them. Dr. Collins, who was himself a planter, says that "it is generally bestowed with rigor on the weakest of the gang, and those who are so unfortunate as not to be in favor with this sub-despot."† "If any offend more than ordinarily, Master Driver, who has almost unlimited power, takes him or her from the ranks, and, having two or three strong Negroes to hold the culprit down, lays on lashes with all his might. Thirty-nine is the number specified by law, beyond which even a white man cannot legally go in one day;" (and ten the number a driver may inflict by his own authority;) "but I have seen a black driver lay on, most unmercifully, upwards of forty at one time, whilst his fellow-slave was crying out for mercy, so that he could be heard a quarter of a mile from the spot."‡ And no wonder that such would be his cries, since Mr. Cooper, in the work already referred to, says that "each lash, when the skin is tender, and not rendered callous by repeated punishments, makes an incision on the parts to which it is applied, and thirty or forty such lashes leave them in a

* See testimony of the Rev. T. Cooper, "Negro Slavery," p. 60.

† Quoted by Mr. Stephen in the work before mentioned, p. 53.

‡ Rev. R. Bickell, *ut sup.* p. 13.

dreadfully lacerated and bleeding state. Even those that have become the most callous cannot long resist the force of this terrible instrument, when applied by a skilful hand, but become also raw and bloody: indeed, no strength of skin can withstand its reiterated application." * Dr. Williamson, already quoted, who was an advocate for the colonial system, observes to the same effect: "If, in a warm day, we pass by a gang when they are uncovered behind, it is a reproach to every white man to observe in them the recently lacerated sores, or the deep furrows which, though healed up, leave the marks of cruel punishment." † If it were necessary, many other testimonies might be adduced to the same purpose.

Besides this mode of punishment, there are stocks on the estate, in which, at the pleasure of the overseers or managers, the slaves are put for any length of time; frequently working by day with the gang in the field, and being confined in the stocks all night. They may also be sent, without any order of a magistrate, to the workhouse, or jail; and there ordered, besides being worked in pairs chained together by the neck during the period of their confinement, to receive thirty-nine lashes at their going in and at their coming out. Sometimes a whole gang may be seen thus fastened together, with a driver attending them. Such power can scarcely fail of being abused to cruel purposes; and many affecting instances of this kind might be adduced, to corrobo-

* P. 61.

† Referred to in "Negro Slavery," p. 83.

rate those narrated by Mr. Cooper in pp. 63, 64, of the work from which we have already made quotations.

We shall now call as a witness, an officer of one of the colonies appointed for the protection of the slaves, but not having, apparently, any very favorable leaning towards them. Let the Fiscal of Berbice step forward. —The following extracts are [from the minutes of this officer; which were laid before the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed by them the 23d of June, 1825. The papers are official, and the facts recent.

“Complaint of the woman Minkie, belonging to Thomas C. Jones:—Says, Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday; after I got home he sent me to Mr. Henry; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman; I do not know his name, but he lives in town; they both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner; he said no, he would put me down and cut me,* and would give me more than the law gives. I was then laid down, and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart-whip; I got a severe flogging; I saw Mr. Layfield at his door with another gentleman; and Mr. Kerschner, the baker, saw it from his window. Mr. Jones bought me from Mr. Logie, of Demerara. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me, old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.

“Exhibits *the wounded parts*,* which are covered

* Other words are here substituted for the expressions in the Fiscal's report, for decency's sake.

with a plaister, by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree that the court judged it expedient to direct her not to uncover it.

“Mr. Jones said he *had* flogged her, and broke her mouth for her insolence. He had thirty-nine laid on her, and *they were well inflicted*. When he sent for her, he had no intention of flogging her; but after sending her to three persons for sale, and not succeeding, he told her, she had often deserved a flogging; he then directed her to be flogged, and that they should be well laid on, which was done.”

What an affecting instance is this of the miseries * to which those unhappy beings are subject, who are so entirely at the mercy of haughty, capricious, or passionate owners! Here is a female whose body is lacerated to that degree that the court could not endure to behold it; and for what dreadful crime? The author of this cruelty does not even pretend that there was any, or that it was necessary that any charge of guilt should be substantiated to justify the infliction of these lacerations on a helpless female: he does not hesitate to declare that they were at his order “well inflicted;” and that he had done more than she complained of, he had

* Numerous instances of atrocious barbarities committed upon Slaves in the Southern States, are given by authors upon this subject. It is almost the necessary result of Slavery—the subjection of one race of men to the irresponsible control of another, who are led to consider them as brutes, as far as suffering is to be inflicted upon them, but as men so far as they are to be held accountable for their conduct.—AM. ED.

“broken her mouth”—and why? because he had sent her, being probably in want of money, to three persons for sale, who did not choose to take his offer! And this is the way Mr. Jones takes to soothe his irritation. But when he beholds what he has done in cold blood, he has no visitings of compunction; he seems actually to glory in it, and to look with haughty and indignant scorn on any appearance of interference! And what could these magistrates do to help this wretched female? There was no evidence to show that her master had gone beyond the number of stripes which the law then allowed.* She must again return, and be completely in the power of the same ruthless and vindictive being, with the recollection on his mind that she had dared to call him before a magistrate.—We do not say that all actually receive this treatment, but this is the treatment to which all are subject, and without any violation of colonial law.

The following case also deserves notice: it is taken from the same official report.—Mrs. Saunders, a widow lady, who had been twice cited before the Fiscal, appears before him again on the 8th of September, 1823, to answer to the complaint of the Negro David: “That he is too much punished with the whip and tamarind rods; that he is employed to work in the kitchen, garden, and also to cook; that he is swollen, and the soles of his feet flogged with tamarind rods; that his mis-

* Since that period, the law of Berbice has fixed the number at twenty-five.

tress says he is lazy, which is the cause of his being flogged; he was flogged with the whip lately; he has a beating at his heart, the cause of his illness; his *body* (I veil the indecent expressions employed in the original) shows that he has been lately punished, not to any excess, but the punishment much neglected. Soles of his feet examined; show no marks of punishment. The Negro appears to be in a dropsy, and as such is treated by the doctor who has the charge of the barracks."

The son of this lady undertakes to defend his mother. He says, "that the Negro is a very bad character;" "that little or no work is done by him, for on the least harsh word he runs away: he is a constant runaway. My mother will not allow him to be flogged, because *he bears the marks of former punishment so evidently*. He did receive a slight punishment for running away; this punishment was inflicted by two small boys with tamarind rods, and it was to endeavor to shame him. My brother brought him to town five days ago, to cook, and why he has run away I do not know. *He was flogged by said boys under his feet with tamarind rods, on account of his back being cut up.*"

Here it is evident that the Negro is ill, is treated as such by the doctor, and appears to the Fiscal "to be in dropsy." There are, nevertheless, evident marks of recent punishment, which the Fiscal does not think was excessive, though "the punishment" had been "*much neglected*." What do these colonial terms mean? Is it not the gashes and wounds were such as needed sur-

gical aid, but they had not received it? But so habituated had the Fiscal been to such scenes, that, in his judgment, the punishment was not "to any excess!" Observe too, the manner in which the son of this lady pleads her cause. Not only is the propensity of this diseased slave to make his escape adduced, but the clemency of his mistress is also pleaded: she will not, in her humanity, allow him to be flogged, because—"he bears the marks of former punishment so evidently!" He was flogged under his feet with tamarind rods—"on account of his back being cut up!" Such are the tender mercies of a female slave owner!

The manager of the plantation Providence, it appears, on one occasion laid a Negro on the ground with two drivers over him, who gave him fifty lashes. His innocence being afterwards proved, he went to the manager for redress: the manager told him, "If you do not hold your tongue, I will put you in the stocks." He then went to his owner, Mr. Henry, who answered, "I cannot help it; it is not my fault; the punishment you had was the manager's fault." As he could get no redress from either master or manager, he came to the Fiscal. The manager endeavored to justify himself; admitting that he had flogged him, but only to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, (the number allowed by law for any or for no offence,) and confined him in the stocks every night for a week.—And what was the redress which the suffering Negro obtained? The Fiscal, whose office it was to protect the slaves, *reprimanded* the manager for punishing a Negro on such slight grounds!

We shall, in this place, adduce only one more fact from the Berbice Fiscal's official reports. Mr. Grade, the manager of l'Esperance, is charged by the slaves with various acts of severity. A pregnant woman, named Rosa, was employed picking coffee with some other women. Thinking they did not pick enough, or well, Mr. Grade ordered the driver Zondag to flog them. The driver did so. Rosa had previously objected to working, as being too big, and being unable to stoop; but the manager overruled the objection, and she went to pick the coffee on her knees. When Zondag came to her, he said to the manager, "This woman is big with child!" The manager replied, "Give it to her till the blood flies out." She was flogged with the whip doubled. This was on Friday. She was sent to the field on Saturday, but, being seized with pains in her loins, was sent thence to the hospital. The doctor examined her and ordered her to field again. The consequences were such on the Sunday, as might be expected; dreadful indeed, but I forbear to mention them. The driver Zondag, and several others confirmed the above statement. The driver being particularly asked, whether, on his representing that Rosa was pregnant, the manager had used the expression, "Never mind, flog her till the blood comes," replied, "Yes."

These are only a few cases out of the long and horrible list from one colony only.* In the Mauritius,

* The reader will find a much larger selection in a pamphlet entitled "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain," and in the An-

which is much further removed from the observation of the mother country, atrocities have been perpetrated to which all that has yet been mentioned is "as nothing and vanity!" But I will not harrow up your feelings by a recital of the inhuman, the diabolical cruelties, the multiplied lashes, the ponderous chains, the barbarous mutilations; the slow murders, and all the horrors which brand with eternal infamy the slave system of that island, and those who administer it.*

Allow me to adduce one more fact from another quarter, in proof of the misery to which slaves are exposed from the arbitrary punishments of their owners: it is taken from a dispatch of Mr. Secretary Huskisson to the Governor of the Bahamas, dated 28th September, 1827.—

I have received your despatch of the 3d July last, transmitting the minutes of evidence on the trial of Henry and Helen Moss, suggesting certain considerations in their favor, and recommending a remittal of the fine which formed a part of the sentence.

"These persons have been found guilty of a misdemeanor, for their cruelty to their slave Kate; and those facts of the case, which are proved beyond dispute, appear as follows:

"Kate was a domestic slave, and is stated to have

ti-Slavery Reporters, No. 5 and 16, from which the above cases have been extracted.

* See No. 44 of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, which contains statements from official papers, and from living witnesses, enough to make one's blood run cold.

been guilty of theft; she is also accused of disobedience, in refusing to mend her clothes and do her work, and this was the more immediate cause of her punishment. On the 22d of July, 1826, she was confined in the stocks, and she was not released till the 8th of August following, being a period of seventeen days. The stocks were so constructed that she could not sit up or lie down at pleasure, and she remained in them night and day. During this period she was flogged repeatedly, one of the overseers thinks about six times; and red pepper was rubbed upon her eyes, to prevent her sleeping. Tasks were given her, which, in the opinion of the same overseer, she was incapable of performing; sometimes because they were beyond her powers, at other times because she could not see to do them, on account of the pepper having been rubbed on her eyes; and she was flogged for failing to accomplish these tasks. A violent distemper had been prevalent on the plantation during the summer. It is in evidence, that one of the days of Kate's confinement she complained of fever, and that one of the floggings which she received was the day after she had made the complaint. When she was taken out of the stocks she appeared to be cramped, and was then again flogged. The very day of her release she was sent to field labor, (though heretofore a house servant,) and on the evening of the third day ensuing was brought before her owners, as being ill and refusing to work, and she then again complained of having fever. They were of opinion that she had none then, but gave directions to the driver, if she should be ill, to bring her to them for medicines in

the morning. The driver took her to the Negro-house, and again flogged her ; though at this time, apparently without orders from her owners to do so. In the morning at seven o'clock she was taken to work in the field, where she died at noon.

"The facts of the case are, thus far, incontrovertibly established ; and I deeply lament, that, heinous as the offences are which this narrative exhibits, I can discover no material palliation of them among the other circumstances detailed in the evidence."

A bill of indictment for murder was preferred against Mr. and Mrs. Moss ; the grand jury threw it out. The Attorney-general preferred two other bills, for misdemeanors ; one against Mrs. Moss, the other against Mr. Moss and his wife ; upon both of which a verdict of guilty was returned. And what was the condign punishment for such fatal cruelty ? Five months' imprisonment, and a fine of 300*l.* currency!—But it may be said, that the misconduct of one or two does not prove any thing against the whole. But the witnesses who deposed to the character of Mr. and Mrs. Moss represent them as standing high for humanity among slave-owners. The most respectable people of the island petitioned for a mitigation of their punishment, visited them in prison, did every thing to identify themselves with them, and finally, on their liberation from jail, gave them a public dinner as a matter of triumph !

Enough has been said on this part of the subject, and on authority which cannot be disputed. We shall now consider the condition of the enslaved Negro in another

view; not with reference to his master only, but *in his relation to society at large*. And here again the evils of the system stand out in dreadful prominence.

There is in these colonies a complete inequality of law and right. What is right in the one is wrong in the other; what is tolerable in the white, is punished in the black; what is a venial fault in the master, is highly criminal in the slave; and criminality and punishment have a relation to the different offenders precisely the reverse of what they have in all other cases. In the laws of God, and in all human laws which are founded on justice, superior advantages render men more responsible, and, of course, give to their bad actions a higher degree of criminality; but here the educated White is considered in the eye of the law as less guilty, and the poor ignorant Black the greater delinquent. The law is fastidiously delicate in punishing the master, but ruthless and vindictive when the slave is concerned. Till of late years the slave was liable to the punishment of death for almost every thing: he might, in some colonies, be mutilated by the act of running away from severe usage: for endeavoring by force to break his chains, he might be burnt alive by inches, or hung up to perish in a cage.* Mr. Stephen mentions†

* This actually took place in Jamaica: see "Edwards's Hist. of the W. Indies," vol. ii. b. iv. ch. 3. One was slowly burnt; and of the other two that were gibbeted, one lingered till the eighth day, the other till the ninth.

† "Slavery of the Brit. W. India Colonies delineated," vol. i. p. 309, note.

that when he was in Barbadoes he was present at a trial for murder, in the event of which two Negroes, convicted of the offence, were burnt alive.* At that very time and place had the White man, for whose death they suffered, murdered† either of them, he would have been subject to a fine of 15*l.* currency; that is about 11*l.* sterling.

It is true, that the agitation of the subject in Parliament, owing to the efforts which were made to procure the abolition of the slave trade, and the public attention which has since that period been directed to the state of the colonies, have produced many alterations in these shameless, brutal, penal statutes;‡ but, unfortunately, the same spirit of a most unequal distribution of justice pervades even the recent meliorating Acts. Let a few specimens suffice.

* Mr. Jeffries, a Master in the Navy, gave evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons that he was present at the execution of seven Negroes for the murder of a White man, in Tobago, in 1774; whose right arms were chopped off: they were then dragged to seven stakes, and a fire, consisting of trash and dry wood, was lighted about them, and they were burnt to death;

† According to Stroud, in the United States, the wilful murder of a Slave, by whomever perpetrated, is at the present time, 1827, (though not until recently,) punishable by death; but the difficulty is in procuring evidence, Slave testimony not being admissible. The law is therefore necessarily in many cases inoperative.—AM. ED.

‡ That the usages in the colonies fully equalled, and even exceeded, the inhumanity of their laws, see "Abstract of Evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in the Years 1790 and 1791," pp. 52 to 89.

In the new slave law of the Bahamas of 1824, it was enacted, §§ 52—54, that a slave aiding a slave to depart from the Bahama islands shall suffer transportation, or *any other punishment not extending to life or limb*. A White committing the same offence shall forfeit 100*l.* and be imprisoned for not more than twelve months.—§ 17. A person wantonly or cruelly treating a slave is liable to be punished by *fine or imprisonment*, or both, at the discretion of the court: and §§ 14, 15, The *wilful mutilation* of a slave is made liable to be punished by a fine *not exceeding* 100*l.* (currency,) and imprisonment *not exceeding* twelve months. But § 48, Any slave offering violence, by striking or *otherwise*, to any white person, shall be punished, at the *discretion of two justices*, with *any punishment short of life and limb*.

In the new consolidated and amended slave act of Barbadoes of 1826, it is enacted, § 27, that “any slaves guilty of quarrelling or fighting with one another; or of *insolent language or gestures to or OF any person*; or of *swearing, or uttering any obscene speeches*; or of *drunkenness*; or making, selling, throwing, or firing squibs, serpents, or other fire-works; or of cock-fighting or gaming; or of *riding on a faster gait than a walk*; or of *driving upon a faster gait than a gentle trot*, on any road, street, or lane of the island; or of cruelly whipping, beating, or ill-using any horse, mule, ass, or other cattle; or of *negligently driving* any waggon, cart, carriage, &c.; or of *ANY disorderly conduct or misbehavior*;—shall, on conviction before

any justice of the peace, be whipped *at his discretion*, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes."—Now contrast with this the provisions respecting the aggressions of a White man : * § 44 enacts, that any person who *wantonly* commits *cruelty* towards a slave, by whipping, bruising, or beating, &c. shall be fined, by any two justices, not less than 25*l.*, and not exceeding 100*l.*; and §45 subjects any white or free person maiming or dismembering a slave to be imprisoned not less than six months, and fined not less than £100, the interest of which is to be an annuity to the slave for life, and the slave to be transferred (not liberated) to some master of humane repute. Slaves† who *strike*, or *offer*, or *dare to strike*, or use *any*

* The following is a provision of the law of South Carolina, passed in 1740, and still unrepealed. "In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, *cruelly* scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment—(*otherwise than by whipping, or beating with a horsewhip, cowskin, switch or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such slave*) every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money."—AM. ED.

† Contrast now the punishment of the Slave for striking his master with that of the master abusing his slave, mentioned in the preceding note. It is the law in Georgia, "If any slave shall presume to strike *any* white man, such slave, upon trial and conviction before the justice, shall for the *first* offence suffer such punishment as the said justice thinks fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the second offence, *death*." The same is the law in South Carolina, excepting that death is there, the punishment of the *third* offence.—AM. ED.

violence towards their master or mistress, shall, for the first offence, suffer death without benefit of clergy, transportation, or such other punishment as the court may think fit to inflict; and for the second, death without benefit of clergy. And § 43, If any slave shall be killed in the *attempt* to maim or *injure* any white person, the person *killing* any such slave *shall not be punished for the same*, either criminally or otherwise.

What, indeed, could be expected from a system of legislation, when the oppressors make laws for the oppressed, slave-owners for the slaves? Who can seriously suppose that the habits and prejudices of those who are accustomed to slavery are favorable to the formation of a code of laws which shall effectually protect them from the overbearing tyranny of white men? Can it be reasonably expected, that a system which has its foundation in the perversion of all right should produce laws distinguished for their justice? “Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?” Did not the Speaker of one of these legislatures, (that of Barbadoes,) on lately passing a bill, which, professing to adopt reforms forced on them by the voice of the British people, nevertheless contained enactments that would disgrace the Barbary States, if they were to attempt to legislate on such a subject, congratulate the assembly on the monument of benevolence which they had reared, and for which they might anticipate the admiring gratitude of posterity?

It is no wonder, in such circumstances, that the administration of the laws is such as to shock all our ideas

of what is right and proper. The following cases are extracted from Jamaica newspapers.

“*Public Advertiser, Kingston, Jamaica, April 22d, 1825.*

“Sentence.—For manslaughter—The prisoner was put to the dock, and by his council, Mr. Recorder, pleaded his clergy. His honor then passed sentence:—‘You were indicted for the wilful murder of a female slave, but the jury only found you guilty of manslaughter. It appeared in evidence, that you were amusing yourself by discharging a loaded gun through the window of your dwelling-house; after some time, this gun was reloaded by one of your companions, and you proposed firing it over an assemblage of Negroes: he declined; when you POINTED OUT A NEGRO OF YOUR OWN PROPERTY, AND PROPOSED TO FIRE AT HIM: he again declined: you then renewed your proposal to fire it over the crowd; and upon his refusing, you seized the gun; the result was, that this female slave, who was sitting in the crowd, was shot, and the melancholy event was soon announced to you by *the cries and lamentations of her mother*. By your HEEDLESS CONDUCT you have hurried a fellow-creature out of existence, you have bereft a mother of a child, and you have affixed a stain upon your own character, which it will require a long life of prudence and humanity to obliterate. The humane jury who tried you, accompanied their verdict with a recommendation to mercy. We will give that recommendation its due weight, and not inflict the full extent of punishment upon you; we hope, however, that the punishment we shall inflict will act as a warning to others, and make a due impression on yourself.’ The prisoner was then sentenced to TWELVE MONTHS’ IMPRISONMENT.”

By the side of this, place the following notice, taken from the Royal Jamaica Gazette, June 11th to 18th, 1825. "Richard Price, a Wangee, marked REID on the right, and apparently H on the left shoulder; he was sentenced, at a slave court, to *twelve months' hard labor in the workhouse, for offering violence to a White person.*" *

On the 2d of March, 1826, Mr. Denman brought forward a motion, respecting *the trials of certain slaves in Jamaica, charged with conspiracy and rebellion.* In the debate which followed, the most gross and scandalous perversion of justice, in the trial and execution of many unhappy Negroes, was 'admitted on all hands; and though the original motion of Mr. Denman was not carried, the House came *unanimously* to the following resolution:—

"That this House sees, in the proceedings which have been brought under its consideration, with respect to the late trials of slaves in Jamaica, further proof of the evils inseparably attendant upon a state of slavery; and derives therefrom increased conviction of the propriety of the Resolutions passed by this House on the 15th of May, 1823."

It must have been no feeble impression, no slight conviction of the mal-administration of justice, which, in a House where the colonial interests are so strongly supported by members connected with the West Indies, and where the Ministers of the Crown have always mani-

* Copied from the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 9.

fested a leaning towards the planters' side of the question, could produce such a resolution without a dissentient voice.

What unprejudiced person could read the trial of Smith the Missionary, who was martyred by the *justice* of Demerara; and that of the poor slaves, some of whom were condemned to be hung, and others had what was represented as a merciful commutation of punishment, being doomed to receive a *thousand lashes*, and to work in chains for life, without shuddering at the cruel mockery of justice, which has left a stain of infamy on that colony, that ages will not wipe out?

It forms no small part of the evil which presses on the slave, that, whatever injury he receives from a white man, especially from his master, to whose power he is constantly subject, redress is very difficult, if not impracticable. It must be so from the very nature of his condition. If he receive an injury, to whom can he appeal? To the justices? They are all white men; most of them planters, whose education and habits strongly pre-dispose them in favor of their own caste.* Nor have they, in Jamaica at least, the advantage of a jury, except the offence for which they are tried subjects them to death, transportation, or hard labor for more than one year. They may be imprisoned, compelled

* See a very striking and affecting case of this kind mentioned by Mr. Bickell, who was present when some half-starved and cruelly mangled female Negroes and their children sought in vain redress from a sitting of magistrates. "West Indies as they are," pp. 28, 29, &c.

to work in chains, receive any punishment of the whip, short of life and limb, at the discretion of justices. But should they be tried by a jury, still it is a jury of White men, connected more or less with the planters, and whose sympathies are all in favor of their own class. The case, we may naturally suppose, must be strong indeed to produce a conviction in favor of the injured Black.

Another serious obstacle in the way of redress is, the inadmissibility of slave evidence. This, till very lately, was complete. The evidence of slaves against slaves was always admitted; and many have been put to death on no other testimony: but against white men it was of no avail.* The hardship of this was intolerable; the obstruction which it placed in the way of justice almost insuperable. An enraged slave owner had but to send his white dependants out of the way, and he might maim or murder to whatever extent his passion might carry him. How many deeds of cruelty and blood have thus been screened from the punishment of human laws, the great day of retribution only will reveal! "I know," said the Attorney-General of Tobago, "as a magistrate, cases of extreme cruelty that have passed unpunished for want of slave evidence." "It is very common, when they wish to be cruel, to send free persons out of the way. I have known many such cases." The Chief Justice of the same island, Mr. Pigott, testifies as fol-

* See "Slavery of W. Indies delineated," by Mr. Stephen, pp. 167, &c. &c.

lows: "A manager sent all free persons out of the way, and then gave a Negro one hundred and fifty lashes. The Negro was brought, in a state of which he might have died, to us, the sitting magistrates. We had no means of proving it. I proposed a bill to admit slave evidence, or to make the accused purge himself on oath. The bill was not approved." *

When Mr. Denman brought forward the motion already mentioned, in the House of Commons, on the 2d of March, 1826, he thus alluded to some cases † of

* Extracts from "A Report on the Civil and Criminal Justice of the West Indies," by Mr. Dwarries, quoted in the Third Report of the Anti-Slavery Society for 1825.

† In the United States there is no law regulating the punishment of the slave. It depends upon the discretion, caprice, or passion of the master. How far these are safe guides to supply the place of legal enactments, the following cases extracted from a recent publication upon Slavery may determine. It is probable that a large number of similar ones might be collected annually, if there were any means of doing it, and if the Southern press were not closed against the recital of such heart-rending instances of inhumanity and brutality.—AM. ED.

"A gentleman in this city saw a harness-maker in Charleston seize a leather tug or trace, containing a heavy iron eye in the end, and, with this instrument, held with both hands, draw several strokes over the body and head of a slave. The master was totally regardless whether the iron lit upon the head, or the eye, or the mouth of the slave. He cried out piteously that his master *would* kill him. The sight was too painful for an unaccustomed spectator, and the gentleman withdrew. This slave had been sent from the country by the sister of the person who so punished him, to be taught domestic service; and his offence was some slight awkwardness or trifling blunder in his new employment.*

"A clergyman of Kentucky declared that he had seen a mas-

* *Mr. Preston Shepard*, of Boston.

great atrocity, which had been publicly stated in the House of Assembly in Jamaica, during the discussion

ter whip repeatedly a *female* slave who was upwards of eighty years old, and who had been this master's 'mammy,' that is, had nursed him at her breast, in his infancy.*

"A gentleman who has been in North Carolina, has seen a *female* slave, who complained of illness, and refused to work, struck with the *blade* of a *paddle*, twelve or fifteen blows. Two hours after this treatment she was confined. The same gentleman saw a free negro tied to a tree, and a negress slave, who was attached to him, ordered to whip him. She refused, saying she loved him too well. The white men then tied her up and gave her 'five.' This overcame her resolution, and she consented to whip the man.†

"In derision, this tree was called 'the Lafayette tree.' The secret of this affair was, that the negress had been the mistress of one of these whites. Yet we are told that whites are elevated too much above negroes to feel resentment or revenge towards them.‡

"The Duke of Saxe Weimar states that a female slave was whipped at New Orleans by her mistress, that her lover was compelled to stand by and count off the lashes, and that she was afterwards publicly whipped by the magistrate. Her offence was, that, being engaged in some other duty, she had not started quite as quick to bring water to a lodger as he thought she should do. He struck her a blow in the face which made the blood run, and she, in sudden heat and resentment, seized him by the throat.§

"The Rev. Mr. Rankin details the case of a female slave in Kentucky, the mildest and freest of the slave States. Her master had purchased an article of furniture, which his wife, in the presence of a neighboring gentleman, had the misfortune to break. She laid this accident to the slave girl, when her husband made inquiry respecting it. He suspended the girl from the limb of a tree in a *manner* not to be described, and commenced the usual operation of whipping. Extreme torture drew from her a confession, but when the pain was eased, the poor girl returned to her first and honest denial, whereupon the whipping recommenced. Fortunately, the identical gentleman who was a witness of the accident, happened to be passing. He declared the truth, and rescued the girl.||

"Mr. William Ladd, known as a friend of colonization, and an

* MS. of Mr. Garrison.

† Mr. Francis Standin, of Boston.

‡ Murat. § Saxe Weimar's Travels. || Rankin's Letters, p. 103.

of a bill to admit, in a very qualified and restricted manner, the testimony of slaves.

“Another case, Mr. Stewart (the gentleman who brought forward the bill,) said was of very recent date. ‘In this town (Spanish Town) a white man, a monster of cruelty, concealed a female slave in a room, where, with a hot iron used for burning marks on cattle, he

opponent of this Society, and not likely, therefore, to exaggerate but rather to soften the harsh features of the system, alludes publicly to the following, among other horrors which he has witnessed: A gentleman of his acquaintance, was offended with a female slave. He seized her by the arm, and thrust her hand into the fire, and there he held it until it was burnt off. ‘I saw,’ said Mr. Ladd, ‘the withered stump.’*

“Mr. Sutcliff, an English Quaker, who travelled in this country, relates a case very like that of the Kentucky girl, only that the catastrophe was more shocking. A slave owner, near Lewistown, in the State of Delaware, lost a piece of leather. He charged a little slave boy with stealing it. The boy denied. The master tied the boy’s feet, and suspended him from the limb of a tree, attaching a heavy weight to his ancles, as is usual in such cases, to prevent such kicking and writhing as would break the blows. He then whipped; the boy confessed; and then he commenced whipping anew for the offence itself. He was a kind master, and never whipped the lad again, for *he died under the lash!* Then the slave-holder’s own son, smitten with remorse, acknowledged that *he* took the leather.†

“An honorable friend, who stands high in the state and in the nation, was present at the burial of a female slave in Mississippi, who had been whipped to death at the post by her master, because she was gone longer of an errand to the neighboring town, than her master thought necessary. Under the lash she protested that she was ill, and was obliged to rest in the fields. To complete the climax of horror, she was delivered of a dead infant before her master had completed his work!”‡

* *Mr. William Ladd’s Address* at the meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, Jan. 1833.

† *Sutcliff’s Travels in North America*, p. 177. See *Boston Calumet of Peace*, vol. 1. No. 12.

‡ The narrator of this fact is now absent from the United States, and I do not feel at liberty to mention his name.

disfigured and mutilated the poor creature, who was so unfortunate as to be in his power. He trusted to the effect of the law which prevented slaves from giving evidence; but it chanced that a young free man of color, suspecting what was going forward, peeped through a crevice, and saw the horrid scene. On his evidence the owner of the slave was convicted and punished.'"

"Another fact was related by Mr. Mais: 'There is one instance, which, because of recent occurrence, I must take leave to mention. It is the case of a female slave, who on her return home was met by a free man of color, who had been out shooting. A little dog, which accompanied her, barked, and probably might have snapped at the man. This irritated him, and he threatened to shoot the dog: the woman, alarmed for his safety, called out, 'Oh don't shoot him; don't shoot my dog;' upon which the man turned angrily upon her, and said, 'Not shoot him? I'll shoot you, if you say much,' and with little ceremony lodged the contents of his piece in her side. This was in the face of day, in the presence of many persons, but who, being slaves, were not qualified to give testimony on the occasion, and the offender escaped.'"

In the Crown colonies, and in Grenada, and Tobago, slave evidence is now admitted. In any of the other colonies the pretended concession of the right is so extremely partial, and is attended with so many conditions and restrictions, as entirely to nullify every benefit to be derived from such a provision.

It must also be taken into the account, that on the

poor slave's application to a magistrate for redress, though thus trammelled with respect to evidence, *he is liable to receive a very severe flogging, in addition to the injury of which he complains*, should he fail to prove his complaint to the satisfaction of the magistrate. In that case, he is not only replaced, with the mortification of unredressed grievances, under the despotism of an owner or overseer incensed against him by the very circumstance of his complaining, but may return bleeding under additional punishment for having had the temerity to complain.

A document appeared in the daily papers in October 1823, which Mr. Stephen notices in his "Delineation of Slavery," purporting to be "an official notification, by Sir Ralph Woodford, Governor of Trinidad, of his having punished two Negro slaves, one with seventy-five and the other with a hundred lashes, for a complaint against their master, which that Governor says he had, upon investigation, proved to be groundless; and he ordered these tremendous punishments to be inflicted, in the presence of deputations of ten slaves from each of the neighboring estates, for the express purpose of deterring them from like offences." *

In the returns of the Fiscal of Berbice, from which extracts have been already made, there are several instances of this kind: some are ordered to receive fifty lashes, and others seventy-five, for venturing to appear before him, when they could not establish to his satis-

* In a note to p. 115, vol. i.

faction the truth of their complaints. We shall only however, give the particulars of one case, in which the decision of this gentleman appears somewhat curious. It is from the plantation Port Moraunt, dated 27th March, 1823.

“Ness states, That he is the driver over the women, and the manager asked him last Sunday why he did not go to work; and he answered that he had not been ordered to do so, or he would have gone to work, as he did not wish to do any thing without the manager's orders. The manager then offered to flog him; but he made his escape, and came to your Honor for redress.

“The complainant in this instance was *punished* by the acting Fiscal for having left the estate and come to town *to complain without any cause*, and when he had been guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty; and the manager was *warned* of the *impropriety and illegality* of working the Negroes on Sunday.”

What an instructive illustration is this, of the probability of an injured slave's obtaining redress, and the encouragement which he has to seek it! First, we perceive that the slave has no right to question either the morality or legality of whatever a manager orders him to do; that to refuse to violate the laws of God and man, at the bidding of his employer, is “disobedience of orders,” which subjects him to the lash. Secondly, that to endeavor to escape from a severe and unjust punishment, threatened by the *manager*, subjects him to punishment from the *fiscal*;—that it is a flagrant crime to solicit the interposition of the *Protector of*

Slaves to save him from undeserved torture;—that, if he wishes to seek redress, he must suffer all that enraged passion may inflict, in order to entitle him to complain. And lastly, that, when the white master has acted in open violation of the Divine laws, as well as those of the colony, he is *warned* only of the “impropriety and illegality of the act,” while he receives a guarantee, in the flogging of the complainant, that he may henceforth work his Negroes on Sundays with impunity; for what slave, after this would remonstrate? Thus the slave is punished for appealing to the laws which are made to protect him, and the master is rewarded for breaking them. So much for colonial justice and slave protection!

There is another class of sufferings at which we shall briefly glance, which arises from those social feelings which the God of nature has imparted to man. Depressed and degraded as is the condition of the slave, he is still susceptible of strong affection and ardent attachment. In his native Africa, and in his state of exile and of bondage, the Negro is allowed to possess a considerable share of sensibility. Gratitude to a benefactor, attachment to a friend, love to the woman of his choice, (though the law has long refused to her the sanctions of a wife,) filial affection, and tender regard for his offspring, still remain to him, amidst all the vices which his enslaved condition has engendered: but in all his social feelings, he is exposed to the keenest misery by this wretched system. If he has a wife, he dares not protect her from the driver’s lash, from cruel and indecent punishment, or from the white man’s outrage.

If he has daughters, he dares not defend them from brutality and violence. If he murmur, there is the tormenting lash: if he resist, it is death!

And besides this, there are the separations* to which they are liable, by which the nearest ties may be burst

* The following cases of painful separation, are given by Professor Andrews, in his book upon Slavery in the United States. p. 111.—AM. ED.

"A negro, about twenty-five years old, who is married, and has three or four children, has just applied to my informant, stating that he is to be sold immediately to a slave-dealer, and separated forever from his family, unless he can find some resident in the District who will consent to purchase him. He is a member of a church in this city, and has uniformly sustained a Christian character. His master wishes to raise a few hundred dollars, which he has not the means of doing conveniently, without the sale of one of his slaves. Now it happens that the purpose for which this money is to be raised is well known, and is no other than to purchase a mulatto woman, with whom he is known to be criminally connected. As if even this were not a sufficient provocation to the moral sense of the community, there is an aggravation arising from the motive which determined the master to sell the slave of whom I am speaking, rather than any other. He had endeavored to employ this slave in bringing other colored women into the same relation to him as the mulatto woman whom I have mentioned, but here the servant felt that he had a Master in heaven, whom he was bound to obey, rather than his earthly master. His refusal had greatly irritated his master, and led to his being selected for sale.

"A poor woman is now residing in this city, who, together with her two children, was, some years since, separated from her husband, and brought to this place, in order to be shipped for Georgia. In her distraction at being separated from her husband, she leaped from an upper window, and falling upon the pavement, her limbs were broken in a shocking manner. She is a helpless cripple, but in her affliction she has applied to the great Physician, who heals the maladies of the soul, and is now waiting in the confident hope, that she shall meet again her dear children, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

asunder. On the estates of wealthy proprietors this, perhaps, occurs less frequently ; but in other cases, what is to prevent its daily occurrence ? One of a family may be seized and sold for debts or taxes—it may be a husband, wife, father, mother, or child ;—or a needy slave-holder may be pinched for money. How affecting is the relation of Mr. Gilgrass, one of the Methodist missionaries.—

“ A master of slaves who lived near us in Kingston, Jamaica, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel ; and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them, or for us. This man wanted money ; and one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This ‘turned her heart within her,’ and impelled her into a kind of madness. She howled night and day in the yard ; tore her hair ; ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, ‘ *Da wicked massa, Jew, he sell me children. Will no buck-ra massapity Nega? What me do? Me no have no child!*’ As she stood before my window, she said ‘ *My Massa,*’ (lifting up her hands towards heaven,) ‘ *do me Master Minister, pity me? Me heart do so,*’ (shaking herself violently ;) ‘ *me heart do so, because me have no child.*

Me go a massa house, in massa yard, and in me hut, and me no see em ;’ and then her cry went up to God. I durst not be seen looking at her.”

Mr. Bradnack, another missionary, says, “I know an instance of a Negro and his wife being sold to different islands, after living together twenty-four years, and raising a family of children.” *

One case more I beg leave to mention, which was stated at a public meeting by Mr. T. Pennock:—

“A few years ago, it was enacted, that it should not be legal to transport once established slaves from one island to another; and a gentleman owner, finding it advisable to do so before the Act came in force, the removal of a great part of his live stock was the consequence. He had a female slave, a Methodist, and highly valuable to him (and not the less so for being the mother of eight or nine children,) whose husband, also of our connexion, was the property of another resident on the island, where I happened to be at the time. Their masters not agreeing on a sale, separation ensued, and I went to the beach to be an eye-witness of their behavior in the greatest pang of all. One by one the man kissed his children, with the firmness of a hero, and, blessing them, gave as his last words—(oh! will it be believed, and have no influence upon our veneration for the Negro?) ‘Farewell! *Be honest and obedient to your master!*’ At length he had to take leave of his

* “A Defence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in the West Indies,” &c. by the Rev. R. Watson, pp. 25, 26.

wife: there he stood (I have him in my mind's eye at this moment,) five or six yards from the mother of his children, unable to move, speak, or do any thing but gaze, and still to gaze, on the object of his long affection, soon to cross the blue wave forever from his aching sight. The fire of his eyes alone gave indication of the passion within, until, after some minutes' standing thus, he fell senseless on the sand, as if suddenly struck down by the hand of the Almighty. Nature could do no more; the blood gushed from his nostrils and mouth, as if rushing from the terrors of the conflict within; and amid the confusion occasioned by the circumstance the vessel bore off his family forever from the island! After some days he recovered, and came to ask advice of *me*! What could an Englishman do in such a case? I felt the blood boiling within me, but I conquered. I browbeat my own manhood, and gave him the humblest advice I could afford."*

These agonizing separations cannot now take place, it is true, by a removal to another island, except by an evasion of the law; but they may still be repeated by a transfer to another owner, in some distant part of the same colony, so that the parties thus severed may never meet again.

In fact, their whole state is that of complete degradation; and the manner in which they are treated is assimilated, as much as possible, to that of cattle. We

* Newcastle Courant, May 2, 1829.

can scarcely conceive of a lower state of debasement than that to which the Negro slave is reduced. What is it which constitutes the great distinction between man and the brutes that perish? The elephant is stronger, the horse is fleet. He has not the eye of the eagle, nor the scent of the hound; but he has a *mind*—an immaterial spirit, an immortal soul. This intellectual principle is capable of acquiring knowledge on every subject, and of extending its knowledge perpetually; of judging what is right and wrong in human conduct; of governing the appetites of the body; of searching into the wonders of nature; of interchanging its ideas with others for mutual benefit; of perceiving the glories of the Creator, the wonders of Redeeming Mercy, of holding intercourse with “the Father of our spirits,” and of being prepared, by a course of instruction and moral discipline, for the sublime enjoyments of the heavenly state. By the communication of knowledge, the powers of the mind are brought into activity, and by this exercise acquire additional strength; but without this, the mind lies dormant; the man sinks into a mere animal, with barely sufficient glimmerings of reason to supply the want of those instincts, which guide the brute creation to the accomplishment of the purposes of their existence. “For the soul to be without knowledge is not good.” But what means are taken to instruct and educate the British slave?*

* In the United States, the same policy is pursued of keeping the Slaves in a state of utter ignorance.—AM. ED.

few plantations a little is done—alas! how little; in the vast majority of instances nothing, and worse than nothing. How can it be otherwise, since the children at five or six years old are commonly sent to work in gangs, under the terror of the whip or switch; and their whole future life is destined to unremitting toil, without even the privilege of the Christian Sabbath free from their provision-grounds or market.

The building of more churches, which are still very inadequate for the population, and the appointment of curates, in Jamaica, seem to have done but little towards the instruction of the poor slaves. For, however willing the curates may be to instruct them, the planters appear to impede all their kind intentions of this nature. Mr.

“ South Carolina made the first law upon this subject. While yet a *province*, she laid a penalty of one hundred pounds upon any person who taught a slave to write, or allowed him to be taught to write. In Virginia, any school for teaching reading and writing, either to slaves, or free people of color, is considered *an unlawful assembly*, and may accordingly be dispersed, and punishment administered upon each pupil not exceeding twenty lashes.

“ In South Carolina, the law is the same.

“ The city of Savannah, in Georgia, a few years ago, passed an ordinance, by which ‘any person that teaches a person of color, slave or free, to read or write, or causes such persons to be so taught, is subjected to a fine of thirty dollars for each offence; and every person of color who shall teach reading or writing, is subject to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days and whipped thirty-nine lashes.’

“ From these facts it is evident that legislative power prevents a master from giving liberty and instruction to his slave, even when such a course would be willingly pursued by a benevolent individual. The laws allow almost unlimited power to do *mischiefs*; but the power to do *good* is effectually restrained.”—Mrs. Child’s Appeal, p. 58.

Stewart declares that “nine-tenths of the people are *in a state of utter ignorance of all religion.*” And, alluding to the provision made for the newly-appointed curates, he asks, “What, then, has been done, by this newly established order of clergy in Jamaica, in return for the generous encouragement of the Legislature? Little more than, as was predicted, to assist the rectors in the performance of those duties which they were well able to discharge without such assistance. The curates have, in fact, been accused of utter neglect and inefficiency in their offices, as far as regards the duties for which they were expressly appointed by the Legislature. It is but fair, however, to state what has been said in exculpation of them, which, if true, shifts much of the blame from them, and fixes it elsewhere. A writer in one of the public prints of this island (1820) complained that ‘the curates had done nothing in the way of their calling, except saving the rectors the trouble of performing the whole of *their proper and exclusive duties*—in other words, doing that which *is not*, and neglecting to do that which *is*, expressly required of them by the Legislature, namely, visiting the plantations, at stated times, for the purpose of baptizing and instructing the slaves in the Christian faith; *provided*, however, it is with the consent of their owners!’ In reply to this charge, another writer (supposed to be a clergyman) says, ‘Has he’ (the first-named writer) ‘allowed the curate of his parish an opportunity of discharging the functions of his office towards his Negro servants, agreeably to the tenor of the Act on which he lays so much

stress? If not, he has no reason to complain of neglect: if he has, *he is almost a solitary instance*, as, to my knowledge, some curates have applied to many proprietors, trustees, and managers of properties, expressing not only their willingness, but their desire, to be called upon to discharge the active duties of their office in the instruction of the ignorant slaves, *but in no single instance have their services been accepted*; and surely it cannot be expected that any man, who has a proper regard for himself, would intrude on the property of another, though for the most praise-worthy purposes, with the apprehension in view of being turned off it.'

"The allegation thus publicly brought forward by this apologist has not been satisfactorily replied to; and we must therefore conclude that there is a general disinclination on the part of the planters to have their slaves instructed in Christianity."*

In the year 1817 Mr. Cooper was sent, by a humane and wealthy proprietor resident in England, to his own estate in Jamaica, for the express purpose of instructing the slaves; but found such obstacles in the way, that, after some years' residence, he returned discouraged.

It will not, I trust, be deemed invidious to say, that perhaps most that has been done of this kind has been effected by missionaries sent out by the various religious societies not connected with the Church of England. Yet, through what difficulties has this been effected!

* "View of the past and present State of the Island of Jamaica, by J. Stewart, late of Jamaica," pp. 291, &c. Mr. Stewart, it will be recollected, is not an abolitionist.

Have they not been commonly opposed, slandered, persecuted, and had the greatest obstructions placed in their way? What bitter malignity was manifested towards the martyr of Demerara, who, if not brought to the stake, was destroyed by the miseries and horrors of his mock trials and captivity—buried like a traitor, and not even his wife allowed to attend his funeral. The outrages committed on the Methodists at Barbadoes, the persecuting acts of the Jamaica legislature, the death of one missionary in a loathsome dungeon, the imprisonment of others,* with a number of other things of a similar nature, all prove the aversion of the slave owners generally to the instruction and religious† education of the Negroes. What has been effected in instructing

* See the Appendix to the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for 1829.

† The same is the fact in the United States.—AM. ED.

“No places of public worship are prepared for the negro; and churches are so scarce in the slave-holding States, compared with the number of *white* inhabitants, that it is not to be supposed great numbers of them follow their masters to such places; and if they did, what could their rude, and merely sensual minds comprehend of a discourse addressed to educated men? In Georgia, there is a law which forbids any congregation or company of negroes to assemble themselves contrary to the act regulating patrols. Every Justice of the Peace may go in person, or send a constable, to disperse any assembly or meeting of slaves, which *may* disturb the peace, endanger the safety, &c., and every slave taken at such meetings may, by order of the justice, *without trial*, receive on the bare back twenty-five stripes with whip, switch, or cowskin. In South Carolina, an act forbids the police officers to break into any place of religious meeting before nine o'clock, provided a *majority* of the assembly are *white persons*; but if the quorum of white people should happen to be wanting, every slave would be liable to twenty-five lashes of the cowskin.”—Mrs. Child’s Appeal, p. 56.

these poor creatures has been partly by the permission of a few humane proprietors ; or by the indifference of others as to what the slaves did, provided they had their quantum of labor ; and notwithstanding the opposition of the planters generally. As far as the efforts of the great body of colonists are concerned, the slaves are kept in a state of brutal ignorance, and no legal provision whatever has been made for their instruction in any of the colonies.

Like cattle too they have been suffered, and even encouraged, to herd together ; not with the sanctity of marriage, but in promiscuous intercourse. Since the loud and deep reprobation of England has been heard across the Atlantic, there has been a show of patronising marriage ; but small indeed are the sanctions which the law affords to this state, and few are the encouragements which the Negro has to enter it. Some have taken wives of their own accord, and have been faithful ; this, however, appears to be the exception, rather than the rule.

In 1826, a document was printed by the House of Commons, called "Returns from the Slave Colonies," which embrace a period of five years, from January 1821, to December 1825. From these we find, that in Barbadoes, which contains about 80,000 slaves, only one marriage among them took place in these five years, and that none was ever celebrated there before. In Demerara, containing about 75,000 ; in Berbice, containing 22,000 ; in Tobago, containing 14,000 ; in the Virgin Islands, containing upwards of 5,000 ; there was

but one marriage among the slaves during that period. What must be the state of society, where nearly 200,000 human beings, male and female are herding together for five years with only one couple legally married ! By the returns from Jamaica it appears, that in eleven parishes, containing 173,000 slaves, sixty-eight marriages had taken place in these five years—that is, about thirteen in a year—in the other parishes, with but one exception, marriage had prevailed chiefly where the Methodist preachers had obtained a footing.* Thus, then, among the general mass of the slave population, that intercourse, which has been the substitute for marriage, has been, from one generation to another, almost as promiscuous as among herds of cattle.†

There is, indeed, a dreadful and debasing consistency in the whole of their treatment. They are, as we have already noticed, bought, and sold, and bred, and worked, and flogged, and branded, more like brute animals than human beings. If any thing is construed into insurrection, they are shot at, like wild beasts. If, having escaped, they make the least resistance, they may be cut down ; and if taken, are compelled to work in chains,

* See copious extracts from this document in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 19.

† This is one of the most hideous features of the system of Slavery, and it is as prominent in the American, as it was in the West Indian system. If there is any thing that should rouse the Christian, benevolent, patriotic people of this country, it is the appalling fact, that there are 2,250,000 human beings here, whose conjugal, parental, filial relations are set at nought.—AM. ED.

or are placed by night in the stocks; or may have a large collar fastened on their necks, like beasts which are accustomed to break through an enclosure, or to stray beyond their limits.

The following are extracts from a list of Run-aways, and Work-house Sales, copied "*verbatim et literatim*," by the Rev. R. Bickell from the Jamaica Journal, published Nov. 8, 1823.*

"RUN-AWAYS."

"In St. Andrew's Workhouse, Oct. 30.

"Betty, a Papa, 5 ft. 1 in. marked ISL on right shoulder, and has country marks on her face and breast, to James Seton Lane, Esq., Cool-shade, St Thomas's in the Vale.—Sept. 9.

"In Kingston Workhouse, Oct. 31.

"John Stephens, a likely young Creolé Negro man, 5 ft. 6 3-4 in. marked MI on left shoulder, has a large scar on the left side of his throat, and other scars between his shoulders and neck, to the estate of Mr. Mark, of Black River, Dec.—Aug. 5.

"In Morant Bay Workhouse, Oct. 16.

"Cudjoe, a Creole, 5 ft. 1 in. has marks of cutlass chops on his back, which he states to have received several years ago when taken up as a run-away, to Dr. Paulin, Grove, Manchester.—Oct. 12.

"Hannibal, a Creole, 5 ft. 1 1-2 in. has marks of cutlass chops on his shoulders and on right hand, which he states to have received several years ago, on being taken up as

* "West Indies as they are," pp. 38, &c.

a run-away, to Mr. Biggs, Endeavor Plantation, Manchester.—Oct. 12.”

In the Jamaica Royal Gazette, from Saturday, June 14th to Saturday, June 21st, 1823, from which Mr. T. Clarkson has made many extracts, there are advertisements of so many “prime Negroes, with” so many “head of stock;” of another lot “seized, together with a cart, by the Deputy Marshal,” for their master’s debts; run-away slaves, some branded, others chained together, and others with iron collars on at the time of their escape; some distinguished by their scars and flogging, and a girl by “the scars on her back and stomach from flogging.”

There is one consequence of this system, to which, in concluding this branch of the subject, I shall briefly advert; and that is, the mischiefs which it inflicts even on free Blacks and Persons of Color. The contempt with which they are treated, in proportion as their color approaches to that of the enslaved race, is notorious. No intercourse of equality can be held with them, whatever be their qualifications; no wealth, nor talents, nor virtue can remove the proscription.

There is also a presumption against the freedom of this persecuted race. If the written document be lost, the freedom purchased or bequeathed may prove of no avail. The free Black or Person of Color may be seized, and sold again to bondage: his captors have no need of proving that he is a slave; it is sufficient if he cannot, to the satisfaction of his White judges, prove his freedom. Hence it is no uncommon thing for ad-

vertisements to appear in the colonial papers, describing the person of a black, or colored man, who has been apprehended as a run-away, "who declares that he is free, but has no document to prove his freedom," and who, "if not claimed by such a time will be sold to pay expenses!" In the Returns already referred to there are notices of this kind.

In the parish of Westmoreland, on the 21st of August, 1821.—"John Williams, a Negro man, a pretended Curaçoa." No evidence of freedom produced. Sold from Workhouse in January.

In the parish of Port Royal.—"Joseph Franks, a black, committed as a run-away 9th October, 1821;" sold for payment of fees on 6th March, 1822, having no documents.

In the parish of Manchester.—"Eleanor Davison, committed July 22, 1824:" being able to produce no document whatever, or to adduce any kind of proof of her freedom, was ordered to be sold, according to law.

Such are the hardships to which even the free of African descent are exposed; and all who have any tinge of the Negro's skin are under the ban. Though they have escaped from the galling yoke, it has left its mark, which they are doomed perpetually to wear. The curse of slavery pursues them, and ceases not to torment and afflict them, as long as any memento remains that their ancestors were persecuted Africans. It is upon the enslaved Negro, that the full and central darkness of the eclipse rests; but the free Black and Color-

ed population are all involved in its penumbral shadows.*

We shall now proceed to notice the moral evil, the sin and iniquity connected with our colonial slavery. It is as fruitful of crime as it is of suffering. It is altogether a system of oppression, and cruelty, and injustice, in which virtue can find no place, or in which, if any good can be found, it is in opposition to its natural tendency.

First, if we regard its victims, what can be expected of them? Destitute of all instruction, worked like brutes, and punished more severely; crushed by the iron hand of oppression into the dust; having every thing to fear, and nothing to hope for; without any impelling motive but that of terror; with scarcely any possibility of enjoyment but what arises from his mere animal nature, what virtue can we look for in the poor slave? If his appetites and passions are checked, it is not by the operation of principle, but by the dread of corporeal punishment. Can any thing manly or generous be expected from those who are debased to the condition of brutes, who are kept in a state of perpetual and abject servility? Can we suppose that a very nice

* Slow as those, who have never informed themselves, may be to believe, it is the fact, that the above description of the cruelties of Slavery, as it was in the British West Indies, is strictly applicable, in all its parts, to the Slavery that is now enforced upon more than one sixth part of the population of this Republic.—
AM. ED.

sense of justice will be entertained by those who are constantly treated with injustice; who know it, and feel it; who see the White man sin with impunity, and the Black man often suffering without crime? Can we be so unreasonable, as to look for undeviating honesty and integrity in those who are conscious that they are the subjects of continued wrong, inflicted by those whom they regard as so much their superiors in knowledge? Are they not constantly taught by the conduct of White men, that power is right; and that, therefore, whatever they are able to do with impunity they have a right to do? Must they not feel that fraud and cunning are the only weapons with which they can engage the White man and obtain any advantage? Shall we then wonder, as we are told by all who know the Negro character, that, in the midst of all their ignorance, there is a shrewdness which seems natural to them; that the system of oppression under which they live cherishes the habits of falsehood and petty theft? Can purity and chastity exist in such circumstances as theirs, where there is no protection of the marriage union; where all are allowed to herd together as the beasts of the field, and have, in the conduct of the White men, so bad an example before their eyes? What means are used to enlighten their minds or form their morals? Can any plant of virtue vegetate without the light of knowledge and the culture of instruction? What are they suffered to know of Christianity, but its outward forms; and what impression must they receive of it from their Christian masters? Can they see any thing

in it which is attractive? What motives have they to embrace it? Ignorant alike of the doctrines and the duties, the Divine consolations and the holy precepts of Christianity, they remain Pagans in a Christian land, without even an object of idolatrous worship; "having no hope, and without God in the world." Let not, then, the abettors of slavery, who trample their fellow-creatures beneath their feet, tell us, in their own justification, of the degraded state, the abject minds, and the vices of the slaves: it is upon the system which thus brutifies a human being, that the reproach falls in all its bitterness.*

But the evil does not rest here: it has a re-action, which suffers neither the slave-owner nor his white dependents to escape with impunity. Such is the constitution of things, that we cannot inflict an injury without suffering from it ourselves. In doing good we receive good: he who blesses another benefits himself; but he who sins against his fellow-creature does his own soul a grievous wrong. The oppressor is, in reality, in a worse condition than the oppressed. If we rightly consider the case of those who administer this system, the scenes to which they have been familiarized from their infancy, the habits which they have formed, the preju-

* Let those of our readers, who would learn from an unquestionable source, that the degradation of *our* colored population is the effect of their social and moral disabilities, turn to the Report made in 1833, to the Presbytery of Bryan County in Georgia, by Thomas R. Clay—also to the Report of Rev. C. C. Jones to the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.—AM. ED.

dices which they have acquired, and the inevitable tendency of unlimited power to corrupt the human heart, we shall consider them as much the objects of pity, in a moral estimate, as the poor Negro. "Perhaps it is," says Mr. Birkbeck, "in its depraving influence on the moral senses of both slave and master, that slavery is most deplorable. Brutal cruelty, we may hope, is a rare and transient mischief; but the degradation of soul is universal. All America is now suffering in morals through the baneful influence of Negro slavery, partially tolerated, corrupting justice at the very source."

Mr. Fearon declares, in his *Sketches of America*, that "the existence of slavery in the United States has a most visible effect on the national character. It necessarily brutalizes the minds of the southern and western inhabitants; it lowers, indeed, the tone of humane and correct feeling throughout the Union, and imperceptibly contributes to the existence of that great difference which there exists between theory and practice."*

Mr. Jefferson, quoted by Lieutenant F. Hall in his "*Travels in Canada and the United States*," says, "There must, doubtless, be an unhappy influence on the manners of the people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man

* pp. 378, 379.

is an imitative animal. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his morals and manners undepraved in such circumstances." *

Who, indeed, with a knowledge of the human heart, could consider the peculiar character of modern slavery, independently of the facts which have been adduced, but must come to the conclusion that its influence on the moral character is most pernicious, and its tendency unequivocally demoralizing? To have an absolute possession of a hundred or a thousand human beings; to work them, punish them, dispose of them, as the owner lists; to have them trembling at his frown, crouching beneath his power, subservient to all his wishes, is more than human nature can endure without serious injury: in such circumstances I would not trust even a Howard or a Wilberforce. It must minister to some of the worst propensities of human nature: selfishness, pride, haughtiness, anger, revenge, a spirit of domination that cannot brook restraint and must not be crossed, seem to be its necessary results.

How can a correct sense of justice be maintained in the mind of a man who invades the natural rights of his fellow-men, claims them and theirs as his property, and treats them like his cattle?

* Notes, p. 241.

Must it not tend to destroy in a considerable measure the charities of our nature—at least greatly to impair those sensibilities and sympathetic affections which render us alive to the pleasures and the pains of our fellow-creatures? By being familiarized to scenes which at first shock us, we cease to feel; and by the repetition of acts which for a time offend our conscience, even our conscience may become “seared as with a hot iron.”

In a voluptuous climate, in a state of society in which but little regard is paid to marriage, in which the utmost subserviency is exacted, on the severest penalties, from every slave, male and female, is it not likely that sensual indulgences will prevail at the expense of virtue?

Is there any reason to conclude, that where, by universal consent, the sacredness of that day is violated which Christianity consecrates to Divine worship and religious instruction, religion itself can be much regarded?

Such would naturally be the reasonings, *a priori*, of any considerate mind, when reflecting on the tendencies of our slave system; and the conclusions to which they would lead us are supported by the testimony of enlightened and impartial men, and by the admissions even of those who are averse to its abolition.

Mr. Edwards, who in his History advances every thing which can extenuate the evils of West Indian slavery, observes, that “it very frequently happens that the lowest white person, considering himself as greatly superior to the richest and best educated free man of

color, will disdain to associate with a person of the latter description; treating him as the Egyptians treated the Israelites, with whom they held it *an abomination to eat bread.*"*

The Rev. R. Bickell affirms, that "such is the pride and jealousy of the colonists against any having the least tinge in them, that, however worthy, wealthy, or well-educated they may be, the males are deprived of most privileges, and shut out from all trusts and offices; and the females, however fair and chaste they may be, (for many of them are as fair and chaste as the white women, and particularly, as to the latter, those who have been educated in Britain,) are not allowed to marry the lowest white man: at least, if a white man were to marry one of them he would be scouted and persecuted as a thief and a vagabond, and shunned as though he were a monster, or would infect them with the plague."†

Mr. Stewart says, "Wherever slavery exists there must be many things attending it unfavorable to the improvement of the minds and manners of the people: arbitrary habits are acquired; irritation and violent passions are engendered, partly, indeed, by the perverseness of the slaves; and the feelings are gradually blunted by the constant exercise of a too unrestrained power, and the scenes to which it is continually giving birth." — "Human nature is shaped and governed by the force of early habits and of example. The very children, in

* "History of the West Indies," vol. ii. p. 20, ed. 1793.

† "West Indies as they are," pp. 113, 114. In the Appendix, Note 17, Mr. B. gives some striking instances of the most insufferable pride and haughtiness of this kind.

some families, are so used to see or hear the Negro servants whipped for the offences they commit, that it becomes a sort of amusement to them." *

What can show in a more striking manner the lamentable tendency of slavery to harden the heart, and to suppress the benevolent feelings, than its effect on the female character? In the gentler sex we naturally look for all that is kind and compassionate. If the charities of our nature are not enthroned in the heart of woman, where shall we look for them? A kind and tender-hearted compassion is identified with all our ideas of feminine loveliness. This appears to be characteristic of the sex in every part of the world, whatever color happens to tinge the skin. More than once was Mr. Park, the African traveller, indebted to the humane sympathies of Negro females, for food, and shelter, and every hospitality, when in a land of strangers. But nothing, it seems, can withstand the hardening tendency of slavery. We do not wonder to hear frequently of men who, though when first they beheld the miseries of the enslaved Negro they were horrified, become by degrees so accustomed to these things as to lose all feeling; when even females are rendered so totally indifferent, through habit, to the sufferings of their slaves, as not only to be reconciled to them, but to take an active part in their infliction. Mr. Stewart remarks, that "it unfortunately happens that the females, as well as the males, are too apt to contract domineering and harsh

* "View of the past and present State of the Island of Jamaica," p. 170.

ideas with respect to their slaves; ideas ill suited to the natural softness and humanity of the female heart." And, alluding to the punishment of slaves in the presence of children, he adds, "Such inflictions may in time be viewed with a sort of savage gratification: in the males it may produce brutality of mind; and in the females, to say the least of it, an insensibility of human misery and a cold contemplation of its distresses."—"Such is the power of habit over the heart, that the woman accustomed to the exercise of severity soon loses all the natural softness of her sex." *

The following fact is related on the authority of Captain W. F. Owen, of the Royal Navy. †

When his Majesty's ships, the *Leven* and the *Barra-couta*, employed in surveying the coasts of Africa, were at Mozambique in 1823, the officers were introduced to the family of Senor Manuel Pedro d'Almeydra, a native of Portugal, who was a considerable merchant settled on that coast; and it was an opinion agreed in by all, that Donna Sophia d'Almeydra was the most superior woman they had seen since they had left England. Captain Owen, the leader of the expedition, expressing to Senor d'Almeydra his detestation of slavery, the Senor replied, "You will not be long here before you change your sentiments. Look at my Sophia there. Before she would marry me, she made me promise that I should give up the slave trade. When we first settled at Mozambique, she was continually interceding for the slaves,

* "View of the past and present State of the Island of Jamaica," pp. 171, 172.

† *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 32, pp. 171, 172.

and she constantly wept when I punished them; and now she is among the slaves from morning to night; she regulates the whole of my slave establishment; she inquires into every offence committed by them, pronounces sentence upon the offender, and stands by and sees him punished."

In the report of the Fiscal of Berbice, the name of a lady stands prominent for the cruelties of which her slaves complain: in the Bahamas, the wife of a slave owner was convicted of a series of barbarities which terminated in the death of an unhappy being of her own sex; and in the Mauritius, cruelties almost surpassing belief were perpetrated by a Madame Nayle, on the person of a female slave, who expired under the hands of her tormentors.*

The licentiousness of manners which prevails in the slave colonies, and which obviously arises from the system, appears, by the testimony of men of all parties, who have had opportunity of personal observation, to be beyond dispute. What else originated the People of Color, as the marriage of a White man to one of the Negro race is hardly known? But if the whites think that *marriage* with blacks, or even with persons of color, is so infamous, they do not think it at all dishonorable to live with them in open and lawless concubinage: this is practised, says the Historian of the West Indies, "by white men of all ranks or conditions." "The fact

* This last case, with several others of atrocious cruelty, the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter states on the authority of informants who are willing, if it should be deemed necessary, to come forward with their names. No. 44, pp. 391, 392.

is too notorious to be concealed or controverted." * Dr. Williamson too, who resided several years on an estate belonging to the Earl of Harewood, in Jamaica, though an apologist for the system, makes the same admissions. Speaking of the reckless licentiousness of the Negroes, he adds, "And the truth requires that it should not be concealed, the Whites on estates follow the same habits, on many occasions, to a greater extent." † Mr. Stewart speaks in terms equally strong of "the most gross and open licentiousness" which "prevails among all ranks of the Whites." ‡

The Rev. R. Bickell observes, that "It is a well known and notorious fact, that very few of the white men in the West Indies marry, except a few professional men, and some few merchants in the towns, and here and there, in the country, a proprietor or large attorney. Most of the merchants and shop-keepers in the towns, and the whole of the deputy planters (*viz.* overseers) in all parts of the country, have what is called a house-keeper, who is their concubine, or mistress, and is generally a free woman of color; but the book-keepers, who are too poor and too dependent to have any kind

* "Edwards' History of the West Indies," book IV. chap. i.

† The Doctor adds, "Black or Brown mistresses are considered necessary appendages to every establishment: even a young book-keeper, coming from Europe, is generally instructed to provide himself; and however repugnant may seem the idea at first, his scruples are overcome—he conforms to general custom." See "Medical and Miscellaneous Observations relative to the West India Islands, by T. Williamson, M.D." vol. i. p. 49.

‡ "Past and present State of Jamaica," p. 173. "Every unmarried white man, and of every class, has his black or brown mistress, with whom he lives openly."

of establishment, generally take some mulatto or black female slave from the estate where they are employed, or live in a more general state of licentiousness. This is so very common a vice, and so far from being accounted scandalous, that it is looked upon by every person as a matter of course; and if a newly-married young man happens to have brought a few moral or religious ideas with him from Great Britain, he is soon deprived of them by taunt and ridicule, and is in a short time unblushingly amalgamated into the common mass of hardened and barefaced licentiousness.”*

The white ladies are, indeed, exempted from this general charge; but what must be the state of society and the tone of morals, when all this open profligacy has not the least tendency to lower a man's character, even in the estimation of females of respectability? “If a gentleman pays his addresses to a lady, it is not thought necessary, as a homage to her delicacy, to get rid, *a priori*, of his illicit establishment; nor is the lady so *unreasonable* as to expect such a sacrifice.”—“But the most striking proof of the low estimate of moral and religious obligation here, is the fact that the man who lives in open adultery—that is, who keeps his brown or black mistress, in the very face of his wife and family, and of the community—has generally as much outward respect shown him, and is as much countenanced, visited, and received into company, especially if he be a man of some weight and influence in the community, as if

* “West Indies as they are,” pp. 104, 105.

he had been guilty of no breach of decency or dereliction of moral duty." *

After such statements, we are fully prepared for the information, that there exists a very general inattention to the duties of religion, and that Christianity is little better than a name. We have, indeed, much to deplore in our own country; but we are thankful that Sabbath breaking is not an act of necessity; that Sunday markets are not universal, and established by law. "A great market," says Dr. Williamson, "is kept for the Negroes," (he is speaking of the manner in which Sunday is spent,) "which is, in truth, also a market for the Whites. The merchants attend at their stores and counting-houses." "Where the Sabbath is violated, the manners of the mass of people are vicious, regardless of every commendable principle, and afford examples of human depravity which, it is with reluctance I must say, is too applicable to that country" (i. e. Jamaica.) "It must be admitted that the means of religious instruction to Negroes in Jamaica are yet extremely defective; and it is still more painful to add, that the White inhabitants are culpably inattentive to public religious duties. It were well if that were all. Contempt for religion is openly avowed by a great proportion of those to be met with in that country." †

The author of the "Past and present State of Jamaica" fully corroborates this view. He speaks of "the

* "Past and present State of Jamaica," by Mr. Stewart, pp. 174, 175.

† "Medical and Miscellaneous Observations on the West India Islands."

gross immorality which too generally prevails among all ranks." * "In the towns a more genteel society is to be found than on the plantations; but the state of morals is much the same; and as to the respect paid to religion, it will be sufficient to say, that, with a very few exceptions, the congregations in the churches consist usually of a few White ladies, and a respectable proportion of free People of Color and Blacks." † "Very few of the slaves have it in their power to attend church: they are either in attendance on their owners, or their time is occupied in a necessary attention to their own affairs; for Sunday is not a day of rest and relaxation to the plantation slave; he must work on that day, or starve." ‡ And, speaking of those who engage in the planting line, though they may have received the most respectable education, they "are too prone to contract depraved habits from the example and conversation of those with whom they are too often obliged to associate. They are, indeed, not in a situation to foster and maintain the principles and opinions in which they have been educated. The Sabbath is as any other day to them; not a day of rest and religious observance, but one made up of a mixture of toil and amusement; and when they look round and see the universal licentiousness that prevails, they are too apt to lose the sense of moral distinctions." §

If it were necessary to adduce any further testimony, we might refer to Mr. Bickell, who, as a pious clergyman, felt particular interest in the religious state of the

* P. 170.

† P. 182.

‡ P. 151.

§ P. 181.

colony in which he resided, made it the subject of much inquiry, and had every opportunity of forming a correct judgment on this point. His statements, in the Second Part of the work from which we have already made several quotations, and which goes considerably into detail on this topic, fully corroborate all that has been already advanced.*

The evils, therefore, of this system, in a moral point of view, affect not only the slave but the slave-owner: it spreads a contagion from which but few escape who come within its reach. We cannot but conclude, in the language of Mr. Stewart, that, "doubtless, there is in the very nature of slavery, in its mildest form, something unfavorable to the cultivation of moral feeling."† And as we have shown that it is in a form far from being mild that it exists in our colonies, we perceive the truth of the dying testimony of one who fell a victim to its vices, and who, to a question put to him a few minutes before his execution, by a clergyman that attended him, replied, "Sir, slavery is a bad system; it is even worse for the masters than it is for the slaves."‡ §

But to take a complete view of all the moral mischief

* "West Indies as they are:" Part II. on the Sabbath, Religion, Morality, Marriages, &c.

† "View of the past and present State of Jamaica," p. 181.

‡ "Anti-Slavery Reporter," No. 32, p. 173.

§ We wish our readers would peruse, in connection with the foregoing description of the moral evils of Slavery, Dr. Channing's Chapter on the same subject.—Letters by J. D. Paxton, a minister in Virginia,—and Letters by Rev. John Rankin of Ohio.—AM. ED.

which slavery has produced, we must look to Africa. The slave trade is but the child of slavery; and what a scene of almost unvarying horror has this occasioned, for ages, along many hundreds of miles of the western coast of Africa, and considerably in the interior also? Bodily suffering and mental anguish have not been the only injuries which it has inflicted: it has excited perpetual wars; encouraged robbery and murder on every scale, from the forces which a prince could command to the individual ruffian and kidnapper: it has converted the administration of justice into an engine for the safe commission of crime, and multiplied to an enormous extent the means of offence to the great Creator, and of violence and wrong to his creatures.*

From a commereial intercourse with Europe—enlightened, Christianized Europe—what advantages might not Africa have expected! But what has she obtained? Her civilization has been retarded, her morality corrupted, her sense of justice extinguished, and her crimes multiplied: she has been encouraged in robbery and violence and fraud, by men calling themselves Christians: she has been taught to hate and despise the religion of White men.

Tell us not that we are unjustly charging the system with evils for which, now that England has abolished the slave trade, it is no longer accountable. How were the millions of slaves procured that have been transported to our colonies? Or, how were the scanty

* See the Abstract of Evidence before the House of Commons, and Mr. Clarkson's "Cries of Africa."

residue of them, the 800,000, obtained, who are now groaning in bondage? Have the evils which slavery originated in Africa ceased to exist? The innumerable mischiefs which it has produced have stamped it with a stain so foul and deep, as to dishonor all who are connected with it, to disgrace the individual who becomes its advocate, and to consign it to the everlasting reprobation of all the friends of God and man.

In noticing the multifarious evils of this system, we must not omit those which are of a *political nature*. On this part of the subject I shall but briefly dwell. Our remarks on the various evils of slavery have already extended to a length which was not anticipated; and I freely confess that political economy and the mysteries of commerce have not been my favorite studies. It might be supposed, that to reconcile the British people to the continuance of a system so pregnant with evil, entailing so much misery, and leading to so much crime, there must be some important national advantages resulting from it. This, however, does not appear to be the case. The colonists are, indeed, loud in their assertions of the great benefits which the mother country receives from these colonies—such as, the employment of our commercial industry and capital, the large accessions of our annual income by the duties on colonial produce, the employment of our shipping, and the nursery which it forms for the navy. But it does not appear that there is any national advantage which arises from this system which would not be equally secured if it were altogether abolished; and certainly there are

some serious disadvantages with which it must always be attended. Some may derive a gain from the continuance of this iniquitous system; but if a few fill their coffers from the uncompensated toil of the enslaved Negro, the nation in general suffers.

That our slave colonies are maintained at a vast expense, no one will attempt to deny; and that this is an expense, if not entirely created, yet most materially increased, by the slave system, must be obvious to every considerate mind. Even during a time of peace, the cost is very considerable. How is it, it may well be asked, that 800,000 Blacks allow themselves to be ground down in oppression by a mere handful of Whites? It is because a military force from England keeps them in awe; because if, goaded to madness by insufferable wrongs, and weary of injustice and oppression, they assert their right to freedom, they are met by the convincing arguments of English balls and bayonets, and have their complaints silenced by the roar of artillery. Our peace establishment for these colonies appears to be upwards of two millions annually—and that at a time when the nation is groaning beneath the weight of taxation. A very able writer concludes, after a careful and sober estimate, that “the actual amount wrung in taxes from our distressed population for the direct maintenance of slavery is 2,195,804*l*.”

I shall now close this lecture with very briefly noticing one more view of British slavery, which partakes, indeed, both of a moral and political character; I mean, the national guilt connected with the continuance of such a monstrous system of evil.

There is One, who is the Creator of the black man and the white, and who is "no respecter of persons." His glance surveys the universe. His eye witnesses every action, and in the book of His remembrance is every deed recorded. He is just and merciful: injustice and cruelty are as opposite to his character as darkness to light. He weighs in the balances individuals and nations, and will render to all according to their deeds. The punishments as well as the rewards of individuals are reserved principally to a future state; but as no nation or state can appear as such before his bar, they are punished or rewarded in this life. National guilt brought proud Babylon to the dust, destroyed commercial Tyre, and annihilated the Jews as a nation, scattering them to the four winds of heaven. In His estimation of guilt and application of punishment, the advantages enjoyed are always taken into the account. What, then, must be the guilt of Britain in maintaining a system so iniquitous! How long did she bear her part in that horrid traffic which spread so much suffering and crime on the coast of Africa! And still she retains in iron bondage the helpless victims of that trade, which she now calls infamous. He who sitteth in the heavens, the enemy of the oppressor, the refuge of the oppressed and the avenger of his wrongs, has seen all the horrors of the middle passage, has heard every groan that has burst from the Negro's bosom in the place of his captivity, year after year, and age after age. Consider all the cruelty, and injustice, and licentiousness, attending this system for such a length of time; and all this upheld by a nation the most enlightened,

the most evangelized, and in many respects the most favored, in the whole world! O how dark the spot, how deep the stain of guilt that rests on Britain, and that will rest on her as long as this system is maintained!—The national guilt which is contracted by our thus upholding slavery is not to be reckoned as one of its least evils.

Endeavor, then, to combine the whole in one view—to take in the full idea of this mighty mass of evil, in all the sufferings of mind and body which it inflicts, in all its brutalizing effects and demoralizing tendencies on the slave and on his master—the miseries which it entails on man, and the guilt which it incurs in the sight of God,—and you will have some conception of the multiplied and horrifying EVILS of SLAVERY.

LECTURE III.

BEFORE I proceed to the topic which is to be the principal point of discussion in this lecture, I beg leave briefly to refer to that which was last delivered, in order to notice the principal objections which are made against any strong representation of the miseries of Negro slavery. From all who are interested in the continuance of this cruel system, as deriving from it their gains, and from all who on various accounts become its advocates,* it is to be expected that an opposition will be

* In the English edition of this work, there is in this place a note, pointing out the classes of persons, who were advocates of the slave system, and the various reasons for which they were opposed to its abolition. With but few and slight changes the same may here be given, as an accurate designation of the abettors of slavery in this republic. They are the proprietors of plantations and other slave estates, with all who are employed by them to enforce the subjection of the slaves, and obtain the results of their labors. Next, are those men at the north, who have mortgages on the estates of southern slave-holders, the number of which is considerable. Many hundreds of thousands of dol-

made to every attempt to expose its enormities; and the aim of such, of course, will be to persuade the public, either that these evils do not exist, or at least that slavery is not so bad a thing as it is generally represented and supposed to be; so that if by this means they can succeed in reconciling the nation to its continuance, or in preventing the British people from demanding its abolition, their object will be accomplished. Let us examine the principal and most plausible statements which are made with this view.

It has often been repeated, that the slaves in our colo-

lars due to men of property at the north, are secured by mortgages upon the *human* cattle of their southern debtors. There are, moreover, merchants and manufacturers here, who are trading to an immense amount in the staple productions of the south, which are raised by the unrequited toil of the slaves. We must therefore regard the violent opposition to the abolition of slavery, which is raging through our land as the offspring of sordid selfishness.—AM. ED.

“We cannot be surprised, therefore, that editors of newspapers and writers in periodicals who aim to conciliate the wealthy and influential, should be co-workers with those who bind the bonds of oppression on their fellow-men. There is also another class of persons who come in as auxiliaries, who have incidentally visited for a short season some of the southern States, and have partaken of the good cheer of the planters, and have felt bound in honor to believe all that was told them of their slaves’ happiness, but who were never permitted to gaze on the naked deformities of the system; and who, when they have returned home, as in duty bound, have lauded the humanity of the planters to the skies, and with a wonderful flippancy talked of the comforts and enjoyments of a plantation slave, as though it were a truly enviable condition; while they may know no more of the interior of the *slave system*, than those who have been sitting at home at their own fire-side, and not perhaps half as much as those who, having never set their foot in those states, have had free access to documents furnished by the slave-holders themselves.”

nies are much better off than the peasantry of England or Ireland, or than our poor manufacturers. I must confess I can scarcely hear with calmness such an assertion. Is it not a sufficient reply, that the colonial bondsman is a *slave*, the British laborer a *free man*? Would the latter be willing to exchange conditions? This is a fair test by which the truth of such an assertion may be tried, and here I would be content to rest the whole merits of the case. I would ask the poorest wretch that breathes the air of Britain, who toils from morning to night for a scanty subsistence, and beholds with agonizing distress his whole family pining in poverty, for what consideration he would sell himself, the partner of his misfortunes, and their half-famished offspring, with all their descendants forever, into perpetual bondage? For the market price of a slave?—For the most princely fortune which any slave-holder possesses?—For the whole slave colonies themselves, with all their wealth? No: he would reject the offer with disdain; he would consider the very proposal as an insult; he would say, Give me poverty, and want, and all the ills of life, rather than the everlasting bondage of me and mine.—Shame on the man, who calls himself a Briton, and yet can for one moment compare a West-Indian slave with a poor but free peasant of England! *

* More shame on the men who call themselves Americans, and yet compare the southern slave to the northern freeman, however poor. This comparison is frequently made, even in New England, and it is one among other proofs, how much that reverence for Liberty has declined among us, which is the safeguard of our Republican institutions. How low must we already seem in the

But on what is the comparison founded? Is there not something deceptive and disengenuous in the very way in which the statement is made? Is it meant, as it would seem to imply, that the general condition of Negro slaves is better than that of the English laborers? No such thing: few would have the hardihood to make such an assertion. What does it then mean? Why, that there are some slaves who happen to have a better situation than others; who are fortunate enough to meet with kind masters; who have better clothing and houses, and more to eat and drink, than some of the most wretched and unemployed laborers in England.* That this may be the case in some instances we admit; but that it is in general we cannot for a moment believe. The Rev. Mr. Bickell, who was an eye-witness, says, "What can be more absurd, than to hear it constantly reiterated that the Negroes in our colonies are better fed and better clothed than the British peasantry? I have seen a good deal of the state of the English poor, having served curacies in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, and Wiltshire, besides having an intimate acquaintance with Devonshire; and I can

eyes of our southern brethren, seeing they have presumed to predict that "within twenty-five years, *our laboring population will be reduced to slavery.*"—AM. ED.

* What though the slaves may be permitted to lie down in green pastures, and drink of pure waters! What though they may go about the estates of their masters richly caparisoned! Shall we forget the injury that is done to them as men? Shall we forget that they are degraded to the condition of brutes?—AM. ED.

conscientiously say, that I never saw any one, even a pauper, who lived in the mean hoggish way that the slaves in the West Indies do."* The same respectable author proceeds with a comparison of their clothing and their huts, and comes to a similar conclusion.

And in point of labor, what would our peasantry or manufacturers gain by the exchange? What advantage could it be to them to substitute, for the plough and the loom, the daily field-toil of the Negro slave wielding the hoe, under a scorching sun, "steadily coerced" by the driving whip, from the dawn of the morning to the shadows of night, with scarcely time to cook and eat his coarse vegetable mess? Or, if the men could support this fatigue, whether weak or strong, would the females of the lower classes be capable of enduring it? If even this were borne by our laboring poor, how would they stand the season of crop, when, in addition to the fatigues of the day, they are forced to toil three nights in the week, or the half of every night?

But these are not the only circumstances to be taken into the account, in estimating the comparative happiness of a man's condition: he has other sources of pleasure and of pain besides those which arise from his senses and appetites. Is he not a rational, a social being? Has he not the common feelings of human nature? Has he no love for the mother of his children, no yearnings of affection for his offspring? Why, then, speak of him as a mere animal, and compare him only in those points in which a brute can be equally as

* "West Indies as they are," pp. 56, 57.

happy? Is the English laborer or the Irish peasant driven to his work by the lash? Can his employer at his pleasure lay him down and lacerate his naked flesh with the cart-whip? Dares his master, or any of his delegates, to insult his wife or daughter in his presence? And if he should, in such a case, lift up his hand to defend them, is he liable to death? Does he see them driven in the field like himself; and may the object of his tenderest affection be stripped in the presence of the whole gang, and flogged "till the blood flies out?" May his wife and children be seized, and sold by auction, or by private sale, to meet him no more on this side the grave? If he seek redress for his wrongs from a magistrate, does he fear a tremendous flogging for complaining?—But I will not pursue the odious comparison: such an assertion can only be made artfully or ignorantly. To compare the condition of Negro slaves generally with that of the laboring poor of Britain, is most preposterous; it is an insult to common sense.

But it is, again, said, that, with all the disadvantages of his situation, the slave is contented and happy if left to himself. Let the colonists furnish an answer to this. What do they mean by so frequently talking of insurrections; and insinuating that perpetual danger exists; and hinting at the dreadful consequences of revolt? Why are they afraid to trust these *contented and happy* people with arms, even to assist in the defence of the islands? Why must they need the awe which the presence of a military force inspires, in order to keep them in this happy condition? How is it that the

colonial newspapers teem with advertisements of run-away slaves? Are contented men accustomed to run away from all their comfort and happiness, especially at the risk of being hunted down, or sabred, or shot, if they surrender not to their pursuers, and, if they do surrender, of receiving a frightful punishment? Are the nocturnal stocks, the workhouse chain, the iron collar, the marks of the brand and of the whip, indices of a contented and happy population?

But, if it could be proved that the slave is so perfectly contented, in a condition of hopeless and helpless servitude, subject to the completest despotism, placed entirely at the will and caprice of another, it would only prove the degrading, ruinous tendency of the slave system; which, instead of raising the poor Negro in the scale of being, and teaching him to feel and think like a man, depresses him to the condition of a hound, that remains faithful to his owner whatever be his fare, and frisks and fawns, like a "contented and happy" dog, about the master who feeds and who whips him.

The slave happy! And what is the nature of his happiness? Thus it is described by a slave-owner: "The improvident Negro, far from pining in misery, dances and sleeps, trifles and dreams away life, thoughtless, careless, and happily ignorant of his own unprotected condition, and of the impotent fury of the laws." Little time, forsooth, has he, for dancing and sleeping and trifling; and his day-dreams must often be of a very terrific nature: but if in such a condition a *man*, endowed with the feelings of human nature and the capabilities of a rational soul, can "trifle and dream life

away," the more is he to be pitied. But it is here conceded that his happiness arises from sheer ignorance, from a brutal stupidity: it is only when he is "left to himself," when he is "ignorant of his unprotected condition," and knows nothing of the "fury of the laws," that he is happy. And what a picture is here given of the felicity of a human being, possessing a rational and immortal spirit! We perceive, however, by this West-Indian view of slave happiness, the benevolence of those who oppose the impartation of knowledge to the Negro mind. Let not a ray of light fall on the mental vision of a slave; let him know nothing of Christianity but a few outward and lifeless forms; make him as stupid and thoughtless as a beast, with no reflection on the past, no care for the future, no sense of wrongs, no idea of right, no care for his soul, no knowledge that he has one; and in this condition give him enough to eat and drink, and allow him the indulgence of his sensual appetites,—and you have the model of a perfect slave, in the very heaven of his enjoyment!

But it is further said, that it is the interest of planters to use their slaves well; and therefore, without any reference to a sense of justice or to the feelings of humanity, the same principle which is sufficient to induce a man to take care of his cattle must operate in favor of the slave. That this species of selfishness may, in the absence of higher motives, do something for the poor slave, we readily admit; but that it is a sufficient guarantee for his comfort and general welfare we deny, for these reasons: first, that this motive where it exists, is not so uniform and certain in its operation as to secure

its object; and in the next place, that there are cases where there is no room for its operation, and where it may even act in direct opposition to the welfare of the slave.

It is a man's interest, we know, to use his cattle well, and to take care that those who work them treat them properly; but, notwithstanding this, does not the brute creation groan under the cruelties of man? How many are injured through mere wantonness! how many through thoughtlessness! and how many a noble animal has been shamefully abused in a moment of passion! Besides, the owners of cattle are not always with them, and may even never see many of them; and men who have no interest in them may have the care and the working of them. Certainly, in the opinion of our legislature, this motive was not deemed sufficient, or why was an Act of Parliament passed to prevent cruelty to animals? And for similar reasons the interest of the slave-owner in his slaves is no sufficient security against ill treatment. Thoughtlessness, wantonness, inebriety, the ebullitions of anger, or that irritation which blinds the mind even to a man's own interests, may work misery to the slave—as in the case of the young gentleman, already mentioned, who shot a slave for sport; or of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, for instance, who, by a series of cruelties, destroyed a female who might long have served them. It must also be remembered, that most of the great proprietors live in England, and perhaps never see a single slave that belongs to them: their estates are there entrusted to attorneys, some of whom have a great many properties of this kind under

their care, and generally receive a per-centage on the produce. "These arrangements," says a respectable planter, "would not affect the comfort of the Negroes, if the attorney took the same interest in them that the proprietor must necessarily do: but here matters become altered; for the interest of the attorney is to make as much as possible from the estate, and the Negroes become only a secondary consideration." This agent has the appointment of overseers, and other subordinate officers, to whom the management of the estate is left, with but few visits of inspection. "Another evil," observes the author just quoted, "arises from this system. The overseers look up to this person for patronage, and seldom trouble their heads about the proprietors: they study his interest before that of the proprietors; and think more of making large crops to benefit their employer, than they do of improving the condition of the people."*

But the interest of the master does not always run parallel with the slave's welfare. It may happen that circumstances may be such, that a degree of labor which is destructive to the slave may enrich his owner; that the gains arising from an extra effort, during a certain state of the markets, may afford an ample indemnification for the loss of a few Negroes, and the injury which the rest may receive.† When the cause

* "Notes on Jamaica, by Henry de la Beche, Esq." p. 37.

† Many slaves are annually sacrificed upon the sugar and cotton plantations in our country. It is calculated by the southern economists, that it is cheaper to *use up the slaves* by requiring extra exertions from them in certain seasons, than to procure additional hands only for those seasons.—AM. ED.

to be tried is, the master's gain against the slave's comfort or life, there is great danger of a verdict against the slave: at least, as far as self-interest is concerned, it makes against him. And when it is further considered, that many of the slave estates are held in trust, or on life interest, or on other uncertain tenures; that in the lottery of planting speculations much of this kind of property is perpetually changing hands; that often a planter may have to make a desperate struggle to retrieve his almost ruined affairs, or to prevent, at any risk which may afford the chance of saving him, the impending catastrophe,—it will be obvious that the interest of the master and the welfare of the slave may frequently be placed in dreadful competition.

In fine: the advocates of emancipation are often charged with giving an exaggerated account of the evils of slavery. That every slave does not suffer all the evils to which his condition exposes him, that some masters and managers are more humane and considerate than others, we have already admitted; but that our colonial slavery works in a manner most pernicious to the comfort and the life of the enslaved Negro, is evident from the undeniable fact of the constant decrease of the slave population. It appears that from the years 1818 to 1824, a period of six years, of the eighteen West India colonies there was an increase in only two; in all the others a decrease: so that, on the whole, there was an actual decrease, after deducting the manumissions, of full twenty-eight thousand!* There must, then, be some cause

* Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 26.

constantly and fatally at work thus to counteract the laws of nature. Among the most miserable of our population there is a continued increase—those very people who, the colonists would have us believe, are so much worse off in every respect than their slaves. In every condition, except that of slavery in our colonies, the Negroes who are known to be a prolific race, multiply: the Maroons of Jamaica increase; the free Blacks of the various colonies increase; St. Domingo has, it is said, in about twenty years doubled its population. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable,—there must be some peculiarity in the slave system to produce this waste of life: their labor must be excessive, their food scanty, or their treatment severe; some of all these causes must exist to occasion this decrease. In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 54, are given the names of eleven most respectable proprietors in Jamaica, whose slaves, taken together, amounted, in 1824, to 10,201; where, it may be presumed, the treatment is not worse than on other estates. By returns made to the parish vestries on oath, the apparent decrease, in two years, ending March, 1826, was 359: so that, at this rate of mortality, in a little more than fifty-seven years the whole would become extinct! And on all these estates, it seems the number of women is greater than that of the men. Remembering the increase of the Negroes in all other circumstances, it is impossible to account for this fact, on the supposition that they are well fed, and moderately worked, and properly treated.

And, in conclusion, let it be observed that the charges advanced in the last Lecture were not founded on

mere imagination, or on reports which, by circulation, received many touches and alterations, till truth itself became caricatured; but on the testimony of eye-witnesses of respectability, on the representation of planters, on the publication of their own gazettes, and on the official returns made by order of Parliament. If our description of slavery be deeply colored and strongly drawn, those only are to be blamed who have furnished the picture, and not those who hold it up to the abhorrence of all who love their fellow-creatures, and who fear their Maker.

We shall now proceed to consider *the unlawfulness of Slavery*.

A system productive of such consequences as those which we have noticed, must have something in it which is essentially wrong. A tree which bears such fruit cannot be good. It is a rule applicable to systems as well as to men, "By their fruit ye shall know them." But, it may be said, the abuses of a system are not to be charged upon it: Christianity has been abused, and liberty has been abused, and the very administration of justice has been abused; and what is there, however good and lawful, which has not met with the same fate? But we shall endeavor to show that the evils of slavery are not merely incidental—are not the abuses of what is in itself right and proper—but that our colonial slavery is inherently, essentially, incurably evil; that no modifications can destroy this its essential quality; and that though its luxuriances may be pruned, and some of its branches lopped off, the evil still remains, and will remain, until the axe be laid at the root of the tree.

By Slavery I do not mean those restrictions of civil or religious liberty, which, however wrong and galling, cannot, but in a highly figurative sense, be called slavery: nor do I mean that restraint under which an *offender* is put for any term of years, or even for his life; (would that this punishment were more generally substituted for the death of the transgressor!) but I mean, what the colonists contend for, a right and property in their fellow-creatures, as goods and chattels; "*a property in fee*," to use Lord Seafood's words, in the flesh and blood of a human being, and of all who may descend from him forever.

When I say that slavery is *unlawful*, I do not mean that human enactments have not been made in its favor, but I do mean that no human laws can make that "lawful and right" which is essentially wrong, and which is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice. Nor can it be supposed that I mean that it is unlawful to *endure* slavery; its unlawfulness consists in imposing it on others: it is the infliction, not the unavoidable suffering, of an injury, which is wrong.

The practice of slavery in our colonies is *a flagrant violation of the dearest natural rights of man*.

There are certain advantages, which are necessary to the well-being of man, and to the possession and enjoyment of which he is by nature entitled, as being the gift of the Creator: these are generally called the *natural* rights of man: consequently, to deprive him of the enjoyment of these would be the infliction of a wrong, the commission of an act of injustice. *Civil* rights are those which man possesses as a member of society; and

which vary according to the peculiar laws and institutions of each separate community: but the *natural* rights of man are those which he possesses by nature; which are common to all human beings, and which are the same in every part of the world. The "rights and liberties" of man, as a member of society, "are no other," says Blackstone, "than either that *residuum* of natural liberty which is not required by the laws of society to be sacrificed to public convenience; or else those civil privileges which society hath engaged to provide, in lieu of the natural liberties so given up by individuals."* The natural rights of man are, according to Paley, "A man's right to his life, limbs, and liberty; his right to the produce of his personal labor; to the use, in common with others, of air, light, water. If a thousand different persons, from a thousand different corners of the world, were cast together upon a desert island, they would from the first be every one entitled to these rights."† The great lawyer already quoted, observes, that "The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists, properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of

* Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England. Oxford edition, 1765, vol. i. p. 125.

† Paley's Moral Philosophy, book ii. chap. 10.

nature: being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws which the community has thought proper to establish.”*

These rights, then, are antecedent to all law, that is, to all human enactments. Human laws may take them as their basis, may define and regulate them; but they do not create them, and cannot destroy them. “Those rights which God and nature have established, and are therefore called natural rights—such as life and liberty—need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some act which amounts to a forfeiture.”† In a state of society, it is obviously necessary that the exercise of these rights should receive some restrictions. As we give up a portion of the produce of our labor, to which we are naturally entitled, to procure the more certain enjoyment of the rest; so we give up a portion of that liberty, to

* Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 121.

† Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 54.

which we have an equal claim, that the rest may be better secured and more safely enjoyed. The perfection of all human laws is, therefore, to guarantee to all the greatest portion of their natural rights which is consistent with the well-being of society. "The first and primary end of all human laws is, to maintain and regulate these absolute rights of individuals." *

Man, then, it is admitted by the highest authorities, has rights as the creature of God, as a rational and accountable being, for the possession of which he is not indebted to others, and which no fellow-creature is authorized to deprive him of; and were any laws made to destroy them, those very laws would be criminal, as sanctioning a manifest injustice, and being in direct opposition to the laws of nature.

There are, however, two ways in which, with certain important limitations, these rights may be occasionally alienated—by voluntary consent, and as a punishment for crime.

A man may, for important reasons which appear to him to justify the sacrifice, surrender the possession of some of his rights, for a term of years, or for his life; but there are limits beyond which he is not authorized to go. For, first, the concession must include only himself: it cannot extend to others; it cannot embrace his descendants, at least beyond the minority of his own children. That contract cannot be binding by which a man disposes of what he does not, and cannot, possess; it would be neither more nor less than giving away or

* Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 120.

selling the property of others; and he that, on the pretence of such a gift or purchase, should take possession of it, would be guilty of robbery. Nor can he make any such surrender of his rights as interferes with his moral agency, or is inconsistent with his duty to God. His responsibility cannot be made over to another: he may as well talk of assigning over his interest in another world. No contract can bind him to act contrary to his conscience, or, when the commands of both are opposite, to obey man rather than God. No engagement can be valid which prevents him from seeking his highest happiness in this world and in that which is to come, since this is the very end of his being. He can not assign to another the unrestricted use of his body and limbs, or, which is the same, make them over as the property of another: they must be his as long as he lives; he is responsible for the use of them. He cannot give away his life: he is accountable to God for this gift; from Him he received it, and only when He calls for it has he any right to surrender it.

But as a member of society, in that social compact which binds together as one community all the individuals composing a state, it is understood to be stipulated that every person retains his own rights, only on the condition of not violating those of others. By that very act by which he injures the rights of others, he forfeits his own, in that way, and to that extent, which the laws of the community in which he lives may determine. And here also there are restrictions to be observed. The forfeit must not exceed the wrong committed; the reparation to society must be such as justice sanctions,

and the nature of the case requires. The produce of the delinquent's labor may be transferred to others; he may be deprived of his liberty; and, in the administration of justice in most countries, the criminal, in some cases, forfeits his life. Whether any individual or community has just authority to proceed to this extremity, I confess I have serious doubts; but certainly the punishment, of whatever kind it be, must be confined to the transgressor, it must not alight on the innocent: it would be subversive of all justice to extend it to unborn children, by depriving them of rights which they never forfeited.

Now, apply these principles to our colonial slavery. The natural rights of man do not depend on the color of his skin, but on his possessing human nature, his being a rational and accountable creature of God. And what has he done to alienate those rights which are inherent in man? Has he made a contract with the slave-owner; has he voluntarily consigned himself, his liberty and labor, to another? This is not pretended. He was made a slave, and is kept a slave, by force; it is at the peril of his life that he attempts to snap a link of his chain, or loosen a single rivet of his fetters. What crime has he perpetrated that could justify so severe a doom, unless he be charged with the commission of treason against the majesty of the white man, by being born black? Whom has he murdered? where was the scene of his robberies and burglaries? when was he tried? and who passed sentence upon him? He has been the sufferer, and not the aggressor; and yet we behold him spoiled of his rights, deprived of all that is

dear to man. His liberty is not abridged that it might be rendered more secure ; but it is gone ; not a shred is left. The produce of his labor is not his own, his wife and children are not his own, his property in his own body and limbs is denied : his owner claims universal and unrestricted obedience. He must not think for a moment whether what he is enjoined be consistent with the will of God ; he has nothing to do but with the will of his master : he must not reflect on the morality of an action—a slave must have no conscience ! In fact, as far as lawless power can go towards it, he is deprived of the essential attributes of man : he is made a beast, with only so much of reason allowed him as will enable him to work his master's pleasure. What spoliation, what robbery, what crime against property, to which the laws of England assign the most disgraceful and dreadful punishment, can equal this ? Think not the language severe : I know of no term sufficiently strong to express my abhorrence of a system which thus sacrifices the most valuable interests, the dearest rights of man, to the lust of wealth and the love of domination. But the right, as far as a just title is concerned, still remains : every Negro in our colonies is entitled to his liberty, his limbs, the produce of his labor—to all the privileges of a *man*. He may be denied the possession and enjoyment of these advantages, but the *right* to possess and enjoy them cannot be taken from him. Not all the cruel codes of the Antilles, nor the statutes of the British Parliament, nor the force employed to make the bonds of his servitude firm, can extinguish it ; and it will remain to condemn and to execrate the system, till

the genius of Britain shall redress the Negro's wrongs, and proclaim freedom through all her colonies.

The patrons of slavery, however, attempt frequently to justify it, or at least to rebut the charge of wrong and injustice, by denying all participation in the original act by which the Negroes were deprived of freedom. Long and stoutly did the colonists contend for the slave trade; its dreadful evils and its crying injustice were as much denied as those of slavery are now; but since the British legislature has abolished the nefarious trade, and only other nations participate in its cruel gains, even the planters are found joining in the hue and cry to hunt it down. The slave trade, in which they no longer engage, they condemn as iniquitous; but slavery itself is just and right. What a miserable fallacy is this! We have already shown, that, as to the guilt incurred, they are both identified.* The slave trade is felonious; and it was just as much so before the British Parliament pronounced it felony as since: it is one of those crimes which are styled *mala in se*, "which acquire no additional turpitude by being declared unlawful by a human legislature."† But if it be felonious to make men

* This point needs to be pressed upon the consciences of our countrymen. How much soever they may differ, in the circumstances of their atrocity, there is no difference in principle or essence, between African kidnapping and American slave-holding. Let us not execrate the *ignorant* sailor, who, lured by high wages, goes to Africa and takes possession of his fellow-beings, while we exculpate the enlightened, accomplished gentleman at home, who buys or sells a man, or keeps possession of him as a piece of property.—AM. ED.

† Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 54.

slaves, is it less so to keep them slaves, and to make all their children slaves? If it be wrong to commit a theft, can it be right to retain the stolen property. The slave trade was only the creature of slavery, and in some respects was the less evil of the two, as the agent is deemed less guilty than the principal. The rule holds here, *Qui facit per alium facit per se*. The retaining of them in bondage is but a continuation of the first outrage. If it is wrong to imprison a man falsely, can his detention be less than an aggravation of the injury? If, therefore, the first act was robbery and injustice, it vitiates the whole tenure of possession: if the Negro was unjustly consigned to bondage, then he and his posterity are suffering wrong as long as this bondage continues, and a wrong which is accumulating, instead of diminishing, by the course of years. Right and wrong, justice and injustice, are so essentially different, that no length of time can convert the one into the other. If the first act, by which they were torn from their native land and deprived of all their rights, was unjust, the perpetuation of their wrongs can never become right—never—never.

But it has been said, in apology for the system, that the slaves were originally captives taken in war, or criminals who had forfeited their liberty to the justice of their country; and that, being already in a state of slavery, the purchase was lawful, and the transfer even beneficial to the unhappy beings; that it was, in fact, an *act of charity*. But suppose they were all captives taken in war, or criminals doomed to slavery; do *we*

think that captives are justly enslaved ? * that criminals, with their families and their relatives, and all their descendants forever, are justly consigned to this wretched fate for some such crime as witchcraft, and on such proof as that of the accused individual not being able to drink poisoned water with impunity ? Shall men, therefore, of superior civilization, by purchasing those who are enslaved in this manner, sanction these cruel deeds, and encourage the perpetrators of them to proceed in such a course ? Shall men who call themselves Christians seal the doom of these unfortunate sufferers, and, by keeping them in slavery, justify the barbarity † which made them slaves ?

* Nothing more needs be said on this point, than was said by our own Judge Story, in his charge to the Grand Jury, in 1819. "The existence of Slavery under any shape is so repugnant to the natural rights of man, and the dictates of justice, that it seems difficult to find for it any adequate justification. It undoubtedly had its origin in times of barbarism, and was the ordinary lot of those who were conquered in war. It was supposed that the conqueror had a right to take the life of his captive, and by consequence might well bind him to perpetual servitude. But the position itself, on which this supposed right is founded, is not true. No man has a right to kill his enemy, except in cases of absolute necessity ; and this absolute necessity ceases to exist even in the estimation of the conqueror himself, when he has spared the life of his prisoner. And even if in such case it were possible to contend for the right of slavery, as to the prisoner himself, it is impossible that it can justly extend to his innocent offspring through the whole line of descent."—AM. ED.

† It has been frequently urged as a justification of Slavery, that it has always existed in the world, among one nation or another, from the commencement to the present time ; and being the uni-

But the premises are not true: there is not even this pretence to plead. The slaves were not, for the most part, taken in war, unless by war we understand every piratical expedition for the purpose of making slaves, every plundering horde, every kidnapping ambush, and every attack of barbarous chiefs on their own unoffending subjects, when they could not resist the tempting offers of the European slave-dealers. In fact, the whole

versal practice of mankind it must be right. But two replies may be made to this mode of reasoning. One is, that it would go to sanction every vice and every evil which has ever existed in the world, as each of them has found supporters among some nations or communities through every successive period of the world. Intemperance, lotteries, the slave-trade, polygamy, infanticide, piracy, killing prisoners of war, and all other barbarities may be defended on this ground. The other reply is, that the same reasons, the practice of mankind, which are offered as justifying slavery, will operate with equal force in favor of the customs out of which it originated. Thus the persons who were made slaves or held in bondage were the individuals who were made *captives in war*, or were *debtors* who were unable to pay their debts, or persons who sold their children, or others, for a compensation. If, therefore, slavery can be sustained, the usage of making prisoners of war, debtors, and persons sold by others, slaves, can also be likewise sustained; in other words, the ameliorations which have been made in the laws of nations, and of individual states upon these points are in themselves wrong and unjust. Again, the argument will apply as well to *white* men as *black*, and to persons of every rank in society, and of every grade of intellect,—to generals, philosophers, statesmen, merchants, jurists, or clergymen. For they have all been made slaves by these usages formerly. Now, as no one would think of defending a position so evidently revolting as this last, it follows that the former which is built upon it must also fail.—AM. ED.

system of continued warfare to which the slave trade gave rise, was that of fighting, burning, plundering, to obtain slaves. Every bold adventurer, who wished to enrich himself, turned man-stealer; and, to complete the whole, the administration of justice became, in most cases, a mere pretence for making slaves, in order to obtain the articles which the slave-dealer offered in exchange.*

But, still, having been enslaved, it was an act of kindness to remove them from their own barbarous countrymen, and place them in the hands of Christian slave-owners.†—Taken from Africa in *charity*, to save them from greater miseries! Kind and benevolent men, we were not aware of all your philanthropy! O happy slaves! the too thoughtless subjects of so much mercy! Ye human live-stock, packed like bales of goods, and comfortably secured by fetters to the deck, and crammed below lest the air of heaven should breathe upon you, while the gallant ship dances over the waves, as though it participated in the joy of your deliverance! Why do you so inconsiderately groan, and faint, and become diseased, and die—wickedly die with grief, on your passage to all the felicities of a slave plantation! And you, who labor without reward, and toil without hope, in a colonial paradise, and see your children sold,

* See "Abstract of Evidence before the House of Commons," already referred to: chap. i. "on the Enormities committed by the Natives of Africa on the Persons of one another, to procure Slaves for the Europeans."

† That slavery in Africa admits of much more comfort and happiness than in our colonies, see chap. x. of the above Abstract.

and your wives flogged, and are surrounded with all the emblems of happiness, the whips, and collars, and chains, and stocks; and you, ungrateful Negroes, who give your fiscals and protectors the trouble of stifling your groans, and teaching you contentment, by administering bleeding stripes for your complaints,—you know not the charity of these White men, nor appreciate the tenderness of their compassion!

The last plea which I shall notice in this place is, that the Negroes are of an inferior race, and are not entitled to the same usage as White men; and that, while it would be unlawful to hold Whites in slavery, it is right to enslave the Blacks!—But, admitting this inferiority, instead of justifying us in inflicting on them the miseries of slavery, it would give them a claim on our compassion; unless, indeed, we could prove, as some have attempted, that they are brute animals sent for the use of man. Supposing that “the retreating forehead and depressed vortex” indicated mental inferiority* in the Negro, does it prove that he is not a hu-

* The actual *inferiority* of the *intellectual* and *moral* organization of the negro to the white man is not as yet satisfactorily settled. But even if it were admitted to be the fact, it would not constitute a justification of slavery, unless it were proved they were not human beings, but brute animals, not having to *any* extent the intellectual, moral and social nature of man. It is a fact that among the white race, there is every degree of intellectual, moral and social organization, but this is not made a reason or even a pretext, for reducing any portion of them to a state of slavery, or of depriving them of any of their political or social rights. They are permitted to follow those occupations and occupy that place in society, for which their talents and taste qualify them, while their

man being, that he has not an immortal soul, that he is not an accountable creature? Does it prove that he is not capable of every rational act, and every social feeling, which is essential to a *man*? Does it prove that the Negro race are less the children of "our Father who is in heaven," or authorize us to refuse a practical recognition of their being a part of the human family?*

But I believe facts will bear me out in the assertion, that, whatever may be the prejudices of planters, or the ingenious theories of speculative men, there is not that characteristic inferiority in the Negro race which is sometimes imagined. That they are capable of all the benevolent and social feelings of our nature, is evident

civil rights are the same with those of their more highly gifted brethren. So might it be with the colored race. If they are not fit for philosophers, statesmen, generals, or merchants, they might nevertheless, like a portion of the *white* race, be employed as laborers, operatives and artizans. This is upon the supposition that the *whole* black race, as a race, are inferior to the *whole* white race. But the fact is, that a large part of the black race are decidedly superior in organization to a large part of the white race, i.e. the highest grade of the former is superior to the lowest of the latter. Why then should not this portion of them enjoy the same rights with their white brethren, who fall below them in the scale of organization?—AM. ED.

* It is not much to be wondered at that Mr. Long, in his "History of Jamaica," should endeavor to prove that the Negro is more nearly allied to the ourang-outang than to man; or that many of the colonists at the present day should, as Mr. Bickell declares they do, "look upon the Blacks as much beneath themselves as the brutes are beneath the Negroes:" it is quite necessary to their own justification. "Il est impossible," says Montesquieu, "que nous supposions que ces gens-là soient des hommes; parceque si nous les supposions des hommes, on commenceroit à croire que nous ne sommes pas nous-mêmes Chrétiens."

from the concurrent testimony of travellers and residents in Africa, and even of many of the colonists themselves. Instances can be produced in which a slave has hazarded his own life for the protection of a master by whom he has been treated with kindness. In the attempts which have been made to instruct Negro children in the United States, at Sierra Leone, and in the West Indies, the uniform conviction on the minds of those engaged in teaching them has been, that they are not inferior to European children, whenever they possess the same advantages. The evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1790 and 1791, of those who had visited the interior of Africa, and had seen their various manufactures, gives a most favorable idea of their ingenuity and industry.* Nor are there wanting instances in the Negro race of a power of intellect and loftiness of moral character which would be an honor to any human being. Are there not men of education and respectability in most or all of our colonies, who are free Blacks and persons of Color? Yes; and among this despised and persecuted race there have been instances of high attainments in literature, in science, and in theology: so that, considering their immense disadvantages, the wonder is, not that the number of such is so small, but that there are any.† Have

* "Abstract," &c. chap. v.

† I beg leave to recommend to the perusal of the reader, "Biographical Sketches and interesting Anecdotes of Persons of Color, compiled by A. Mott;" and if any one can read these simple anecdotes of the Negro without deep emotions of pity, of admiration, and of thankfulness to Him who is "no respecter of persons," I do not envy his feelings.

there not been heroes, and politicians, and legislators in Hayti? Can the West India islands, since their first discovery by Columbus, boast a name that deserves comparison with that of Toussaint L'Ouverture? The very generation of Negroes that had been slaves, formed a scheme of government and showed a spirit of legislation which might put our colonial assemblies to the blush.

Why then are we told of their vast inferiority, while kept in a state of degradation which renders mental and moral improvement almost impossible; which stints the growth of every thing that is generous and manly; which tends to destroy every spring of virtuous action, and to bring a human being as nearly as possible to the condition of a brute? How just is the remark of an intelligent traveller, who had an opportunity of observing the effects of slavery: * “Cut off hope for the future, and freedom for the present; superadd a due pressure of bodily suffering and personal degradation; and you have a slave, who, of whatever zone, nation, or complexion, will be, what the poor African is, torpid, debased, and lowered beneath the standard of humanity.” Loosen the shackles of the slaves; let them feel the invigorating influence of freedom; let hope enter their bosoms, and the prospect of reward cheer them; let them walk erect, like men; and they will soon refute the foul calumny of their great and inevitable inferiority to those who have a white skin. That such a

* Lieutenant Hall, in his “Account of Travels in the United States.”

state of hopeless and helpless bondage has a necessary tendency thus to degrade the mind, is evident from its effects on Europeans, as well as on Africans. "It was remarked by M. Dupuis, the British consul at Mogadore, that even the generality of European Christians, after a long captivity and severe treatment among the Arabs, appeared at first exceedingly stupid and insensible. 'If,' he adds, 'they have been any considerable time in slavery, they appear lost to reason and feeling; their spirits broken; and their faculties sunk in a species of stupor which I am unable adequately to describe. They appear degraded even below the Negro slave. The succession of hardships, without any protecting law to which they can appeal for any alleviation of redress, seems to destroy every spring of exertion or hope in their minds. They appear indifferent to every thing around them; abject, servile, and brutish.' " * Since, then, the very condition of the Negro slaves sufficiently accounts for their apparent inferiority, it is unnecessary and unphilosophical to seek for any other cause.

We ask, then, with confidence, do any of these worthless pleas afford the shadow of a pretence for depriving the Negro of those rights which the God of nature has given him, by keeping him in perpetual slavery? Do not they leave the accusation untouched? Is not the charge fully substantiated, that our colonial slavery is

* "An appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire in Behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies," by W. Wilberforce, Esq. pp. 47, 48.

a flagrant and wicked violation of the dearest rights of man ?

We advance another charge: it is contrary to *the spirit and practice of the British Constitution*.—"By constitution we mean," says Lord Bolingbroke, "when ever we speak with propriety and exactness, that assemblage of laws, institutions, and customs, derived from certain fixed principles of reason, directed to certain fixed objects of public good, that compose the general system according to which the community hath agreed to be governed." * And what is the great object of the British constitution ? It is, to secure to every subject the enjoyment of his natural rights, as far as is consistent with the safety and welfare of the whole community ; and the enjoyment of these is what we call freedom or liberty. Because our system of laws and institutions is formed to secure this, we call it a free constitution ; and on this account it has been the admiration of foreigners and the glory of Britons. It is for this that all the apparatus of law and justice is provided, from the courts of Westminster Hall to the justice-room of the county magistrate ; it is for this that the throne is erected, and the sovereign maintained in royal dignity as the great executive power ; it is for this that both houses of Parliament meet, that the judges go their circuits, and that every officer of justice is appointed, from the king to the constable ; it is, indeed, for the accomplishment of this object, in a manner more or less direct, that all the taxes of every kind are levied: what-

* Lord Bolingbroke's Works, vol. ii. p. 130.

ever abuses may creep in, whatever anomalies may be detected, the whole frame of civil government is carried on with this view. The "rights of all mankind," says Blackstone, "in most other countries of the world being now more or less debased and destroyed, they at present may be said to remain, in a peculiar and emphatical manner, the rights of the people of England. And these may be reduced to three principal or primary articles,—the right of personal security; the right of personal liberty; and the right of private property." It was to secure the rights and liberties of British subjects that our ancestors struggled hard and long, and in the end successfully, in resisting the encroachments of arbitrary power. It was for this that Magna Charta was obtained, for this the Bill of Rights was passed, and for this the succession to the throne was fixed and limited.* For this object thousands have bled, mountains of treasure have been expended; and that their liberties might not perish, a people naturally loyal took up arms against their sovereign. For this, was an hereditary monarch driven from the throne, and the house of Hanover called to occupy it. With what a jealous eye has every movement of government been watched by the people! How anxious have they been to repair every defect of freedom which time and change may have produced in the constitution! Is there a session of parliament which passes without numerous petitions and debates on some points or other connect-

* Were not the purposes of the Constitution of the United States at least as high and generous?—AM. ED.

ed with the liberty of the subject ? The most memorable Act passed during the reign of George the Fourth, are those which have given the full enjoyment of their civil rights to numerous bodies of people, on whom, on account of religious opinions, some restrictions were laid.

Prompted by this love of freedom, how often have the British people not only manifested a sympathy with other nations, when groaning beneath oppression and tyranny, but have been absolutely prodigal both of their treasure and their blood, in order to assist them in shaking off the yoke ! What a bust of feeling was produced by the first effort of Spain to resist the tyranny of Napoleon, and with what alacrity did the British armies fly to her aid ! What sympathies were awakened throughout the nation when Greece ventured to assert her freedom ; and with what transports of joy was the prospect of her liberation hailed ! Why was it that the thunder of the British cannon rolled over the head of the proud Algerine, and shook his towers of defence to the dust ? It was not to obtain cessions of territory, nor to increase the revenue by foreign tribute, but it was to abolish slavery, and to set the captives free. With what a feeling of generous pride did every bosom swell when England was hailed as the liberator of Europe !

But what a strange and glaring inconsistency is here ! She sends her armies to Spain and Portugal, and her fleets to Algiers and Navarino, to break the arm of oppression, and to rescue foreigners from slavery ; and she sends her armies and her fleets to the

West Indies to rivet the chains of slavery on her own subjects, and to bind fast the yoke of oppression! She has loaded herself with debt for the liberties of Europe; and she has added many millions to that enormous debt, to maintain slavery in her own colonies!—But, as something like an apology for what could not be defended on principle, it was asserted by a statesman, whose generous predilections in favor of liberty were apparently shackled by his political connexions, that “in the colonies the Constitution has not full play.” If he had said it has not *fair* play, he certainly would have spoken the truth: its operation is full and free enough in favor of the White man; it is obstructed only to the disadvantage of the Black. Under the shadow of its protection, the planter and the slave-holder are willing to sit, but the unhappy Negro is forbidden to expect from it either shelter or repose. To say that the Constitution has not *full* play in the colonies, is but little to the purpose: has it any existence there, or is it a dead letter? If it has there any being at all, is it not perpetually outraged by the practice of slavery? Here are 800,000 human beings, the great majority of the population, a large proportion of whom were born subjects of his Britannic majesty, who are suffering the most grievous wrongs, deprived of their dearest rights, in the name of the British people, and by the sanction of the British government! Does, then, the Constitution authorize one British subject to make another British subject a slave, and to keep him so? Or are we to be told, that, in any part of his Majesty’s dominions, there is a class of subjects to whom the Constitution af-

fords no more protection than to the brutes that perish? Was it not an express condition, in all the charters which empowered the colonies to make laws for themselves, that "the laws and statutes to be made under them are *not to be repugnant*, but as near as may be *agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of Great Britain?*" But no one will pretend that there is any agreement between the slave codes of the West Indies, and the laws and statutes of Great Britain. To compare them would be a burlesque, unless it were meant to show their mutual repugnance. Their object is exactly opposite; that of the one being to perpetuate slavery, and of the other to secure and regulate freedom.

In the laws of the British constitution, founded professedly on the laws of nature and the principles of justice, one great object is ever kept in view, that the offender only shall be punished, while the innocent is protected in the full enjoyment of his rights; but in the slave colonies we have the monstrous absurdity of crime sanctioned and innocence punished! Those who deprive their fellow-creatures of their rights, who forcibly take from them their liberty and the produce of their labor, are permitted to triumph in their violence, and to justify their wrongs; while those who have committed no crime, suffer one of the severest punishments, short of death, which man can inflict on man. If in England an innocent individual were committed to prison, or sent to the hulks for life, by some man of power, without any offence alleged, the whole nation would be in an uproar, and the walls of St. Stephen would re-

sound with execrations on the tyrant who had dared thus to treat a British subject ; but in our colonies, without the least pretence of guilt, are British subjects deprived of every right which is dear to man, and doomed to pains and penalties, compared with which, in many cases, the tread-mill would be a blessing, and Botany Bay a paradise ! In fine, the slavery of our colonies is a mockery of all law, a contempt of all right, and a stigma of reproach on the British constitution, to which it is in the highest degree repugnant.

If, however, there is any portion of the population of our colonies who cannot be considered as British subjects, and who are not, on that account, entitled to the benefits of the constitution ; the law of nations, as applicable to foreigners, must apply to them. They either form a part of his Majesty's subjects, or they do not ; in the latter case they are aliens. And is there no law to regulate our conduct towards such ? Are we at liberty to take away any man's life, or property, or freedom, and to inflict on him what injury we please, because he is not a fellow-subject with us ? Though no human enactments bind us, there are laws which "are founded in those relations of justice that existed in the nature of things antecedent to any positive precept. These are the eternal, immutable laws of good and evil, to which the Creator himself, in all his dispensations, conforms ; and which he has enabled human reason to discover, so far as they are necessary to the conduct of human actions. Such, among others, are the principles, that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to every one his due ; to which three general

precepts Justinian has reduced the whole doctrine of law."* All these, as we have already seen, the slavery of our colonies violates in the most palpable manner. On the laws of nature, the *jus gentium*, or law of nations is founded; the great principle of which is, according to Cicero, "that no one should injure another for the sake of his own advantage."† This law, according to the modern and general use of the term, may be considered as a certain rule of action, recognized by all civilized states—especially by the various divisions of the European family—by which their conduct towards each other, and towards foreigners generally, is regulated, both in war and in peace. Now, in this understood and generally recognized code, the following are articles: That no subjects of another state shall be forcibly injured, or made captives but in time of war;—that no war shall be made or declared before a case of injury is made out;—that captives shall not be barbarously treated; and that their captivity shall not continue longer than the war. But what have these foreigners done? Was there ever an injury alleged why war should be made on them? "The poor Negroes have only wept: they challenged to no combat; they had nothing to oppose to the strength of the violaters of their liberties, but the sighings of a broken heart, and the low murmurs of despair, lapsing into idio-

* Blackstone's Com. vol. i. p. 40.

† Cicero de Officiis, lib. iii. c. 5: "Neque vero hoc solum natura, id est, jure gentium, sed etiam legibus populorum, quibus in singulis civitatibus respublica continetur, eodem modo constitutum est, ut non liceat sui commodi causa nocere alteri."

cy." * And yet they were made captives, and are held in bondage, and are treated with a rigor with which no European power could treat prisoners of war, and are doomed to wear out their lives in slavery, and to entail all the miseries of their condition on their posterity forever! I ask, then, in the name of humanity, in His name who made the black man as well as the white, why is this flagrant act of injustice committed? Why, if they are not as subjects entitled to the benefits of the British constitution, are these unoffending foreigners, in defiance of the law of nations, doomed to a degrading and perpetual slavery?

It is no justification of the practice to say, that it is generally prevalent; that France, and Spain, and other powers, have slavery in their dominions. We deeply lament the fact, but we cannot admit the plea. If others plunder and oppress, it is no reason that we should; nor is it any excuse if we do. It is one of the worst and most unavailing pleas of a transgressor, that others have done the same. The new states of South America are, however, shaming the old world, with all its boasted superiority, and paying homage to justice, by the abolition of slavery; † while Britain—free, generous, and enlightened Britain—retains it.

Nor is it of any avail to plead its antiquity. What vice is there, whether private or public, individual or national, which might not be excused by the admission

* "Observations on the Demerara Memorial," p. 39.

† What a stinging reproach is this upon the older states of North America!—AM. ED.

of such a plea? Whenever man has possessed the power to oppress his fellow-creatures, and to make them the instruments of his own pleasure or profit, he has rarely failed to exercise it. Considerations of what is right and equitable have too little force, when opposed to the inclinations and passions of the human heart. Men will do wrong in the very face of punishment: what, then, will check them when they are sure of impunity? The lawless abuse of power is almost as old as the creation; but it is not on that account less criminal. What if Egypt, and Greece, and Rome, had slaves, are they to be our patterns? We are much indebted to them for science, less for politics, and still less for morals. Shall the conduct of nations, to whose gods all human vices were attributed, whose morality had no fixed principles, on whom the light of Divine Revelation never shone, be pleaded in justification of those who live, not in the infancy, but at a very advanced stage of the world's improvement; and who, in addition to the light of science, have the superior advantage of the Christian Revelation? Or, if slavery, in the mitigated form of villeinage, existed during the dark ages in England, surely it is no reason that the relics of a barbarous age should be revived, with increased severity, in our colonies, and be continued even in the nineteenth century!

The statutes of the British Parliament are sometimes pleaded; but these, whatever they may be, do not prove that the practice is consistent with justice and humanity, and that it ought to be continued. Many laws have been repealed precisely for this reason, that they were

neither just nor humane; and we must repeat, that no law can make that right which is essentially wrong, any more than an Act of Parliament can make two and two five. Too much stress is often laid on this circumstance; especially when it is asserted, or insinuated, that colonial slavery is founded on British law. No assertion can be more unjust. The Parliament has, indeed, recognised it by its Acts as an existing institution; but it had its origin in the barbarous practice of unprincipled adventurers. And little did the legislature or the people of England know of the monstrous evils of the system, when, by their commercial regulations, they inadvertently gave it the kind of sanction which is now pleaded in its favor. It was not until the conscience of the country was awakened by a view of the horrors of the slave trade, that all the cruelty and iniquity of colonial slavery became known. Had it been exhibited to our legislators, when seeking their protection, in its true colors, in all probability it would not have been countenanced for a moment. As long, however, as any of those enactments remain, which, directly or indirectly, sanction what is so criminal in the sight of God, and so foul an injury to man, so long will they disgrace our statute book, dishonor the nation, and hold us up to the world as the most inconsistent people on the earth.

When other resources fail, strange as it may appear, the Scriptures are quoted in favor of this cruel practice; *

* It is with an ill grace that slave-holders quote Scripture in defence of a system which is not only opposed to the great moral principles of the Bible, but which treats with contempt some of its most express precepts. There is, for instance, no command

and it is argued, that as by Divine authority the ancient Jews were permitted to hold slaves, the highest possible sanction is given to the slavery of our colonies. Now there are two things which militate against this argument: Jewish servitude and colonial slavery are so dissimilar that we cannot argue from one to the other; and, whatever was its condition among the Jews, it affords no precedent to us.

It is needless now to refer to the temporary servitude

more solemnly and forcibly enjoined than the observance of a seventh portion of time for religious purposes: "Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy. *Six days shalt thou labor*, and do all thy work: but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: *in it thou shalt not do any work*; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, thy maid-servant, thy male *slave*, nor thy female *slave*, as the colonists would call it;) nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates." (Ex. xx. 8—10.) This command remains in all its force, as to the portion of time to be thus employed, though under the Christian dispensation the day is altered. The only ground on which a slave-holder, whose slaves are compelled to break the Sabbath habitually, is entitled to appeal to the Scriptures, is the *argumentum ad hominem*; it is because his opponents profess to revere them. Would it not be just to reply; Your appeal is fruitless: it is to an authority which, in point of practice at least, *you* do not acknowledge. You treat the *precepts* of the Bible as of no authority: what right have you to plead its *precedents*? If the one has no authority as a rule, surely the other has none as a warrant.

To affirm, indeed, that the Bible affords a sanction to West-India slavery, is, in my view, a gross libel on the Sacred Records—it is a most important and fatal concession to the infidel. Prove only that it sanctions such injustice, cruelty, and oppression; that it supports the principle that power gives right, which is the basis on which the system stands; that it warrants one man to hold as his property a hundred or a thousand of his fellow-creatures, and, while he tramples on the dearest rights of man, to make them the mere instruments of his avarice and luxury; and you go far to prove that it does not proceed from a God of justice and mercy. To prove that the slave system of our colonies is scriptural, is like an attempt to prove that the Bible is a forgery, and its religion a cheat.

to which an Israelite might, in certain cases, be subject: it is the bond-service of the heathen only which can be adduced by the advocates of slavery, in order to defend their system; and in this there are many important points of difference. Their servitude was altogether of a domestic character. The bondmen obtained by war, or by purchase, were incorporated into the family, and considered a part of it. If they had to labor, it was in no occupation in which any of the household would have thought themselves degraded by taking a part. But who ever saw White men toiling on a plantation by the side of the Negroes? To employ even White convicts in this manner would be felt as an outrage on the whole community. The labor of the slave on the sugar-estate, urged by the driving-whip, with the super-added toil of crop-time, is such as no free man or hired servant, according to the colonists, could be induced to undergo, and nothing but constant "steady coercion" would keep the Negroes subjected to it. But there was nothing like planting speculations among the Hebrews, to enrich a few, by wearing out the lives of thousands in unremitting toil and hopeless misery.

There was no broad line of distinction between the Hebrew servant and the family of which he formed a part. "The heir," says St. Paul, "as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant (*δσλος*, the term for 'a slave,') though he be lord of all." * Can this be affirmed of the West-India slave and his young lord? —A Hebrew servant might fill the highest offices, con-

* Gal. iv. 1.

nected with the family, of trust and honor; and, if of approved fidelity and good conduct, he might expect the kindest regards and most ample remuneration. "A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame, and shall have part of the inheritance among the brethren." * The wealthy patriarch, Abraham, had also designed to make a servant of this kind his heir. What would be thought of such things in our colonies? A man who should communicate his intention of giving to a trusty slave "part of the inheritance among the brethren," or of leaving to him the whole of his fortune, would be deemed insane.

If the servant of an Israelite lost but a tooth through the violence of his master, he was free; but when a ruffian of one of our colonies boasted, that, in addition to a horrible flogging, he had "broken the mouth" of a poor female slave, there was no redress: she was sent home, to be again subject to the same treatment.

Our translators have done well in avoiding the terms "slave," and "slavery," with reference to the purchased servants of the Hebrews: they felt that in so rendering it they would have done injustice to the sacred text, by suggesting ideas which the words were not meant to convey. A *slave*, in the colonial sense, signifies something more than a perpetual servant—it includes all that is degraded, and abject, and helpless. The term could not be applied to a free man, especially to a man of respectability, but in contempt, and it would be immediately resented as such. Among the Hebrews it had

* Prov. xvii. 2.

no such necessary and inevitable associations: it is applied to Israel as a nation, to prophets, to kings, and even to the Great Messiah.* If it had some ideas in common, it had many in which there was no agreement. Long, long, must the colonial assemblies go on with their "meliorating acts," before they can compare their wretched slavery with the servitude of the Hebrews. And when they have brought it to this point, they will be as far as ever from being able to justify the enslaving of their fellow-creatures by the example of the ancient Jews.

We observe, then, in the next place, that whatever was the nature of slavery or servitude among the Jews, it has no authority as a precedent for us. For, first, many of the institutions of Moses were evidently adapted to a people in the very infancy of civilization: we are in a situation so different, that what was allowable in them, might be culpable in us. And, further, some things, respecting which regulations were given, seem to be tolerated for the time being, rather than sanctioned and approved. Such was the case with polygamy, which might be defended on the same principle as slavery.

And let it also be remembered, that the Jews lived under a special and peculiar dispensation; no nation

* It may, I think, be safely said that the Hebrews had no word in their language for slave, in the full meaning of the West-Indian term. The same may be observed of the Greek of the New Testament, as the sacred writers appear to use *δoulos* in the same general sense, as signifying a person who renders service of any kind to God or man.

ever was, or ever can be, in similar circumstances. They were raised up as a nation for purposes which have long since been accomplished, and therefore for reasons which no longer exist. They were to be the depositaries of Divine truth and religious ordinances, while error and idolatry were covering the whole earth; they were to preserve the knowledge and the worship of the true God, until the appearance of the great Messiah to bless the Gentile world. Their civil polity was a theocracy: God was their king and their law-giver; he dwelt among them, by the visible emblem of his presence, the cloud of glory. These peculiarities gave them an importance which distinguished them from all other people; they were "a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." They were raised up not only for mercy, but for judgment: they were the rod of God's anger, the scourge of the guilty nations of Canaan. When God saw that the measure of their iniquity was full, he gave the Israelites commission to march through the wilderness, to enter the land of Canaan, to put the inhabitants thereof to the sword, and to take their country as an inheritance. Nothing but a divine commission would have authorized this. All the surrounding nations were therefore under sentence of death; a sentence passed by the great Judge of all for long-continued national crimes. Their being reduced to the state of bondsmen was therefore a mitigation of punishment, and might, by finally incorporating them with the favored nation, be an eminent blessing to them and their posterity. But will our colonists set up a claim of distinction like that which the ancient Israelites possessed?

"The middle wall of partition is broken down," and all nations and people are now on a level before God. Have they received a commission from Heaven to extirpate or enslave the Negro race? We have just as good a precedent for making conquests of foreign nations, and putting their inhabitants to the sword, as the planters have for slavery.—But are they willing to abide by the regulations of the Mosaic institutes? "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if *he be found in his hand*, he shall surely be put to death."* The *sabbath breaker* was stoned to death: if this law were put in force, what would become of our colonies?

It would probably be replied, that the constitutions of the Jewish code are no longer in force; that the whole frame of that economy has passed away. We admit it; and with the admission we see the argument perish which is founded on Jewish servitude. All that was national and ceremonial is gone, and only what was of moral, and therefore of unchangeable, obligation is incorporated in the new dispensation. A new system was introduced by the Son of God, of clearer light, and characterized by a purer morality and a more diffusive benevolence, the motto of which is, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

We shall not find it difficult, then, to show, in the last place, that the slavery of our colonies is opposed to the spirit and tendency of Christianity. And on this we would be content to rest the whole issue of the case. And why should it not rest here? The planters pro-

* Exod. xxi. 16.

fess Christianity; the government is declared to be Christian; we are told that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land;" both Houses of Parliament have Christian worship before they proceed to business: if, therefore, the slavery of our colonies be opposed to the principles and practice of Christianity, why should a Christian nation continue it, or suffer it to be continued, in any of its dependencies?

But that we may not be accused of unfairness, let us make all the concessions which can justly be claimed. And, first, it is admitted that there is no distinct precept in the Christian Scriptures which forbids slavery, of one kind or another. But neither is there any warrant for it; and so far nothing is proved on either side. There are many things, which are not by any express precept forbidden, which yet are quite irreconcilable with the holy and benevolent nature of the religion of Christ. In the absence of either precept or prohibition, we must judge of the propriety of any action or course of conduct by the bearing which Christian principles have on it; by its accordance or otherwise with the general nature and spirit of the system. Now, slavery is so opposite to the general tendency of Christianity, that it would require some very express warrant, at least something more than mere negative authority, to support it.*

* What would St. Paul have thought of the manner in which slaves were procured for our colonies, who ranks "men-stealers" among murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, and other atrocious criminals? A "man-stealer" (*αἰδραποδισαί*) means one who kidnapped others and reduced them to slavery.

It is also true, that when Christianity commenced its mild and merciful career, slavery existed in every part of the Roman empire; and though many slaves, and masters of slaves, embraced Christianity, yet the Apostles did not explicitly declare this state to be unlawful, nor command the immediate release of every slave. There were, however, very important reasons for this. The statement of Paley is so satisfactory on this point, that I beg leave to quote his words:—"Christianity, soliciting admission into all the nations of the world, abstained, as behoved it, from intermeddling with the civil institutions of any. But does it follow from the silence of Scripture concerning them, that all the civil institutions which then prevailed were right? or that the bad should not be exchanged for better? Besides this, the discharging of slaves from all obligation to obey their masters, which is the consequence of pronouncing slavery to be unlawful, would have had no better effect than to let loose one half of mankind upon the other. Slaves would have been tempted to embrace a religion which asserted their right of freedom; masters would hardly have consented to claims founded upon such authority; the most calamitous of all contests, a *bellum servile*, might probably have ensued, to the reproach, if not the extinction, of the Christian name."* As, however, the influence of this system of mercy was extended, "the Greek and Roman slavery, and since these, the feudal tyranny, has declined before it." †

* Paley's Moral Philosophy, book iii. part ii. ch. iii.

† The same argument which would support slavery, would

It is granted, also, that servants (δουλοι) are exhorted "to be obedient to their masters," and "to show all good fidelity." Such are still the exhortations of every Christian missionary; and such is the conduct of the poor enslaved Negroes who have heard and embraced the Gospel. But why is this submissive conduct urged on the slaves? Not on account of the just claims of the master, but to take away every cause of reproach on the Gospel; "that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior in all things." It was never imagined that it is incompatible with Christianity that a man should meekly *suffer* wrongs for which there is no redress, or that he should even decline asserting his rights "for conscience sake;" but the question is, whether Christianity justifies the infliction of such wrongs, as abject and hopeless slavery implies?

The genius and tendency of the Christian religion may be ascertained by a brief reference to the views which it imparts, the dispositions which it inculcates, and the duties which it enjoins.

Are the views which it gives us of God and man, and of our relations to each, such as can lend any sanction to the practice of enslaving, or holding in a state of slavery, our fellow-creatures? It leads our minds to the contemplation of an infinitely glorious Being, who is as good as he is great; whose justice is such, that

justify the most cruel despotism. Did St. Paul denounce Nero and that form of government, which had become so unqualified a despotism as utterly to despise all popular rights? But who would argue from his silence that Christianity gives a sanction to tyranny, and exonerates those who destroy the liberties of mankind?

not an individual, of whatever rank in the scale of existence, of all the unnumbered myriads that have had and shall have a being, shall have to complain of an injury done to him; whose benevolence is boundless as the universe, and lasting as eternity. He is represented as the Creator of all, black or white, bond or free; the common Parent of all mankind; to whom all may address the language, "*Our Father*, who art in heaven." He is the Benefactor of all: He has created the world, and formed all the arrangements of nature for the benefit of mankind. The sun shines, the winds blow, the rains descend, the earth produces, for the African as well as for the European. He is the Governor of all; "His kingdom ruleth over all." All are bound to obey and serve Him: none can claim an independence: He holds all responsible, of every rank, and color and clime. He will be the Judge of all. Poor and rich, princes and people, the planter and the Negro; all must stand before his tribunal, to be judged, not according to the color of their skin, but, according to their works." Can such views, and the sentiments which they are adapted to produce, accord with slavery?

And what does Christianity teach us with reference to man? That we are all sprung from one common stock, whatever changes a difference of climate, and food, and manner of living may have produced;—that whether the hair be woolly or lank; the skin black, or red, or white; whatever be the protuberances of the skull, the shape of the nose, or the position of the cheek bones; "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." It abolishes all national distinctions, and de-

clares that we are all brethren, forming part of one great family, of which the Creator himself is the head. That, as all are born in the same way, grow in the same way, and alike descend into the dust; so the bodies of all shall be revived, when "the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised." What then is the essential difference, that one man should buy and sell a fellow-man, or claim an absolute property in a human being?

And as Christianity recognises no difference in the physical nature of man, so it admits not of a moral distinction.—Does it allow the White man to suppose that he is free from that inherent depravity which it ascribes to all? Does the charge of transgression apply less to him than to the Negro? It contains no exemption in favor of the European or the slave-owner, when it declares that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God;" that "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Its address to all, without exception, is, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

And do not the merciful provisions of the Gospel extend to the Black as well as to the White, to the uncivilized as well as to the polished? Is there one Redeemer for the planter, and another for his slave? Must not the sins of both be pardoned by the same atoning sacrifice? Does the Divine Spirit disdain to visit the bosom of the Negro, or to purify his heart, because of the color of his skin? All the promises and invitations of the Gospel are as much addressed to the slave as to his master. The same sources of consola-

tion are open to all ; the same enemy tempts all ; the same grace is sufficient for all ; and the same heaven will bless and reward every humble follower of the Saviour, whether he be black or white. "They shall come from the east, and the west, and the north, and the south ; and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God."

Now, are these views consistent with that state of degradation to which one man reduces another when he makes him a slave ; and when the substance of all he can allege is, that he is a White man and the other is a Negro ? We do not wonder that the planters are so jealous of their slaves' receiving Christian instruction ; that missionaries are obliged to be so cautious and select even in the parts of Scripture which they read ; that it is, in fact, almost impossible for the most prudent and cautious teacher of Christianity, who wishes to give efficient instruction to the Negroes in the doctrines and duties and privileges of Christianity, to avoid the charge of making "statements which lead to insubordination," giving ideas of equality which are inconsistent with the relation of slave and slave-owner. The planters feel how contrary their system is to Christianity. They are afraid of their slaves hearing any thing of it, except its outward forms, and its precepts of obedience to masters ; and it requires no foresight to predict, nor is it rashness to assert, that the colonists never will, and never can be, generally and thoroughly in earnest to christianize their slaves, till they make up their minds to the speedy abolition of slavery. A pious

slave will not have recourse to violence, but slavery cannot endure the light of Christianity.

The dispositions which the Gospel of Christ inculcates militate no less against slavery. It teaches us, that love is the life and soul of all religion: "He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." Love to God, and love to man, ever attend the reception of genuine Christianity—a supreme regard to God, and a benevolent regard to man. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" Nor is the measure of it to be small: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor *as thyself*." What a delightful portraiture is drawn of charity by the same Apostle that condemns "man-stealing!" It "suffereth long, and is kind:" it cannot, therefore, deliberately injure. So far from *doing* evil to another, it "thinketh no evil." It is not selfish, looking only to personal gains and gratifications, but it expands the heart with a disinterested generosity; "seeking not her own." And so deeply does this charity enter into the nature of Christianity, that a man possessed of heavenly gifts and miraculous powers, without it would be but "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." How constantly are we, in the writings of the New Testament, moved to all that is merciful and kind, both by the infinite benevolence of our common Father, and by the example of the blessed Redeemer! For "if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." We are to forbear and to forgive; to be "tender-hearted;" to "weep with them that weep, and to rejoice with them that rejoice." And can this tenderness of charity, with

all its holy sympathies, be reconciled to the practice of our colonial slavery?

We lastly mention the duties which it enjoins. All the rules of conduct which it prescribes, in relation to our dealings with our fellow-men, may be summed up in a brief precept of the Old Testament, "Do justly and love mercy." Justice must be rendered to every one; but not merely justice; *mercy* must mark our conduct. Every thing like oppression, injustice, or want of kind consideration, is reprobated in the strongest terms. But, is it doing justice to withhold the "hire of the laborer;" to deprive him of his right to his person, to his liberty, to the produce of his industry? to deprive him of the rights of a husband and a father? Is there mercy in any part of the slave system? Has it one feature of tenderness and charity? Without multiplying examples, there is one general rule, which we shall finally mention, which, for its importance and value, has been called "the golden rule:" "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." If we are in doubt as to the rule of duty in any given case, if there is no express and distinct precept which applies, here is a standard by which the most illiterate may determine: let self-love pass the sentence and decide the point. This is a rule the application of which slavery cannot endure. When the planters adopt this principle, slavery will be no more. When the British Parliament act upon the plain and undeniable rule of that Christianity which they say is "part and parcel of the law of the land," they will no longer balance financial or commercial considerations against the

rights and comforts of 800,000 of their fellow-creatures; they will no longer allow the petty legislatures of the dependent colonies to mock them by evasive laws; but, with the generosity and sympathy of British Christians, they will "bind up the broken in heart, and bid the captive go free."

LECTURE IV.

THE last topic of discussion to which I shall now proceed, is THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY; as an introduction to which, permit me to give a brief view of the manner in which this deadly plant took root in our colonies. We have already had occasion to notice the general prevalence of slavery, in some form or other, from the remotest times. It may be considered, indeed, as co-existent with the exercise of lawless power, and as originating in the barbarous practices of men who acted on the principle that *power gives right*. Under the benign influence of Christianity, juster views of the rights of man were acquired, and a tone of feeling produced by which that kind of slavery which prevailed in Europe for ages had given way, and in most of its states had become extinct; when in the fifteenth century it was revived, in an aggravated form, in the colonies of the new world. "In the year 1442, while the Portuguese, under the encouragement of their celebrated Prince Henry, were exploring the coast of Africa, Anthony Gonsalez, who two years before had seized some Moors

near Cape Bajador, was by that prince ordered to carry his prisoners back to Africa: he landed them at Rio del Oro, and received from the Moors, in exchange, ten Blacks and a quantity of gold dust, with which he returned to Lisbon." * This new kind of commerce appearing to be a profitable speculation, others of the same nation soon embarked in it. Towards the close of the same century, the Spaniards, having discovered and taken possession of the West India islands, in their inordinate thirst for gold compelled the unfortunate natives to work in the mines of Hispaniola; and, according to Mr. Clarkson, "as early as 1503 a few slaves were sent by the Portuguese to the Spanish colonies." In 1511, Ferdinand the Fifth of Spain, allowed a larger importation of these unhappy beings. Such were the cruelties which the natives of these newly discovered colonies suffered, while compelled to the severest labors by their avaricious oppressors, that their diminishing numbers threatened a speedy extinction of their race; when Bartholomew de Las Casas entreated Cardinal Ximenes, who held the reins of government till Charles the Fifth ascended the throne, to allow a regular commerce in African Negroes: this, however, the cardinal, much to his honor, refused. But in 1517, Charles the Fifth granted a patent for the exclusive supply of 4,000 Negroes annually to Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico. This patent was afterwards assigned to some Genoese merchants; and thus the Spanish colonies were regularly supplied. This great prince was not, in

* "Edwards' History of the West Indies," vol. ii. p. 37.

all probability, aware of the dreadful evils attending this horrible traffic, nor of the crying injustice of permitting it; for in 1542, when he made a code of laws for his Indian subjects, he liberated all the Negroes, and by a word put an end to their slavery. When, however, he resigned his crown, and retired into a monastery, and the minister of his mercy, Pedro de la Gasca, returned to Spain, the imperious tyrants of these new dominions returned to their former practices, and fastened the yoke on the suffering and unresisting Negroes.

Captain, afterwards Sir John Hawkins, was the first Englishman who disgraced himself and his country by engaging in this nefarious traffic. Conceiving that it would be a profitable speculation, he obtained the assistance of some wealthy persons in London; and in 1562, having fitted out three ships, and sailed to the coast of Africa, he fell on the defenceless Negroes sword in hand, burned and plundered their towns, and, seizing on 300, sailed with them to Hispaniola; sold them; and with other articles of merchandize, the price of blood, arrived in England.* He was afterwards appointed to one of the Queen's ships, to proceed on the same adventure. But Elizabeth appears to have been deceived; "for," says Hill, the naval historian, quoted by Clarkson, having questioned Hawkins, "she expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent, in which case she declared

* This atrocious act, the commencement of the English slave-trade, was perpetrated at Sierra Leone, on the very spot where Free-town now stands, erected with the design of repairing in some measure the wrongs of Africa.

that 'it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers.' " * It seems, then, that it was represented to the government at home that it was as *laborers*, taken away voluntarily, that they were transported to the Spanish colonies, and not as *slaves*.

It appears also from Labat, a Roman missionary, that in order to induce Louis XIII. to sanction the practice of slavery in his colonies, he was persuaded that it was for the good of the Negroes' souls and the glory of God, this being the only way of converting them to Christianity. Deceived by this hypocritical representation, the monarch gave his consent.

Having thus commenced, this shameful traffic proceeded, and gathered strength day by day. As British settlements were formed in the West-India islands, during the reign of the two Charleses, the colonists commenced plantations and stocked them with slaves. The Buccaneers enriched these settlements with their spoils, and, accustomed as they were to deeds of blood, to cruelty and rapine, the enslaving of their fellow-creatures

* What, then, would Elizabeth have said, had she known the depredations of this fiend in human shape? A companion of Captain Hawkins in this expedition, speaking of their arrival at Sambula, says, "in this island we stayed certain days, going every day on shore to *take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their towns.*" And Mr. Edwards, though averse to the abolition of the slave-trade, says, "in regard to Hawkins himself, he was, I admit, a *murderer and a robber.* His avowed purpose in sailing to Guinea, was to take, by stratagem or force, and carry away, the unsuspecting natives, in the view of selling them as slaves to the people of Hispaniola. In this pursuit his object was present profit; and *his employment and pastime, devastation and murder.*" (Edwards' Hist. W. Indies, vol. ii. pp. 43, 44.)

would shock no feeling of their minds.—Mr. Edwards says, that from 1700 to 1786 the number imported into Jamaica was 610,000! “I say this,” he observes, “on sufficient evidence, having in my possession lists of all the entries.” “The total import into all the British colonies from 1680 to 1786, may be put at 2,130,000.” In 1771, which he considers the most flourishing period of the trade, there sailed from England to the coast of Africa one hundred and nine-two ships, provided for the importation of 47,146 Negroes. “And now,” he observes (1793,) “the whole number annually exported from Africa by all the European powers is 74,000, of which 38,000 are imported by the British.”* In this abominable traffic in human beings, Britain did not take the lead, but, having once embarked in it, she threw into it her accustomed energy, and soon surpassed all the rest.

Thus we see that Mammon, at whose shrine the original natives of the West-India islands were sacrificed by thousands and tens of thousands, was the cruel deity by whose inspirations Negro slavery was commenced: fraud and hypocrisy pleaded his cause, while treachery and violence were the agents he employed. Unprincipled adventurers, for the love of gain, embarked in this unholy enterprise; governments, imposed on, or not aware of the enormities of the system, first tolerated and then encouraged it, till long custom gave it a kind of sanction; and this horrid upas, blighting and withering all that comes within its pestilential influence,

* Edwards' History of the West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 55, 56, 57.

struck deep root in our colonies : there it still flourishes, the black man's plague, and the white man's curse ; and will continue its mischiefs, till it is uprooted by human benevolence, or perishes, smitten by the vengeance of offended Heaven.

On taking a survey of what has been done by the friends of humanity towards the extinction of this evil, we perceive three distinct steps of advance :—the decision of the judges in Westminster Hall in 1772, which banished Negro slavery from England ; the Act of Parliament passed in 1807, which abolished the slave trade ; and the unanimous resolutions of the House of Commons in 1823, which pledged Parliament to the extinction of slavery. These are three prominent points, which may serve as way-marks, and which conveniently divide our historical notices into four periods, from the commencement of slavery in our colonies to the present time.

The first long and gloomy period extends to 1772, when a ray of hope faintly beamed on the enslaved Negro. During the whole of this time slavery reigned uncontrolled ; the savage demon exulted in the triumph obtained over the cries of nature, the voice of conscience, and the remonstrances of religion. From the very centre of Africa to the shores of America, on the land and on the ocean, was one vast scene of suffering. Barbarities without a parallel were perpetrated constantly and systematically. Men seemed to have lost their own nature, and to be converted into fiends : not only did a hard-hearted selfishness extinguish all sense of humanity, but a horrid taste for cruelty, a delight in gratuitous

suffering, were in many cases generated by this system. In our colonies, deeds of darkness were perpetrated undisturbed by the light. No one had lifted the curtain; only the planters and their friends had been behind the scenes: with the exception of a few individuals, the British public knew nothing of what was going on in the West Indies. During the whole of this time, the colonial assemblies legislated according to their own hearts' desire. The slave owners had almost unlimited power to beat and torture and mutilate, even kill, their wretched Negroes, with only, in most cases, the risk of a small fine; and this risk, from the non-reception of slave evidence and the state of society, there was but little danger of incurring. In certain cases, the miserable Negroes might be burned to death by a slow fire, or hung up in a cage to perish by starvation. The evidence given subsequently before the House of Commons exhibits a mass of suffering at which the heart sickens, but of which the people and government of England were then ignorant. Such was the dreadful waste of life, that large annual importations were necessary to keep up the number of slaves. And this triumphant and unmolested reign of slavery in the British dominions, continued for upwards of a century and a half.

As far, however, as the true nature of the system was known, it was, from its earliest history, reprobated by the wise and good. We have seen that Ximenes set his face against it; that Charles the Fifth repented of the sanction which he had given it in the earlier part of his reign, and as the fruits of this repentance libera-

ted all the slaves in the Spanish colonies; that Elizabeth protested against any violence being employed; that Louis the Thirteenth admitted it only on the supposition that it would facilitate the conversion of the Negroes. The first person in England, who, as we can now learn, bore his public testimony against Negro slavery, was a clergyman of the name of Godwyn, who published a treatise on the subject, dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. About the same time, Mr. Baxter, an eminent Nonconformist, reprobated, in his "Christian Directory," the cruelties practised towards the Negroes; and some other writers followed in the same track. This was in the seventeenth century; in the following century several travellers, poets, and divines entered their protest against the iniquity of the system; among the latter, were Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, the celebrated Bishop Warburton, and Dr. Samuel Johnson. But though the names of these friends of the oppressed might crowd the pages of a book, yet, when we consider the length of time and extent of a country over which they spread, they seem indeed, "like angels' visits, few and far between."

At length appeared Granville Sharp, the morning star of Negro freedom.

The planters and merchants had for some time been accustomed to bring slaves with them to England: many of these ran away from their masters, and received the protection of the inhabitants. As a notion was at this time generally prevalent, that the Negroes, if baptized into the Christian faith, could not be claimed as slaves, many of them applied to clergymen for baptism;

and some responsible citizens of London became sponsors on the occasion, who conceived themselves bound to defend the Negroes' right to freedom in these circumstances. This gave rise to frequent contentions; till at length, in 1729, the Attorney and Solicitor General gave it as their opinion that a slave was not made free by coming to England, even though he should be baptized. This, of course, gave boldness to the holders of slaves: the British newspapers were defiled with advertisements for run-away slaves, with their marks; and with notices of Negroes for sale. In the year 1765, a poor Negro of the name of Strong, was so unmercifully beaten and ill used by his master, that he was rendered unfit for service, and in a helpless and crippled state was turned adrift. Applying to Mr. Sharp's brother, a medical gentleman of great humanity, Granville Sharp became acquainted with him, and soon felt a lively interest in his fate. By the kind attentions of these gentlemen he was restored to health and comfort; and then the ruthless master, who, having reduced him to the most deplorable condition by his barbarity, had abandoned him, seized on him as his prey, to drag him on board a ship for the West Indies. Granville Sharp espoused his cause; a severe contest ensued, which terminated in the rescue of the poor Negro. But, still, all who were engaged in the administration of English law were strongly influenced by the high authority of the Attorney and Solicitor General, who had pronounced an opinion against the freedom of the slave: Mr. Sharp, therefore, with a disinterested philanthropy, gave himself up for some years to the study

of the legal question, and in 1769 produced a work on the subject, which was considered by some eminent professional men to be decisive. Several sharp struggles ensued, but the glowing zeal of his benevolence was not to be damped by difficulties. At length, in the case of one Somerset, after it had been argued in the courts of Westminster for three sessions, in January, February, and May, 1772, the memorable decision was pronounced by the judges, that as soon as a slave sets his foot on the English soil he becomes free.* This was a glorious triumph of humanity, after an arduous struggle of seven years, commenced and carried on principally by a comparatively obscure individual;—an instructive example of what may be achieved, in spite of the most formidable difficulties, by persevering and zealous efforts in a good cause: and the name of Granville Sharp is enrolled in the imperishable annals of humanity, surrounded by a brighter halo of glory than ever surrounded the brows of an Alexander or a Cæsar.

But though the genius of Britain thus drew a circle around our native land, into which the fiend of slavery dared not to enter, he was still permitted to riot in all his accustomed excesses, from the coasts of Africa to the West-India colonies. The *second period*, however, will bring us to the year 1807, in which his power received

* Far otherwise is it, in New-England. Here a slave finds no refuge, no protection. If claimed by one, who has the audacity to call a man his property, he is taken by New-England sheriffs, and by a New-England magistrate is delivered into the hands of his oppressor. Not even the common privilege of a jury-trial is granted to him.—AM. ED.

a considerable check. By the struggles and the decision above mentioned, a deeper and more general interest was excited in the fate of the oppressed Africans. Many, of various ranks and parties and religious denominations, stood boldly forward to plead their cause; among whom may be mentioned the venerable Mr. Wesley, who, while he was laboring with unremitting zeal to free the minds of men from error and vice, would have broken the fetters of the slave, and fully recognised him as "a man and a brother." The first person who had the boldness and humanity to bring the subject before the British Parliament, was Mr. David Hartley, member for Hull, (the son of the celebrated Dr. Hartley,) who in 1776 denounced the iniquity of the slave-trade in the House of Commons, and, having laid on the table some of the chains that were used, moved that "the slave-trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of men." His motion was seconded by Sir George Saville, member for Yorkshire.

One circumstance, which soon after produced a considerable impression, was a suit brought against the underwriters for a loss caused by the captain of a slave-ship *throwing overboard one hundred and thirty-two Negroes alive!* This barbarous wretch was not tried for the murder of these one hundred and thirty-two human beings in cold blood; and were it not that his owners attempted to recover their value from the underwriters, who resisted the demand, this horrid transaction would have sunk into oblivion, and these poor wretches might have gone, without notice or pity, after the

thousands that have perished in the same manner, or in a way equally barbarous.

From a very early period the society of Friends did themselves honor by espousing the cause of humanity, and in the most public manner protesting against slavery and the slave-trade, both in England and in America. By them was the first association formed in favor of the slaves; and by them was the first petition presented to Parliament on this subject, in 1783. The first town which sent up a petition against slavery was Bridgewater, in 1784.

In the year last mentioned, Dr. Peckard, in a sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, warmly advocated the Negroes' cause; and, when he was Vice-chancellor of that university, he gave, in 1785, as a prize essay, the subject, "*Anne liceat invitos in servitutum dare?*" "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" Mr. Thomas Clarkson, who had already obtained literary honors, engaged, with youthful ambition, in a contest for this prize; but while he was collecting facts and circumstances to support his thesis, his mind was so powerfully impressed as to allow him no rest, till at length, with an elevated and generous devotion, he resolved on giving up his time, his talents, his whole soul and body, to the cause of Negro freedom. He was soon brought into contact with many others whose minds were strongly excited on this subject, and, among the rest, was introduced to Mr. Wilberforce, a name dear to humanity, who pledged himself to bring the matter forward in the House of Commons.

On the 22d of May, 1787, a society was formed for the abolition of the slave trade.

From this period the labors of the Committee were great, and the exertions of those who sought the abolition of this horrid traffic, were incessant. Mr. Clarkson travelled many thousands of miles to collect information and procure evidence; many appeals were made to the public and to the government by the press; a deep interest was excited; and an active and determined spirit of opposition was manifested. On the 9th of May, 1788, Mr. Pitt, on account of the illness of Mr. Wilberforce, brought the subject before Parliament: this was, however, only to obtain a pledge to take it into early consideration during the next session. Accordingly, in 1789 Mr. Wilberforce made his first motion relative to the slave trade, which met with great opposition, and which was followed by very warm discussions in the House.

The contest now became most animated, both in and out of Parliament. On the one hand were the planters, the great slave proprietors resident in England, the West-India merchants, the African merchants, the slave captains, and all who gained their living by this barbarous trade, and thought that their "craft was in danger." By these the most strenuous efforts were made to defeat the measures of the abolitionists, and to retain their position. Those who opposed the slave trade were denounced as rash innovators, as mad enthusiasts: witnesses were found who deposed before the House of Commons, not only as to the necessity, but the actual mercy and charity of the slave trade: the middle passage

was declared to be the happiest time of a Negro's life, and his situation in the plantations as really enviable. The most fearful outcries were made of the danger of parliamentary interference, and alarming representations were industriously circulated, of the certainty of the insurrection of the Negroes and the massacre of all the White men, the ruin of the colonies, and the irreparable injury which would be sustained by our commerce and our navy. The injustice, further, of interfering "with vested rights," and destroying the property of thousands to please the wild benevolence of fanatics, was loudly denounced; and, to intimidate the nation, compensation was demanded to an amount so enormous, as it was known could not be given: in a word, all the means of a numerous and wealthy body of men were put in requisition to prevent the cessation of the most horribly cruel, and iniquitous trade, in which men had ever engaged.

On the other hand, all the friends of humanity, of freedom, and of religion, were on the alert, and rallied round the standard which the committee in London had reared; Churchmen, and Dissenters of every name; all ranks, from the prince to the cottager, united their efforts. Witnesses were brought from various parts of the kingdom, who had been residents in Africa or the West-Indies; the press was kept constantly at work, and information was circulated through the country in every form: in short, every means that the ingenuity of benevolence could suggest, was zealously employed to hasten the extinction of this inhuman traffic.

But we cannot, consistently with our plan, enter into

all the particulars of this arduous struggle, or attempt to describe the incessant exertions, the unwearied toils, the deep anxieties, the hopes and fears, the successes and defeats, the encouragements and despondency which, as the tide of battle fluctuated, attended this great contest. Sometimes, when the measure seemed on the point of being carried, it was defeated by the dexterous manœuvring of the opponents; when it had with the greatest difficulty passed the Commons, it was rejected by the Lords. New enemies started forward in the ranks of opposition, and new friends as unexpectedly arose: now the excitement of public feeling, expended in fruitless efforts, seemed relapsing into apathy; and now it was animated with redoubled zeal: one while the friends of the injured African were ready to retire in despair, and nothing appeared to be left to them but to weep over sufferings and wrongs which they could not redress; and again they rallied their forces, girded on their armor, and rushed to the breach; till at length, after a contest of twenty years, victory declared on the side of humanity.* In 1807 a bill was brought into the House of Lords for the abolition of the slave trade, by Lord Grenville, then at the head of the administration; which, having passed, was introduced into the Commons by Lord Howick, now Earl Grey: on the 25th of March it received the royal signature. By this it was enacted that no slave should be imported into our colonies after March 1, 1808.†

* For a particular account of this memorable struggle, see Clarkson's "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," 2 vols. 8vo.

† The United States abolished the slave trade about the same

The next great movement in favor of Negro freedom was in 1823. This third period of our historical sketch embraces sixteen years. By the important Act which abolished the slave trade, the cruelties perpetrated in Africa, with all the horrors of the passage to the colonies, ceased, so far as the British were concerned. This was indeed considered as a glorious achievement of benevolence. But still no reparation was made to those who had been the victims of acknowledged cruelty and injustice: they were left to suffer all the wrongs and miseries which had been inflicted on them under the sanction of the British nation. The law made no provision for those who were actually suffering; it was only a preventive measure. The Negroes were recognised as stolen property, as a people "robbed and spoiled," but not the least effort was made towards restitution: this seemed such a sketch of justice, as even the friends of the Negroes dared not ask, and were almost afraid to name. Great as was the triumph gained over brutal cruelty and sordid avarice and injustice, it is humiliating to human nature to reflect, that the furthest point to which the tardy justice of a *Christian* nation could go, was to refrain from the most impious and systematic barbarities which the world ever witnessed, without advancing a single step towards a reparation of

time. The African slave trade was abolished by law, but not in fact. Thousands are every year torn from that blighted continent, and brought into this country: some of them directly to New Orleans, or the ports on the Gulf of Mexico, but most of them by the way of Cuba.—The American slave trade has been increasing yearly, in amount and in cruelty.—AM. ED.

the wrongs they had committed. The act of plunder was denominated infamous, but the prey was retained! It was soon after declared by the legislature felonious, and at length piratical, to *make* the Negroes slaves; but to *keep* those in slavery who had suffered the wrong was permitted as a thing lawful and right.

The principal occurrence of the period now under consideration was, that at the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, the representatives of all the great powers of Europe declared the slave trade to be inhuman, immoral, and unjust, and pledged themselves to effect its universal abolition. It is deeply to be regretted that this pledge has not been redeemed: up to this period, though Spain and Portugal and France have declared slave-trading to be illegal, they still dishonor themselves by conniving at the continuance of this odious traffic. France, in 1814, had pledged herself to the termination of this trade in five years: upon the return of Napoleon from Elba, he at once pronounced it abolished: on the restoration of Louis XVIII. a similar decree was passed; yet to this hour no effective measures have been adopted to secure its operation; it is still, and that with the knowledge of the French government, carried on by that nation to a great extent.*

During the twenty years' struggle for the abolition of the slave trade, the monstrous evils of the slave system as it existed in the West Indies, were brought un-

* This was written before the recent revolution which has produced the expulsion of the Bourbons from France. The prospects opened by this event, in respect to slavery and the slave trade, are consoling to humanity.

der notice; and one great reason why the friends of the Negroes did not at once direct their attention to the entire and immediate abolition of slavery, as well as of the slave trade, was, that they believed, that, when a further importation of Negroes was impracticable, such would be the improvement in the treatment of those already domesticated in the colonies, that their condition would be greatly ameliorated, and a certain, though gradual, extinction of slavery itself would follow. In this, however, the abolitionists subsequently found that they were greatly mistaken. Year after year passed away without any material improvement in the state of slavery, or any satisfactory ground to hope for the final extinction of that oppressive system; and at length the conviction was forced upon them, that nothing but Parliamentary interference could afford any hope of essential benefit to the slaves, or hold out any prospect of the termination of their wretched bondage. In order to accomplish this object, a Society was formed, under the patronage and presidency of his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, comprising, among others, various members of both Houses of Parliament, and all the surviving leaders in the last great contest. A full exposition of the actual state of slavery at that time in the British colonies having been laid before the public in various works,* the almost immediate result was the presentation of numerous petitions to Parliament, which, had

* Among many others, may be mentioned pamphlets by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, and Mr. Macaulay, followed by Mr. Stephen's more elaborate work, entitled "Delineation of Negro Slavery."

time permitted, would have been greatly multiplied. On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Buxton brought forward in the House of Commons the following resolution, "That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian Religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

Mr. Buxton, in the course of his speech, signified, that if his motion were adopted, it was his intention to follow it up with certain measures, which he then generally stated. The object of them was, First, to *ameliorate the present condition of the slaves*; and with this view to consider them no longer as chattels in the eye of the law; to render their testimony admissible in courts of law; to confer upon them rights of property; to give the presumption of freedom to the Negro, and to place the burden of proof on those who claim him as a slave; to remove existing obstructions to manumission; to abolish the inter-colonial slave-trade; to restrain arbitrary punishments, and to abolish the driving system; to give a legal sanction to the marriage of slaves; to provide for them effectual religious instruction; to give them Sunday exclusively for repose and worship, and to allow them other sufficient time to cultivate their provision grounds and attend the market; and to prevent any slave-owner from being appointed a governor, judge, or attorney-general in any slave colony. Secondly, to make provision for the *emancipation* of the present race of slaves, (a provision which, it must be

confessed, fell far below the claims of those injured people on the justice, to say nothing of the humanity, of the British nation,) by enabling the slave to purchase his freedom, by the payment at once of a fair price for his redemption, or a fifth part of that price for a time, in return for an additional day in the week to be employed for his own benefit, till he might be enabled to purchase the whole. Thirdly, *to prevent the slavery of their future race*, by fixing a day after which all their children should be born free.

Mr. Canning, on the part of his Majesty's government, proposed as a substitute for Mr. Buxton's motion, the Resolutions which have been already specified,* which were, after much discussion, passed without any division; Mr. Canning having intimated his willingness to adopt almost all the *ameliorations* in the present condition of the slaves, which had been suggested by Mr. Buxton. The resolutions, however, were not passed without a strong protest, on the part of Mr. Buxton and his friends, against confiding, as Mr. Canning stated to be his intention, the work of amelioration to the colonial authorities.—Thus passed these famous Resolutions, with the express concurrence of the West-Indians then in Parliament, but with distinct expressions of distrust of their efficacy by the abolitionists, whom experience had convinced that the plan proposed by Mr. Canning, of referring the work of reform to the colonial assemblies, would lead to no beneficial results. But, however deficient those Resolutions might have

* Page 46.

proved, in doing justice to an injured people, and in making reparation for their cruel wrongs, there were certain important points gained by them, which must not be overlooked. If the strong-hold of slavery was not carried, some positions were obtained in advance, of great importance to future operations. It was admitted, by the unanimous voice of Parliament, that the slaves were his Majesty's subjects, and that their condition required the interference of the British Parliament. Parliament also, by its resolutions, pledged itself to the final abolition of slavery.

The fourth period of our historical sketch brings us down to the present time, and includes the seven years which have elapsed since the resolutions of 1823 were adopted.

As no doubt was at that time entertained of the sincerity of his Majesty's ministers, a strong and general hope was excited that the severities of the slave system would be at once greatly mitigated, and that at some future, and not distant, period freedom would be conferred on the slaves. The carrying of these Resolutions into effect was, therefore, at the request of the ministers of the Crown, left to them. They were, however, warned, by those who well knew the inveteracy of colonial despotism, against trusting to the legislation of slave-owners for any effectual relief on behalf of those whom they held in bondage; but, to obviate the fears of those who sighed over the prospect of the delay, which was to be apprehended in relieving the miseries of their enslaved fellow-creatures, it was intimated in Parliament, by Mr. Canning himself, in terms suffi-

ciently plain and strong, that, should the colonies refuse to adopt the measures of reform which would be urged upon them, proper steps should be taken to compel them to do so.—The wishes of Government on the subject were speedily forwarded to the colonial authorities ; and they were called upon, in the most distinct and urgent manner, to introduce forthwith into their slave codes such enactments as should secure the proposed reforms. But, instead of receiving with becoming respect the mild and conciliatory overtures of the British Government, the colonies with one voice, as had been anticipated by the abolitionists, rejected the propositions in the most peremptory manner, and that in a way, in many instances, highly insulting to the mother country. The speeches delivered on the occasion, in some of their legislative assemblies, were of the most violent description ; and the colonial journals indulged in outrageous abuse, not only of those whom they considered as “ abolitionists,” to whom every term of contempt was applied which their rage and malignity could suggest, but also of his Majesty’s ministers themselves. In Demerara a disturbance arose among the slaves, who, though they committed no serious act of violence, and only, as far as it appears, suspended their labor in order to inquire and ascertain from the Governor what was the relief to which they supposed they were entitled by the instructions of the Crown, yet were declared to be in a state of rebellion, and, while endeavoring to negotiate with the military officers, were fired upon : many were slain ; many more were taken or dispersed ; and the rest soon submitted to the means employed to quell

them. Some of them were hung, and others condemned to receive a thousand lashes, and to work in chains for life; and, to complete the catastrophe, a holy and devoted missionary, by a trial which was a mockery of justice, was sentenced to a traitor's death. Plots also were pretended to be discovered in Jamaica, among the slaves, for rising on the White men, and, by a proceeding so shameless that even the West-India proprietors in Parliament concurred in reprobating it, were many unfortunate Negroes condemned and hung.

In the midst of the opposition and clamor of the colonies, an Order in Council was framed, in March, 1824, for the island of Trinidad, embodying many of the proposed measures of reform, but wholly omitting some that were most material, and in others falling short of the plans originally contemplated, and even promised, by Government. But even in Trinidad, a colony wholly dependent on the Crown, the colonists refused their concurrence, until a peremptory mandate from the Sovereign leaving them no alternative, obliged them to submit implicitly to the regulations laid down in the Order of Council. The other Crown colonies were required to conform to it; but their compliance was so hesitating and imperfect, that years were wasted in frivolous discussions and injurious concessions.—To the colonies having legislatures of their own, this Order was held out as a model for their imitation, and was strenuously urged on their adoption; but the recommendation was met either by an absolute refusal, or by a partial, evasive, and ineffective compliance. Thus the work of reform proceeded with all possible slowness.

In the Houses of Assembly the ordinary language was that of bluster and defiance; even threats of asserting their independence were frequently thrown out; and as for those modifications of their slave code, which they condescended most reluctantly to introduce, though lauded, by the colonists abroad and by West-India proprietors at home, as monuments of benevolence, they bear so many evident traces of injustice, oppression, and cruelty, as clearly to establish the fact of the utter incompetency of slave-owners to legislate for the extinction of slavery.

In 1824, Mr. Brougham brought forward the case of the missionary Smith, and held up the conduct of the authorities of Demerara in this nefarious transaction, to the just execration of mankind. Mr. Denman subsequently exposed to the British Parliament the shameful administration of justice in Jamaica, by which many unfortunate Negroes were condemned to suffer death; and Dr. Lushington, Mr. Buxton, and others, also exposed, with great ability and effect, at different times, various acts of colonial oppression. Information on the state of things in the colonies, derived principally from documents laid before Parliament, continued to be circulated among the public; and in 1826 the people again raised their voice, and by very numerous petitions remonstrated with Parliament on the total inefficiency of all the measures hitherto adopted. Nothing effective, however, has as yet been done. A few (so called) meliorating provisions have been adopted by some of the chartered colonies; but they are, in general, of little or no value, either from the want of the subsidiary or corresponding

provisions requisite to give them effect, or from the absence of all adequate sanctions to ensure their execution. For the regulation of the Crown colonies, an order in council, consolidating all former orders into one, was issued in February of the present year,* and exhibits a sketch of the measures of reform which Government is prepared to enforce on the Crown colonies, and to recommend, but only to recommend, to the legislative adoption of the rest.

The amount of all that has yet been done, in consequence of the Resolutions of 1823, may be thus stated:—In those colonies where the Crown has undeniable and full power to legislate, and to do all for the enslaved population which justice and humanity dictate, only the following reforms are to be introduced: No slave-owner can fill the office of protector, though he may that of assistant-protector: Sunday markets are abolished, but no time is given in lieu of Sunday, either for markets or provision grounds: the use of the driving whip in the field is prohibited: the flogging of females is discontinued: arbitrary punishment by the master or his delegate is restricted to twenty-five lashes: punishments on plantations are to be recorded: the marriage of slaves is legalized, with a saving clause respecting the owner's rights to the slave's wife and children: slave property is protected: families are not to be separated by sale: the enslaved Negro has a right to purchase his freedom whenever he has the power, but under some unnecessary and absurd restrictions:

* Just about the time these Lectures were first delivered.

slave testimony is admitted: slaves are not to be punished for complaining, unless a magistrate considers their motive culpable.—Such is the whole that Government, even where their power of legislation is uncontrolled, seem disposed to do for the oppressed and injured slave. And even with respect to the reforms actually adopted, they leave the great mass of evil still remaining; while it is to be feared, that, as the administration of the ameliorating laws is still to a great extent in the hands of the slave owners, their full benefit will not be secured. And although the officer who is appointed the chief Protector must not himself possess slaves, yet, as he constantly resides among slave owners, and lives on terms of hospitality with them, I have not, I confess, such faith in human nature, as to believe that he will not imbibe such a portion of their prejudices, as will operate to the serious disadvantage of the unhappy Negroes.

In the Chartered Colonies very much less has been done than in the Crown Colonies. Two of them have abolished Sunday markets, but without securing other time for marketing and labor. In two or three of the colonies, the driving whip, in the field or for punishment, has been replaced by the cat; and females, when flogged, are to be flogged decently. The power of arbitrary punishments still generally extends to thirty-nine lashes at one time, but in a few small colonies is limited to twenty-five. Slave marriages are authorized, but encumbered with many most unreasonable impediments. Slave property is still without any efficient protection. The regulations introduced to prevent the separation of

families by sale, are wholly inadequate to their end. Slave testimony is admitted only in two colonies : in the others it is so fettered with conditions as to render it of no benefit to the slave. In one colony the presumption of the law is in favor of freedom.*——Such, then, after seven years of expostulation and remonstrance on the part of the British government, of anxious expectation on the part of the people, and of refusal and evasion on the part of the colonies, is the result of all that has been done for the suppression of this murderous system, or for the relief of those whom it unjustly holds in bondage! All the worst features, therefore, of this degrading slavery still remain, to criminate all who engage in it, and all who tolerate and sanction it. Compulsory and severe labor, uncompensated toil, a constant liability to dreadful lacerations at the will of the owner or manager, and the probability of a severe flogging for even attempting to seek redress, are common to all these colonies. In most of them, families may still be sold in different lots, and separated forever; females may be flogged in a cruel and indecent manner; grievous obstacles are thrown in the way of slave marriages; a slave has no right to purchase his freedom, even if he should have the means; his evidence against a white or free man is not received; and his property is destitute of all legal

* We beg those of our readers, who are wont to advise that Slavery should be abolished in our country gradually, and that the slave-holders should be left to abolish it in their own time, and in their own way—we beg them to peruse the three or four preceding and following pages with especial attention.—AM. ED.

security. In not one of the colonies is effectual legal provision made for the education or religious instruction of the slaves or their children; no day is given to them instead of Sunday, to labor for themselves, so as to secure an opportunity for rest and holy worship on that day. They are, in fact, still degraded from the rank of human beings; possessed as chattels; claimed as "property in fee;" worked, and whipped, and sold, privately or by auction, at the master's pleasure; and they constitute an article of traffic, as much as cattle.* In short, all the boasted ameliorations of colonial law leave the poor slave suffering the bitterest wrongs from his oppressors, deprived of man's dearest rights, ignorant, and brutalized, with no motive to exertion but fear, and with no hope of seeing better days but from the determined and persevering exertions of British benevolence.

Let us now take a practical view of the question, and inquire what is the duty of the friends of religion and humanity respecting their enslaved fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects.

We should, in the first place, cherish a lively sympathy for them. It is sufficient to entitle them to this, that they are suffering human beings. That man is certainly not to be envied who can hear unmoved of the distress of a fellow-creature, of whatever clime or color

* For a particular statement of the reforms actually and professedly made in our slave colonies, see *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Nos. 11, 21, 28,—34, 38, 52, 58; also the *Examination of an Abstract of the British West-Indian Statutes for the Protection and Government of Slaves*, published by the West-India Body, in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 61, and No. 65, p. 369.

he may be. Can he make any pretensions to Christianity who is destitute of its benevolence and tenderness? Let the sentiment of a heathen rebuke him: "I am a man: whatever pertains to a human being interests me." He scarcely deserves the name of man, who cannot give his sympathy to distress, or drop a tear over suffering humanity. But those for whom we are now pleading have additional claims,—they are our fellow-subjects. We live under a government which secures *our* freedom, but rivets the chains of slavery on *them*; which takes away from *them* the very blessings which it is the chief end of government to secure to all. While that government carefully protects *our* persons and *our* property, it gives to another the Negro's labor, the Negro's wife and children, the property in his own body and limbs; and by legal enactments authorizes the wanton or capricious laceration of his flesh, and recognises him as a saleable article.* But not only are they fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, but they owe all the miseries under which they groan, all the wrongs which they suffer, to the British nation. By whom were they first deprived of liberty? By British slave-dealers, or their agents. And how were they transported from their native Africa to our colonies? In British ships, by British sailors. By whom are they now bought and sold and worked and flogged? By British slave-owners, or their deputies. By whom is a considerable portion of those wretched beings possessed? By British nobles, and senators, and merchants; by men much of whose

* See the Consolidated Act for the Crown colonies.

wealth has been extracted from the unpaid toil of Negro slaves. There is, then, no class of sufferers in the British dominions who have stronger claims on our sympathy.

There are some who affect to ridicule the sensibility of those who mourn over the Negro's wrongs. I pity such, whether the fault is in their understanding or their heart. Are the charities of our nature to be guided by the color of the skin? Does not a human heart beat in his bosom, and human blood flow in his veins? Has he not the affections and antipathies, the joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears, which are common to humanity? Is he not a man, possessing rational faculties, and an immortal soul capable of being prepared for all the blessedness of heaven?

But the enslaved Negroes are sometimes represented as degraded to a point below our sympathy. And how are they so degraded, but by that debasing system which prevents the introduction of knowledge to the understanding, which obstructs the exercise of every virtuous affection, and which inflicts on their minds injuries more serious and deplorable than even those which their bodies suffer? On this account, therefore, they are entitled to the greater commiseration.

Let it not be stated, as a plea for apathy, that the story of the Negro's sufferings has been oft repeated, and is now grown stale. Is it not the continuance of their wrongs, still unredressed, that occasions this repetition? And is this to diminish our sympathy? Are our feelings of commiseration to be in an inverse ratio to their sufferings? How unchristian, how despicable, is that

selfishness, which turns away from the consideration of the miseries of others—like the Priest and the Levite, who, to spare themselves the pain of feeling for the wounded Samaritan and the trouble of helping him, “passed by on the other side.” God has given the power of sympathy to man, that every sufferer might have an advocate in the heart of his fellow-creature; and he who attempts to repress his sympathies, or who does not allow them their proper play, sins against the law of his nature, and endeavors to frustrate the kind intentions of his Creator. We must not allow our charity to be exhausted while a sufferer remains. By cherishing a lively commiseration in our own minds, others will catch the emotion, and that general and powerful fellow-feeling will be produced, in which alone, under God, the help of the Negro is placed.

There is one thing, however, which has a considerable tendency to prevent that strong and general sentiment of compassion for the enslaved population of our colonies which their unhappy condition claims: it is the distance to which the place of their bondage and of their sufferings is removed from us. Slavery would not have been endured so long, had the scene of its mischiefs been nearer to England. That which is near generally affects us more sensibly than that which is remote; and in proportion to the distance of any scene of action or of suffering, we seem to lose the impression of its reality. But this is an illusion. There lie the West-India islands on the bosom of the ocean, in all their beauty; and the same sun which shines on us lights them up with a still more glorious splendor:

while *there*, as truly, do all the unspeakable miseries of slavery spread their gloomy shadows over the thousands of our race who inhabit them. What though the depths of the Atlantic roll between us and the plantations, and their gangs, and their drivers, and all their degrading apparatus of brutal coercion ; are these colonial scenes, therefore merely ideal ? Endeavor to dispel the illusion, and to give to them their living reality. While you are enjoying the blessings of freedom, think of those who are toiling in bondage. While the holy pleasures and calm repose of the Christian Sabbath are delighting and refreshing your spirits, let your thoughts revert to those to whom it brings no rest ; who are toiling on their plantation grounds for a scanty subsistence, or busily occupied in the Sunday market. While you behold your children with all the fondness of parental affection, and form your plans for their future welfare, oh think on those whose infants are born to the sad inheritance of slavery ; who belong not to their parents, but to their masters ; whom neither a father's love nor a mother's fondness can rescue from the iron grasp of oppression. Think on their unrequited toil, their constant exposure to cruel punishments and brutal insults. Think of the deep degradation to which these human beings, heirs with ourselves of immortality, are reduced ; spoiled of all their rights, and suffering intolerable wrongs. And, in realizing with compassion and tenderness their unhappy condition, you will obey the injunction of the Divine word, " Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them."

And if their claims to commiseration are thus just

and strong, they certainly are entitled to something more—to those prompt and decisive efforts on their behalf which shall cause their sufferings to cease. And it is most certain, that if you, the British public, do not act, nothing effectual will be done to this end. To talk of trusting to the planters so to ameliorate the condition of the slaves as to prepare them for emancipation, is the wildest folly; it is to suppose them to act contrary to all their prejudices and habits, and imagined interests; it is out of the course of nature. Can slave-owners be expected voluntarily to adopt regulations which shall diminish their own power, lessen the distance between them and their slaves, and prepare the Negroes to be as free as themselves? What exercise laws should we have, if it were left to smugglers to frame them? And do not the proceedings of the colonial legislatures fully justify all that has been said of their incompetency? What were the laws which existed in these colonies before the investigations of Parliament in 1788, but a libel on legislation and a disgrace to human nature? In some of them, while the enslaved Negro must not lift a hand in his defence against wanton cruelty, or even to save his own life, the most barbarous mutilations inflicted on a slave, nay, even his murder, was only punishable by small fines and imprisonment. Look even at the ameliorating acts, which have been passed since the iniquity of the system was brought to light, and the public voice raised against it, and they will show how little is to be expected from slave-holding legislators. And have even these worthless reforms been voluntary? All the ameliorations,

every degree of improvement in the legal condition of the slaves, have been wrung from them, like drops of blood, by the voice of the British people, the resolutions of Parliament, and the fear that, if something were not conceded, all would be lost. Allow me to repeat the appropriate language of an illustrious statesman, now no more, which, often as it has been quoted, will never cease to be repeated while slavery exists. "Trust not the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it they must be ineffectual in their operations. It is in the nature of things that they should be so. . . . Let, then, the British House of Commons do their part themselves. Let them not delegate the trust of doing it to those who cannot execute that trust fairly. Let the evil be remedied by an assembly of free-men by the government of a free people, and not the masters of slaves. *Their laws can never reach, can never cure the evil.*" *

But let us not attempt to justify our inactivity by referring the matter exclusively to Government, or leaving it with Parliament. What measure of popular liberty has the Government ever adopted uninfluenced by the people? What step has it ever taken on behalf of the slaves, till it has been called upon again and again by the voice of the public? If it is true that the people can do nothing in this business without Parliament, it is, perhaps, equally true, that Parliament will do nothing

* Mr. Canning's speech in 1799, on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

in it without the people. What put an end to the slave trade? What produced the resolutions of 1823? What has effected the few reforms which have taken place? Not the spontaneous movements of the planters abroad, or of the legislature at home, but the strong feeling of the people of England. It is to the generous sympathy and energetic efforts of the British public, that 800,000 unfortunate slaves are now looking as their only hope.

But what is the object, the great and principal object, to which our efforts should be directed? Should it be *amelioration*, or *abolition*? To render their slavery less miserable, or to abolish slavery altogether? On this point, every principle of justice, every feeling of humanity, every dictate of religion, are all in unison, and say, "*Let this abomination cease: seek the extinction of slavery, and seek nothing less.*" Every feeling heart must be gratified when the amount of human suffering is in any degree lessened; every pious and virtuous mind must rejoice at the diminution of the power and extent of vice: but to *aim* at the removal of but a part of these evils, would be a defective benevolence, a spurious piety. What should we think of that man's morality, who should persuade a drunkard to get intoxicated not quite so often, or not quite so deeply; a highwayman to rob with less violence; or a swindler, to cheat in smaller sums? Whatever may be the policy of the world, Christianity makes no compromise with vice, will admit of no partial abandonment of sin: it demands that it be removed at once, and forever, though it be as dear and as profitable as a "right eye" or "a right hand." And is not this a Christian nation? And

is not slavery a sin? Is it not cruel oppression, foul injustice, and flagrant crime? Shall we, then, seek merely to mend it? Modify slavery as you will, as long as slavery exists it is an evil which ought not to be endured. As long as one man is permitted to make his fellow-creature an article of sale; to claim a property in him, his wife and children, and all their descendants; as long as he can buy, and possess, and work as cattle, a hundred or a thousand of human beings, as much the creatures of God, as much entitled to the blessings of redeeming mercy, as much the heirs of immortality, as himself; so long wickedness and injustice will continue the curse and condemnation of the system. The question is, comparatively, of small importance, how much or how little of bodily suffering it produces; it is an essential, an incurable evil: it is like the house under the Mosaic economy, in which the "fretting leprosy," was found, the cleansing and repairing of which were vain; the pestilent infection of which endangered not only its inmates but the whole community; which, therefore, whatever remonstrance was made, whatever loss might be sustained, was destined, not to gradual dilapidation, but to complete and speedy demolition.

But it is objected, by the friends of slavery, that this would be an unjustifiable interference with "vested rights," and with property legally possessed. And what are those rights? The right to do wrong with impunity! the right of one man to take away the rights of another! Was ever language so preposterously misapplied?—And what is this property? The body and limbs of a man—the wives and children of other men!

The very claim is impious. These boasted rights are flagrant wrongs; this property is the forcible and fraudulent possession of what belongs to another. God gave the Negro, life, and limbs, and faculties, to provide for himself and his offspring: what right have any to set up an adverse claim? What title could the African kidnapper or the European slave-captain give?—But “the statutes of Parliament have recognised this property.” We have before proved that no human enactment can render that right which is in itself wrong; and that no law is of any validity which is contrary to the law of nature. If, therefore, the British Parliament, unacquainted with the real state of the case, or influenced by interested men, has committed a mistake in legislation, is that any reason why it should persist in its error? If, by allowing one class of his Majesty’s subjects to enslave another class, the Parliament has done wrong, the sooner it retraces its steps the better. If it has, by erroneous legislation, recognised a property which cannot exist, and the exercise of a power which violates all justice, human and divine; is it to be prevented from a return to rectitude by the complaints of those who have taken advantage of its errors to oppress their fellow-men? The injustice consists in the enactment of such statutes, not in their repeal; the wrong lies in permitting its subjects to hold slaves, not in withdrawing that permission.* What deference should

* We beg our readers to observe the similarity of the objections urged by the West-India party in England, to those which are thrown in the way of emancipation in this country.—AM. ED.

we pay to laws framed by any of the Barbary states to perpetuate the bondage of those whom their piracies had enslaved? What sympathy should we have with the swarthy tyrants who should complain of their losses if the victims of their despotism were rescued from their grasp? With what emotion should we hear them talk of their "vested rights," and of "property recognised by law?" Do, then, the essential principles of justice vary with geographical position; or do virtue and vice depend on the color of a man's skin?

But if the Negroes are liberated, full *compensation*, it is said, must be given to the slave-owners. As this is a subject on which considerable difference of opinion exists, let me devote a few moments to a dispassionate consideration of it. Perhaps it will be found in this, as in most cases, that truth lies between the extremes. The amount of indemnification which some claim on behalf of the planter, as necessary to satisfy the claims of justice, is most enormous; is more, perhaps, than all the slave colonies are worth. The object in making these extravagant demands is, in all probability, to deter a people, already laboring under the pressure of an immense national debt, from prosecuting a work of benevolence which would cost them so dear. This is no new expedient; its effect was tried when the abolition of the slave trade was in agitation. There are those, on the other hand who totally reject these claims on any ground. The principle on which compensation is claimed by the advocates of the colonists is, that when by a legal enactment any are deprived of their property, or a portion of it, provision is always made for full indem-

nification: if a man's house be taken down, or his garden be appropriated to the object of the enactment, compensation is provided as a matter of course.—But in all such cases there is this important difference; the property is of a kind which it is presumed has been lawfully acquired and possessed, and the enjoyment of which is no infraction to the rights of others. But this cannot be said of the assumed property in human beings. In property the possession of which implies any breach of morality, or which was acquired by unjust means, there is no recognition of the principle of indemnification. If a person by force or fraud becomes possessed of an estate, he is always liable to be called upon for restitution: he has no title. If he sell it or bequeath it, the transfer does not create a title: the purchaser buys it at a hazard. If it pass through a hundred hands, the original owner, or his legal representative, has still a claim; and the law, when appealed to, compels restitution, without any indemnification to him who has come into the possession of the property with a defective title.* Now the possession of slaves is a tenure of this

* The planters seem fully to understand and to act on this principle, however they might object to its application when it makes against them. In the new slave law of Barbadoes is an enactment to this effect:—§§ 25, 26. Any white, free person, or slave, buying of a slave *stolen goods*, knowing them to be stolen, shall be punished as the actual stealer would be. And if any *stolen goods* are found *in the possession* of any white or free person, or slave, although it cannot be proved that it was with the knowledge of their being stolen, yet such person, if a white or free person, shall be proceeded against as receivers of stolen goods are proceeded against in England, and shall be taken and deemed and punished as accessory to the felony after the fact. Now, substitute the term *persons* for *goods*, and how will the case stand

kind; there can be no title; nothing can supply the original deficiency. If the law at any time recognised it, it was a mistake, and in that case recantation is a virtue. The property in question is the Negro's body: the rightful claimant still lives; and if the restitution is made which justice demands, the loss, in the natural course of things, falls on those who have speculated in this unholy traffic, or who inherit the fruits of their ancestors' misdoings; and it is thus that Providence sometimes visits "the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation." The Parliament of Britain has made the acknowledgment, in the face of the world, that the manner in which the Negroes were made slaves was felonious, and that, of course, those who were enslaved suffered unspeakable wrongs; but it stopped short, when it should have gone on. By the abolition of the slave trade it so far "ceased to do evil," but in omitting to make restitution it proved that it had not yet sufficiently "learned to do well:" it prohibited the enslaving of any more Negroes, with the exception of the new-born infants of black British subjects, but it provided no reparation for those who had already been grievously wronged; they were left to suffer all the injuries arising from a deprivation of their dearest rights.

with reference to the Negroes? Then the holders of slaves must be proceeded against as the receivers of stolen goods are in England—that is, in the first place, restitution is made of all the property which remains, without a thought about compensation; in the next place, condign punishment follows. We ask only for restitution of what remains of about two millions of Negro slaves stolen, and purchased knowing them to be stolen: as for the punishment, we leave it to their consciences who have committed the wrong, and to a Higher Tribunal.

It is not, then, strictly on the ground of right or justice, that the planters can claim indemnification, since the releasing of their slaves is only a restitution of that which was wickedly acquired, and could never be lawfully possessed. But there *is* a party, which, on the very highest grounds, claims compensation—it is the injured Negro. The present generation have most of them a just claim to remuneration for years of hard and unrequited labor; and all of them are entitled to it for all the miseries of mind and body which their enslaved condition has entailed on them, and because they are the just representatives of all the wrongs which their fathers suffered, of the thousands and tens of thousands that perished on the African coast and in the middle passage, and of the hundreds of thousands who found a premature grave in the colonies, through excessive labor and cruel treatment.*

But there is another view which may be taken of the case. The planters do not stand alone in the guilt of the system. There are three parties,—the sufferer, the aggressor, and the abettor. The first thing to be considered is, in all justice, the reparation of the wrongs of the sufferer—compensation to the Negro. He should not only be liberated, but every possible care is owed to him, to instruct his mind, to elevate his character, and to put him in possession of the blessings of Christianity.

* Yes, were we in this country to pay to the slave-holders the full price they put upon their slaves, if they would be strictly honest, they would have to pay over the whole, and more, to their slaves as a just remuneration for their past unrequited toil.—
AM. ED.

This is the only atonement we can make to those who have suffered so much from British injustice.—In the next place, here is a party by whom the wrongs have been inflicted and perpetuated. From them, every thing is required that can indemnify the Negro for his long bondage, and his unjust deprivation of almost all human rights. They may complain of the loss attending restitution; so would the purchasers of stolen property; but boldly to claim such an indemnification, as though their dealings and doings had been most virtuous, and their property most justly acquired and possessed, is intolerable.—There is, however, a third party, to which they may reasonably look; and that is, the British Parliament, which, by its sanction, became an abettor of the injustice, and a participator in the guilt; and, inasmuch as the nation also has encouraged and upheld the system by the purchase and consumption of slave produce, the people of England cannot be considered as entirely free from being “partakers of other men’s sins.” Let then these two parties, the slaveholders and the British nation, share the loss, in what proportions the Parliament may in its wisdom think fit; or, in other words, let such an indemnification be given to the planters as Parliament may deem to be just. And there is no national expense which could be incurred, which the people would bear more cheerfully than that which might attend an act of justice and humanity, for which, with the exception of interested persons, the whole kingdom is sighing.*

* In regard to the question of *compensation* to the planters for the value of the slaves, in case the system of abolition should

We have, we think satisfactorily, proved that it is the duty of British Christians to seek the *abolition*, and not merely the *amelioration* of slavery. Another important

finally prevail, in the United States, there are a number of considerations to be taken into the account. There is first the argument, that, morally and justly, no human being can be made the subject of property, and that all the laws which have been made, creating such property, are in themselves wrong and iniquitous, and ought never to have been made. And that the property in slavery stands upon the same footing, with the property in a building used for a distillery and the machinery in the same, which property may be destroyed by the Legislature declaring the manufacture of ardent spirits unlawful and criminal. The loss of property in the latter case, is occasioned by capital being invested in a business, which is immoral and injurious to the public welfare, and is the necessary effect of a law prohibiting the further prosecution of such a business. So would it be in the case of property existing in slaves, whenever the law shall declare slavery immoral and wrong, and make it no longer lawful.

Again, it is said that there would be no actual loss sustained by the planters in case their slaves were emancipated. There are two considerations brought forward to show this. The first is, that the labor of the slave would be much more productive when he worked on his own account, and under the stimulus of wages—and the second is, that the value of land would be very much increased both by the additional crops which could be obtained from *free* black labor, and from the facility of obtaining laborers by *hiring* them, instead of being obliged to make a great outlay of capital in their *purchase*. It would give an advantage to persons of small capital, of which they are deprived by the existing system of slavery. They could lay out all their money in land, instead of being obliged to lay out a large part of it in slaves. This would bring much more land under cultivation, and the land being new and unworked, would be much more productive.

inquiry now occurs: Should we aim at the *gradual* or the *immediate* emancipation of the enslaved Negroes? There are advocates for each of these modes of accom-

But should the question of compensation ever arise, and it should be deemed just and expedient to make such compensation to the planter, because the laws had created a property in slaves, and because he had acted agreeably to the laws in investing his capital in this kind of property, the inquiry would then be to what extent shall the compensation go,—to the *whole* value of the slave, or a *part* only. And it seems to me that it should be for a *part* only. I can see no reason nor justice, in giving a man three or four hundred thousand dollars as an indemnity for his slaves, because he has a sufficient number to amount to this sum, according to his valuation. The value in real estate on old roads, is often very much diminished by new roads, bridges and canals being made in new directions; but the public do not feel themselves bound to indemnify the sufferers. It is considered a sufficient plea, that the public welfare and necessities require it. And certainly the reason is as strong in regard to property in a human being, which was always wrong and unjust, as in regard to land which is a fair subject of property.

The only claim, if any, it seems to me that can be made for compensation by the slave-holders, is, that it may occasion great distress, poverty, and embarrassment to individuals among them, if property in slaves is taken from them without any equivalent. This then being the only plausible ground for a claim, the compensation to be given ought to have reference to the character of such a claim,—and should be sufficient to provide against distress, poverty and embarrassment befalling individuals as a consequence of emancipation, and not place in their hands an immense fortune in money in lieu of their slaves,—especially as every thing granted them from the national treasury would be so much taken from the property belonging in part to the industrious population of the non-slave-holding states, most of whom are persons of small property, and depending upon their daily labor

plishing the great object. The following is a brief summary of the arguments on either side. It must, however, be premised, that this is a question not between

for their daily bread.—It seems to me, therefore, that a certain proportion, as one half or one third of the value of the slave, is all that under any circumstances ought to be given,—or the amount of compensation on each slave might be in an *inverse* ratio to the number of slaves owned by an individual.

But the question of compensation has in fact nothing to do with the right of the slave to freedom, nor with the duty of the master to emancipate him. Suppose the people of this country were too poor, and could not be convinced that they ought to pay a dollar as the price of their liberty, would their inability or unwillingness to pay for it, annul or lessen at all the rights of the slaves to liberty? It has been said, “that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves, because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, *that man cannot hold property in man*, because slavery is a crime, and is not therefore to be sold.” Whether this be correct or not, if the slave-holder should be convinced that slavery in itself was a great wrong and a great sin, he would no more think of insisting upon a compensation for ceasing to do such a great wrong, than an upright man who should hold any other kind of property, that had been wrongfully taken from another, would hesitate to give it back to its real owner, although by so doing he should make himself poor. A man with slaves in his possession, is like a man with counterfeit money in his possession, which he obtained by ignorance or mistake, and who is unable to ascertain from whom he received it, to get it exchanged for good money. The latter if an honest man, would not think of considering such counterfeit money as his property, which he would be justified in using as such, and passing away to others in exchange for their property. It is his misfortune to hold such a kind of property, and he must make up his mind to suffer a loss by it. So it is with slaves, who are in fact but a *counterfeit* property.

the friends of slavery and the advocates of Negro freedom, but between those who are alike convinced of the essential and monstrous evils of the present system, and are desirous of effecting its complete extinction; who all agree that Negro slavery is a violation of man's dearest rights, and contrary to the principles of Christianity. But, while all admit the principle of the Negro's *right* to freedom, not at some distant time, but *now*, many of their ablest advocates have taken such a view of the difficulties of the case, as has led them to prefer some plan of gradual abolition, more or less speedy. Let us first notice the grounds on which they proceed, and then briefly advert to the plans which have been proposed.

It is said, that as the arrangements which it will be necessary to enter into with the planters will involve considerable pecuniary sacrifices, by a gradual mode of proceeding the difficulty arising from this cause will be diminished. To this it is replied, that as the nation has already paid dearly for the share it has had in the guilt

We would not, however, by these remarks be considered as excluding from our sympathy, or beneficence, the suffering slave-owners any more than the suffering slaves. We would hold ourselves in readiness to assist to the extent of our power, to render the transition from slavery to freedom as easy, and as little inconvenient as possible to both parties. Only let the slave-holders recognise the right of their colored brethren to be regarded and treated as men, and it would be our duty and for our interest, to contribute largely to the introduction among them of all the means of physical, moral, and intellectual improvement.—
AM. ED.

of slavery, in what it has cost to support the colonial monopoly, the compensation which the planters are entitled to expect, on account of the sanction which the British Parliament has given to their practices, is considerably lessened; and further, that if in the continuance, of this system there is a violation of the great principles of morality, no consideration of expediency can justify it, seeing that "what is morally wrong cannot be politically right." Shall the Negroes go on to perish in bondage till the present race die off, because we and the planters cannot settle the pecuniary question? The Negroes' claim to freedom stands first, and is paramount to all the rest; and this therefore ought to be settled, whatever becomes of other claims. Is it not a compromise of principle, a sacrifice of justice to expediency, to withhold a right because it is *inconvenient* to be just? In how many ways can we in our expenditure be profuse, even to prodigality? Is it only when an act of national justice is concerned that we are to be parsimonious?

But it is said, that an attempt *gradually* to abolish slavery will be more likely to succeed, as it will produce less irritation in the minds of the planters, and meet with less opposition. It is, however, to be feared that no measures, which tend obviously and ultimately to rescue the Negro from the grasp of the slave-owner, will ever be received with cordiality. The violent hostility of the colonists to the measures for ameliorating slavery proposed by the government, for the last seven years, gives but little reason to hope for their concurrence in abolishing it. As long as slavery is permitted

to continue, so long will there be a determined opposition to every advance in favor of freedom. The longer the struggle is protracted the more provoking will be the irritation. Slave-owners will never be conciliated, but by our abandoning the cause of the Negro altogether.*

But fears have been expressed, that, if the Negroes were liberated in their present condition, they would be excited to commit the most serious acts of violence on their masters, and that "anarchy, confusion, warfare, and blood, would be the dreadful effects of the too hasty and mistaken boon." But it is thought, on the other hand, that these are imaginary fears, for which, neither reason nor facts afford any foundation. Would the laws cease to have any power? Would the force which it is now necessary to maintain in these colonies, in order to defend slavery, be of no avail when the Negroes were free? Is it impracticable to make any regulations which should provide for all the possible evils that might be supposed to attend a transition from bondage to liberty? Is there not something unnatural in the supposition, that by bestowing on a body of men a most important blessing, we should fire them with rage and indignation? Is there not more danger to be apprehended from the continuance of our cruel system? What is there wanting now, but opportunity and power to induce the Negroes to burst asunder the chains of

* "In claiming to be exempted from all foreign interference," says Governor McDuffie, "we can recognise no distinction between ultimate and immediate emancipation."—AM. ED.

their bondage, and to assert those rights which they all know are their due? If some Christophe, or Toussaint, or some black Bolivar, should arise among them, how dreadful might be the struggle, and how perilous the consequences! It was not long since a mere handful of Maroons put the whole island of Jamaica in jeopardy.

A free black peasantry would constitute the strength of the colonies: the danger really arises from their being held in bondage. But what are the facts on which the opinion in question is grounded? The Negroes have been rather characterized by patient suffering, than by furious atrocity. Would the fierce Indian of America have endured like the suffering African? The poor Negroes have, indeed, been sometimes driven by cruel usage to rise on their masters; and can this surprise us? "Oppression makes a wise man mad:" no wonder that it should goad on the Negro to acts of insubordination. We only wonder that they have not risen *en masse*, and long before this driven every white man into the sea. But what facts are there to justify those fears, which are the pretext for keeping 800,000 of our fellow-creatures in a state of abject bondage? It is perfectly irrelevant to cite instances of tumult and insurrection and slaughter, when *enslaved* Negroes have been making a violent effort to burst their chains, and to obtain their rights: these instances have been more rare than might have been expected. But where are the proofs of wanton ferocity, and delight in the destruction of white men, which Negroes, freed by law, have exhibited? Are they to be found among the 25,000 rescued Africans of Sierra Leone? Or among the

hundred thousand free blacks and persons of color in our colonies? Or among the numerous slaves that were planted in Nova Scotia, after the first American war, and in Trinidad after the second war with America? Or among the multitudes who, without any preparation, were lately enfranchised in Columbia and in Mexico?—But we are referred to St. Domingo, and to the massacres which attended the revolution in that island. Mr. Clarkson,* however, has satisfactorily shown that the dreadful outrages and massacres which are brought forward to frighten the advocates of Negro freedom, “*occurred in the days of slavery, before the proclamations of Santhonax and Polverel;*” that “they were occasioned, too, *not originally by the slaves themselves, but by quarrels between the white and colored planters, and between the royalists and the revolutionists, who, for the purpose of wreaking their vengeance upon each other, called in the aid of the slaves.* And as to the insurgent Negroes of the north, in particular, who filled that part of the colony in those years with terror and dismay, they were originally put in motion, according to Malenfant, *by the royalists themselves, to strengthen their own cause, and to put down the partizans of the French Revolution.*” In 1793, a proclamation was issued by Santhonax, which “promised freedom to all the blacks who were willing to range themselves under the banner of the republic;” and subsequently his colleague, Polverel, extended the proclama-

* Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Condition, &c., pp. 19, &c.

tion of Negro freedom to the whole island, not only without any fears as to the safety of the masters, but as being "*necessary to the personal safety of the white planters.*" In the following year the Conventional Assembly of France passed a decree for the abolition of slavery throughout the whole of the French colonies; and so far from its being attended with "warfare and blood," a witness of these transactions has published to the world the fact, that the Negroes remained quiet, continued to labor on the same plantations, and, provided no attempt was made to reduce them again to slavery, or to restore the cart-whip, manifested the utmost docility and most patient industry. And are we, in the face of all these facts, to be frightened into the timid concession of protracted bondage for the present race, with the faint hope of freedom, thrown to an unknown distance in the future, to be enjoyed, perhaps, only by an unborn generation? *

But it has been further stated, that the interests of the enslaved Negroes render a *gradual* emancipation desirable; that, such is the debased condition to which slavery has reduced them, they are disqualified for the enjoyment of freedom. But, on the other hand, will a continuance in this state give them the requisite qualification? Was slavery ever known to "clothe" a man

* Mr. Clarkson declared, "that he had not, after a diligent and candid investigation of the conduct of emancipated slaves, under a great variety of circumstances, comprising a body of more than 500,000, a considerable proportion of whom had been *suddenly enfranchised*,—found a single instance of revenge or abuse of liberty."—AM. ED.

“with the virtuous restraints of social life?”—But their present state may be improved. This may have been thought practicable when we were less acquainted with the system; but recent experience has proved how utterly abortive must be every attempt materially to improve that state, so long as their degrading bondage shall continue. It is hopeless to expect that the planters ever will, or can, be sincere in preparing their slaves for freedom. Is there not also something unnatural and cruel in an argument of this kind? It makes the very injuries they have suffered from their oppressors a reason why they should not be rescued from their grasp. If they had been less injured, they might have obtained their liberty; but they have suffered so much wrong that they must continue in slavery:—because their fellow-creatures have so deeply oppressed them, they must now not be relieved. Is not this giving a bonus for crime, and encouraging the slave-holders, if they wish to retain their slaves, to keep them as far from improvement as possible? There must be something unsound in an argument which involves so much injustice, and so many contradictions. The greater the injuries which they have endured by being deprived of their rights, the stronger is the reason that all these injuries should be speedily effaced, by a full restitution, with interest, of all they have been deprived of, if that were by any means possible. But in what does this disqualification for freedom consist? It must be a strong case indeed which would warrant us in keeping our fellow-creatures in a state, which even the advocates for gradual abolition admit is contrary to all justice, and

repugnant to Christianity. They are not able, it is said, to value freedom ! This is altogether a gratuitous assumption ; but if it were true, they should be taught its worth, not in keeping them in bondage, but by allowing them to taste its blessings. But why do some of them toil out their lives, in addition to the rigorous exactions of their task-masters, year after year, in order, by almost imperceptible degrees, to raise a sum, with the hope before them of being able at some distant time to purchase their freedom ? Why are the work-houses never empty of run-away slaves ? Why have those insurrections been raised, which have exposed the wretched Negroes to all the merciless cruelties of West-Indian retribution ? Does all this arise from an indifference to freedom ? And if they could not properly value it, is that a reason why we should deprive them of what God has given to man as his birthright ?—But, we are told, they would not make a good use of their freedom ! This is a presumption which is destitute of proof. Are the free Blacks in our colonies, or in any part of the world, less peaceable, less loyal, less moral, than the Whites among whom they live ? There are only two ways in which there could be a fear of their abusing their liberty,—by injuring society, or by injuring themselves. As to acts of general outrage, we have shown that both reason and facts prove that the alarm is unfounded ; and as to any disorderly conduct which might be apprehended, surely such municipal regulations might be framed as would provide against it ; and any difficulty or expense attending them, together with all the forbearance which the case might require, would be

the least atonement which could be made to the Negroes for all the grievous wrongs which they have suffered. And what is the injury which the enfranchised Negro would be likely himself to receive by obtaining his freedom? Would he be more licentious than he is encouraged to be now? Would he be debarred from the means of education and religious instruction, when he has his Sabbaths to himself, and needs not fear to be *flogged and chained for praying*?—But “he would be idle, and through his improvidence might perish for want!” But what is it which makes him now, after a week’s severe labor for his master, toil in his provision grounds on a Sunday? Necessity: he must work on that day, says Mr. Stewart, or starve. And would there not be a similar motive if he were free?—In fine, it appears that such reasoning proceeds on a false principle: it assumes that the Negro would be the same abject, hopeless, improvident being, when free, as he is now in his enslaved condition. We have already seen, by the testimony of the Consul at Mogadore, what effect slavery had even upon Europeans, in the total debasement and brutal stupidity which it produced; and in the interesting volumes of Dr. Walsh ample and most cheering evidence is afforded of the happy effect of freedom on the Negro character; leading him to the conclusion, “that a European had no pretext but his own cupidity, for impiously thrusting his fellow-man from that rank in the creation which the Almighty has assigned him, and degrading him below the lot of the brutes that perish.”*

* See “Notes on the Brazils, by the Rev. Dr. Walsh,” vol. i. pp. 134—141.

That intelligent traveller, Baron Humboldt, from witnessing Negro industry in South America, bears his testimony to the fact that "the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and land-holders."—The Negroes, it is said, are idle! But what have they now to work for? What motive have they to put forth every energy to get through their work?—They are improvident! But what stimulus have they to economy? Would not the hope of receiving their earnings be a better stimulus than the cart-whip? When a man works under the influence of fear, his spirits are soon jaded; he has no life; his strength is soon exhausted. Let hope stimulate him, and he works cheerfully; his spirits support him, and with a much less expenditure of strength he can perform the same labor. Do not the Negroes work every where, when they are free—in North and South America, in Sierra Leone, in Hayti, and in our own colonies? The comparative state of pauperism among the free Blacks and Persons of Color, and the Whites, seems decisive on this point. From a tabular view, constructed from the returns furnished by the colonial authorities, and laid before Parliament in 1826, it appears that "in a free Black and Colored population, amounting to about 88,000, only 227 have received even occasional relief as paupers, being one in each 387 individuals; while of about 63,400 Whites, 1675 have received such relief, being one in 38."* The experiment, also, of Mr. Steele, in Barbadoes, is equally decisive in proving, that, when there is a prospect of

* Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. ii. p. 17.

remuneration, the Negroes will not only work cheerfully, but in a manner much more advantageous to their employers than coerced labor can be.*

Such are the arguments by which a gradual emancipation is supported, and such the objections which are made to this protracted method of proceeding. Let us now advert to some of the plans of this kind which have been brought forward, not to notice them in long detail, but to point out the principal features in each.

Some have proposed, by a series of ameliorations only, without any compulsory manumissions, gradually and almost imperceptibly to extinguish slavery.—In addition to what has already been stated, it may be observed, that this is impracticable; and hence it is that the boldest champions of slavery do not object to the plan; on the contrary, the most inveterate slave-holders readily agree to it, because they know, that, while it amuses *us*, it is perfectly harmless to their system. When, after the experiment already made, might such an approximation be supposed to reach the desired point? Not, at least, before the equinoctial points had completed their revolution through all the signs. When will the period arrive when the slave-masters will consider their bondmen fit for freedom? Can it be expected that they will give effect to measures which shall prepare their slaves for liberty? We might as well expect water to run up hill, or a miser to be lavish of his gold.†

* Clarkson's Thoughts on the Necessity, &c. pp. 31, 32, &c.

† In regard to the question whether emancipation shall be *immediate* or *gradual*, there is a difference of opinion among those

Another plan suggested is, to make all the children born after a fixed time free, and in the mean while to improve the condition of the present slaves.—As for any material improvement in the state of the slaves, the whole nation now considers it as hopeless: to talk of it is mere trifling, so long as they continue the property of slave-owners. This part of the plan must therefore be given up, for reasons already stated. The emancipation of the future children is important, and good so far as it goes, but it leaves the actual and existing evil untouched. Those who have felt all the mis-

who are equally opposed to slavery, and are desirous that it should at all events be brought to an end in some way or other. One thing is certain, that laws ought to be passed, requiring that emancipation should take place immediately, or within some definite and short period, during which, the slaves shall receive that moral, intellectual and religious education which shall qualify them properly to enjoy their freedom when they shall receive it. The idea that instruction can be imparted to slaves while they remain such, and when there is no certainty that they ever will be liberated, is altogether preposterous. It would neither be safe for the master, nor advantageous for the slave. It would increase the danger of insurrections, and would make the slave more discontented with his lot,—and the only effect of it would be to sow distrust, suspicion and enmity between both parties. But if the slave knew that he should certainly be made free within a short period, he would not only be stimulated to improve every opportunity of qualifying himself for this new situation, but would wait patiently and contentedly until this time should arrive. But whether emancipation be immediate or gradual, the law ought to provide the means of educating the slaves, and the planters ought individually to make all those personal and benevolent efforts necessary to secure the effectual operation of such a law.—
AM. ED.

eries of slavery are for that reason to be left to a perpetuation of its evils, while the charities of our hearts are to be transferred from their proper objects to a race in prospect. If government were actually preparing for the enfranchisement of the Negroes now living, and were to adopt this as an immediate measure, to arrest at once the progress of the evil, we might indeed rejoice; but as a compromise, to pacify those who are indignant at the Negro's wrongs, and are laboring for his freedom—as the price of abandoning the present race,—who could, who ought, to entertain it for a moment? Humanity shudders at the thought of transferring all the compassion, and all the energetic effort, which, if well directed, and steadily and perseveringly employed, might rescue from their miserable thralldom those whose wrongs have been innumerable, to a generation which has never seen the light, to children who *may* hereafter exist!

It has been proposed to enfranchise all the females.—This goes much further: the freedom of the future children would then be secured, and much grievous suffering in the persons of the females would be averted. Still, in this case, must all the unfortunate males be left to toil in nearly hopeless bondage; and small would be the protection they could afford to their wives and children. If so much could be accomplished, it would indeed be a pity if the measure should not be extended, so as to complete the work of mercy and of justice.

Another plan has been, to give the Negro one day in the week to labor for himself, and allow him, as soon as he has saved money enough, to purchase another

day; and so on till he has procured the redemption of the whole of his time.—This, it seems, is already the law in the Spanish colonies, or something very similar to it; and the result of all the efforts of a free and generous nation, is to place the English slaves in as good a condition as the slaves of Spain! But why should the injured Negro be forced to *give*, instead of being empowered to *receive a compensation*? Remuneration is first and principally due to him who has been robbed, and spoiled, and crushed to the dust, by this wretched system;—and must he, instead of receiving reparation for his wrongs, be forced, by his toil and sweat, to pay for that freedom to which he has as just a right as to the air he breathes?

In fine, to every plan, except to that which gives substantial justice to the injured Negro, there seems to be serious objections; and nothing short of his complete release from his cruel, tyrannical, and unchristian bonds, in the speediest manner, can render to him full justice.

But it may be asked, How is then their release to be effected in a way that shall be both just and practicable? I do not deny that great difficulties may attend the question, and difficulties which it will require the wisdom of Parliament to surmount; but they are difficulties chiefly arising, not from the untractableness of the slaves, but from the inveterate prejudices and obstinacy of the masters. It would, however, be presumptuous in me to enter into details on such a subject, adverse, especially, as I am, on principle, to all temporary expedients. But, in truth, it seems neither necessary, nor perhaps advisable, in our applications to the legislature, to at-

tempt to sketch out specific plans : this might only divide, where all should be united. It will be for the wisdom of Parliament to determine the best practicable mode of carrying the wishes of the nation into effect. Our course is plain and straight-forward : let all our efforts be directed, at once and unceasingly, to the complete extinction of slavery in all the British dominions, as early as the adoption of the necessary measures, and the carrying of them into effect, will allow.

Excuse the length to which the remarks on this subject have been extended, (too brief, perhaps, for its importance,) but it was impossible to pass over entirely this part of the great question, in treating on the Abolition of Slavery.

Having considered at some length the object to which our efforts should be directed, we shall now notice the manner in which we should seek its accomplishment. An inquiry connected with this part of our subject has excited some attention, and certainly deserves consideration : *Should we abstain from the produce of slave labor, and discourage as far as possible its consumption?* There are many articles of this kind which it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish : there are, however, two which may be considered as staple commodities of our slave colonies in general—these are sugar and rum. It is well known, that what occasions the severest labor to the Negroes, the most frequent punishments, and the most dreadful waste of life, is the culture of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture of the sugar and rum which are its produce. If spirits must be taken,

surely it will be no great sacrifice to substitute any other instead of rum. But the use of sugar, which may be ranked, if not among the necessities, yet among the comforts of life, stands on very different ground. Its use is neither immoral nor unhealthy. Nor is the disuse of it necessary to discountenance slavery, since it may be obtained from countries where it is raised by free labor. But the sugar of the West Indies and the Mauritius is raised solely by the toil of the unrequited slave, and is the main support of the slave system.

There are many, who, from feelings of humanity, apart from every other consideration, abstain from slave-grown sugar. And shall we blame those who on such an account exercise self-denial? How many unspeakable miseries are endured, how many wrongs are inflicted, how much crime is committed, and how many lives are shortened, in the production of this article! Must it not lessen the pleasure of the tea-table and of the dessert, when a reflecting and humane mind considers how much suffering to others his enjoyments have cost? When David's valiant men broke through the host of the Philistines, and brought their chief water from the well of Bethlehem, his generous and feeling heart would not allow him to taste it, though his lips were parched with feverish thirst: "My God forbid it me," said he, "that I should do this thing! shall I drink the blood of those men that have put their lives in jeopardy? For with the jeopardy of their lives they brought it."

There are some who take still higher ground; who cannot, consistently with their views of religion, sanc-

tion a system of violence and cruelty by consuming slave-grown sugar. And who shall censure the resolution to avoid being "partakers of other men's sins?" Does it not deserve a serious inquiry, by every conscientious person, who knows the injustice and multiplied wickedness of the system, how far it is right in him to countenance it, by consuming or dealing in the article which is thus produced? In every case of abstinence of this kind, there is also a protest made, practically and forcibly, against the iniquity of slavery, which cannot fail of some effect on others.

But there is another ground on which the disuse of slave sugar is advocated; its supposed tendency towards the abolition of the slave system. That this would promote the object if it were sufficiently general is unquestionable. Even by diminishing the Negro's value as a slave, it would facilitate his freedom. It is ascertained that the average consumption of sugar in England annually is about twenty-three pounds to every individual of the population; and it appears, from colonial returns, that the average proportion of sugar raised in a year for each slave, is about five hundred weight; consequently, one slave less would be necessary for every twenty-five persons who should abstain from slave sugar. If, then, the whole of those in England who hate slavery were resolutely to refuse to purchase sugar raised by slaves, the system would be materially discouraged. A great proportion of those who are seeking the extinction of slavery have not acted on this plan: they are hoping that Parliament will listen to the wishes of the nation, and by its own enactments render a

measure of this kind unnecessary: should their hopes be disappointed, they will, in all probability, have recourse to this as a last resort. Whether, all things considered, such persons act wisely and properly, I will not attempt to decide. There are, however, some pleas entered against the disuse of slave sugar, the futility of which it requires not many words to prove. "It is of little use," say some, "to attempt it: what can one individual, or a few persons do? If all would adopt this plan it might succeed, and we should then have no objection to unite." But numbers are composed of units: let each do his part, and the part of the whole will be done. Our example may induce others to act in a similar manner. But whatever be the conduct of others, let it be our individual concern to act fully up to our sense of duty. As we shall not suffer for the delinquencies of others, or the conduct of others, if it fail in what we think right, is no excuse for us.—"But East-India sugar is dearer, and not so good." As to price, there ought to be no difference in sugars of similar qualities; and that free-labor sugar can be applied to every domestic purpose is sufficiently proved by the fact, that many large and respectable families use this only.* And what is that benevolence worth which refuses so small a sacrifice in the pursuit of its object?—But we are told that "slaves are employed in the cultivation of sugar in the East Indies." And what is there which

* After the delivery of this lecture in Bradford, the attention of the company was invited to the inspection of wines, conserves, and confectionary of various kinds, made with East-India sugar, which some ladies had provided for the occasion.

the advocates of West-India slavery have not asserted in support of their system? It has been proved, in Parliament, and out of Parliament, again and again, that in Bengal, the province where the sugar we consume is raised, no slaves whatever are employed in its cultivation, but free laborers only.*

Lastly: it has been supposed that by lessening the consumption of sugar, you would injure the slave, and render his condition still worse. This has often been disproved. We shall not go at length into the argument, but briefly advert to circumstances which appear satisfactorily to prove the contrary. First, the greater the quantity of sugar that is raised, the greater must be the number of slaves employed in its culture: and the culture of sugar is the most deathful of their employments; and, judging by the comparative waste of human life in the different colonies, the slave will be found to work the harder, and fare the worse, in proportion to the quantity of sugar which is raised. Let no one deceive himself, by imagining that by augmenting the value of slave labor you secure his better treatment. It will still be only a balance between life and gold. If the gain in the increased quantity, or in the higher price of sugar be greater than the loss in the wear and tear of the human machinery, will the needy or the avaricious planter hesitate for a moment? If the greater consumption, and consequently the greater culture, of sugar increased the comfort and tended to the welfare of the slaves, their population would be found, generally speaking, to increase in proportion. But the very re-

* See a "Letter to W. Whitmore, Esq.," on this subject.

verse of this is the case ; and, with slight variations, the waste of human life is generally proportioned to the quantity of sugar annually raised per slave in each colony respectively.*

But whatever subordinate means may now be adopted, or, in the event of their failure, whatever ultimate measures may be contemplated, our present great effort must be to move the Parliament of Britain to put an end to slavery. It is our privilege to approach, with our entreaties, complaints, and remonstrances, this august assembly. To one class of his Majesty's subjects this privilege is denied, or, what amounts to the same thing, its exercise is impossible. There is a power which effectually intervenes between them and the paternal government of the empire. In vain they sigh for that interposition, which alone can give them aid : they must not, dare not ask it. But we can give utterance to their groans, and make their wrongs speak in the senate of the nation. We can, on their behalf, invoke a power which, if its mighty voice is uttered, their oppressors must regard. It is but for Parliament to issue its imperial mandate, and the object is accomplished ; it is only for the British legislature to throw around the Negroes the ægis of its protection, and they are safe. We should smile at the blustering menaces of these little legislatures, and their organs, the colonial gazettes, were it not for an indignation, which we can

* See this clearly exhibited in a tabular view formed from returns made to Parliament from each colony, in the Anti-slavery Reporter, No. 26, also in the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society.

scarcely repress, at the outrageous inconsistency of those who abuse and threaten the mother country, for the least imagined interference with their rights, while they can enslave their fellow-creatures by thousands, and without remorse or pity deprive them of all that is dear to man. In these colonies there is a free Black and Colored population, whose loyalty and attachment to Britain are well known, and whose efforts, without the interference of a single British soldier, if confided in, would ensure the failure of any attempt to disturb the public peace.* The White colonists talk of their inde-

* The spirit and temper of the People of Color may be seen by the following extracts from *The Watchman*, a newspaper published by the People of Color in Jamaica: they relate to some violent language which had been used in the House of Assembly, of that island, respecting a disruption from Great Britain and an union with the United States. "We can tell every contumacious member of the House of Assembly, that, if America had ten times the population she possesses, she would find herself incapable of wresting this or any other of the colonies from the mighty grasp of the parent state."—"Jamaica would rise in mass." "Before the tocsin of war is sounded, the House of Assembly would do well to commence the system of exterminating the Colored population, who are loyal to a man."—"In the Assembly of Jamaica," it is added, "if they dared to unfold the flag of rebellion, every man of them would be hanged in twenty-four hours, without reference to the judge or jury. England has a standing army in her loyal and devoted subjects of Jamaica; so that the puny threat of a seditious Assembly excites only a return of ridicule and contempt."

It is gratifying to find that the People of Color, who are numerous, and many of them wealthy and respectable, are likely to be important coadjutors in carrying into effect the wishes of the British nation respecting the extinction of slavery. In this they are wise; for as long as that hateful system continues, they will be subject to an unmerited degradation: they never can, in the very nature of things, rise to their proper level in society, till Negro slavery be abolished. On their views with reference to this subject, see some interesting extracts in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 60.

pendence ! But what could they do without England ? Would they bring their sugars here, if they could find a better market elsewhere ? Would they compel us to save a million or two annually, by purchasing the produce of free labor ? What would they do without our armies and our fleets to defend them, and our bounties and protecting duties to maintain their monopoly ? Their independence in this case would be that of a fragile boat cut adrift from the vessel to which it belonged, in the midst of the ocean. But the colonists know better, and all their vamping is but to serve a purpose. However great the clamor of opposition which might be raised, in a prospect of a restoration of their rights to the unjustly enslaved Negroes, it would soon subside, if that measure were once carried in Parliament. What awful predictions were uttered by the colonists and their supporters, while the abolition of the slave trade was pending ! What an outcry of alarm and ruin was then raised ! And now, what is become of all their dismal forebodings ? So it would be in a short time with the enfranchisement of the slaves ; and succeeding generations will in this, as in the former case, smile and marvel at all the boisterous threatenings and abuse, which are now employed to deter us from our purpose ; and at those ill-omened vaticinations which they are now croaking in our ears.

The power of the British Parliament is like that of those mighty engines with which you are surrounded : * its potency, when brought properly into action, is re-

* It will be remembered that these Lectures were first delivered in the midst of a manufacturing population.

sistless. But if this be the steam engine, public opinion is the steam, without which it will never work; but, set in motion by that, it can do wonders. "If the whole of the middle class of society in this country," said Lord Calthorpe, "were but strongly to express their opinion, slavery could not continue a single day." It is the business, then, of every friend of the oppressed Negro to raise and bring into action this mighty engine, by circulating information, by forming auxiliary societies, by holding meetings—by every means which can warm the humane feelings of the heart, and keep them warm—till from millions of free and generous hearts that expansive agent shall arise, and, issuing through innumerable petitions into both Houses of Parliament, shall set the giant power of that engine at work, which by one sublime stroke of its arm, shall dash in pieces the fetters of 800,000 slaves.

And let us remember how important it is, to the accomplishment of our object, that Parliament be composed of men who with fearless integrity will advocate the cause of our fellow-subjects. This depends in a great measure on the people themselves. Whenever you are called to exercise the elective franchise, let this be an essential qualification in every candidate, that he will vote for the abolition of slavery in the speediest practicable manner. Listen not to professions of a willingness to ameliorate their condition, and to favor a gradual abolition—these are, in general, meant only to deceive—let the early extinction of slavery be the pledge required. Not only is this of consequence to the liberation of the Negroes from their thralldom, but be

assured that *the advocates of slavery are not fit persons to be entrusted with the liberties of Englishmen.*

Friends of humanity, lovers of freedom, followers of the Saviour, what further considerations need be adduced to urge you to exertion on the poor slaves' behalf? If the statements which we have made are true, if the arguments which we have advanced are sound, who can be justified in remaining an inactive spectator of the great conflict now pending between the genius of liberty, and the demon of oppression?

What an appeal does the condition of the enslaved Negroes make to your *benevolence*!—If it is benevolent to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to relieve the poor; surely it is no less so by the hope of freedom to “bind up the broken in heart;” by the prospect of liberation from their wrongs to “comfort those that mourn;” to raise a human being from the condition of a laboring beast to that of a man; and to give the opportunity of instruction to those who are “perishing for lack of knowledge.” In how many channels does British benevolence flow! how diversified are the objects which it embraces! There is scarcely an ill that afflicts mankind, which it does not regard. Its activity is brought to bear on whatever relates to the body or the mind, to the wants of the rising race or to the infirmities of age, to the sufferings of our own countrymen, or to those of foreigners. To meet these various exigencies, what sums are expended, what efforts are made, what an apparatus of means is put in requisition! And shall the case of the unhappy slaves form the only exception? On this occasion alone, shall benevolence be dormant,

when its aid is implored on behalf of nearly a million of human beings, who, under the sanction of the British government, are pining away their lives in bitter bondage, destructive alike to their bodies and their souls; and who are annually diminishing in number through the various mischiefs of the slave system?

Is not a strong appeal also made to your *patriotism*? —If you love your country, and wish her to rank high among the nations, aid in wiping from her character this foul stain, and in relieving her from the just, and therefore bitter, reproach, of boasting of liberty and yet retaining slaves; of persuading other nations to cease from man-stealing, while she will not give up the fruits of her past plunder; of sacrificing at once to God and mammon. If you wish your own loved country to take the lead in just and humane legislation, urge her at once to interpose in favor of Negro freedom; or she will, in all probability, be soon compelled to take a mortifying position, in the rear of those of whom she has always been in advance. If you wish those judgments to be averted which have always sooner or later overtaken every nation that has sanctioned vice and oppression; if you wish England to avoid the fate of Nineveh and Babylon and Tyre; arise, and, with a voice so strong and general as must compel attention, bid her, in the name of Him who can dry up every stream of our commerce, blast our prosperity, and bring our glory to the dust; bid her, in the name of that just and merciful Being, who is the God of the Black man as well as of the White, without delay to “loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the op-

pressed go free, and to break every yoke." So will "the blessing of him that was ready to perish" come upon us; so may we hope for the favor and protection of Him who "rules in the armies of heaven, and amongst the inhabitants of the earth."

Nor is your *piety* less the object of appeal.—Where can we see so much sin and so much suffering to awaken every feeling of Christian compassion, and to call for the exercise of Christian zeal, as in our slave colonies? What a field would be open for the pious missionary, if all our slaves were liberated! No people to whom the gospel has been sent have appeared to embrace it so willingly, and to submit to its instructions with so much docility, as these poor slaves, when opportunity has been afforded to them. And remember, that in these colonies there are twenty or thirty thousand of them who have joined various religious societies, whom we are taught to consider as "brethren in the Lord." And these fellow-creatures, fellow-subjects, and fellow-Christians, are subject to the most brutal treatment. Themselves, their wives, their children, may have their flesh mangled by the whip, may be sold by auction, may be prevented from the enjoyment of every Christian privilege, and from the performance of every religious duty but what is strictly private, at the mere will and pleasure of any persecuting slave-master. They may be, and some of them have been, and are, flogged and worked in chains, like felons, for attending religious meetings and for attempting to pray! Can you rest on your pillows while you remember these things? Can you think of the martyred Smith and

Grimsdall; of the vexatious persecutions of those holy and disinterested men who have left all the endearments of home, not for the gains of commerce, or the pursuit of science, but to bring the poor suffering Negro to an acquaintance with the Saviour, and to pour into his heart the consolations which he so much needs: can you think of these things, and feel your conscience easy while no strenuous effort is made to abolish that unholy, unchristian, inhuman system, from which it all springs? For the sake of all that the slave suffers; for the sake of all the immorality and guilt which the system entails on the planters; for the sake of England, which is defiled by this polluted and accursed thing; for the sake of Europe, to whom England should not be an example; for the sake of the whole human family; rise from your supineness, put forth all your energies, nor rest till you have chased this destructive demon from the British dominions.

Allow me to caution you against two things which might relax your efforts.—In the first place, do not reckon on an easy victory. This is no time to slumber. The adverse interests are numerous and powerful. Several of the Nobility are slave-holders; and in the House of Commons there is a phalanx of West-India proprietors and merchants, whose united votes are formidable to Ministers. The wealth of those who are interested in the support of slavery is immense, their connexions extensive, and their influence great; a considerable portion of the periodical press appears to be enlisted in their service. Nothing can ensure success

to this sacred cause, but a determined, united, and persevering effort.

Nor, on the other hand, yield to such a desponding view of the case as renders exertion hopeless. In such a country, under such a government, at such a time as this, when the power of public opinion, if steadily maintained, is sure to bear down every obstacle, what may not persevering effort accomplish? What has it not accomplished? There is no need to ransack history to furnish proof of this, though our national records are rich in instructive examples of success: our own times supply us with memorable instances of what has been effected by united, determined, and unwearied exertion. What was it that at length opened India to the light of Christianity, and has extinguished the fires of the Indian suttee? What was it which has restored the conscientious Dissenter to the full privileges of the British constitution; and has determined the great question respecting the Roman Catholics, so long agitated and so strenuously opposed? Did not the abolition of the slave trade itself encounter quite as much opposition as is now made, or can be made, to the enfranchisement of the enslaved Negroes? Yet, as often as the friends of humanity were driven back, they returned again to the attack, determined rather to die in the breach, than to surrender their arms or to give up their cause; and after a contest of twenty years the great object was obtained, and success crowned their efforts. Let no failures of the past, no difficulties of the present, discourage us. What if the conflict be arduous and long, if many a campaign remains yet to be fought; the prize, the glorious prize

of humanity, for which we are contending, is worth it all.

And in this holy warfare let each be determined to do his part; let no one be content to leave it to others: every one may contribute something to the general stock of power and effect. You that have property, spare it not in such a cause, when funds are necessary. You who have time, give a portion of it freely to advance such an object. You who have influence, exert it in the cause of misery. Masters of families, heads of seminaries, let all within your respective spheres imbibe a spirit of hatred to slavery and compassion for the injured Negro. Let the kind efforts of that sex be brought into requisition, in whose hearts charity has ever found an asylum, and whose influence we feel from the cradle to the tomb. Let the ministers of religion engage the sympathies of their listening audiences on behalf of this truly Christian object; and let all who pray, present the sorrows and the sufferings of the injured African before our common "Father who is in heaven."

Be assured our cause must finally triumph. Whether this enemy of the African fall by our hands or not, fall he must; whether this evil be removed by gentle means or by some violent catastrophe, removed it certainly will be: it is an unsightly excrescence on the institutions of civilized society, which will not be allowed to continue: it is a sight too revolting, now that the light of day shines on it, for the nineteenth century to endure. See the changes that are taking place in South America, in the neighborhood of some of our slave colonies; and all in favor of freedom. Look at Hayti,

within sight of Jamaica—till lately a slave island—now an empire of free Blacks, fast rising in power, increasing rapidly in numbers and in wealth. Will not the slaves inevitably become acquainted with the whole case? The light which has arisen is penetrating every crevice, and, in spite of every effort to prevent it, it will reach the Negro race. Look at the general aspect of the times—the vast increase of knowledge, the march of popular liberty, the tremblings of despotism;—is it possible that slavery can be perpetuated? The angel of freedom is on his march; the doom of slavery is already pronounced; the millstone is cast into the sea, which is the type and presage of its fall, its utter disappearance, to be seen no more. Oh that Britain may be wise, and accomplish that work of mercy, which the course of events may otherwise effect in a manner which all may deplore!

But, whatever may be the result of our efforts, let them not cease. “Be not weary in well-doing.” We are accountable for our fidelity and diligence, but not for our success. We are in a world in which error, and vice, and “spiritual wickedness in high places,” are making war on the peace and happiness of mankind. Every friend of truth and justice and humanity and piety is called to a holy warfare; to range himself under these sacred banners, in order, by combined and vigorous efforts, to purify the vices of a sinful world, and to lessen the miseries of a suffering world. This cause will ultimately prevail, whether we do our part or not; but, happy for us, if we shall be found to have aided its triumphs! The hour is coming, when we shall retire

from the field; and, oh! will it not refresh our spirits in that solemn season, to remember that we have not lived entirely for ourselves; that we have, through the Divine blessing, done something to make the miserable happy, and to raise 800,000 wretched slaves to the privileges of men, and to the happiness of Christianity? And should we meet in a brighter world, uniting with that assembly which shall be composed of men "of all nations and people and tongues and kindred," those whom our efforts have contributed to emancipate and christianize, will it not repay all our "labor of love," even if it could be multiplied a thousand-fold?



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