

because on that day all Americans were declared free; and all the subsequent compacts, contracts, legislation and proceedings in reference to slavery, are null and void. The whole is a mere covenant of villany and deceitfulness, the stigma of which will never be effaced from our country, the blemish of which disgraces the American churches, and the curse of which, without speedy repentance and atonement, will ere long be realized by the obdurate transgressors who slay the colored people, despoil them of all the rights of man, and although not less God robbers than men stealers, yet hold themselves not guilty. Now is it not past all human forbearance, to hear men demanding a compensation for restoring the articles which they have stolen? Is it not a tax upon Christian patience, too heavy to be tolerated to hear men and even nominal disciples of Jesus, contending that they shall be paid from the national domain, or the treasury of philanthropy, as much for their feeble, aged and worn out American native free born citizen slaves, as will enable them to breed up to maturity three or four times the number of the younger race, that they may be worked, scourged, and starved, until they are emaciated and worn out; and thus repeat the process, from generation to generation—for the slaveholders falsify when they say that they wish for the extinction of slavery. It is in their power to abolish it at any moment; all they have to do is to collect all the colored people together and rescind only two words—**BE FREE!** PAUL.

[For the Liberator.]

To S. E. SEWALL, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

SMITHFIELD, R. I. 8th mo. 17, 1833.

I am now in the house in which I first drew the breath of life, and where, from the lips of my father and mother, I first learned to detest Slavery. My father was a member of the Rhode Island Abolition Society, from the earliest period of my recollection, to the day of his death. 'In this dear delightful spot,' I well remember, when I was seven years ago, my old Pero took me upon his knees, and told me the melancholy tale of his wrongs; how he was stolen away from his native land in Africa, leaving behind all that were dear to him in life; how much he suffered on the voyage, and how on his arrival in this country he was sold for a slave; how he was beaten and cruelly treated by his master; and finally, how blessed God that his master's heart was changed, and becoming a Christian, how he gave to him, his wife and nine children, their birthright—freedom; and then the old man, with tears of gratitude starting from his large rolling eyes, would exclaim, 'After we were free, our Cuffee was born, and Pero loves Cuffee more than all the rest of his children, because he was free born.' Thus was instilled into my soul, in my tenderest years, an abhorrence of that system, which regards the body of one man as the property of another man; and though there be many who have deserted the cause of the oppressed, and gone over to the enemy of human rights, one who has received his impressions in favor of universal justice and the rights of man, when the mind takes impressions like wax softened in the sun, can never desert their cause.

Last evening, I attended a meeting and received a contribution in aid of the School fund, within twenty rods of the spot where old Pero lived, and in the centre of scenery, which, wherever I wander, lives fresh in my recollection and is ever dear to memory. I am encouraged to hope, that something of the spirit which universally prevailed here in former years, is again reviving; and that it will not be long, before an Anti-Slavery Society will be formed here. The Congregational Minister attended the lecture last evening, and addressed the meeting in behalf of the right of all the American people to be free, and to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in this their native land. He will take the lead in forming a Society and promoting the object, and by doing so, will evince, that he is on the side of Him, who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prisons to them that are bound.

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

[For the Liberator.]

CUSHING'S ORATION.

The Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, delivered an address before the Massachusetts Colonization Society, on the 4th of July, in which I find the following erroneous statement of the object of the Society.

'What then is the object of the Colonization Society? Let us inquire. Is it honorably pursued? This object is simple, direct, visible; there is no concealment of real design, there is no profession of a simulated one;—it is to establish colonies on the western coast of Africa, by means of such colored persons, or emancipated slaves in the United States, as voluntarily emigrate, under the auspices of the Society.'

'The establishment of colonies on the western coast of Africa, does not appear by the constitution, or resolutions of the Society, to constitute any part of the object of that institution. What a pity it is, when men attempt to give to the people of the non-slaveholding States, the object, and character of the American Colonization Society, that they always substitute their own notions of what it should

be, for the official declarations of the Society itself of what it is. Permit me, therefore, to recommend to the Hon. Mr. Cushing, to turn to the 22nd page of the last Annual Report of the Society, where he will find the following resolution, unanimously adopted at the last annual meeting.

Resolved, That the true and single object of the Society, is that which is expressed in its original constitution, viz. 'To promote and execute a plan, for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color, residing in our country in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient; and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.'

By this resolution, it appears that the only object of the Society is to get rid of the free colored people, by sending them to the coast of Africa, or any other place, which Congress may deem expedient. The Colonization Society, by leaving it to Congress to fix the place of banishment for the unfortunate free colored people, have demonstrated in the clearest manner possible, that their only object is, to get them out of this country, where they are regarded as 'walking mirrors, reflecting the light of freedom into the dark bosoms of the slaves.' Not one word is said in the resolution of the Society, about 'emancipated slaves; and I very much question, whether the Hon. Orator can find any official publication of the Society, which will bear him out in the statement which he has given of its object. I think, therefore, he has been guilty of a 'concealment of the real design, and of the 'profession of a simulated one.' GANDOR.

[For the Liberator.]

INTELLECT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

It is often said, with apparent sincerity, by the apologists for slavery, that the colored man belongs to an inferior order of beings; that by an unalterable decree of Providence, he was constituted the servant of servants, and that to raise him to a moral and intellectual equality with the white man, is a gross ignorance of the subject. Review each person's historical facts; tell them that their ancient Egyptians, so celebrated for their learning and advancement in the arts of life, were negroes; and they will tell you that the 'crispy-haired, and sable-faced' Egyptians of whom Herodotus and other learned travellers speak, were entirely a different race of beings from the degraded negroes whom we hold in bondage. Talk to them of colored individuals who have in modern times shone conspicuous for their intellectual and moral worth; and you are met upon the threshold with the reply, 'You are captious, and 'exceptions only prove the rule.' Endeavor to satisfy such persons that the present degraded condition of the colored man is to be attributed to moral causes, and you are informed that physiologists long since discovered the cause in a peculiar physical organization. To such, let me say, lay aside your wicked prejudices, and absurd theories, and look at facts within your reach.

Go to the schools of colored youth, and witness the manifestations of intellect there, and then after making due allowance for prejudice, poverty, and want of instruction at home, you will be disappointed under which pupils labor, compare them with the pupils in other schools, and I fear not the result.

My own observation has led me to these reflections. Having visited several schools composed of white children, I resolved to satisfy myself whether colored youth were susceptible of receiving instruction. With this view I attended the last examination of the African School in this city. There were present about sixty pupils of both sexes, under the care of a gentleman apparently well qualified for his office, and who seemed to be aware of the change, intelligent, accountable beings. The exercises were in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and declamation; in all of which the pupils acquitted themselves in a manner which would satisfy any unbiased mind of their entire intellectual equality with those of our own color. With their reading, I was peculiarly pleased; especially with the feeling and manly consciousness of their wrongs with which they read from the 'incendiary publication' of Cowper—

'Oh, for a ledge in some vast wilderness,
Some remote coast, some country undisturbed;
I said I saw those whose prejudices
Allow them, and who are not afraid of approximating
So near to those, as guilty of a skin not colored like their own; cease to theorize
and look at those stubborn things, facts, and then say whether you find any excuse for holding the African in bondage by reason of his intellectual inferiority. — EQUAL RIGHTS.

[For the Liberator.]

Theol. Sem. Andover, Aug. 22, 1833.
MR. EDITOR.—The following letter from one devoted to his devotion to the cause of literature and religion, I venture to send you for publication in your valuable paper.
MY DEAR BROTHER,—A recent article in the New-York Observer convinces me that your little band of Abolitionists at Andover are driving the advocates of prejudice, gradulation, 'exile,' and slavery, into close quarters. It seems that 'a very large majority' of the students in your Seminary, 'nearly or quite nine tenths,' feel the head of the opinion of some great man to back their own on the subject of African Colonization! Accordingly

they apply to Dr. Porter, 'who has just returned from the South,' and of course know all about slavery and colonization, or, the Editor of the Quarterly Register says, the 'perfect knowledge' of them, for his opinion on these matters. One who was not acquainted with the Colonization chicanery, would naturally expect in reply to such a request, an opinion based upon an elaborate induction of facts that had fallen under the writer's eye; but no such thing need be expected. The men who advocate the 'exile'—voluntary exile from the face of prejudice and oppression—of the free, for the sake of benefitting the enslaved, are not the men who deal in facts.

But a word on the Doctor's opinions. He thinks slavery 'a very great national evil,' for reasons too numerous to be mentioned, and that it will never be felt so in every quarter of the country. But why? Any new facts? Any more Southampton? If slavery is tolerable and admits of some apology after 150 years of trial, may it not after 150 years more?

Great as is the evil, he thinks immediate emancipation, as he understands it, would be not only inexpedient, but impossible. Does he mean a 'natural' or 'moral' impossibility? The distinction is sometimes thought to be of consequence. Moreover, why does he not tell us what he 'understands by immediate emancipation'?

With great gravity he asks, 'Will it be said that Congress, by a sweeping enactment might abolish slavery in one month through the United States?' Let all the babies in the United States, once for all, know that Congress can do no such thing. It seems to haunt the imaginations of the great children, both at the South and North, that Abolitionists expect to abolish slavery, totally and immediately, by means of Congress! Dr. Porter's letter, coming upon the top of Hon. Daniel Webster's, it is to be hoped, will have a tendency to quiet them. The abolitionists will not trouble Congress to do any thing more than to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and Territories.

Dr. Porter has discovered that, while the sentiments of a majority of the citizens of the slaveholding States remain as they are, there will be nobody to execute an abolition law, and indeed nobody 'to make it.' Ergo, immediate abolition cannot be effected. And so Mr. P. adds; Ergo, it ought not to be.

So far as I understand the subject, the abolitionists urge that immediate abolition ought to be effected, and can be safely, if the slaveholders please. When they announce their expectation that it will be done, and their confidence that it can be done, 'in a month' without regard to the will of the masters, it is very much to be regretted that others do not impute to them the folly of expecting the slaveholders to abolish slavery against their own consent.

But, says he, suppose the thing to be done, 'with or without, the consent of the masters.' Why one would think it would make a wide difference in the 'consequences,' by which of the propositions you govern 'consent.' But, no, Dr. is under the oracular impulse and sees the same vision for both. With superhuman foresight, he recklessly denies the existence of all philanthropists have gathered from history and published, and foretells that the most sober and industrious of the manumitted would continue to labor, others would 'die and putrefy like the frogs of Egypt,' and others, still, would betake themselves to the 'forests and fastnesses' and live by plunder—these would spring deeds of 'desperate villainy, at the thought of which the heart shudders.' Now, could not Dr. P. be prevailed upon to show how the emancipated would be under stronger motives to betake themselves to the forests and fastnesses than the manumitted now are? And why more of the manumitted would 'die and putrefy' from 'indolence and intemperance' than now do, of the masters?

Dr. Porter's inference from this very super-natural but commonplace vision is in good keeping—immediate emancipation would be unwise. The yoke must be removed from the neck very gradually—only so fast as the victim of oppression is able to bear the relief. It is no wonder that a man who can see such visions for himself should pay so little regard to that other prophet who speaks of breaking every yoke.

It is a very kind and neighborly apology for slaveholding, Dr. P. proceeds to read a very weighty lecture to certain Anti-Slavery Societies 'of straw,' showing conclusively that he knows nothing of those which do actually exist. In regard to the tendency of Colonization he refers to Mills and Finley in a way, which if has any force at all, assumes for a principle, that if an experiment is only commenced with benevolence and prayer, the results of it are not to be watched, but predicted.

But, can it be true, that on one of the greatest subjects of human interest, the President, the origin and principles of the American Colonization Society. He denied that the object of the Society was the abolition of Slavery. On the other hand, he proved of slavery in the United States, but merely supported the transmission of free colored people from America to Africa, and had only to mention that the best supporters of the Colonization Society were slave-holders, and that many of its members had supported the erection of a new Slave State, that of Louisi-

ana in America. He therefore said that it was impossible they could sincerely wish the abolition of Slavery. [Mr. G. has been sent out to this country to see the cause of the slaves in opposition to the non-slaveholding States, and the expense of his education was principally defrayed by contributions from free negroes. He then enquired the number of associations, libraries, and literary societies, existing among the free blacks in America, and stated that there was no tract of freedom. There were more than 2000 subscribers to the Liberator, and 400000 contributors to literary works. That the moral effect of the Colonization Society was very bad. It had not done one thing for itself; but it had encouraged the Legislature to retard emancipation.]

[For the Liberator.]

OPINION OF WASHINGTON, AS TO THE EFFECTS OF SLAVERY UPON THE VALUE OF REAL ESTATE, AND UPON THE EFFECTS AND PROSPECTS OF ABOLITION.

It is well known, that Washington corresponded with Sir John Jay, an agriculturalist, on the subject of the letters addressed by Washington to his correspondent, he speaks in answer to Sir John's inquiries of the prices of land in the United States, and particularly in Virginia and in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon. The land there is described as exhausted and miserable, not worth more than four or five dollars an acre, including buildings—i. e. a whole plantation was worth no more than at that rate.

Washington then alludes to the prices in Pennsylvania and the free States, which averaged more than twice as much. I think he stated it at \$16 per acre, and he assigns the reasons for the mighty difference.

The first which he mentions is, the greater resort of foreign emigrants to the free States to settle.

The second I shall transcribe in his own words.

'Because, (says he, speaking of Pennsylvania,) there are laws here for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither of the two States above mentioned, (Maryland and Virginia,) have at present, but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period not remote.'

Mr. Editor, in my opinion the present period, thirty-four years, is sufficiently 'remote.' I presume that Washington did not anticipate that prejudice and despotism could hold out so long against the improvement of the age. What would be his astonishment if he were to revisit this scene, and find not a single such law as he alludes to passed, but only laws to multiply slaves, to promote the breeding and traffic of slaves, and to rivet closer the chains of slavery!

I now have a question to calm and intelligent planters in Maryland and Virginia. If you were to emancipate all your slaves tomorrow, would there not be a rise in the value of your lands that would soon make up your supposed loss of the value of your slaves? L.A.M.I.

[From the London Christian Advocate.] AMERICAN SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION IN AFRICA.

A public meeting was held on Saturday, at Exeter Hall, Strand, the object of which was to 'expose the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society, and to promote the cause of universal emancipation.' JAMES COPPER, of Liverpool, in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN said the meeting had been called in order that the real objects of the American Colonization Society might be exposed to the public, and that the subject of the gentleman who had been deputed from the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, William Lloyd Garrison, Esq., would address them. It was known that there was now in this country a party of the American Colonization Society, who had been collecting money under the assumed character, and with the avowed declaration, that the great objects of the Society were to abolish Slavery in the United States, and to extend civilization to Africa. Notwithstanding these misrepresentations, that Agent had held a public meeting a short time ago, at which he had the countenance of the Duke of Devonshire (the Duke of Devonshire) was then, the more anxious to take the most public means of exposing its objects. The American Colonization Society was established for the purpose of colonizing people of color in Africa, or such other place as Congress should direct, and in doing so, with their own consent. Therefore the civilization of Africa was not one of its first objects, nor was the abolition of slavery. John Randolph had, indeed, declared that the Society would afford the greatest security in enabling masters to keep possession of their slaves. It was well known that slavery could not exist, if there was a superabundance of population, and that a slave-owning population alarmed at the possibility of that happening, seeing that had been the cause of abolishing slavery in South America. A scheme for colonizing Africa was contrived, as was then expressed, to open a drain of the excess beyond the means of profitable employment. That was a measure which would ensure the continuance of slavery, because it guaranteed the possession by owners of their slaves. As to the assurance that their object was to civilize Africa, it was ridiculous, and was passed to prevent instruction and civilization, and Louisiana the punishment of slaves, and to open a drain of the population at slave emancipation? After some further observations, the Chairman concluded by introducing Mr. Garrison to the meeting.

Mr. GARRISON then addressed the meeting, and detailed at length the origin and principles of the American Colonization Society. He denied that the object of the Society was the abolition of Slavery. On the other hand, he proved of slavery in the United States, but merely supported the transmission of free colored people from America to Africa, and had only to mention that the best supporters of the Colonization Society were slave-holders, and that many of its members had supported the erection of a new Slave State, that of Louisi-

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The Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL (a Congregational Clergyman) then presented a mission to the country to gather subscriptions in aid of the Colonization Society in Canada for the education of the blacks; then addressed the meeting. He stated that America, that country of liberty and equality, had not done one thing for the free people of color, and said that he sought their welfare; yet in New-England, when a colored child was at school, he was tempted to be established in the Colonization Society was the bitterest persecutor of the founder of the school. The advocates of Slavery described it as having been instituted for the free people of color of color; yet when a colored child was at school, he was tempted to be established in the Colonization Society was the bitterest persecutor of the founder of the school. The advocates of Slavery described it as having been instituted for the free people of color of color; yet when a colored child was at school, he was tempted to be established in the Colonization Society was the bitterest persecutor of the founder of the school.

Mr. CONNELL moved the first resolution, and delivered a most eloquent speech in support of the Colonization Society's Reports, he found that they themselves said 'that they were no abolition Society'—they would not address arguments to the masses in favor of the cause of the oppressed, but they did not contemplate emancipation either immediate or gradual: so that this Society was worse than the West Indians themselves for the latter example of unqualified emancipation. He concluded by saying,

'That the colonization of the free people of color in the United States, or such other place as Congress should direct, and in doing so, with their own consent, is the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society; that the abolition of slavery has always been an object of the Society, but not the object of the Society; the security of slave property has always been governing motive, and that the degree of emancipation, and the mode of its extension, are left to the Society, proves its inefficiency for that purpose.'

Which was seconded by Captain STRAIGHT.

Mr. BECKINGHAM moved,

'That the improvement of the condition of the people of color as a body in the United States, whether free or not, is no part of its object, and that any means for the improvement of the condition of the people of color, which are not consistent with the maintenance of slavery, are not the objects of the Society. This resolution was seconded by Mr. CONNELL.

Mr. ABRAMS came forward to declare that he would support the resolution proposed by Mr. HENRY, and that he would do so by supplying cotton from Liberia at a charge rate than it could be raised in America, and thus driving slave labor out of the market.

The second resolution was then passed. Mr. HENRY said that this appeared to be a question between two rival societies, and that such a meeting was not a proper tribunal to settle their disputes. He therefore moved a resolution to the effect, that the American Colonization Society might involve this country in a war with Africa, which ought to be avoided, and that we ought to look to the abolition of the system of the slave trade, (Lancaster.) This resolution was, of course, negatived.

Mr. THOMSON, the eloquent Anti-Slavery lecturer, moved,

'That the colored people, fully aware that they are not their own property, have declared their detestation of it in the most public manner. That they are prepared to own their feelings, and that the principles and objects of their advocates, the Anti-Slavery Society of the United States, was the abolition of Slavery, and that they were not, as the Colonization Society would have it, to be a mere pretext for the perpetuation of the slave trade.'

Which was seconded, and carried unanimously. The meeting then separated.

'WHAT HAVE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES DONE?' answered to this tautologous question at the late Colonization debate in Philadelphia, the venerable Samuel Hays, of a 'Political Party of Friends, boldly declared, 'Abolition is not the object of the United States, which is not now slaveholding States, to abolish all Slaves from America to Africa, and had only to mention that the best supporters of the Colonization Society were slave-holders, and that many of its members had supported the erection of a new Slave State, that of Louisi-

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