

T H E Anglo - African Magazine.

VOL. I.

MARCH, 1859.

NO. 3

A Statistical View

OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES—FROM 1790 TO 1850.

Continued.

By an examination of the table with which we concluded the article on this topic in the February number, it appears that the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, lost by migration (internal slave trade), 162,101 slaves, whilst Georgia Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Missouri and Arkansas gained from the same source, 185,840 slaves; to this may be added 7000 in Florida, which was admitted in 1821, containing about 8000 slaves.

Gain of Southern slave States	185,840
Loss of Northern slave States	162,101

Excess of slaves from an unknown source 20,739

We have here again 20,739 slaves who can only be accounted for on the hypothesis of an over-count by the marshals, to swell the basis of representation, or, as seems most probable, by the African slave trade secretly carried on. The fact that Alabama with a coast well fitted for such a trade, was the gainer of nearly sixty thousand slaves above the natural increase of that class, would point it out as the principal slave trading mart.

The movement of the free colored population in this decade was as follows:

	Free colored in 1810	Inc. 30 per cent.	Pop in 1850	Gain	Loss
N. E. States	21,248	27,626	21,331		6,295
N. York	29,900	39,650	44,870	5,220	
N. Jersey	12,609	16,389	18,203	1,914	
Delaware	12,958	16,479	15,855		624
Penn.	32,153	41,798	37,930		3,668
Md.	39,730	51,649	52,938	289	
Va.	37,139	48,278	47,348		930
N. C.	14,612	18,995	19,453	548	
S. C.	6,826	8,873	7,921		952
Ga.	1,767	2,287	2,486	199	
Tenn.	2,941	3,341	4,555	1,214	
La.	10,960	14,248	16,710	1,462	
Ala.	633	822	1,672	750	

The increase of 30 per cent. in ten years, cannot be accurately predicated of the entire free colored population of the United States, and is therefore used in this table rather as a standard of comparison. The normal increase of this class would seem to vary, that is to be at a maximum in the Southern States, and diminish gradually as we proceed North. South of Mason and Dixon's line 30 per cent. in ten years, in Pennsylvania, 20 per cent in the same period, and in New York and the New England States 12 per cent. in a decade, or about 1.2 per cent. per annum, which is the nor-

A Review of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

BY J. W. C. PENNINGTON

We have considered the present moment a congenial one for descending at some length on the subject of Slavery, and that commerce of the human species, denominated the slave trade. But as the mere subject of slavery may be considered by some as a stale topic, we shall endeavor to invest it with as much interest as possible, by tracing it to its origin; to consult, in fact, the history of slavery, and to lay before you, in as concise a manner as possible, a general view of it from its earliest appearance to the present day.

Addressing, as we do, citizens who have very recently in the strongest possible manner signalized their abhorrence of slavery, it may be becoming to give an account of those humane and worthy persons who were the first to draw towards slavery that share of the public attention which it has obtained. Of those who have exerted themselves to suppress the abject personal slavery, introduced in the original cultivation of the European colonies in the western world, *Bartholomew de Las Casas*, the pious bishop of *Chiapa*, in the fifteenth century, seems to have been the first. This amiable man, during his residence in Spanish America, was so sensibly affected at the treatment which the miserable Indians underwent, that he returned to Spain, to make a public remonstrance before the Emperor Charles the 5th, declaring that heaven would one day call him to an account for those cruelties which he then had it in his power to prevent; but his entreaties by the opposition of avarice, were rendered ineffectual; and we do not find by any books which we have read upon the subject, that any other person interfered till the seventeenth century, when *Morgan Godwyn*, a British clergyman, distinguished himself

in the cause. The last century also produced some zealous and able opposers of colonial slavery, and it was the privilege of at least one of them to live long enough to witness the final success of his efforts; this person was *Thomas Clarkson*. About the middle of the last century, two members of the Quaker Society, named *John Woolman* and *Anthony Benezet*, devoted much of their time to the subject. The former travelled through most parts of North America on foot, to hold conversations with the members of his own sect, on the impiety of retaining those in a state of involuntary servitude, who had never given them offense. The latter kept a free school in Philadelphia for the education of colored people, and at his death, he left the whole of his fortune in support of the school to which he had so generously devoted his time and attention when alive. Animated by the example of the Quakers, the members of other sects began to deliberate about adopting the same measure; and some of those of the church of England, of the Roman Catholics, and of the Presbyterians and Independents, freed their slaves in Pennsylvania. Among the most zealous opposers of colonial slavery at this period were *Mr. Granville Sharp* and *Rev. James Ramsay*, and subsequently the before-named *Thomas Clarkson*, and *Mr. Wilberforce* became no less conspicuous—we might say illustrious for their devotion to the cause of slave emancipation, and the abolition of the slave trade.

It had been the custom to transport slaves from the colonies to England, and there to sell them under the milder name of servants, to merchants and others, when their masters had no further use for them.

Mr. Sharp was the means of putting a stop to this iniquitous traffic, under the following circumstances:—a negro named Somerset, who had been brought by his master from the West Indies, and turned into the streets in consequence of illness, was placed by Mr. Sharp in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and on his restoration to health, established by his benefactor in a comfortable situation. His former master on ascertaining this, thought proper to seize him, and commit him to prison as a runaway slave, when Mr. Sharp brought the case before the Lord Mayor, who decided in favor of the slave's freedom. His inhuman master, however, grasping him by the collar, and attempting to detain him, Mr. Sharp commenced an action against the former, in the Court of King's Bench; and the result was, by a decision of the twelve judges, that slavery could not exist in Great Britain.

Having premised thus much, we will now proceed to *detail* as succinctly as possible, the HISTORY of slavery and the slave trade, which it will appear has existed in civilized as well as barbarous nations, through a long succession of ages, and from the remotest antiquity.

If length of days were all that was necessary to make a thing praiseworthy, then, unquestionably, would slavery be entitled to the highest laudation; but alas! when we consider that the people thus reduced to a state of servitude, have had the same feelings with the rest of mankind; when we reflect that they have had the same propensities to pleasure, and the same aversions from pain, the mere plea of antiquity becomes unavailable. The first whom we shall mention as having been reduced to a state of servitude, may be comprehended in that class which is usually denominated THE MERCENARY. It consisted of free-born citizens, who from the various contingencies of fortune, had become so poor, as to have recourse for their support to the service of the rich. Of this kind

were those both among the Egyptians and the Jews, who are recorded in the Sacred writings;* and among the Greeks and Romans, there was a class of persons in a similar condition of servitude, which was in many instances similar to that of the servants of the present day. There was an express contract between the parties, they could, most of them, demand their discharge, if they were ill used by their respective masters; and they were treated therefore with more humanity than those who are distinguished by the appellation of slaves. As this class of servants was composed of men who had been reduced to such a situation by the contingencies of fortune, and not by their own misconduct; so there was another among the ancients, composed entirely of those who had suffered the loss of liberty from their own imprudence. To this class may be reduced the Grecian *Prodigals* who were detained in the service of their creditors, till the fruits of their labor were equivalent to their debts. the *delinquents* who were sentenced to the oar, and the German enthusiasts, who were so immoderately charmed with gaming, as when every thing else was gone, to have staked their liberty and their very selves. Servants of this class were in a far more wretched situation than those of the former; their drudgery was more intense; their treatment more severe; and there was no retreat at pleasure from the frowns and lashes of their despotic masters.

Having premised this, we may now proceed to a general division of slavery into *voluntary* and *involuntary*. The *voluntary* will comprehend the two classes which we have already mentioned, for in the first instance, there was a contract founded on *consent*, and in the second, there was a *choice* of engaging or not in those practices, the known consequences of which were servitude. The *involuntary*, on the other hand, will comprehend those

* Genesis ch. 47. Leviticus ch. 25, v. 39 40.

who were forced, without any such *condition* or *choice*, into a situation, which, as it tended to degrade a part of the human species, and to class it with the brutal, must have been, of all human situations the most wretched and insupportable. It is to the latter we shall confine our attention in the present address, and the first we shall mention of the *involuntary* were *prisoners of war*. History tells us that it was a law, established from time immemorial among the nations of antiquity to oblige those to undergo the severities of servitude whom victory had thrown into their hands. This was the custom among the Grecians and Romans, and became a part of the polity of all those nations which assisted in overturning the Roman Empire, that whoever should fall into their hands as prisoners of war, should immediately be reduced to the condition of a slave. *Involuntary* slaves were of greater antiquity than *voluntary*. The latter are first mentioned in the time of Pharaoh, whereas the former seem to be dated with more propriety, from the days of Nimrod; who gave rise probably to that inseparable idea of *victory* and *servitude*, which we find among the nations of antiquity, and which has existed ever since, in one country or another, to the present day.

The poet, Pope, says,
'Proud Nimrod first the bloody chase began,
A mighty hunter, and his prey was man.'

But it was not victory alone, nor any presupposed right, founded in the damages of war, that afforded a pretence for invading the liberties of mankind; the honorable light in which *piracy* was considered in the uncivilized ages of the world, contributed not a little to the slavery of the human species. The piracies which were thus practiced in the early ages, may be considered as *public* or *private*. In the former, whole crews embarked for the benefit of their respective tribes. They made descents on the sea coasts, carried off cattle, surprised whole villages, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried others into slavery. In

the latter, *individuals* only were concerned, and the emolument was their own. The treatment of the unfortunate men who were thus doomed to a life of servitude, will equally excite our pity and abhorrence. They were beaten, starved, tortured, murdered at discretion; they were *dead* in a *civil* sense; they had neither name nor tribe; were incapable of a judicial process; were, in short, without appeal. So far, their condition resembled that of the slaves in the Southern States of this Union, by the Constitution of which forsooth, according to the Declaration of Independence, it is proclaimed that all men are 'born free and equal, and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' But with what audacious wickedness is this moral truism set at defiance! Besides the two classes of *involuntary* slaves of which we have spoken, there was a third, namely, their *children* and descendants. There were, however, some places, where their condition, if considered in this point of view, was more tolerable. The Egyptian slave, though perhaps of all others the greatest drudge, yet if he had time to reach the temple of Hercules, found a certain retreat from the persecution of his master; not so in this boasted land of liberty! Oh no!—the slave who reaches Faneuil Hall, the temple of New England freedom, finds no retreat from the persecution of *his* master—a mercenary official is ready to seize and consign him again to a more oppressive phase of slavery; verily the last state of that poor creature is worse than the first. The Egyptian slave received additional comfort from the reflection, that his life, whether he could reach the temple of Hercules or not, could not be taken with impunity. But there was no place so favorable to them as Athens. They were allowed a greater liberty of speech, they had their convivial meetings, their hours of relaxation, pleasantries, and mirth; they were treated, in short, with so much humanity in general, as to occasion the observation that the

condition of a slave at Athens was preferable to that of a free citizen, in many other countries. In case of ill-treatment, however, they then had their temple, like the Egyptian, for refuge, where the legislature was so attentive as to examine their complaints, and to order them, if they were founded in justice, to be sold to another master. Nor was this all: they had a privilege infinitely greater than the whole of these. They were allowed an opportunity of working for themselves, and if their diligence had procured them a sum equivalent to their

ransom, they could immediately, on paying it down, demand their freedom forever.

Here again their condition was better than that of the slaves at the South, where their treatment depends on the caprice and passion of their so-called owners; and as to an appeal to any legislature, that is out of the question, and courts of law are shut to them, inasmuch as their testimony is inadmissible. With what mean and dastardly barriers is the '*peculiar institution*' protected!

To be Continued.

Selected Items.

President Polk's slaves on trial.—A Negro Insurrection.

A correspondent of the *Memphis Avalanche* furnishes the following account of a novel slave trial in Talahatchie county, Tenn:—

The case of the State against Giles and Emanuel, slaves, belonging to Mrs. James K. Polk of Nashville, was the last case of importance upon the State docket, and elicited much discussion from the bar and feeling from the community at large. The defendants were charged with a 'conspiracy to make insurrection,' an offence under our law punishable with death. The evidence showed that the overseer, a timid man, and afraid of the negroes, was in the habit of calling upon his associates to assist him in correcting them; that upon one of such occasions they resisted him and his friends, and apparently with concerted purpose.

Our State declares the term insurrection to mean 'an armed assembly of slaves or freeholders, or both, having intent to resent or subvert lawful

authority.' The indictment having been drawn under this statute, Judge Fisher, the counsel for defendants, contended with great force that it charged no legal offence, because the authority to be resisted or subverted must be governmental authority—that is, the power of the state itself; that the term lawful authority does not mean such authority as that of the master over his slave, and, although the law sanctions and regulates this magisterial authority, it is but an authority derived from a domestic relation—not the creature of the law, but existing independently of it. This view was not, however, sustained by Judge Cothran, and the case was submitted without argument to the jury, who found the defendants 'guilty as charged.' The case being one of life and death will, doubtless, be appealed; and, as the question to be determined is one of novelty and great importance, the bar looks forward with much interest to the decision of the Appellate Court.

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VOL. I.

APRIL, 1859.

NO. 4.

A Statistical View

OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES—FROM 1790 TO 1850.

Continued.

The opinion prevails, even among statisticians and writers on political economy, that the negro is quite as logical as the views of Blair, Doolittle, and Carey.

is quite as logical as the views of Blair, Doolittle, and Carey. We shall endeavor to show that the negro, like the esquimaux is one of the family, man; that while he can *endure* a tropical climate, without laborious occupation better than the natives of a temperate climate, he cannot endure laborious occupation under a tropical sun presistently and thrive: on the contrary, he can endure labor best, and thrive most in that climate which being temperate, is fitted to him as a MAN.

It is evidently assumed by these writers that because the negro is *found* indigenous in low marshy coasts within the tropics, with an isothermal temperature of 80 degrees, he is *therefore* adapted by nature to undergo in such climate the same amount of toil and exposure which the white man can endure and perform in the rolling uplands of the temperate zone under an isothermal line of 55 degrees.

It would be absurd to assert, that because the Esquimaux are *found* in the arctic zone, therefore they are especially adapted by nature to labor, develop and thrive where almost perpetual winter reigns, with an isothermal line of 32 degrees, if warmth can be predicated of such a line. Yet this last assertion

Mr. Carey says, 'The number emancipated in the British West Indies was 660,000; and we can scarcely err much in assuming that the number imported (from Africa by the slave trade,) and retained for consumption in those colonies had amounted to 1,700,000. This would give about two and a half imported for one that was emancipated; and there is some reason to think that it might be placed as high as three for one, which would give a total import of almost two millions.' And again, 'the number (of slaves) now (1853) in the Union exceeds 3,800,000, and even if we estimate the import (by slave trade from Africa and West Indies) as high as 380,000, we then have more

"Gone to God."

BY FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS.

Finished now the weary throbbing,
Of a bosom calmed to rest ;
Laid aside the heavy sorrows,
That for years upon it prest.

All the thirst for pure affection,
All the hunger of the heart ;
All the vain and tearful cryings,
All forever now depart.

Clasp the pale and faded fingers,
O'er the cold and lifeless form ;
They shall never shrink and shiver,
Homeless in the dark and storm.

Press the death-weights calmly, gently,
O'er the eyelids in their sleep ;
Tears shall never tremble from them,
They shall never wake to weep.

Close the silent lips together,
Lips once parted with a sigh ;
Through their sealed, moveless portals,
Ne'er shall float a bitter cry.

Bring no bright and blooming flowers,
Let no mournful tears be shed,
Funeral flowers, tears of sorrow,
They are for the cherished dead.

She has been a lonely wanderer,
Drifting on the world's highway ;
Grasping with her woman's nature,
Feeble needs to be her stay.

God is witness to the anguish,
Of a heart that's all alone ;
Floating blindly on life's current,
Only bound unto His throne.

But o'er such, Death's solemn angel,
Broodeth with a sheltering wing ;
Till the hopeless hand 's grown weary,
Cease around earth's toys to cling.

Then kind hands will clasp them gently,
On the still, unaching breast ;
Softly treading by, they'll whisper,
Of the lone one gone to rest.

A Review of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

BY J. W. C. PENNINGTON

Continued.

The first circumstance, from whence originated the barbarous and inhuman treatment that generally fell to the lot of slaves, was the *commerce* : for the men could be considered as *possession* ; if, like *cattle*, they could be bought and sold, it will not be difficult to suppose that they could be held in the same consideration, or treated in the same manner. This treatment

did not fail of producing, in the same instant, its *own* effect. It depressed their minds; it numbed their faculties; and, by preventing those sparks of genius from blazing forth, which had otherwise been conspicuous, it gave them the appearance of been endued with inferior capacities to the rest of mankind. This did the *commerce*, by classing them originally with *brutes*, and the consequent treatment by cramping their abilities, and hindering them from becoming conspicuous, give to the slave, at a very early period, the most unfavorable appearance, the rising generation, who received both the commerce and treatment from their ancestors, and who had always been accustomed to behold their *effects*, did not consider their effects as *incidental*, they judged only from what they saw; they believe appearances to be real; and hence arose the combined principle that slaves were an inferior order of men, and perfectly void of understanding. Upon this principle it was that the former treatment began to be fully confirmed and established, and as this principle was handed down and disseminated, so it became in succeeding ages, an *excuse* for any severity that despotism *might suggest*.

It would be easy to collect sufficient materials to show that there was no inferiority in the nature of these slaves; but we shall content ourselves with some few instances, that relate to the *genius* only, among those of a *servile* condition, whose writings have escaped the wreck of time. The first we shall mention as the famous *Æsop*, whose writings are recommended by Quintilian, the greatest of Roman critics, and the next is *TERENCE* the author of those incomparable comedies that bear his name. Perhaps it may be objected that these were not negroes or colored people;—it might have been so, we do not know what was the precise tint of their skin; but we will meet this supposed objection by adducing the case of an African girl, named Phillis Wheatley, who was a

negro slave to a gentleman of Boston. She was kidnapped when only eight years old, and in the year 1761, was transported to America, where she was sold with other slaves. She had no school education there, but receiving some little instruction from the family with whom she was so fortunate as to live, she obtained such a knowledge of the English language within sixteen months from the time of her arrival, as to be able to speak it and read it to the astonishment of those who heard her. She soon afterwards learned to write, and having a great inclination to learn the Latin tongue, she was indulged by her master and made a progress. Her poetical works were published with his permission in 1773. They contained thirty-eight pieces on different subjects; and lest it should be doubted whether these poems were genuine, a certificate of their authenticity was signed by Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor Oliver, John Hancock (whose signature stands first on the Declaration of Independence,) Mr. Wheatley, her master, and fourteen others, comprising the most distinguished names, lay and clerical, then in Boston. Perhaps it may not be out of place to repeat a few of her lines:—The following are from a hymn to the Evening.

' Filled with the praise of Him who gives thee light,
And draws the sable curtains of the night,
Let placid slumbers soothe each weary mind,
At morn to wake more heavenly and refined;
So shall the labors in the day begin,
More pure and guarded from the snares of sin,' &c. &c.

The next are from a hymn to the Morning.

' Aurora hail! and all the thousand dyes,
That deck thy progress through the vaulted skies!
The morn awakens, and wide extends her rays,
On every leaf the gentle Zephyr plays.
Harmonious lays the feathered race resume,
Dart the bright eye, and shake the painted plume,' &c. &c.

That the commerce of the human species was of a very early date, is evident from the story of Joseph, as

recorded in the sacred writings, whom his brothers sold from an envious suspicion of his future greatness. *Ægypt* is represented, in the first Book of the sacred writings, as a market for slaves, and, in the second, as famous for the severity of its servitude: and Homer points it out as a market for the human species, and by the epithet of "*bitter Ægypt*" (which epithet is peculiarly annexed to it on this occasion), confirms the testimony of the sacred historian. It also appears that men were bought and sold in many islands of *Ægean* Sea; and likewise that it had taken place among the Grecians on the continent of Europe; for it is stated in the *Iliad*, that a fleet arrived from *Semnos*, with a supply of wine for the Grecian camp, and the merchants are described as receiving in exchange, among other articles of barter, "*a number of slaves*." As other states arose, the traffic in slaves extended among them; it prevailed throughout all Asia, spread through the Grecian and Roman world, was in use among the barbarous nations which overturned the Roman empire, and was practised, therefore, at the same period, throughout all Europe. The slaves consisted, for the most part, of barbarian captives, taken in thousands by the chance of war, purchased, says Gibbon, in his "*Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*," at a vile price, for, (according to Plutarch) in the camp of Lucullus, an ox sold for a drachma, and a slave for four drachmæ, or about three shillings; but the youths of a promising genius were instructed in the arts and sciences, and their price was ascertained by the degree of their skill and talents:—a learned slave sold for many hundred pounds sterling, and Cornelius Nepus tells us that Atticus, a very distinguished man, always bred and taught them himself. It was once proposed to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar habit; but it was apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers; and Seneca says, "What peril would threaten us if we

began to number our own slaves!" or, in other words, how dangerous it would be to us tyrants, if those whom we oppress were conscious of their own strength;—tyranny and timidity always inhabit the same breast. They did, among the Romans, and other slave-holders of ancient time, and very recent events at the South show that they still preserve their alliance. Gibbon tells us that in the center of every province, and of every family, there existed an unhappy condition of men who endured the weight without sharing the benefits of society, and that in the *FREE states* of antiquity, the domestic slaves were exposed to the wanton rigor of despotism; and he states that the desperate insurrections of these captive slaves had more than once reduced the republic to the brink of destruction; to which he adds that "the most severe regulations, and the most cruel treatment, seemed *almost justified* by the great law of self-preservation." In using this apologetic language, Gibbon seems to have forgotten who were the aggressors, and yet to his credit be it mentioned, that he was one of the first and most consistent opponents of the African slave trade. The celebrated Adam Smith, in his "*Wealth of Nations*," says, that "the condition of a slave is better under an *arbitrary* than under a free government," and this, we believe, is supported by the history of all ages and nations. This seems anomalous, but it is not more so than the formal reading, on the 4th of July, in a Slave State, of the first sentence in the Declaration of Independence. Among the ancients, when the supply of slaves was short, they took to *breeding* them, as they do now in Virginia, so that the "*old dominion*," as she is called, cannot lay claim to originality in this *laudable* practice. In condemnation of Slavery we take the high ground that it is a positive, absolute, and enormous wrong; and therefore we do not resort to any collateral or secondary reasoning; but, if we were disposed to do so, and if the heart of the

Slave-holder, and the advocate of Slavery were not too petrified to be susceptible of generous impulse, we could record instances of devotion and self-sacrifice, than which history records nothing more heroic. As, however, we are not addressing an assembly of moral petrifications, but anti-slavery humanities, we will sustain our assertion with three instances of heroic fidelity and generous courage, recorded by Dr. Ferguson, in his "History of the Progress of the Roman Republic." "The slave of one of the proscribed," says the historian, "seeing soldiers come toward the place where his master lay concealed, took the disguise of his clothes, and presented himself to be killed in his stead. Another slave agreed to personate his master, and being carried in his litter, was killed, while the master himself, acting as one of the bearers of the litter, escaped. Another, having been formerly branded by his master for some offence, was easily suspected of a desire to seize this opportunity of being revenged; but he chose the opposite part. While his master fled, he put himself in the way to stop his pursuers, produced a head, which he had severed from a dead body in the streets, and passing it for that of his master, procured him the means of escape."

Besides the involuntary slaves, composed of prisoners of war, there were three other classes, namely, *convicts*, those who were publicly seized by virtue of the authority of their prince,

and of those who were privately *kidnapped* by individuals, and it was in the sale and purchase of these that the *African commerce* or *Slave trade* consisted; they were delivered to the merchants of Europe in exchange for their various commodities, by whom they were transported to their colonies in the West, where their slavery took place; but here, a fifth order arose, composed of all such as were born to the native Africans, after their transportation and slavery had commenced. The Dutch colonists practiced a refinement in cruelty at the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Boshie-man or Hottentot nation, such of whom as are not marked out to be carried away into bondage; they amused themselves by hunting down with horses and dogs, and shooting as they would game, and parties of *pleasure* were made for their destruction! The lion does not imbrue his claws in blood, unless impelled by hunger or provoked by interruption, whereas the merciless Dutch, more *savage* than the brutes themselves, not only murdered their fellow creatures without any provocation or necessity, but even made a diversion of their sufferings, and enjoyed their pain. But the melancholy truth is, that cruelty is the legitimate offspring, the natural concomitant of slavery; it may develop itself under different phases, according to the peculiar constitution of the patient, but the virus is in the system, and the pustules will appear on the surface.

(To be continued.)

Thomas F. Jennings.

DIED—At his residence in the city of New York, Feb. 11th, in the 68th year of his age, Mr. THOS. L. JENNINGS.

MR. JENNINGS was a native of New

York, and in his early youth was one of the bold men of color who, in this then slave State, paraded the streets

T H E

Anglo - African Magazine.

VOL. I.

MAY, 1859.

NO. 5.

Blake: or, the Huts of America.

A TALE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, AND CUBA.

BY M. R. DELANY.

(COPY-RIGHT SECURED.)

CHAPTER XIII.

PERPLEXITY.

Early on Monday morning Colonel Franks arose to start for Woodville and Jackson, in search of the fugitive.

'My dear, is Ailcey up? Please call Tony,' said Mrs. Franks, the boy soon appearing before his mistress. 'Tony, call Ailcey,' continued she; 'your master is up and going to the country.'

'Missus Ailcey ain' dah!' replied the boy, returning in haste from the nursery.

'Certainly she is; did you go into the nursery?'

'Yes um!'

'Are the children there?'

'Yes um boph on 'em.'

'Then she can't be far—she'll be in presently.'

'Missus, she ain' come yit,' repeated the boy after a short absence.

'Did you look in the nursery again?'

'Yes um!'

'Are the children still in bed?'

'Yes um, boph sleep, only maus George awake.'

'You mean one asleep and the other awake!' said Mrs. Franks smiling.

'Yes um boph wake!' replied the boy.

'Didn't you tell me Tony that your master George only was awake?' asked the mistress.

'Miss Matha sleep fus, den she wake up and talk to maus George,' explained the boy, his master laughing, declared that a negro's skull was too thick to comprehend anything.

'Don't mistake yourself Colonel!' replied Mrs. Franks; 'that boy is anything but a blockhead, mind that!'

'My dear, can't you see something about that girl?' said the Colonel.

'Run quickly Tony, and see if Ailcey is in the hut,' bade Mrs. Franks.

'Dear me!' continued she; 'since the missing of little Joe, she's all gossip, and we needn't expect much off her until the thing has died away.'

'She'll not gossip after to-day, my dear!' replied the Colonel decisively; 'as I'm determined to put her in my pocket in time, before she is decoyed away by that ungrateful wretch, who is doubtless ready for anything, however vile, for revenge.'

A Review of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

BY J. W. C. PENNINGTON.

Concluded.

When men once consent to be unjust, they lose at the same instant with their virtue, a considerable portion of that sense of shame, which, till then had been found a successful protector against the allies of vice. Such was the situation of the despotic sovereigns of Africa, and such is the situation of *some* of the Slave-holders in a land, the first article of whose national creed we have quoted before. The severity of masters or managers, to their slaves, which is considered only as common discipline, is attended with bad effects. It enables them to behold instances of cruelty without commiseration, and to be guilty of them without remorse. Hence those many acts of deliberate mutilation that have taken place on the slightest occasions; hence too, those many acts of inferior, though shocking barbarity, that have taken place without any occasion at all; the very slitting of ears has been considered as an operation, so perfectly devoid of pain, as to have been performed for no other reason than that for which a brand is set upon cattle, as a *mark of property*. As an instance of this, we mention the case of a boy, who having received six slaves as a present from his father, immediately slit their ears, and for the following reason, that as his father was a whimsical man, he might claim them again unless they were marked. But this is not the only effect which this severity produces, for while it hardens their hearts and makes them insensible to the misery of their fellow crea-

tures, it begets a turn for wanton cruelty. As a proof of this, we quote a case mentioned by Thomas Clarkson, where ingenuity had been exerted in contriving a mode of torture. 'An iron coffin with holes in it, was kept by a certain colonist as an auxiliary to the lash. In this the poor victim was inclosed, and placed sufficiently near a fire to occasion extreme pain, and consequently shrieks and groans, until the revenge of the master was satiated, without any other inconvenience on his part than a temporary suspension of the slave's labor. Had he been flogged to death, or his limbs mutilated, the interest of the brutal tyrant would have suffered a more irreparable loss.' Such then is the situation of the African slaves, they may be beaten and tortured at discretion; scarcely are their heads reclined, scarcely have their bodies a respite from the labor of the day, but they are summoned to renew their sorrows, and in this manner they go on from year to year, in a state of low st degradation, without the possibility of redress, without a hope that their situation will be changed, unless death should terminate the scene.

We have no means of knowing what number of slaves are yearly exported from Africa, at the present day; the annual exportation in the year 1786, Mr. Clark says was estimated at one hundred thousand, two thirds of whom were exported by British merchants alone—and as it is believed by competent judges that not on e slave in

hundred of the numbers introduced into the European colonies was furnished by crimes and war, it follows that the slave trade was responsible for ninety nine out of every hundred slaves whom it supplied. This is an immense number, but it is easily to be credited, when we reflect that thousands were employed for the purpose of stealing the unwary, and that these diabolical practices were in force at the distance of a thousand miles from the factories on the coast. This slavery and commerce in slaves, which had continued in Europe for so long a time, and was practiced there at so late a period as that, which succeeded the grand revolutions of the western world, began, as the northern nations were settled in their conquests, to decline, and, on their full establishment, were abolished. A difference of opinion has arisen respecting the cause of their abolition, some having asserted, that they were the necessary consequences of the *feudal system*, while others, superior both in number and argument, have maintained that they were the natural effects of *Christianity*. In this latter opinion we coincide—Christianity teaches that all men were originally equal; that the Deity is no respecter of persons, and that as all men were to give an account of their actions hereafter, it was necessary that they should be free. But there is a positive proof that Christianity was the only cause of the suppression of slavery, for the greatest part of the charters which were granted for the freedom of slaves, were granted 'for the love of God, and the good of their soul,' they were founded, in fact, on religious considerations, 'that they might procure the favor of the Deity, which they conceived themselves to have forfeited, by the subjugation of those whom they found to be the objects of the divine benevolence and attention equally with themselves;' now the precepts of Christianity are unchangeable, and their appeal to the heart of man is uniform and perpetual. Old England

has responded to this appeal, and washed her hands of the foul stain of slavery, and so has *New England*, and so has the State of New York; but what of the Southern States of the Union? However united for some political purposes, they are divided on this subject; and yet they all profess to be under the influence of Christianity—it reminds us of the story of an itinerant player who announced the play of *Hamlet*, with the part of Hamlet left out. So it would really seem that in the Slave States, it was Christianity with the part of *Christian* left out. We shall not harrow your feelings by any recital of the miseries of the slaves during their passage from their native land to their colonial destination—most people have heard of the horrors of the middle passage, and no description in words could adequately depict it. We therefore pass on to notice some of the reasons or arguments by which the advocates of slavery attempt to justify the system, and here we desire to be understood as speaking of African or negro slavery. The slaveholder does not murder his horse, on which he only rides; he does not mutilate his cow, which only affords him her milk; he does not torture the dog, which is but a partial servant of his pleasures, but these unfortunate men, his slaves, from whom he derives his very pleasures and his fortune, he tortures, mutilates, murders at discretion. By what arguments do they defend their conduct? They say that a great part of their savage treatment consists in punishment for real offences, and frequently for such offences, as all civilized nations have concurred in punishing. The first charge that they exhibit against them is specific, it is that of *theft*. But how much rather ought they to blush who reduce them to the necessity, how much rather ought they to be considered as robbers who cause these unfortunate people to be stolen! and how much greater is their crime who are *robbers of human liberty*! The next charge

which they exhibit against them is general, it is that of rebellion ; a crime of such a latitude that they can impose it upon almost every action, and of such a nature, that they always annex to it the most excruciating pain. But what a contradiction is this to common sense ! Have the wretched Africans formally resigned their freedom ? Have the slave-holders, the *receivers* of stolen goods, any other claim than that of force ? If then the slaves are their subjects, their masters violate the laws of government by making them unhappy ; but if they are not their subjects, then, even if they should resist their proceedings, they are not rebellious. Again, what excuse do the slaveholders make for that daily unmerited severity, which they consider as common discipline ? Oh ! they say that the Africans are vicious ; that they are all of them *ill-disposed*, and that severity is necessary. But can they be *well-disposed* to their oppressors ? Have they been brought up, as their tyrannical masters have, under the influence of that precept which teaches us to love our enemies ? It is well known that in their own country, they were just, generous, hospitable ; qualities which all the African historians allow them eminently to possess. If then they are vicious, they must have contracted many of their vices from their masters, and as to their own native vices, if any have been imported with them, are they not amiable, when compared with those of their *Christian* oppressors ? We have no doubt that the domestic-bred slaves are of a worse type than the imported ones, because they have had the corrupting influence of their masters' bad example before their eyes from their birth ; but perhaps on this point, the *Hon. Mr. Wise of Virginia* can enlighten us. We come now to that other system of reasoning, which is always applied, when the former is confuted ; 'that the Africans are an inferior link of the chain of nature, and are made for slavery.'

This assertion is proved by two arguments, the first of which is the alleged *inferiority of their capacities*. Now, if it be true that they appear to have no parts, that they appear to be void of understanding ; is this wonderful, when the *receivers* depress their senses by hunger ? Is it wonderful, when by incessant labor, the continual application of the lash, and the most inhuman treatment that imagination can devise, their genius is overwhelmed and hindered from breaking forth ? No, their abilities are confounded by the severity of their servitude ; for as a spark of fire, if crushed by too great a weight of incumbent fuel, cannot be blown into a flame, but suddenly expires, so the human mind, if depressed by rigorous servitude, cannot be excited to a display of those faculties, which might otherwise have shown with the brightest lustre. Such then is the nature of this servitude, that it can hardly be expected to find in those who undergo it, even the glimpse of genius. Now if to these considerations, we add that the wretched Africans are torn from their country in a state of nature, and that, in general, as long as their slavery continues, every obstacle is placed in the way of their improvement, there will be a sufficient answer to any argument that may be drawn from the inferiority of their capacities. In their own country, where they should be first contemplated, it might be expected that the prospect would be unfavorable. They are mostly in an uncultivated state ; their powers of mind are limited to few objects ; their ideas are consequently few. It appears, however, that they follow the same mode of life, and exercise the same arts, as the ancestors of those very Europeans or Anglo-Americans, who boast of their great superiority, are described to have done in the same uncultivated state. This is shown by all the histories of those who have visited the African continent, and written from their own inspection. Let us now follow them to

their destination of slavery. They are carried thither in the unfavorable situation described; and here it is observed, that though their abilities cannot be estimated high, from a want of cultivation, they are yet various, and that they vary in proportion as the nation, from which they have been brought, has advanced more or less in the scale of social life. This observation, which is so frequently made, is of great importance; for if their abilities expand in proportion to the improvement of their state, it is a clear indication, that if they were equally improved, they would be equally ingenious. When they are put to any of the mechanical arts, they do not discover any want of ingenuity; they attain them in as short a time as the Europeans, and arrive at a degree of excellence equal to that of their teachers. With respect to the liberal arts, their proficiency is certainly less, but not less in proportion to their time and opportunity of study; not less, because they are less capable of attaining them, but because they have seldom or ever an opportunity of learning them at all. It is yet surprising that their talents appear, even in some of these sciences, in which they are totally un instructed. Their abilities in music are such as to have been generally noticed. They play frequently upon a variety of instruments without any other assistance than their own ingenuity. We have already shown that some of them, at least, possess a talent for poetry. The following lines are by an imported African girl, at the age of nineteen, and ten years after she was brought from her native country. The subject is,

‘IMAGINATION.’

Now here, now there, the ev'ning fancy flies,
Till some lov'd object strikes her wand'ring
eyes,

Whose silken fetters all the senses bind,
And soft captivity involves the mind.

Imagination! who can sing thy force,
Or who describe the swiftness of thy course?

Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
Th' empyreal palace of the thund'ring God,
We on thy pinions can surpass the wind,
And leave the rolling universe behind;
From star to star the mental optics rove,
Measure the skies, and range the realms above.
There in one view, we grasp the mighty whole,
Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded
soul.'

The second argument, by which it is attempted to be proved 'that the Africans were an inferior link in the chain of nature, and are designed for slavery,' is drawn from *colour*, and from those other marks, which distinguish them from the inhabitants of Europe. Did time permit, we could prove from indisputable evidences, both Scriptural and historical, its utter fallacy and futility. As it is, we must confine ourselves to a few brief observations. Must we conclude that one species is inferior to another, and that the inferiority depends upon their *colour*, or their *features*, or their *form*? No, we must consult the analogy of nature, and the conclusion will be this: 'that as she tempered the bodies of the different species of men in a different degree, to enable them to endure the respective climates of their habitation, so she gave them a variety of colour and appearance with a like benevolent design.' Indeed, it is impossible that such an argument can stand, even in the eye of common sense; for if you admit the *form* of men as a justification of slavery, you may subjugate your own brother; if *features*, then you must quarrel with all the world; if *colour*, where are you to stop? It is evident, that if you travel from the equator to the northern pole, you will find a regular gradation of colour from black to white. Now if you can justly take him for your slave who is of the deepest dye, what hinders you from taking him also, who only differs from the former but by a shade. Thus you may proceed, taking each in a regular succession, to the poles. We have good reason to suppose that the com-

plexion of Noah and his sons, from whom the world were descended, was the same as that which is peculiar to the country in which they dwelt. This, by such a mode of decision, will be found a dark olive, a beautiful colour, and a just medium between white and black. That this was the primitive colour, is highly probable from the observations that have been made; and, if admitted, will afford a valuable lesson to the European and Anglo-American to be cautious how they deride those of the opposite complexion, as there is great reason to presume *that the purest white is as far removed from the primitive colour as the deepest black.* The grand colours discernible in mankind, (between which are many shades) are olive, white, brown, copper and black; olive being the parent colour, as we assume.

While on the subject of *colour*, we will mention an interesting fact as we read it in the New York 'Independent,' of the 22nd. of January, 1856. The Rev. Dr. Livingstone, who is lately returned to England, after an absence of 17 years spent in Central Africa, says that the name of *Englishmen* was not known in the region where he was, but when he described to them who he was, whence he came, and showed them *not his white face—for it was blacker than a coal*—but his white chest and arms, those men of Central Africa exclaimed, 'Oh, we know whom you are. You belong to that tribe that loves the black man!' Now, in this case, what becomes of the argument of colour as an indication of inferior intellect, was his countenance the less intelligent, was his brain the less intellectual because it was covered with a dark skin; if the good Doctor had had the whole of his

person exposed to the same influence as that which operated on his face, would he have become '*an inferior link in the chain of nature, and fit only for slavery?*'

There are those who uphold slavery on the negative ground that it is not forbidden in Holy-writ. On this point, we shall content ourselves with quoting a passage from the late Dr. Channing.

'Christianity is not a system of precise legislation, marking out, with literal exactness every thing to be done, and every thing to be avoided, but an inculcation of broad principles, which it entrusts to individuals and to society to be applied according to their best discretion. No argument therefore in favor of a practice, can be adduced from the fact, that it is not explicitly reprobated in the New Testament. For example, Christianity went forth into communities, where multitudes were held in slavery, and all ranks were ground and oppressed by despotism; abuses on which the spirit of our religion frowns as sternly as on any which can be named. Yet Christianity did not command the master to free his slaves, or the despot to descend from his absolute throne, but satisfied itself with proclaiming sublime truths in regard to God's paternal character and administration, and broad and generous principles of action; leaving to these the work of breaking every yoke and chain by a gradual, inward, irresistible influence, and of asserting the essential equality and unalienable rights of the whole human race.'

We should have been glad, if time had allowed, to have said more on the subject of *colour*, in refutation of the *argument*, (if it deserved to be dignified by that name,) founded on it, in defence of Slavery, but we shall hope to do so on some future occasion, for we are in possession of abundant material; at present we close.