THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. V.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. [NO. 8.

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TERMS.

☞ Two Dollars per annum, always payable IN ADVANCE.

☞ All letters and communications must be post paid. The rule is imperative, in order to shield us from the frequent impositions of our enemies.—Those, therefore, who wish their letters to be taken out of the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay their postage.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The following article appeared in the Columbia (S. C.) Times of last year. Mark the menaces held out by those who wield the whip!

We perceive from the Richmond Enquirer that old Ritchie has a warm contest with the fanatics and abolitionists, who are urging Congress to emancipate the slaves in the District of Columbia. For our own part, we think it useless to throw away argument upon the fanatics of the north. Let them take their course, and we will take ours. The moment they touch the subject of slavery, let the union be dissolved.

We give the following from the Richmond Enquirer:

'Through the South.—These fanatics are fools, or knaves, or both. Whittier is mad enough to press an immediate abolition, at the hazard, as he confesses, of dissolving the union. And the New-York addressers insist upon the abolition in the District of Columbia, as 'a measure in the power of Congress, and so manifestly easy and safe, that it ought not to be delayed another year.' And this is only to be the entering wedge for other innovations on the part of Congress—for they go on to say, that 'when this is done, we cannot but hope that some wise application may be made of the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the several states, so as to effect the entire suppression of the infamous *Domestic Slave Trade!*' Thus the fanatics will proceed, from one step to another. And we must prepare to meet them on the very threshold—and arrest their first measure, which is not only improper in itself, but still more alarming, as being the ominous prelude to other encroachments. Ignorant as they are of the very theory of our federal institutions, and also most profoundly ignorant as they must be of the southern feelings upon this subject, they are so infatuated as to declare that their 'course presents the only means of preserving our national union.' Madmen as they are! are they yet to learn, that their course is perhaps the only means for tearing our union asunder? If they are countenanced and encouraged by a considerable body of the northern people, nothing can save from shipwreck the most auspicious form of government that was ever devised for advancing the liberties of mankind.'

ANOTHER GAG!

☞ We think the following articles are particularly worthy of a place in our 'Refuge of Oppression.'

ANDOVER THEO. SEM. Feb. 2, 1835.

To the Editor of the Boston Recorder.

DEAR SIR,—Recent occurrences, which need not here be detailed, render it incumbent on the members of this Seminary, as a duty which they owe to themselves and the public, to state in what attitude they now stand in relation to the subject of Slavery. We therefore request an insertion in your paper of the following communication.

We would briefly premise, that a Committee on Colonization, in connection with the Society of Inquiry, has existed here for many years; and that most of the Students have been advocates of the Colonization Society—that about two or three years since, an Anti-Slavery Society was formed among us, embracing a small portion of our number; and that since that period, there has been occasionally some discussion of the merits and principles of the two Societies.

A short time since, Mr. Geo. Thompson made a visit to this town, and while here, lectured repeatedly in the Methodist church. He also once met the members of this Institution in the Seminary Chapel, at the request of some of their number, to answer such questions as might be proposed to him. The Students very generally attended his lectures, and for the most part were pleased with the eloquence and Christian spirit with which he argued the cause of the African. It should not, however, be inferred from the interest which was taken in his lectures, that we adopt his principles, or those of any existing association on the subject of Slavery. Nor do we feel called upon to express an opinion with regard to the different plans which are now before the public for the removal of this evil.

Mr. T. while here was treated with Christian courtesy; and we saw nothing in him which could justify us in withholding such courtesy. By his visit and addresses, our attention was drawn with some interest to the subject which he advocates; but deprecating the effects of deep excitement on this absorbing topic, we have with entire unanimity among ourselves, and the full approbation of our respected Instructors, concluded to refrain, for the present, from all action, in any associate capacity. The Committee on Colonization has been voluntarily dissolved. The Anti-Slavery Society above referred to, has been given up. The formation of a new Society which was commenced, has been cheerfully relinquished. The Students are united in the conviction, that it is inexpedient for them at present to organize any Society in relation to this subject.

We subjoin to the above statement the following resolution, adopted at a general meeting of the members of this Institution.

Resolved, That while connected with this Seminary, our duties as Theological Students have the first claim upon our attention; and fearing that the agitation of the subject of Slavery might interfere with the vigorous prosecution of our studies, and with that harmony which ought to prevail among us; we therefore disapprove for the present of all associated action on the subject, in this Institution.

In behalf of the Students,

J. E. EDWARDS,
A. R. BAKER,
JAS. L. THOMPSON,
WM. S. TYLER,
SAM'L WALCOTT,
} Committee.

To the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, *Editor of the Boston Recorder.*

DEAR SIR,—Permit me in behalf of the Faculty, to say a few words, expressive of the heartfelt satisfaction we feel in the conduct pursued of late by the members of this Institution, and in the position which they have deliberately taken, relative to the subject of Slavery. They have felt, and we trust ever will feel, a lively interest in this subject, and a readiness to do what they can for the present and eternal welfare of the enslaved and oppressed. But when, at the suggestion of the Faculty, they took the matter into serious consideration, they soon came, with entire unanimity, to the conclusion, that they could not form associations and agitate the common questions in relation to slavery, without endangering the spirit of piety and brotherly love among them, and essentially interfering with that intellectual and moral improvement, which it is the grand object of the Institution to promote. We are gratified at the frank statement above made of what they have done, because we think it highly creditable to their character, and because we hope that such an example of sober consideration, Christian harmony, and sacred regard to the order and prosperity of the Seminary, exhibited by the whole body of its members, will not be without some salutary effect.

After these remarks on the harmonious and brotherly conduct of the students, it may not be improper to add, that on the subject of slavery, the Faculty are of one mind. We take the liberty to say farther, while we heartily wish success to every wise and Christian effort 'for the relief and improvement of the colored race,' and for diminishing and removing the evils of slavery; it is a serious question with us, whether we, who are called to the arduous work of training up others for the sacred office, can consistently take an active part, at present, in any existing association formed with reference to Slavery, or in any way intermeddle with it, except so far as Christian benevolence may require us to seek the highest good of those in bondage, after the example of the Apostle Paul, and other primitive ministers of the gospel.

We have, with deep regret, noticed events which have occurred in some seminaries of learning and religion, where slavery has been made a subject of special discussion and associated action: and we must say, we have been unable to avoid the conviction, that this absorbing subject, on which the community is so divided, cannot be introduced into our public institutions, as a subject of special discussion at the present time, without interfering more or less, with the duties of the Instructors, and without essential injury to the improvement and future usefulness of the students. And we have little doubt, that this will ere long be the judgment of all who are entrusted with the great interests of our literary and theological seminaries.

In behalf of the Faculty,
LEONARD WOODS.
Theo. Sem. Andover, Feb. 3, 1835.

SLAVERY.

TRAFFIC IN HUMAN SOULS.

☞ The following handbill has been put into our hands by a friend who was recently in New-Orleans, from which city he brought it. Read it, Americans, and blush not merely for your country, but for your species! Judge ye, by the panegyric passed upon them, whether the slaves are not qualified for freedom.

VALUABLE
SERVANTS
FOR SALE AT AUCTION,
BY ISAAC L. M'COY.

This day, THURSDAY, 27th inst., at 12 o'clock, at the
EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE,
WILL BE SOLD,
34 Valuable SERVANTS, *viz:*

1. Harry, aged about 26 years; a first rate cartman, axeman and sawyer; has been accustomed to work in a saw-mill and wood-yard; has been about 8 years in the country, and understands the care and management of horses, and possesses an excellent character.
2. George, aged about 23 years; has been about 8 years in the country; is a good carter and axeman, and has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard and bakery.
3. Altimore, aged about 21 years; a first rate sawyer and axeman; accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been 3 or 4 years in the country.
4. Barney, aged about 18 years; a first rate negro, and handy at almost all kinds of work; has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about 4 years in the country.
5. Henry Buckner, aged about 29 years; a good axeman, sawyer and field hand, accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about 6 years in the country.
6. Lewis, aged about 20 years; a first rate hand in a wood-yard, an excellent butcher, good field hand; speaks French and English, and has been about 10 years in the country.
7. Sam Crumo, aged about 22 years; a first rate hand in a wood-yard; a carter; speaks French and English, and has been about 12 years in the country.
8. Little Ned, aged about 18 years; a good hand for a wood-yard; has been one year in the country.
9. Big Ned, aged about 22 years; do. do. do.
10. Ben, aged about 20 years; do. do. do.
11. Aaron, aged about 33 years; a first rate hand for a wood-yard, in which he has been employed for many years; is an excellent cartman; has been about 15 years in the country, and speaks both languages.
12. Dick Jackson, aged about 25 years; a good axeman and sawyer, and an excellent hand for a wood-yard, to which he is accustomed, and has been one year in the country.
13. Dick Morgan, aged about 39 years; a very honest, trusty servant; has acted as porter in a grocery store for several years, and has worked for several years in a rope walk and wood-yard; is an excellent axeman and sawyer; has been in the country since a child, and speaks French and English.
14. Dillard, aged about 31 years; a good cook, a good axeman and sawyer; has worked about 4 years in a wood-yard, and has been about 4 years in the country.
15. Charles Palmer, aged about 24 years; accustomed to work in a wood-yard; is a good axeman, carter, and field hand, and has been about 4 years in the country.
16. Daniel, aged about 18 years; a first rate house servant; is very trusty; a tolerable good cook; has been raised in the country; speaks French and English, and possesses a first rate character.
17. Anthony, aged about 15 years; a first rate house servant; very trusty and active; a good sawyer; has been raised in the country, and possesses a first rate character.
18. Joseph, aged about 14 years; a first rate servant; handy at all kinds of work; has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about two years in the country.
19. William, aged about 20 years; a good rough carpenter; a good coachman; has been 5 years in the country; speaks French and English, title only guaranteed.
20. Ned, aged about 39 years; a good carpenter and ostler; has been about 4 years in the country, and is subject to rheumatism.
21. Robert, aged about 23 years; a rough blacksmith and carpenter; handy at all kinds of work; understands filing and setting saws, has been 8 years in the country, speaks French and English; is a first rate servant, and possesses a first rate character in every respect.
22. Peter, aged about 35 years; is a first rate overseer, and has always been employed in that capacity; has been for 5 years in Opelousas, and about 4 years in New Orleans, is very honest and trusty, and a first rate servant in every respect.
23. Diana, aged about 24 years; (wife of Peter) a first rate house servant, washer, ironer and plaiter; a good cook; has been 5 years in the country; speaks French and English, and possesses a first rate character.
24. Malinda, aged about 24 years; a good house servant; a tolerable good washer and ironer; has been raised in the country; and speaks both languages.
25. Chloe, aged about 18 years; an excellent house servant; was born in Mobile; has been about one year in New Orleans, and possesses an excellent character.
26. Daphney, aged about 25 years; a first rate cook, both in French and English style, and a good pastry cook; was raised in Mississippi, has been 7 years in New Orleans, and possesses an excellent character.
27. Catharine, aged about 27 years, a good field hand; was raised in the country; speaks French, Spanish and English; title only guaranteed.

—ALSO—

The following ORPHAN(!!) children, viz:

28. John, aged about 12 years.
29. James, aged about 11 years.
30. David, aged about 9 years.
31. Cyrus, aged about 9 years. They have been about 16 months in the country.
32. Yellow Alex, aged about 8 years.
33. Black Alex, aged about 8 years.
34. Abraham, aged about 5 years.

The slaves are all thoroughly acclimated, and, with the exceptions above stated, are all guaranteed against the diseases and vices prescribed by law.

TERMS.—One-half of the purchase money payable on the first of May, 1835, and one-half on the first of May, 1836, for notes drawn and endorsed to the satisfaction of the seller, and secured by mortgage until final payment. The slaves will only be delivered after the acts are signed, and the notes delivered and approved. Bills of sale to be passed before W. Y. Lewis, Esq., Notary Public, at the expense of the purchaser.

[From the Independent Messenger.]

THE AMERICAN UNION.

We notified our readers a few weeks since that a movement was making among our orthodox brethren throughout this state [it extends through New-England] to organize a new Anti-Slavery Society. As a faithful chronicler of moral events, we would now inform them that the proposed Convention met in Tremont Hall, in Boston, on the 14th of Jan. and a Society was formed, called, '*The American Union, for the relief and improvement of the Colored Race.*' From a sketch of the doings, we learn that the organization of the Convention was rather *squally*. It appears that the first notice sent out calling the Convention, proposed *discussion*. But the '*old heads*,' foreseeing that the *real hot-headed Abolitionists* would be present and beset the peaceful with a *wordy* war, assembled themselves together in a kind of a private conclave; here all preliminaries were settled; a correspondence was opened with persons supposed to be of the same *caste* at a distance, and another and a counter notice was sent out a week before the time of meeting, inviting those to be present 'who agreed with the movers in the opinion that a new organization was necessary.' Rev. A. A. Phelps, C. P. Grosvenor, George Thompson, Joshua V. Himes, W. L. Garrison, E. G. Loring, and some other Abolitionists of the '*old school*' who travelled '*forty miles*' through the '*mud*,' appeared on the strength of the first notice, and claimed their seats in the Convention. Their claim was not admitted—discussion of the question with them was deprecated, and they were called '*impertinent gentlemen.*' The Convention was organized by the choice of Hon. William Reed, of Marblehead, President—Rev. Baron Stow, of Boston, Vice President, and Rev. J. W. Chickering and Mr. Charles Tappan, Secretaries. A committee, of five members, viz. B. B. Edwards, John Tappan, N. Adams, D. Noyes, and Jacob Abbott, presented the Convention with a Constitution for the Society, about to be organized, a Constitution that trembles at popular prejudices; presents no plan of operation; exhibits no fixed principle, and calls for no peculiar declaration of faith, as a *nucleus* around which to rally its energies, and draw new converts. But in order to prevent Abolitionists, Colonizationists—slaveholders and all the '*dough faces*' in the land, from falling into its ranks and corrupting the 'American Union,' a provision was made in the Constitution that none shall hereafter be entitled to membership but those favored ones who '*may be* ELECTED.'

The most prominent article in the Constitution declares 'Slavery to be *wrong*, and that it ought to be abolished with the *least practicable delay*.' On presenting this article to the Convention, a warm discussion took place. Some thought that the word 'SIN' should be substituted for the word *wrong*. Others thought the word *wrong* was best, it being the least offensive to the guilty. The proposed amendment was finally rejected. Some objected to the phrase—'*least practicable delay*,' and proposed as a substitute—the word IMMEDIATELY. This amendment was also rejected. On the adoption of this article, which was objected to by Rev. B. Stow, the Vice President, as not speaking the plain truth, he resigned his seat and left the Convention.

We are totally unable to tell what this 'Union' Society proposes to do. True, it assures us that its object is, 'the relief and improvement of the Colored Race.' But it does not tell us what it means by '*relief and improvement;*' and of its plans of operation it gives the public no pledge. We hope, however, that it will prove to be a means of great good to the trodden-down and oppressed. But the blacks are yet faithless themselves, for when those present were invited to join the Society, there was an emphatic cry of No! No! No! We do not understand the pertinency of the name '*American Union*,' when applied to a Society that exhibits no distinctive doctrine, and that presents the prize of membership upon the doubtful alternative of an ELECTION. Perhaps the Recorder can tell us something about this matter. We wish to know who it proposes to unite. All the friends of the Colored Race? Why then the *election?* The slaveholders of the South? Why then call Slavery '*wrong*'? All denominations of Christians? Why then was not the 'call' endorsed with a few of the names of Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, etc., and why not have the notice given in other religious papers, as well as the Recorder?

P. R. R.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT.

Extract of a letter from a member of Congress to his friend in Massachusetts, dated Jan. 19, 1835.

Congress are doing little—at least very little excitement is produced by what they do.

The principal business is evidently *figuring* for the next President. The opposition have no rallying point. Webster, north—Clay and McLane, west—Calhoun and White, south. Party feeling out of the question, and Webster would receive the support, as he now does the respect, of three-fourths of the moral and intellectual worth of all parts of the Union. But I can anticipate no change or chance that will give him one-fourth part of the votes for President.

Richard M. Johnson would get more votes than Webster;—and as to intellect, or any other quality, which goes to make up a statesman, he compares with Webster just about as well as Clough, the paper stainer, used to do, with Samuel Dexter.

It is amusing, as well as afflicting, to see how both parties at the North, have been compromising and sacrificing to the slaveholders. Van Buren has been coaxing and bowing to them, and for ten years sacrificing one after another, all the principles he ever had, at their shrine, and feeding them with offices; and after all, he will not get one in ten of even the Jackson votes, among the slaveholders.

In fact, the leaders of both parties have with almost equal obsequiousness united in putting a stop to *free inquiry* and *free discussion* on the subject of slavery—and thus put in jeopardy the fundamental principle, which our Fathers so manfully contended for, and so fully enjoyed, and which they would sooner have died, than give up, on any question. This, the influential leading men of both parties, as a matter of political policy, seem to feel it necessary, or at least expedient to give up, and throw away, along with the principle of protection, to propitiate the nullifying slaveholders of the South. So that, even in Boston, where, not half a century since, every building was consecrated to the free discussion, and fearless defence of the rights of man; now, not a meeting house, vestry, hall, school-house, or wood-shed, where the owners dare have the principles of African emancipation freely discussed, lest it should be burnt or pulled down upon their own heads! If both parties do not find that they are bartering a valuable birthright, for a mess of pottage, which they will never be permitted to taste—I will never make another almanac.

If Webster has influence enough to establish slavery in Massachusetts, and will do it, the South will go for him. If Van Buren will do the same in New-York, they will go for him.

No man, last session, said and did more obsequiously just what Andrew Jackson asked at the hands of his supporters, than Hugh L. White; and his talents are as little adapted to secure the respect of the Southern whigs, as his politics—on the other hand the Southern Jackson men were mighty thick with Van Buren—and now, the deep-felt respect and admiration of the one party for Webster—and the subserviency of the other for Van Buren, are all giving way before *a rule of action* which always has, in every slaveholding State, with but a single exception, been the predominating one—and I have no doubt always will be—at all events, it will shew itself to be so, as often as once in four years. The indications to my mind, at present, seem to leave Massachusetts this alternative only, viz: to give a vote which she may honestly be proud of, but which must inevitably be lost—or to give it where she would be ashamed to have it procure success.'—*Boston Courier.*

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following extract of a letter from Washington, shows that the illusion which was thrown over the public mind by the American Colonization Society, has been dissipated, and that the deformities of the system, and the wicked designs of some of its advocates, are too apparent, longer to deceive an enlightened people. The best part of the adherents of this exploded system have forsaken 'the assembling together'—and those few, who remain its friends, if we may judge of the whole by those who were present, and active at this '*lighted-up*' meeting, are sheer slavery-men 'in the abstract.' We venerate the character and memory of many of those worthy and good men, who were instrumental in establishing the Colonization Society. We doubt not they were sincerely desirous of rendering service to the cause of God and of human nature. But their system has been tested, and proved totally illusory. So it was in reference to the subject of temperance. There was at first, a Society formed 'for the suppression of intemperance,' which recognized *temperate* drinking, and *gradual* reform; but the principle on which this society was based, has since been proved altogether erroneous; and temperate drinking is shown to be the *only* support of drunkenness; because, if there were no temperate drinkers, there would be none intemperate; and as long as temperate drinking continues, there will always be more or less of intemperance. Nevertheless, the originators of this system were true friends of temperance, and honestly supposed that they were doing the best that could be done for the promotion of that cause; while at the present day, the advocates for temperate drinking are decidedly hostile to the object originally aimed at,—their design being to perpetuate the use, and consequently the abuse of intoxicating drinks. And in regard to the subject of Slavery—many of the originators of the Colonization Society honestly aimed at the entire abolition of the enormous evil; and supposed their scheme the best calculated to bring about the desired end; but experience has proved, that so far from having the tendency and effect contemplated, *it is the surest plan that could possibly be devised, for the everlasting continuance of Slavery;* and it is supported by Slaveholders for that very reason. It is also demonstrated, that nothing short of the *immediate and total renunciation* of the *right* to hold slaves can be depended upon, *as a remedy* for this blighting curse. TOTAL ABSTINENCE, in reference to Slavery, as well as to the use of intoxicating drinks, is the *true* and *only* true doctrine.—*Haverhill Gazette.*

[☞ Here follows an extract of a letter from the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia Gazette, who says of the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in that city—'I am sorry to say that the meeting was a total failure. There was no intellect developed, except by the few remarks of Mr. Southard and Mr. Mason. All the rest were below mediocrity.'

PAWTUCKET ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We have perused with much interest the faithful and able Report of the Managers of the Pawtucket Anti-Slavery Society, at its first annual meeting.—We give an extract or two. Speaking of the abolition cause, it says—

Its principles are omnipotent. Heaven and earth may pass away, but not one jot or tittle shall pass from the law until all is fulfilled. On this law abolitionists stand. On this rock they build their cause, and they know that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. They are charged with being enemies to their country. They deny the charge, and maintain that they are their country's only consistent friends. They know, as surely as they believe in the existence of a God who maintains the throne of the universe in righteousness, that a nation built up through oppression and blood, cannot prosper, it cannot stand. They are well assured, that under the weight of the sin of slavery, this nation reels to and fro, and staggers like the drunken man. God will avenge the cause of the poor, the wretched, and the oppressed. His *ear* is opened to their cry; and the cry of hundreds of thousands are daily coming up before him. The Lord hath spoken, who can but prophecy? We can look for nothing but ruin to our nation, if slavery is not speedily abolished. Regarding therefore the law of God, we seek its abolition; regarding in compassion and mercy the millions of our brethren in bonds, we seek its abolition; and, regarding also the welfare of our own dear native land, which can only be *saved* by its abolition, we seek for its entire overthrow. In respect to the organization, progress and prosperity of this Society, we think that facts authorize us to speak encouragingly.

We have not perhaps done all which might have been done, but we trust that through the instrumentality of the Pawtucket Anti-Slavery Society, much good has been done.

We have had frequent addresses from most eminent speakers; among whom were the Rev. Messrs. Blain, May, William Lloyd Garrison of Boston, Charles Stuart and Geo. Thompson of England, who have been listened to with candor by multitudes of our citizens. We have made collections to the sum of about one hundred dollars, to aid the objects of the Society. We have spread gratuitously a large number of books, pamphlets, and tracts on the subject of slavery. We are confident that the cause among us is gaining strength, and will ultimately triumph over all opposition. * * *

By contributions for the purpose of purchasing and distributing publications calculated to throw light into the public mind on the subject of slavery, every one can do something; and by every man's talking with his neighbor, we may perhaps do as much; and none should neglect to supplicate the throne of God's grace most fervently and constantly, for the 'suffering and the dumb.'

Real abolitionists have need to be watchful. Their greatest danger, perhaps, lies not in the opposition of those who resort to mob law in order to crush them, but from those who profess to be abolitionists, but in *works* deny the doctrine;—from men who excuse themselves from doing good, because forsooth, somebody else is advocating good doctrines and a good cause, in a wrong spirit!

With as much grace and propriety might Paul refused to have acted in the cause of Christ, because Simon Magus professed religion! Let not abolitionists be deceived. We hazard the unqualified belief, that it is not the *manner* of abolitionists of which these men are afraid—but their *principles*. These they dare not espouse and carry through. Nor is it the *manner* of abolitionists that disturbs and enrages the slaveholders and the palliators of slavery at the North; but it is their principles. Their unwavering and constant assertion that slavery is a sin, a high-handed transgression of God's holy law, which should be immediately forsaken and repented of. The bare assertion of *this*, is branded as being harsh and censorious, while the vilest epithets used with reference to abolitionists, is passed over as if they were as smooth as oil. Let abolitionists beware of these Joabites; for while they give you one hand with 'how do you do, my brother,' with the other, they will inflict a mortal wound on your cause. They will lower down the standard of truth; they will try to accommodate it to the unholy prejudice against a man, because, he is what God *made him* to be; and they will persuade you if possible, to believe that the 'time has not yet come to build the Lord's house.' Finally, we call upon our christian brethren; especially all ministers of the gospel, to examine our principles, and if they are *right*, to espouse them, and live agreeably with them, and if not, to shew us wherein we err. We call upon our neighbors, on our countrymen, to espouse the righteous cause of abolition, and exterminate from our land, the seven headed monster, that foe of God and man, American Slavery.

We warn them, that unless they do it, destruction to our national liberties is at the door. There is an accursed thing in our camp, and unless it be ferreted out and destroyed, neither the wisdom of legislatures, the courage and skill of generals, nor the combined force of fleets and armies as numerous as those of Xerxes, and courageous as the Spartan band, can ever save us. For who can contend with the Almighty, and if God be against us, who can deliver us from his destroying hand?

PERSEVERING INDUSTRY OF AN AFRICAN.

Yaro, before the revolutionary war, was brought from Africa to the United States, and sold as a slave, to a family who lived near Georgetown, on the banks of the Potomac. After many years of hard labor and faithful service, his master gave him his freedom as a reward. Yaro resolved to be independent; he toiled late and early, and in the course of a few years, amassed a hundred dollars; this sum, which he considered as a fortune, he placed in the hands of a merchant, but by whose death and insolvency it was lost, and the poor African found himself in the same situation as when he became free. This affected him much; his usual strength had abated, old age was approaching, but he still cherished the hope of independence. He worked all day at fixed wages, and in the evening he made nets, baskets, and other articles for sale. A few years elapsed, he was again rich; another hundred dollars was the fruit of his toil. This amount he deposited in the hands of another merchant of Georgetown, but he also became bankrupt. Yaro was sad, but his courage and habits of industry suffered no change. He again resolved to be independent; he renewed his taste for daily labor, which he continued without relaxation for several years. He again found himself in possession of another and better fortune, of two hundred dollars; by the advice of a friend, who explained to him the nature of a bank, he purchased shares to this amount, in that of Columbia, in his own name, the interest of which now affords him a comfortable support. Though more than eighty years old, he walks erect, is active, cheerful and kind. His history is known to several respectable families, who treat him with attention. Fond of conversation, he often, in broken language, thus relates the story of his life.

'Olda massa ben tink he got all de work out of a Yaro bone. He tell a Yaro, go free, Yaro; you been work enough for me, go to work for you now: Tankee, massa, Yaro say, sure nuff Yaro go to work for he now; Yaro work a soon—a late—a hot—a cold—sometime he sweat, sometime he blow a finger. He got a fippenny bit—eighteen pennee—git him to massa to put it by—put by a dollar till come to a heap. Oh, poor massa take sic, die—Yaro money gone—oh, Yaro, go to work again, get more dollars—work hard—more dollars—get him now to young massa, he young he no die. Oh young massa den broke—den go away—oh, oh, oh! Yaro old for true now. Must work again, worky, worky, get more dollars—git him dis time to all de massa cant die, cant go away. Oh, Yaro, dollar breed now—every spring, every fall, Yaro get dollar—chicken now.'

Sabbath School Instructor.

Slavery in North Carolina.—It is proposed in the Legislature to call a convention. Among the subjects to be laid before it are, to prohibit the abolition of slavery in N. Carolina by any other power than a state convention, and to provide that capitation of taxes shall not be higher upon slaves than freemen. It would seem that the pro-slavery men are alarmed, and are for taking precautionary measures while they can.

REMARKS

OF

MR. DICKSON, OF NEW-YORK,

ON

THE PRESENTATION OF SEVERAL PETITIONS

FOR

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY *AND THE SLAVE TRADE* IN THE *DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.*

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,

FEBRUARY 2, 1835.

Mr. Speaker:—On the presentation of these petitions, and asking for them a different reference from that usually given to such petitions, I propose to offer a few remarks. They shall be presented in that blended spirit of freedom and candor, truth and justice, that becomes a member of this House. I will not conceal my own feelings, and I shall studiously avoid intentionally injuring those of others. And whilst I am opposed to, and deeply deplore the existence of slavery in every form, and in every land, I, in common with the petitioners, disclaim all power in the National Government to control, or abridge its duration in the several States of this Union. And throughout these remarks, in speaking of slavery in this country, I wish to be understood as confining my remarks to that portion of the country over which the National Government has ample and complete jurisdiction, and the sole power of legislation, and that is the District of Columbia. One of the petitions is signed by more than eight hundred ladies of the city of New-York. In the Jewish, Greek, and Roman histories, we learn that female remonstrances and entreaties were often heard in the public councils, and in one instance, were the cause of 'enlargement and deliverance' of 'light, and gladness, and joy, and honor,' to a despised and an oppressed people; and in all instances roused the patriot, the statesman, and the hero, to deeds of usefulness and glory, and were all-powerful in expanding and extending the principles of charity, humanity, and benevolence, and in breaking the chains of oppression. In the chivalrous ages of modern Europe, and since, and in the war of our independence, the influence of woman was talismanic over the heart of man, and roused to action all his noblest energies. And to her honor, all her remonstrances, petitions, and entreaties, and all her influence, have ever been exerted in favor of humanity, benevolence, and liberty. And surely, the chivalry of this House will never permit it to turn a deaf ear to the remonstrance of ladies, pleading, as they believe, for the wronged and the oppressed.

The petitioners complain that a portion of the people of the District of Columbia are, without crime, disqualified as witnesses. A freeman may commit any crime, even murder itself, in the presence of slaves only, and escape conviction and punishment. They complain that, by the laws of the District, which are the laws of Congress enacted to govern the same, every black man, and every mulatto of every shade and complexion, though born and nurtured in freedom all his days, the moment he touches the soil of the District, is presumed a slave; and by an ordinance of the City of Washington, he is treated as a disorderly person, and required to exhibit to the Mayor, within thirty days, evidence of his freedom, and enter into a bond with two freehold sureties, in the penalty of five hundred dollars, conditioned for his peaceable, orderly, and good conduct, and not to become chargeable to the Corporation for twelve months, to be renewed at the commencement of each year for two successive years, or forthwith depart from the city, or be committed to the work-house until he complies with such requisitions. Such imprisonment not to exceed twelve months for each neglect. So that the poor black, or mulatto, may be imprisoned at hard labor in the work house, for the term of three years, although innocent, and without crime.

He may have been well educated, moral, and industrious, have exercised the elective franchise, and voted for the highest officers of the National and State Governments, entitled to all the rights and privileges of the white man and of an American citizen; yet in this District he shall be presumed a slave, and in the City of Washington a disorderly person, and compelled to give security for his good behavior for three years. No such presumption of crime is known to the laws of England, to the civil law, nor to the municipal code of the most despotic country in Europe. It has no foundation in the law of nature, the common law, nor in common justice, and is contrary to the genius and spirit of all wise and free Governments. It is a maxim that every man is to be presumed free and innocent, founded on the immutable principles of eternal justice, acknowledged by all, and which can never be changed but by that arbitrary tyranny which feels power, forgets right, and knows neither mercy nor justice.

The petitioners complain that, by the laws of the District, every such free black man or mulatto, going at large without the evidence of his freedom, is liable to be taken up as a runaway slave, and thrown into prison, and sold for prison fees, as a slave for life, *unless* he PROVES his FREEDOM. Unless he proves his freedom! a freedom given him by a power older than the laws which incarcerate him—older than the country which gave him birth—older than the primeval days of time, and which shall endure when this world is on fire, and time shall be no more—by God himself.

They complain that by the laws of that part of the District formerly Maryland, tho' such person be a freeman, and prove his freedom, and shall then refuse to pay the *fees* and *rewards* for apprehending fugitive slaves, he may be committed to prison, and sold as a slave for life. So that a freeman, although he does away the before-mentioned odious presumptions of law by clear proof, must still pay for his own illegal arrest and false imprisonment, for being thrown into the damps of a dungeon and shut out from the light of day, for all the injuries, indignities and wrongs that could be heaped upon him, or be sold as a slave, and never more to breathe the air of freedom. Terrible alternative! more afflictive to a human being, having the feelings of a man, of a freeman, than death itself. Such laws are meshes to entrap the unwary, and to consign a freeman to servitude for life. They are man-traps set at the seat of Government of this Republic, to seize and drag into perpetual bondage a freeman, entitled to all the rights and privileges of an American citizen. Does such a statute blot the page or tarnish the annals of any other Republic on earth? Does it dishonor the pages of any monarchy or despotism now in the world? The tyranny of Caius Verres, in a province of the Roman Empire, was mercy when compared with such a law. Many, very many freemen, have fallen victims to this merciless law, and lost all dear to them on this side of the grave.

The petitioners complain of the severity of the punishments that may, by the laws of the District, or of that part of it which was formerly Maryland, be inflicted on slaves; that any negroes, or other slaves, for rambling by night, or the riding of horses by day, without leave, may be punished by whipping, cropping, branding, or otherwise, not extending to life, or rendering them unfit for labor; and for murder, arson, and petit treason, to have the right hand cut off, to be hanged, to have the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, and the head and quarters to be set up in the most public places of the county where the crime was committed. Such criminal laws, if not executed, and it is not pretended they are, to their full extent, appear like the relic of an extreme barbarous age, and in this enlightened and humane age of the world, are a foul blot on our statute book, and ought to be modified, or repealed.

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

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

And here, there are no foreign Powers to compete with us; we have no rivals; the trade is all ours, and the odium and the guilt are all our own. The traffic was, in former years, presented by a grand jury of the District as a nuisance. And, as long ago as the year 1816, it was denounced by the ardent and eloquent John Randolph, of Roanoke, on this floor, as a nuisance, and as 'an inhuman and illegal traffic in slaves;' and, on his motion, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the trade, and what measures were necessary for putting a stop to it. The committee were empowered to send for persons and papers; called before them many witnesses, and took numerous depositions, depicting in glowing terms the enormities and horrors of the traffic, and reported them to this House. But I do not find that any thing further was done by that talented, but sometimes eccentric man, or by the House.

Since that time the slave trade in the District has increased in extent, and in its enormities. Free blacks have been kidnapped, hurried out of the District, and sold for slaves. Slaves for a term of years have been sold to the slave traders, transported to a distant land, beyond the hope or possibility of relief; sold as slaves for life, and their temporary has been changed into a perpetual bondage. It has been said by a committee of this House that the last mentioned class may apply to the Courts; that the Courts are open to them in the District.

To talk to men degraded to the condition of cattle, (their masters their enemies, conspiring with the purchaser to deprive them of liberty for life, and no freeman their friend) of courts of justice, is adding insult and scorn to injustice, and aggravating their doom by a mockery of all the forms and all the tribunals of justice.

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

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

In the last debate, and in the last speech made on this floor on this subject, it was denied that these words meant, or had any allusion to slaves, and was asserted that many of the signers of the Declaration were masters of thousands: 'and had they an eye at all to slaves when they signed it, they would have been hypocrites unworthy of being commemorated by patriots, or honest men.' Then slaves are not men, for the terms used were the broadest that could be used, and embraced the whole species. Let us consider for one moment whether the blacks and the mulattoes of this country are men like ourselves, and whether the signers of our Declaration of Independence were hypocrites. Heathen poetry instructs us that man, a generic term, embracing the whole species, all sexes, all ranks and conditions, all colors, and all complexions, was created in the resemblance of the Gods, and that while other animals looked upon the earth and never raised their eyes, to him was given, by his God, a countenance of dignity, and lofty grandeur, and he was commanded to behold Heaven, and raise his elevated looks to the starry mansions and the abodes of the Eternal.*

The heathen philosophers teach us that man was created in the likeness of the Almighty, of God; and neither heathen poetry nor heathen philosophers, ever informed us of the creation of more than one species of man. By their doctrines, man was created the brother of his fellow man, and his equal. The Old Testament informs us that 'God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him,' and gave him dominion over all the earth, the fish, the beasts, the fowls of the air, and every creeping thing, but no dominion over, and no power to enslave his fellow-man.

And here, again, we learn the creation of but one species of man. Christianity, in all its holy precepts, and the New Testament, instruct us that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth.' Revelation, then, yea, God himself has declared there were and are but one species of man; that all men are descended from one common origin, and were all created equal. The wise framers of the Declaration of Independence, and the founders of this Republic, in accordance with the doctrines of heathen poetry and heathen philosophy, of Christian philosophy, of the Scriptures, and of Revelation itself, in that immortal instrument, the enduring monument of their wisdom, proclaimed to an admiring world, as 'self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Did they mean slaves? Can any one doubt that they did? They spoke of man not as black, or white, but as embracing the entire species, all colors and all complexions.

Enlightened citizens of a Christian country, they shall be presumed to have spoken as Christian men: and none but infidels, and those who deny the authenticity of the Scriptures, will pretend that God ever created more than one species, one race of men. They were no hypocrites. They were patriots, nobly struggling for their country's freedom; their hearts were warmed with the fires of liberty; they breathed benevolence and good will to the human race, and in deferential homage to the Ancient of Days, proclaimed aloud to the bond and free, the truth, impressed alike on the heart of the lettered and unlettered man by Nature and Nature's God, that 'all men are created equal.'

Whence, then, and who made the distinction between the white and the black man? It was not the decision of ancient times. Then the slave was the victim of conquest, and a white man. Nor has the decision of modern times been uniform on this subject. For as late the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century, hundreds and thousands of the youths of both sexes, of beautiful forms, from the peasantry of England, were fastened together with ropes, taken to the city of Bristol, and sold into slavery in Ireland. It was abolished on the conquest of Ireland by Henry II.

The slaveholders in ancient times, and in Ireland, contended with as much zeal for their right to enslave the white man, as any slaveholder in this District for his right to hold in bondage the black man or the mulatto.

It has been regretted by a Committee of this House 'that persons without the District,' as well members of Congress as others, 'having no concern with it,' should attempt to procure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade here, and it was in the year 1829, declared by a member of the House, in debate on this floor, to 'be meddling with matters truly other men's.'

Sir, the territory is Federal, and is under the care, protection, and government of the whole people of the United States. Congress is the sole legislative body for the District, to the exclusion of all others, and *here* possessing undefined, unlimited legislative powers, selected by the people of the whole Union. The whole Union defrays the expenses of the local Legislature and of the entire territorial government, builds penitentiaries, endows schools and colleges, makes side walks, macadamized roads, canals, aqueducts, and bridges, pays the interests on loans, and beautifies and adorns the District by its Navy Yards, its arsenals, its capitol, and other public buildings and improvements, and enriches it by the annual expenditure of millions.

Every member of the House may, with or without petition, originate, bring forward, and propose to Congress any bill for the benefit of, or in any way concerning his own immediate district, his State, or any State in the Union. His powers for such purpose are, and must be, coextensive with the jurisdiction of Congress. The power is incident to all legislative assemblies, having a general jurisdiction and the power of legislation. It is not only the right, but the duty of a member, to watch over, and with vigilance to guard, protect, and promote the interests of all parts of the country. And shall it be said that he has no right and power to propose laws for the District of Columbia, to do away wrongs and oppressions here, where his powers of legislation are more unlimited than in any other part of the Union? The idea that he cannot, seems to me preposterous. And if a member has such right, surely his mind may be enlightened, his attention awakened to corruption, crimes, or oppressions here, and his patriotism roused to action, by the petitions of his constitutents, or of the people of any other portion of his country. In this District every member of Congress and every citizen of the republic should feel a deep and lively interest. They have a voice in selecting its rulers; they all contribute to defray its expenses, and they all have a deep concern in its honor and glory, and have a right to be heard in the legislative assembly, in all matters concerning the appropriation of money here or the correction of abuses, oppressions, and tyranny. As the seat of their empire, under the superintending power of the General Government, they have a right to require that it shall be governed in accordance with our Declaration of Independence, and the principles of free government, and that the despotism of Archangel and of Turkey should not prevail here.

But, Sir, if it were necessary that the citizens of this District should petition, many of them have petitioned for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in this District, and this fact may not be known to most of the members of this House. I hold in my hand a petition, taken from the files of this House, presented in the year 1828, signed by the Judges of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, and more than 1000 respectable citizens of the counties of Alexandria and Washington, and then owning a large proportion, and I am credibly informed, more than a moiety of the property of this District. So that the abolition of slavery here would be in accordance with the feelings and wishes of a large and highly respectable portion of the citizens of the whole District.

Sir, the petitioners ask that slavery and the slave trade in and through the District of Columbia may be abolished, with their appalling train of evils. They enter into no details, and they prescribe no terms, no conditions. Those they very properly submit to the discretion and the wisdom of Congress. They ask that these petitions may be referred to a select committee. This request, I submit, is reasonable and should be granted. The parliamentary usage of all free deliberative and legislative assemblies, requires that the petition should be referred to a committee, a majority of whom should be favorable to the prayer of the petitioners. Similar petitions, for years past, have been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and for the last ten or twelve years, I believe, a majority of the Committee on the District have been from the slaveholding States. I mean no reflection on the Speakers of the House, but mention it as a fact proper to be known by the people. Perhaps as long as it was a slaveholding territory, it was proper in relation to the general business and interests of the District, that a majority of the Committee should be from the slaveholding States. But, sir, their early education, associations, habits, and interests, and a knowledge of human nature, must convince us that they could never view petitions such as those now presented with a favorable eye, and consider them without that prejudice natural to and inseparable from the honorable, the worthy, and the very best men.

Sir, at the session before the last, at the last session, and the present, similar petitions from various parts of the Union, signed by many thousands of citizens, have been presented to this House and referred to the Committee on the District, and no report has been made thereon to this House.

I mention this as a fact only, and do not intend to cast any censure on the present or past committees of the House. They may have had good and sufficient reasons for the course they have pursued, unknown to me. But, sir, I differ with them entirely in opinion, as to the course they have pursued, and must frankly declare, that on a question of so much importance, of so great magnitude, I believe it would have been better for the majority of the Committee to have made a report favorable or adverse to the prayer of the petitioners, and thus have enabled the minority to present a minority report. And thus would all the facts and circumstances connected with slavery and the slave trade in the District, and the views and reasons of the whole Committee have been published and seen, and read by the American People. But the petitions are not published—there is no report—and no light is shed on the dark subject of slavery and the slave trade.

A right 'to petition the Government for a redress of grievances' is secured to the people. But, sir, of what use to the people is the right to petition, if their petitions are to be unheard, unread, and to sleep 'the sleep of death,' and their minds to be unenlightened by no report, no facts, no arguments? Have Congress the power to abolish slavery, and the slave trade, in the District? It is believed they have. Of the three Committees who have reported very briefly on the subject, one expressed no opinion, another admitted Congress had unlimited powers, the other admitted that they had by the letter, but denied that they had by the scope, spirit, and meaning of the Constitution, without the consent of the people of the District.

By the Constitution, Article 1, Section 8: 'Congress is to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever,' over the District.

Could language give higher power, or greater authority? The power of Congress more unlimited than that of the Legislatures of the several States! They are limited in many instances by the Constitution of the United States. To the power of Congress over the District, there is no limitation. It is undefined, unlimited, and absolute, or it has no foundation and no existence. Congress never did, it had no power, and never could have received and accepted, without a Convention of the States, a cession from the States of Maryland and Virginia, abridging, in the least, such unlimited powers. Congress has then the same power over the subject in the District, that the several State Legislatures have in the several States. Several of the State Legislatures have abolished slavery in their respective States. And the power, I believe, is universally conceded to every State Legislature to abolish slavery and the slave trade within its own territories. Congress must have such power over the District, or whilst slavery may be abolished in every State in the Union, it must be perpetual here. We should then have a Republic, rotten at the core, boasting of its freedom and tolerating the most cruel and odious oppressions. But if the consent of the people of the District be necessary, the entire consent of the whole People must be obtained. The majority cannot act; the majority have no power, no will, and if they had, they have no legislative organ but Congress to express it. So that by this doctrine, whilst slavery may be abolished in the several States, it must be perpetual here. For never, until human nature is entirely changed, or until the millenium, when enslaved man will be emancipated by a Power more than mortal, will *all* the citizens of this District unite in the abolition of slavery.

And are the measures proposed by the petitioners expedient? It is believed that they are. And here I would beg leave to notice some of the objections that have heretofore been made to their adoption. It has been said by a former Committee of this House, that 'the question must in the end, unless suffered to rest, be productive of serious mischief, if not danger to the peace and harmony of the Union.' Not so. Slavery here has no necessary connexion with slavery in the several States. It exists, so far as that is concerned, under separate governments, and the action of one of these governments in relation to slavery, has no necessary connexion with the action of the others.

Again it was said by the same Committee, the question 'creates a restlessness in the slave for emancipation, rendered incompatible with the existing state of the country. Humanity may sometimes fail of its object, and rivet tighter the chains it would loose, by injudiciously interposing its good offices, in cases where it belongs more properly to others to act.'

Sir, the petitioners claim, and I claim an equal right to act and to be heard with any citizen of the District or of the Republic! Strange, indeed! if we have only to give, give, and have not the right to petition 'for a redress of grievances,' wrongs and cruel oppressions. Shall humanity be told, shall the hundreds of thousands who have petitioned, be told, that her and their efforts, will only rivet tighter the chains of slavery in this District? No danger of insurrection can, or will be feared in the District. The number of whites is near five to one of the slaves, and considerably more than twice that of the entire black population. The excess of the white population, the military, the marines, the arsenals, arms and ammunition, are a complete and entire security against any and all insurrections of the slaves in the District.

Again, it was said by the same Committee, 'It is not the District of Columbia, alone, that is interested, but a large portion of the United States, that must be affected by every movement of the kind, and particularly Maryland and Virginia,' and that slavery ought not to be abolished here until abolished in those States.

I deny that the question has any necessary connexion with the slaveholding States. The abolition of slavery here would be productive of no injury to the surrounding States. It has been abolished in one State without injury to an adjoining State. And to make the abolition of slavery in the District dependent upon its abolition in the States of Maryland and Virginia, would prevent the General Government from selecting their own time for the performance of an act of justice, too long delayed, to a much injured class of our fellow-beings. The will of the National Government, as well as the benevolent wishes and prayers of hundreds of thousands of humane petitioners, would be dependent on the legislative acts of two separate Governments. The petitioners disclaim all alliance between slavery here and slavery in the several States; and I hope that the citizens of the slaveholding States will not claim such alliance, and that they will not attempt to make slavery here dependent upon slavery there; and that they will not contend that an attempt to abolish slavery in the District is a meddling with slavery in the several States. Should they thus claim, and thus contend, ought not the eight millions of People inhabiting the free States to double their exertions for the abolition of slavery in this District? But, sir, I cannot believe they will claim such alliance.

Sir, I believe it is expedient to grant the prayer of the petitioners and to abolish slavery and the slave trade throughout the District. They are not warranted by the laws of Nature, or of God, and are oppressive and unjust—and injustice can never be tolerated without crime, where the power exists to correct it. And it appears to me that no one can seriously doubt that Congress possesses full and ample power. It will strengthen the District by the introduction of a free population, and do much to protect it against all future invasion. The abolition of slavery will render the District more prosperous. Agriculture will flourish; its fields and plantations will be better cultivated and improved. Arts and manufactures will be increased, and industry and enterprise will be doubled. The black population will be rendered more serviceable than they now are; for in the same proportion that you degrade man, you destroy his usefulness. Money would be more freely appropriated, and a better feeling toward the District would exist. Greater harmony would prevail throughout the Union. The public mind would be quieted and tranquillized. The power of Congress over slavery spent and ended, there would be no more petitions for the abolition of slavery—none, none, would ask Congress to interfere with slavery in the several States.

The prayer, then, of the petitioners is reasonable; in accordance with the nature of man, and founded on the principles of eternal justice. The time, the age, the progress of liberal principles throughout the world, seem to require of this Republic the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The inquisitions of Spain and Portugal have been abolished, and slavery throughout the British dominions has ceased to exist. The abolition of slavery has kept pace with the march of republican principles in South America, and there, as sceptres have fallen from the hands of kings and tyrants, the shackles have fallen from enslaved man; and slavery has ceased to exist, and is unknown throughout the South American Republics. It is only known in Brazil, which is still a monarchy, and has never assumed a republican form of government. And shall slavery be upheld and retained by this Government, boasting of its freedom and its republican principles? Our country spent hundreds of millions of dollars and lost tens of thousands of lives to secure our independence and freedom from the tyranny and oppression of Britain. And we uphold and support, at the Seat of our Government, personal servitude, personal bondage, and cruel oppressions, harder to be endured by the sufferers for one day, than years, ay, than ages of the oppressions of Britain, by our ancestors. And do not our professions, consistency, and the honor of our country, demand freedom from personal bondage in all places under the sole legislation of the National Government? If we refuse to grant it, shall we not be liable to be reproached in the following language of the illustrious Jefferson, when speaking of slavery and the struggle of our ancestors with England, 'What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man, who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and even death itself, in vindication of his own liberty; and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow man a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose.'

Those whose early education, associations, habits, and interests, have familiarized them to slavery, surely cannot refuse to unite with those opposed to it from education, early habits of association, thinking, and acting, and as they believe from Religion itself, to banish slavery and all its real or supposed evils from the District of Columbia. The common land, where all the legislators of this country meet to transact the business of a great and the only Republic, should be lovely, smiling with peace, and blessed with the especial presence of liberty and justice. No bondage, no stripes, no fetters, or chains, inflicted or fastened on man without crime; no tears and screams of the oppressed, no heart-broken lamentations, no wailings of despair for the lights of morality and religion extinguished; for hopes present and hopes future ruined; for all the delightful and holy associations, and joys of domestic bliss, for I consider the negro as a man; for all the ties of kindred, of blood, and of nature, torn asunder and dissolved forever, should fatigue the eye or pain the ear of any legislator or officer of this Government, or of the citizen of this, or of any other country, who makes a pilgrimage to this Mecca, this land of the faithful, this, as it should be, chosen residence of Freedom, to render homage at the shrine of liberty.

Every man, in looking at this District, and this alone, must agree with me. To render this chosen land beloved by all, the pride and the glory of all, we must first render it lovely. Lovely it can never be to all, while slavery and the slave trade continue to tarnish its annals. Methinks I hear some one exclaim, the present is an inauspicious time; the country is not yet prepared for such a measure. How long shall the legislators of this country wait, before they spread the unalloyed blessings of an entire exemption from personal servitude over this District? For more than thirty years, the citizens of the country have petitioned Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in this District. Grand Juries of the District have presented the slave trade as a nuisance. Essays have been published in the newspapers of the District, recommending, and more than one thousand citizens of the District have petitioned for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

And again, I ask, how long shall Congress wait? How long! oh, how long! before a citizen of this only Republic, in view of the freedom of this District and emancipated man here, may with equal pride, equal justice, and with as much truth, burst forth in the elevated sentiments, uttered in the warm impassioned language and burning words of the Irish advocate and orator, when contemplating the freedom and exemption of England, a country governed by a crowned head and an hereditary peerage, whose tyranny and oppressions our ancestors could not endure, from personal servitude and negro bondage. How long! oh my God! how long, before an American citizen, before American law, in the genuine spirit of American freedom, may with truth proclaim to and of the stranger and sojourner here, to and of man, to every man in this District—'that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted on the altar of slavery: the first moment he touches the sacred soil,' not, ah not of Britain, but of the District of Columbia, 'the altar and the god sink together in the dust, his soul walks abroad in her own native majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the genius of universal emancipation.'

Mr. DICKSON then moved a reference of the memorials to a select committee.

Mr. CHINN moved to lay the motion, with the memorials, on the table, and demanded the yeas and nays; which were ordered.

The question being taken, it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 117, nays 77, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. John J. Allen, Chilton Allan, William Allen, Archer, Ashley, Bouldin, Bunch, Bynum, Cage, Cambreleng, Campbell, Carmichael, Carr, Chaney, Chilton, Chinn, Claiborne, Clay, Clayton, Clowney, Coffee, Cramer, Crockett, Davis, Davenport, Day, Deberry, Dickerson, Dickinson, Dunlap, Felder, Ferris, Forester, Foster, Wm. K. Fuller, Fulton, Gamble, Garland, Gholson, Gillet, Gilmer, Gordon, Gorham, Graham, Grayson, Griffin, J. Hall, T. H. Hall, Halsey, Hamer, Hannegan, Hardin, Hathaway, Hawkins, Heath, Howell, Huntington, Inge, Ebenezer Jackson, Jarvis, R. M. Johnson, H. Johnson, Kinnard, Lane, Lansing, Lea, Lewis, Love, Loyall, Lucas, Lyon, J. Mann, Marshall, Mardis, May, McComas, McIntire, McKay, McKim, McVean, Mercer, H. Mitchell, R. Mitchell, Murphy, Parks, Patterson, Peyton, Pickens, Pierce, Pierson, Pinckney, Plummer, Polk, Pope, Rencher, Reynolds, Robertson, Schley, Shepard, Smith, Spangler, Speight, Standifer, Steele, Wm. P. Taylor, P. Thomas, Tompkins, Turner, Turrill, Vanderpoel, Van Houten, Watmough, White, Wilde, Williams, Wilson, Wise.—117.

NAYS—Messrs. John Quincy Adams, Heman Allen, Banks, Barber, Bates, Baylies, Bell, Binney, Bockee, Briggs, Brown, Burd, Burges, Burns, Casey, Chambers, William Clark, Coulter, Crane, Darlington, Denny, Dickson, Evans, E. Everett, Fillmore, Fowler, P. C. Fuller, Galbraith, Grennell, Hard, J. M. Harper, Jas. Harper, Harrison, Hazeltine, Heister, Hubbard, William Jackson, B. Jones, Kilgore, Laporte, Lay, T. Lee, Lincoln, J. K. Mann, Martindale, M. Mason, McCarty, McKennan, McLene, Miller, Milligan, Miner, Morgan, Osgood, Parker, Pearce, Phillips, Potts, Ramsey, Reed, Schenck, Shinn, Slade, Sloane, Stewart, W. Taylor, Thomson, Trumbull, Tweedy, Vance, Vinton, Wagener, Wardwell, Webster, Whallon, F. Whittlesey, Young—77.

CONGRESS. *In Senate, Wednesday, February* 11.—Mr. Ewing rose and addressed the chair as follows:

Mr. President: I hold in my hand, and am instructed to present to the Senate, memorials of sundry citizens of the State of Ohio, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It is but justice to say of these memorials, that they are dictated by a spirit of pure philanthropy and Christian charity, and they are entitled to the most respectful consideration of the Senate. I shall move their reference to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and I hope that Committee will not be satisfied with merely passing them over in silence, but that they will give the Senate and the nation their views upon the subject; that if any obstacle stand in the way of the measure solicited by the memorialists, they may be made known, and being known their true merits can be appreciated. No one is better qualified than the Honorable Chairman of the Committee to examine and elucidate this subject, and I have no doubt he will do it in the spirit of candor and justice, and respect for the opinions of every portion of our country, becoming an American statesman; and I move the reference.

The memorials were then referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. McKean presented memorials from a number of the citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolishment of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the memorials were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. Shepley presented a petition from Brunswick, Maine, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Referred.—*Nat. Intelligencer.*

Extract of a Letter dated

BARBADOES Dec. 10, 1834.

'Our negro population are conducting themselves with great propriety, nor can we discern any signs of insurbordination or discontent.—The crops are looking well, but the country is in want of rain so much that when it comes it will be too late to save the crop of yams and other ground provisions. Our accounts from other islands with respect to the negroes are cheering. Order is restored in Demerara. From Antigua we learn that nothing can exceed the good behaviour of the negroes, who, however, complained that $3 per month was not enough for their labors. The planters will correct their error.'

JAMAICA. Advices from Jamaica to the 24th ult. have been received by the Norfolk Beacon. The paper of the latest date says: 'The accounts from all parts of the Island are now very gratifying.'

Slavery abolished in the West Indies.—A letter received by a gentleman in Salem from his correspondent at Antigua, (W. Indies) on the subject of Slavery there, says:—'August 1, 1834, unqualified freedom was proclaimed on this day; and, as yet, Nov. 26, 1834, there is nothing to regret.'

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* Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum;
Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit; cœlumque tueri
Jussit Ærectos ad sidera tollere vultus.
*Ovid's Met, B. 1, Verse 83, &c.

Discussion in the House of Representatives on the presentation of Petitions from Maine, Massachusetts, New-York and Ohio, for the Immediate Abolition of Slavery and the SLAVE TRADE, in the District of Columbia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, February 16, 1835.

Mr. Evans presented the petition of a large number of citizens of Waterville and Vassalborough, in the State of Maine, praying for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and stated in brief terms, his acquiescence in the general sentiments and objects of the memorial, and his hope that, at no distant day, the attention of Congress would be given to the subject; and that so far as he could tread on firm, constitutional ground, he should go promptly and unhesitatingly. The subject was not free from difficulties, but he trusted they would all be overcome by the wisdom, perseverance, patriotism, and philanthropy which Congress might bring to its consideration.

As other similar memorials had been already referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia; he moved the same reference of this, in the hope that the Committee would, at some early period, present a report.

Mr. Phillips said he was about to present a memorial in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It was signed by 1249 male citizens, who are all represented to be legal voters; and also by 2643 ladies, of the county of Essex, in the State of Massachusetts.

These memorialists, said Mr. Phillips, are many of them known to me to be of the most respectable character and standing. They respectfully and earnestly entreat the attention of Congress to the object to which their memorial is confined. The sentiments which they utter are just, and humane, and patriotic; the motives by which they were evidently actuated are commendable; and the object which they seek may be accomplished, and can only be accomplished by the action of Congress. Upon these grounds their memorial is entitled to consideration; and I owe it to them and to the House to declare, that while I am opposed, from my own conviction of what is constitutional, just, and expedient, to any interference on the part of the General Government, or of the free States, with the exclusive rights, interests, and duties of the Slaveholding States—I am equally convinced of the constitutionality, expediency, and justice of a suitable provision by the General Government for the abolition of slavery within the District of Columbia.

So far as slavery exists with any of the States, it is for them, upon their own responsibility, to determine when and in what manner it shall cease to exist there; but so far as it exists here, and is exhibited before our eyes in its worst forms of degradation and cruelty, the right and duty belong to Congress alone of restraining or abolishing it.

Towards the abolition of slavery within the States, I am only desirous that the General Government, at a proper time, should contribute to the extent of its ability, such aid as may be acceptable, and can be judiciously applied; but in respect to the object which this memorial discloses, I cannot doubt that there are existing evils which require a legislative remedy at our hands, in such form as our wisdom may devise. I cannot doubt that a period must arrive when the continuance of slavery within this District will be regarded, in its obvious aspects, as disgraceful to the nation, contrary to public opinion, and subversive alike of the rights of slaves and the interests of free citizens. The period, in my humble judgment, will have arrived as soon as the facts and arguments contained in such memorials as this, shall obtain a dispassionate, candid, and deliberate investigation.

Mr. Phillips said that he would desire a reference of this memorial to a select committee; but as such a reference had been already formally refused in a similar case, he would content himself for the present with asking that it should be laid on the table.

Agreed to.

Mr. Dickson presented a memorial from certain citizens of Rochester, in the State of New-York, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. D. said, that it was his wish that this subject should be referred to a Select Committee; but as the House refused to give it that direction on a former occasion, he should now move that the memorial be laid on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Dickson then moved that the memorial and names annexed be printed.

Mr. Boon called for a division of the question.

The motion to print the memorial was then agreed to.

The question being on printing the names,

Mr. Dickson asked the yeas and nays, and they were refused.

Mr. Wise moved to reconsider the vote on the motion to print the memorial, and thereupon he asked the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

Mr. Hiester called for the reading of the memorial, and after its reading,

Mr. Dickson stated that the memorial was signed by the Mayor of Rochester, and by a large number of respectable citizens of that place, including individuals of both of the political parties.

Mr. Chinn said, that he hoped the motion to reconsider would prevail. He saw nothing which distinguished this memorial from any other upon the subject. Although it was signed, as the gentleman from New-York had stated to the House, by the Mayor of Rochester and other distinguished persons, he could not perceive that this fact entitled it to a consideration different from that which was given to others. It presents no new argument; it states no fact but what was contained in others; and the grievances which it recites are common to all which have been offered here. It was unnecessary for him to assert that these grievances were in the main unfounded. If this memorial were printed, why not print all which had been offered? There was no difference between them; if there were, it was not such as to entitle *this* to unusual consideration. He did not wish to discuss this question; he did not know that he ever would discuss it. The whole mischief, perhaps, consisted in discussion. This had been, and still was, his opinion; and he had always acted in conformity with it. He hoped the motion would prevail, and that the same disposition would be made of this as of the many others which had been presented.

Mr. Bouldin said that he had not supposed he would vote for the printing of this memorial until he heard it read. But after having heard it read, he should vote for printing it; not because he approved of the presenting of it, or of the object of it; nor that he dissented from the general propositions about liberty and slavery in it; but because he wished his constituents to know what feelings were entertained by their northern brethren (some of them,) of slavery and slaveholders, and the means of abolishing slavery.

He said he was unwilling to draw any comparisons between the country that he had the honor in part to represent, and any other portion of the Union, but every remark about slavery, and slaveholders, and slave-markets, made in that memorial, in relation to this District, applied equally to the habits, customs and legal rights of the people of all the South. He wished them to see what those opinions and feelings were; and therefore, and for that only, he should vote for printing the memorial.

Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana, hoped that the motion to reconsider would prevail, and that the memorial would be laid on the table. He repudiated the interference of the Northern with the rights and property of the people of the Southern States. Whenever the North should succeed in procuring legislation by Congress in regard to these rights and this species of property, that moment the Union would be dissolved.

Mr. Boon said, as he had asked for a division of the question, and belonged to a non-slaveholding State, it was perhaps proper that he should say a word or two. There was no person more opposed to slavery than himself; but while he was opposed to the principle, he was also opposed to interfering with those rights to property which were guaranteed to the citizens of particular States and Districts by the Constitution of the United States. It would be recollected that this question, when the subject of the admission of Missouri into the Union was before the House, had come very near dividing the Union. He thought the same course which had been adopted by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Phillips,) in presenting a similar memorial this morning, which was, to move that it be laid on the table, was the proper one, and that this memorial should be disposed of in a similar manner.

Mr. Fillmore said, as it was understood that the Committee on the District of Columbia would not act upon this subject at the present session, it was certainly due to the petitioners that the motion which had been made by his colleague (Mr. Dickson) should prevail. It was not unreasonable that the memorial should be printed and preserved among the documents of the House. He disavowed most unequivocally, now and forever, any desire on his part to interfere with the rights, or what was termed the property, of the citizens of other States. While he did this, he conceived that as a citizen of the State of New-York, and a member of this House, he was interested in the claim to property in man, within the District of Columbia. He referred to the effect which was produced in the North by the advertisements in the papers of this city, connected with the purchase and transportation of slaves. The people of that section of the country believed slavery to be improper, and that it should not be tolerated. This was a great national question. There was nothing in the memorial which should prevent its being printed and placed on the files of the House for future reference. Whenever petitions should be presented here from the slaveholding States, of a different tenor, and which might advocate the establishment or continuance of slave markets in this District and City, if they could satisfy the people of other sections that this was proper, he would treat their petitions with respect. He was willing that each party should be fully heard, and that each should have the privilege of spreading their views before the people generally.

Mr. McKinley regretted that this discussion had sprung up. He thought it manifested more zeal than prudence. He inquired if the printing was intended to enlighten the House or the country? It was admitted on all hands that no action was to take place upon this subject at this session. That being the case, what object would be attained by printing this memorial? He considered it one of the most imprudent memorials which had ever been read in this House. It was a fire-brand from one of the Northern States, which had been thrown into this House, and he was, for one, opposed to giving it any publicity. He denied that this House had the right to lay their hands upon his property, let him live where he might. There was no disrespect intended to the memorialists by refusing to print their memorial. It had been received by the House, and that, he contended, was sufficient. Nothing more ought to be expected. He cared not whether it had come from a Mayor of a City or the President of the United States. He should oppose the motion to print.

Mr. Parker was at a loss, he said, to perceive how the mere reading and printing of the memorial could produce unpleasant feelings in that House or in the nation at large; nor was it in his opinion calculated to throw a fire-brand into the slaveholding States. It appeared to him to be more like a respectful address to the House, calling upon them to exercise the undoubted privileges conferred upon it by the Constitution, of legislating for the District of Columbia, in removing what the petitioners considered a great and existing grievance, and if it was intended or wished to prevent any debate, it could be easily obviated by withdrawing the question of reconsideration. What was the state of the subject, what had been done heretofore, and how did the matter then stand? A portion of the people of this country, considering the evil a national one—as one that ought not to be tolerated by a free people, respectfully ask that House to take measures to redress the evils. Petitions of this nature have been referred to the committee entrusted with the management of the affairs of the District, not only the present session, but the last and several preceding sessions. Now the prayer of the petition was either right or wrong, and their reasons either forcible and conclusive, or otherwise. Let then the committee on the District of Columbia make a report, and tell us what they think ought to be done, and give us their reasons, so that the House might judge of the question. Mr. P. was not prejudiced one way or the other, but he thought an answer to the prayer of the petition should be given, for it was neither unlawful nor unrighteous.

The argument of his honorable friend from Alabama (Mr. McKinley) that Congress had no right to interfere, Mr. P. could not assent to so readily. Let that gentleman, who was fully competent to give his reasons, give his reasons on this subject. For himself, in accordance with the wishes and opinions of his constituents and the persons presenting this memorial, he should feel it his bounden duty to vote to put their petition upon the files of the House, and he should continue to urge it with all the zeal of which he was capable, at the same time with all due consideration to the feelings, prejudices, interests, and rights of others, and which they were entitled to require at his hands. This he should do until the Committee on the District of Columbia or some other select Committee of the House, answered the question, and told us, at the same time giving their reasons, whether Congress had a right to legislate on this subject or not, and until the House had concurred in that decision.

Mr. Dickson then withdrew that part of the motion proposing to print the names of the subscribers to the memorial.

Mr. Clay said: He was even more opposed to the printing of the memorial itself, than he was to printing the names appended to it, which he regarded as a matter of little consequence compared with the other. He was decidedly opposed to the publication of such a document. In spite of all the fair professions heard there upon the subject as to any non-interference with the rights, interests, and property of the southern States, or any other property of this kind, gentlemen must be forgetful of the domestic policy and every thing else concerning the peace and tranquillity of those States, when they ask for the printing and publication of a document like the one under consideration. Are these gentlemen ignorant that the printing and publishing of documents of this kind in almost all the southern States are prohibited under high and heavy penalties? and would they compel, or at least sanction the publication of documents by Congress, for doing which, if a southern tribunal could lay their hands upon a printer doing the same on his individual responsibility, he would be treated and punished as a culprit? Do they call this non-interference with the rights of property, where slavery prevailed? Gentlemen might disclaim any intention of interfering with this subject; but when he heard such disclaimers as those made by the gentleman from New-York, covered by so thin a veil, as he had employed, Mr. C. could not yield his assent to them. The gentleman told us that this was a subject he had no intention of interfering with, while at the same time he called it a great national question, and consequently one that ought to be agitated in that House. Was it not a subject against which southern people should decidedly protest? And was it not one calculated to excite the most direful calamities in that portion of the Union, whence Mr. C. and many of his friends came?

Mr. C. had no hesitation in giving an unqualified contradiction to the supposition that it was the wish of the intelligent and enlightened citizens of the Northern and Middle States to agitate this question. It was confined to a few fanatics, urged and guided by the Garrisons, the Tappans, and others, their wire-workers, and who recently attracted public attention, and whose object was well known. He did not, he could not bring himself to believe that it was the wish of the great mass of the population of the New England or Middle States, to bring on this matter. Were we to be told, because a handful of fanatics, who were ready to light the torch of disaffection and civil discord through the country, were moving on this subject, that it was matter connected with the national prosperity, or that it was a matter of right to that description of individuals, to discuss and agitate the subject in that House? The gentleman from New-Jersey, (Mr. Parker) called upon the Committee for the District of Columbia to report on the subject, in order that it might be discussed and investigated. Why, that was the very course of proceeding calculated to produce the evils contemplated; evils of such a character as no good citizen in any part of this wide-spread and extensive Union ought for a moment to desire. Mr. C. would inquire, how came it that this was a matter of such concern to those individuals? Did it interfere with their domestic policy, their domestic rights, their liberty, their property, or their security, in any point of view? He was at a loss to perceive how it could. Why was it, then, that those persons sought to interfere with the domestic policy of others? It could not be denied, that this was a matter of domestic right and policy; and on what grounds, then, could they find themselves warranted or justified in interfering to give direction to that policy? It was a matter that concerned not them, either individually, or as a community. Until the Committee for the District of Columbia, or some other Committee, should report, the gentleman from New-Jersey tells us he should hold himself ready and willing to receive and print all memorials on the subject. But had the people of the District called upon Congress to legislate on the subject? They had not, and why should Congress be called upon by others to give a new direction to the domestic policy of others, without consent first obtained? That doctrine was contrary to any expressed wish of theirs. These petitioners might, with equal propriety, memorialize the Legislature of Virginia, or the Legislature of any other State, and call upon them, in the name of national honor, to reverse their policy, and abolish the laws authorizing the holding of property of this kind.

Mr. C. in conclusion said, for his own part, after the admission, which seemed to have been made on all hands, that this was a matter belonging to the People holding this peculiar species of property, and after the disclaimer that had been made of non-interference, and in the absence of any petition from the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, and without any call on the part of any of the States where property of this kind existed, he did think that these gentlemen ought not to press this subject, in any form whatever, upon the consideration of the House.

Mr. C. P. White moved to lay the motion to re-consider, and the memorial itself, on the table.

On a question from Mr. Wise, some conversation arose on the point, whether, if the motion to lay on the table prevailed, the motion to print, which had been announced by the Chair as adopted, would be considered and recorded as adopted? Mr. Wise, Mr. J. Q. Adams, and Mr. Briggs, participated therein.

The Chair said, it was a matter not entirely belonging to him, but as the question had been put to him he should say, that the Clerk of the House could not order the memorial to be printed, inasmuch as there would be, if the motion to lie on the table prevailed, a motion pending to re-consider the vote to print the memorial. The motion to lie on the table prevailing, would not finally dispose of the matter, because the House might call it up, on doing which the question would recur on the motion to re-consider.

Mr. Dickson asked for the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

Mr. Gholson appealed to the gentleman from New-York (Mr. White,) to withdraw his motion; for the people of the South were very anxious to know the feeling of the House upon the subject, and he hoped to see it expressed by a direct vote.

Mr. C. P. White said, though he was at all times glad to accommodate the gentleman, yet, in this particular, he must be excused.

The conversation on the point of order and the Speaker's decision, was resumed, and after a few moments spent thereon—

Mr. C. P. White said, to meet the views of the gentleman from Virginia, he withdrew the motion to lay the subject on the table, and moved the previous question.

The second to the previous question and the main question were both agreed to without a division.

The question then occurred on reconsidering the motion to print the memorial, on which the yeas and nays had been ordered, and it was decided as follows—yeas 125, nays 81.

So the House determined to re-consider their vote.

Mr. Wise said: Although I have my feelings, my prejudices, my passions, and my fixed principles and determination, as a southern man, on this subject, yet I hope I can discuss it without excitement. I rise not, sir, to throw, as some others have thrown, a firebrand among us. I rise simply to state to my constituents and the country at large, the true state of feeling, and of the case as it exists here, in the north, and in the south.

I trust I am well assured, that the Representatives on this floor from the North, do not wish or design to interfere with our rights. That they merely feel bound in their representative duty to *present* these memorials, so dangerous in their tendency, and incendiary in their character, from respect to *a few*, a very *few* only, of their constituents comparatively, and that they do not act from their own impulses.

Sir, on this delicate and vitally important subject, the moderate, considerate, and patriotic men of the South, as well as of the North, have enemies to contend with. In the North we have a few misguided fanatics, whose zeal prompts them to rush blindly into the most absurd extremities; and in the South, I am sorry to say it, there are not wanting those who seize upon every pretext to inflame the public mind on the subject of slavery. In this delicate situation, what should be the course of the friends of the country and its institutions? Why, sir, the friends of good order, of the constitution, and of the existence of this republic, in this House, or out of it, in the North or in the South, must use their influence to moderate and quench these spirits of both extremes of fanaticism and of disorganization.

When memorials of the character of this now asked to be printed, are presented, it is respectful enough, I should think, to the memorialists, to *receive* them; if *printed*, they will be circulated throughout the country, to fan the flame of the zealots on one side, and to serve as food for the disorganizers on the other. We who would be safe and secure in the blessings we now enjoy, will, therefore, smother these memorials on their first presentation. I am willing, sir, to treat all memorials, no matter how extravagant or preposterous, or of what character with respect, provided they are from a respectable body of citizens, decorous, and not dangerous in their tendencies. But, sir, I cannot tolerate, much less give consequence and eclat to memorials and petitions which strike at the very foundations of the social compact and our civil institutions. I will not hear them; I desire not to see them; and would reject them at once. With what sort of respect, I put it to the gentleman from the western part of New-York, (Mr. Fillmore,) could he treat an incendiary who would respectfully ask him to apply a torch to his dwelling? Would he regard him as a sober-minded neighbor or madman, as a fiend or friend? Sir, I was sorry to hear some of the remarks from the gentleman of New-York. He says that the people of the North are continually shocked by *advertisements* of slave dealers in the papers of this District. I am sorry, sir, that their nerves are so delicate, when their fathers did more than any other people of the colonies to establish slavery amongst us. And I appeal to Southern gentlemen for the truth of the remarkable fact that the emigrants from the North to the South, some from the gentleman's own district, perhaps, are as ready to become masters as any who are hereditary masters. To strengthen their nerves and change their whole principles and opinions on the subject, they have but to change their climes, their havens. And if they choose to remain at home, they may cease to take those odious papers. If slavery was abolished in this District, I know not what would restrain the press still from publishing advertisements. And if the papers here cease to publish for runaways and purchasers of slaves, still the gentlemen would have to cease taking the papers of the South, or to silence them too. Sir, slavery is interwoven with our very political existence, is guarantied by our constitution, and its consequences must be borne with by our Northern brethren, as resulting from our system of Government; and they cannot attack the institution of slavery without attacking the institutions of the country, our safety and welfare.

The gentleman says, he will ever respect the *property* of the *States*, but he claims to legislate away the *property* of this *District*. Sir, a slave is as much *property here* as in Virginia; *property* by the law and the constitution. And, in addition to the remark of the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. McKinley,) that you will not surely take *private property without just compensation*—and that you cannot compensate without taking in part of the taxes of the South to pay for slaves, I will repeat the idea, that although you have exclusive jurisdiction over this 'ten miles square,' yet it is *common ground*, for the good of the whole, and for the use of the whole people of every State in the Union. And I would ask of the gentleman, if he can come upon this ground with his *carriage and horses*, why cannot I come with my *slaves* to remain here, to *live* here as long as I please? Sir, I say it not in passion, but calmly and dispassionately, that Congress has no right to abolish slavery even here, against the consent of slaveholders, who are not represented; and I warn gentlemen, that the South—I speak for *all* as strongly as one man can speak for *many*, for millions—that the South will fight *to the hilt* against the abolition of slavery in this District, unless the inhabitants owning slaves themselves petition for it, as they would against any interference with the right of slave property in Virginia.

The gentleman calls this a great '*national question*.' I protest, sir, against its being so considered. The *nation* has nothing to do with slave property. It is simply a delicate question of *private*, *individual* right, wholly and solely under the control of the *States* where slavery exists. It is a *reserved State right*, with which the General Government has no *right of interference even*, and from intermeddling with which the free States and their inhabitants should scrupulously abstain. The pseudo-philanthropists of the North do but defeat their own objects, when they rudely attempt to touch or handle a subject which does not immediately concern them; and true Christians and philanthropists will always find their principles, and the cause of humanity, best subserved, by being the *friends of slaveholders*, instead of being the *friends of slaves*, and by co-operating with intelligent, humane, enlightened and patriotic slave owners of the South, by ways and means which the lights of the age have already shown. If violence or intrusion upon our rights be persisted in and pursued, gentlemen will find Union men and nullifiers of the South *all united* on the subject—ready, ripe for revolution, if the worst must come to the worst!

I hope, sir, that this House will not *shock the South* more by the *printing of this memorial*, than the constituents of the gentleman from New York were ever shocked by *slave advertisements*, and that it, and all others like it, will now, and for all time to come, be smothered and suppressed.

Mr. Bouldin said he should not have risen again but for a remark made by his friend and colleague (Mr. Wise.) His colleague had said that he was not for sending a firebrand in the South; but for this part of his colleague's remarks, he would not have risen to say another word. Mr. B. said, far be it from him to cast, or be the means of casting a firebrand in the south or the north or any where. But he had said he would vote to print, merely that the south might know what was going on. He would put it to his colleague, if presenting such memorials as this, was not, as his colleague had said, like putting a torch to a man's house, and if a proposition not to print was not like putting a torch to his colleague's house privately, and on detection, asking him to keep it a secret?

Mr. Wise explained, and said he had no allusion to him, and that he was among the last men he would charge with throwing a firebrand.

Mr. Bouldin said he was sure of that, but did not know that every one would be equally so.

Mr. Archer then rose, and asked leave to make a suggestion to lay the whole subject on the table.

He said the South had their infirmities, their weaknesses, and their misfortunes, and perhaps the one alluded to, was the greatest misfortune to which the people of the South were liable. But had gentlemen no misfortunes, no infirmities, in the body politic among *them*? Suppose he were to go into their country, and inquire into every thing, and see what they had and could not well get rid off. But he would not. He had no idea of being reduced to the necessity of answering and defending every infirmity and misfortune incident to our nature, or cower under the charge. Let them that were without fault, cast the first stone.

Mr. Bouldin said he would answer that suggestion of his colleague immediately. He wished only to say a word or two.

Mr. B. said, far be it from him, and very far had it been from him, to throw any firebrands, or make any offensive comparisons between his and any other part of the Union. But the memorial did. It alluded to habits, and customs, and legal rights common to this district, and of the States of the South, in the most disparaging terms. Mr. B. had refused, and did then refuse, to make any comparison of the principles, habits, or laws of the South and North and East.

He would, before sitting down, say one thing. He had seen, in the testimony taken before the House of Commons in England, proof that a man and his wife had literally starved, for want of the work to which they were brought up, in making negro cotton. He knew that many negroes had died from exposure to weather, for the want of that negro cotton. Clad in a flimsey fabric, that will turn neither wind nor water, substituted by northern and eastern people, who present these memorials, or from whose region they are presented, which substitute sold, under protecting duties, for the profit of perhaps four pence half penny in the yard. So the poor Englishman is starved, and the poor slave perishes in the cold for this profit. It appears, then, that after all their piteous ditties, sung and said, their philanthropy does not amount to 6 1-4 cents a yard in the negro's clothing. Having said thus much, and after hearing his colleague, and lest it should be thought by any one that he wished to throw a firebrand any where, he would, at the suggestion of his friend and colleague, (Mr. Archer,) with a view to get clear of the whole matter, and lay it on the table, yield to him the floor to make that motion.

Mr. Archer said he considered it almost as indiscreet in gentlemen from the south or slaveholding States to discuss this question, as it was for the representatives from the north to introduce it. He would add nothing to this remark, but moved to lay the whole subject on the table.

The question was then taken on laying the motion on the table by yeas and nays, and decided in the affirmative—Yeas 139, Nays 63.

BOSTON,

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1835.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT DEBATE.

☞ The question of Slavery, it seems, is at last under discussion in Congress. To make room for the earnest and somewhat fiery debate which took place in the House of Representatives on Monday last, as well as for Mr. Dickson's excellent speech, we have excluded our own editorials, several interesting communications, an account of the proceedings of the late Cumberland County (Me.) Anti-Slavery Convention, &c. &c. The speech of Mr. Dickson comes most unexpectedly, is sound and fearless, and will obtain for him honorable renown among the truly wise and benevolent throughout this country and in Europe. With regard to the debate alluded to, having no space for comment, we can only solicit our readers to peruse it with all carefulness—it will astonish, it will instruct, it will encourage, it will inflame them. The remarks of Mr. Clay of Alabama, and of Mr. Wise (the duellist) of Georgia, are impudent and ferocious, and will stir up the righteous indignation of every lover of his species. At the next session of Congress, an effort will be made on the part of the people to effect the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, that will overwhelm all opposition.

☞ Mr. John Q. Adams, we are happy to state, has lost his military ardor, and retreated from the field of war. He claims to have been misapprehended in his remarks respecting France.

[For the Liberator.]

MRS. CHILD—THE OASIS.

There are women, as well as men, capable of 'marking the age in which they live with their names.' Such a woman is Mrs. Child. To an uncommon degree of practical knowledge and sound sense, she unites a feeling heart and a brilliant imagination. Deservedly she stands in the first rank of our Literary writers. But it is not as a novelist or a poet—eminently successful as she has been—that Mrs. Child is especially distinguished. Those works which have been so generally admired by the public, but faintly shadow forth the excellent qualities of her mind and heart.

Within a few years, she has written much and well. Her 'Juvenile Miscellany'—her 'Hints to people in moderate fortune'—her 'Frugal Housewife'—her 'Appeal in behalf, of that class of Americans called Africans'—and her late beautiful publication, 'THE OASIS'—are all animated with one spirit—alive with one great and generous purpose:

> 'The god-like aim to render less
> The sum of human wretchedness.'

The Oasis should be in the parlor of every friend of the slave: and in no way could Abolitionists aid the cause of holy liberty more effectually, than in aiding in its circulation.

The Philanthropy which Mrs. Child inculcates, has little to do with the modern, and, alas! too popular definition of the term. It is not like the vision which passed before Eliphaz, the Temanite, shadowy and dim. The form thereof can be discerned. It is living and *practical*. It is the Samaritan stooping over the stricken Jew. It is no fastidious hand which administers the oil and the wine, and binds up the unsightly gashes. Caste, creed and color are forgotten: it is enough that one human being suffers; and no matter who that human being may be, or how revolting to delicate nerves may be the sight of that suffering—*her* philanthropy 'takes compassion on him.' Its sphere of action is not among those who 'die of a rose in aromatic pain'—it has no companionship with genteel distress—no sympathy for fashionable misery. There is no need of its services in this department. Thousands can feel, or *affect* to feel, for those fictitious woes which require no action—which make no drafts upon personal ease or well-lined pockets;—and that too, with about as much consistency as the tyrant of Phares, who, while daily engaged in butchering his own subjects for amusement, wept over the scenic representation of the woes of Andromache. The Philanthropy of Mrs. Child goes down into the lazar-house of *real* suffering—it feels the quick pulse of the diseased, and moistens the dry lip—and receives, wherever it goes, the blessing of the poor and the forsaken—the outcast, and 'those who have no helper.'

Her philanthropy has cost her a heavy sacrifice, but it has been cheerfully made. Decidedly the first woman in America, in point of intellectual power—widely and deservedly popular—at the call of duty and in obedience to the impulses of a heart ever open to the claims of the oppressed—she espoused, *fully and unreservedly*, the cause of those who had none to plead for them; and with a full view of the dangers and responsibility of the effort, became the unpopular advocate of unpopular truth.

Generations to come shall rise up and call her blessed. Our aimless poets and *poetesses*—our literary *imbeciles*—the soulless, heartless, and effeminate hacks of fashion—may affect to sneer at her holy zeal for righteous liberty, and her sympathies for those who can reward her benevolence, only with the tears of gratitude and the prayers of humble hearts. Let them sneer on: they can neither understand her motives, nor appreciate her worth. Yet a few years, and what will remain of *them*? What will *they* have done for the welfare of their own and future generations? Who will miss them—who mourn them?

But the spirit which has animated and sustained Mrs. Child in her disinterested efforts in the cause of emancipation, is an immortal spirit. It will live, and not perish. Her name may be now associated with all those unseemly epithets which pride and prejudice and oppression love to fasten upon the advocates of that holy and impartial truth, which maketh free; but with all that is great and noble and patriotic in coming generations, it will be

> 'One of the few immortal names
> Which were not born to die.'

Boston, 12th of 2nd month.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

The Ninth Lecture of the course will be given by S. E. SEWALL, Esq. on Wednesday evening next, at the Society's Hall, 46, Washington-street, at 7 o'clock. SEATS FREE. Hereafter, tickets will be dispensed with.

☞ A sketch of Mr. Whittier's Lecture—the communications of 'A Constant Reader,' and 'G. R.'—the Constitution of the Holliston Anti-Slavery Society, &c. are in type, but unavoidably omitted.

☞ Mr. Child's Lecture on Wednesday evening, on the rise, progress, and triumphant supremacy of MOBS in this country, was extremely able. We shall try to give a sketch of it, and of the spirited proceedings of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society on Monday evening last, in our next number.

☞ The communication of our correspondent at Salem, is too incorrectly written to be inserted in our columns.

☞ The monthly Concert of Prayer for the Slaves will be held at the Anti-Slavery Hall on Monday evening next.

The New-York Journal of Commerce, speaking of the petitions praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, says—'We are inclined to believe that this measure is in accordance with the general wishes of the nation, *and think it not unlikely that it will be adopted at the next session*.'

MARRIED—In Columbia, Pa. on the 11th of December last, by Elder David Shrom, Elder James Richards, formerly of Columbia, to Mrs. Hannah Barry of York Co. Pa.

In this city, on Thursday morning last, Mr. Sampson H. Moody (colored.) Funeral this (Saturday) afternoon, at 2 o'clock, from his house in Peck Lane.

In this city, on the 25th ult. Mrs. Mary Church, aged 28, of Philadelphia.

LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]

THE REBUKE.

Must man forever live a slave,
Where shouts of freedom rend the air?
And patriot fathers dared to brave
The tumults and the strife of war?

Let Europe's servile subjects fall
Obsequious at the tyrant's feet,
And willing pay the homage small
That slaves to regal grandeur meet.

Let them the conqueror fain assist,
To grasp the airy bubble fame,
All, all their high-born powers enlist,
For him to earn a fleeting name.

Degraded beings! must the thrall
Of ages sink you to the dust?
Nor can you power sufficient call
Oppression's arm aside to thrust?

Not so with us; the noble plant
Of liberty is spreading wide;
The wretched of all nations pant
Beneath its shelt'ring limbs to hide.

None who unequal laws decree,
Obeisance ask none dare refuse;
Nor will the meanest of the free,
Ambition's haughty slaves amuse.

Forbear! a scornful voice replies;
In vain the distant ocean roars,
It cannot drown the piercing cries,
That echo on our rugged shores.

Your songs of triumph raised around,
Come mingled with the shrieks of pain;
Our ears unceasing catch the sound
Of galling fetters and the chain.

Yet you for Poland's lot can mourn,
And vengeance for her wrongs invoke;
For Greece's far-famed sons can burn,
Who languish 'neath the Turkish yoke.

But o'er your own high boasted land,
Oppression's form can fearless stalk,
While insults high and scoffs attend,
Who dare the car of freedom rock.

Away with slavery! let the sound
Of bursting prisons fill the air;
Your ground will then be hallowed ground,
The freeman find a country there.

But till that hastening moment come,
Restrain your tears for *foreign* woes;
And let those eager mouths be dumb,
When prayers for *foreign* freedom rose.

W. B. O.

Lynn, 2nd mo. 1835.

[BY REQUEST.]

ODE, written by a gentleman of East Sudbury, and sung by the choir of Rev. Mr. White's Church, after the delivery of an Anti-Slavery Discourse.

1. America! extatic sound,
To freemen dear;
Thy name's a spell to summon round,
From Liberty's enchanted ground,
All who, to love of Freedom bound,
Have sought her here;
Our Fathers' blood has seal'd thy fame,
Then let their sons thy glorious name
Revere.

2. Against oppression's iron hand,
They nobly fought;
A fearless, mighty, conquering band,
They swore to live in Freedom's land,
To fall as men, or nobly stand,
As freemen ought;
Proud victors in the glorious strife,
Our freedom with their blood, their life,
They bought.

3. And is there then no slavery here,
America?
Go! see that Afric Mother's tear—
Go! see that Sister weeping near—
Go! if thou more wouldst know, and hear
That Maiden's sigh;
Her lover's gone she wists not where,
But lays her down, in cold despair,
To die.

4. 'Mother! why sad and abject?' 'Why?
I weep a son.'
(She raises not her eyes on high,
She points not to the upper sky,
Her grief is not for those who die,)
'My son has gone;
He's now upon the ocean's wave,
Your freemen took him for a *slave*—
He's gone.'

5. And does thy soil a slave contain,
America?
Oh! blot it out, thy glory's stain;
Rise, freemen! burst the galling chain,
Break thro' the bonds his soul restrain,
Free the oppressed—
Fear not, for God protects the right;
Then onward in the glorious fight—
'Tis won!

6. Awake! arise! ye patriot band;
Ye boasted free;
Rise! seize your brethren by the hand,
Their God, their souls, your aid demand;
Burst, burst their chains; make this a land
Of Liberty;
Resolve it shall not hold a Slave;
But Freedom's home, or Freedom's grave,
Shall be.

[For the Liberator.]

THE SLAVE SHIP.

'Twas midnight.—On the dark blue sea,
The moon looked forth in heavenly light;
The storm was o'er—and silently
The vessel plough'd through waters bright.

Their voyage of danger, on the main,
Rich with success is almost o'er;
And, hopeful of their homes again,
They anxiously look'd out for shore.

And they talked of liberty and love,
Of home and all the dear ones there;
And of grateful hearts to the God above,
And the holy offering of prayer.

But a wailing voice is heard below—
A voice from a wretched mother there,
The deepest plaint of human wo,
Is mingled with the voice of prayer.

Father of light and love,
Hear me! I pray—
Look from thy throne above!
Turn not away!

Avenge me of my foe!
Trembling and weak,
This heart beneath its wo—
Oh, let it break!

Didst Thou not make me, God?
Am I not Thine?
Look from Thy high abode
Down upon mine.

Have mercy on the slave—
Give me to die!
Let Ocean be my grave—
Hear from on high.

God bless my baby boy,
Far, far, away—
Sweet infant, mother's joy,
How shall I pray,

In words of such distress
As rends my heart?
Poor baby! motherless—
God, take his part!

Keep him in danger's hour,
Within Thy hand,
Far from the white man's power,
In Afric's land.

Vengeance is Thine, oh God!
Look on our woes—
Avenge us of our blood—
Destroy our foes!

Destroy the white man's race!
Curse him, nor spare!
Let him not see Thy face!
Hear not his prayer!

Limington, Me. January, 1835. JESSEY.

MISCELLANEOUS.

EXAMINATION OF LAWRENCE.

Examination of Lawrence the assassin by Drs. Causin and Sewell of Washington City. The Globe says the gentlemen are of opposite political opinions.

The undersigned, having been requested by the Marshal of the District of Columbia to visit Richard Lawrence, now confined in the jail of the county of Washington, for an attempt to assassinate the President of the United States, with a view to ascertain, as far as practicable, the present condition of his bodily health and state of mind, and believing that a detail of the examination will be more satisfactory than an abstract opinion upon the subject, we therefore give the following statement. On entering his room, we engaged in a free conversation with him, in which he participated, apparently, in the most artless and unreserved manner. The first interrogatory propounded, as to his age—which question alone he sportively declined answering. We then inquired into the condition of his health, for several years past—to which he replied, that it had been uniformly good, and that he had never labored under any mental derangement; nor did he admit the existence of any of those symptoms of physical derangement which usually attend mental alienation. He said he was born in England, and came to this country when twelve or thirteen years of age, and that his father died in this District about 6 or 8 years since; that his father was a Protestant and his mother a methodist, and that he was not a professor of any religion, but sometimes read the bible, and occasionally attended church. He stated that he was a painter by trade, and had followed that occupation to the present time; but, of late, could not find steady employment—which had caused much pecuniary embarrassment with him; that he had been generally temperate in his habits, using ardent spirits moderately when at work; but, for the last three or four weeks, had not taken any; that he had never gambled, and in other respects had led a regular, sober life.

Upon being interrogated as to the circumstances connected with the attempted assassination, he said that he had been deliberating on it for some time past, and that he had called at the President's house about a week previous to the attempt, and being conducted to the President's apartment by the porter, found him in conversation with a member of Congress, whom he believed to have been Mr. Sutherland, of Pennsylvania; that he stated to the President that he wanted money to take him to England, and that he must give him a check on the bank, and the President remarked, that he was too much engaged to attend to him—he must call another time, for Mr. Dibble was in, waiting for an interview. When asked about the pistols which he had used, he stated that his father left him a pair, but not being alike, about four years since he exchanged one for another which exactly matched the best of the pair; these were both flint locks, which he recently had altered to percussion locks, by a Mr. Boteler; that he had been frequently in the habit of loading and firing those pistols at marks, and that he had never known them to fail going off on any other occasion, and that, at the distance of ten yards, the ball always passed through an inch plank.—He also stated, that he had loaded those pistols three or four days previous, with ordinary care, for the purpose attempted; but that he used a pencil instead of a ram rod, and that during that period, they were at all times carried in his pocket: and when asked why they failed to explode, he replied, he knew no cause. When asked why he went to the Capitol on that day, he replied that he expected the President would be there. He also stated, that he was in the Rotundo when the President arrived, and on being asked why he did not then attempt to shoot him, he replied, that he did not wish to interfere with the funeral ceremony, and therefore waited till it was over. He also observed, that he did not enter the Hall, but looked through a window from the lobby, and saw the President seated with members of Congress, and he then returned to the Rotundo, and waited till the President again entered it, and then passed through and took his position in the east portico, about two yards from the door, drew his pistols from his inside coat pocket, cocked them, and held one in each hand, concealed by his coat, lest he should alarm the spectators—and states that as soon as the one in the right hand missed fire, he immediately dropped or exchanged it, and attempted to fire the second, before he was seized; he further stated that he aimed each pistol at the President's heart, and intended, if the first pistol had gone off, and the President had fallen, to have defended himself with the second, if defence had been necessary. On being asked if he did not expect to have been killed on the spot, if he killed the President, he replied he did not; and that he had no doubt but that he would have been protected by the spectators. He was frequently questioned whether he had any friends present from whom he expected protection. To this he replied that he had never mentioned his intention to any one, and that no one in particular knew his design; but that he presumed it was generally known that he intended to put the President out of the way. He further stated, that when the President arrived at the door, near which he stood, finding him supported on the left by Mr. Woodbury, and observing many persons in his rear, and being himself rather to the right of the President, in order to avoid wounding Mr. Woodbury, and those in the rear, he stepped a little to his own right, so that should the ball pass through the body of the President, it would be received by the door-frame, or stone wall. On being asked if he felt no trepidation during the attempt, he replied, not the slightest, until he found that the second pistol had missed fire. Then observing that the President was advancing upon him, with an uplifted cane, he feared it contained a sword, which might have been thrust through him before he could have been protected by the crowd. And when interrogated as to the motive which induced him to attempt the assassination of the President, he replied, that he had been told that the President, had caused his loss of occupation, and the consequent want of money, and he believed that to put him out of the way, was the only remedy for this evil; but to the interrogatery, who told you this? he could not identify any one, but remarked that his brother-in-law, Mr. Redfern, told him that he would have no more business, because he was opposed to the President—and he believed Redfern to be in league with the President against him. Again, being questioned, whether he had often attended the debates in Congress, during the present session, and whether they had influenced him in making this attack on the person of the President, he replied that he had frequently attended the discussions in both branches of Congress, but that they had, in no degree, influenced his action.

Upon being asked if he expected to become the President of the United States, if General Jackson had fallen, he replied no.

When asked whom he wished to be the President, his answer was, there were persons in the House of Representatives. On being asked if there were no persons in the Senate, yes, several; and it was the Senate to which I alluded. Who, in your opinion, of the Senate, would make a good President? He answered, Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, Mr. Calhoun. What do you think of Col. Benton, Mr. Van Buren, or Judge White, for President? He thought they would do well. On being asked if he knew any member of either House of Congress, he replied that he did not—and never spoke to one in his life, or they to him. On being asked what benefit he expected to himself from the death of the President, he answered he could not rise unless the President fell, and that he expected thereby to recover his liberty, and that the mechanics would all be benefited; that the mechanics would have plenty of work; and that money would be more plenty. On being asked why it would be more plenty, he replied, it would be more easily obtained from the Bank.

On being asked what bank, he replied, the Bank of the United States. On being asked if he knew the President, Directors, or any of the officers of the Bank, or had ever held any intercourse with them, or knew how he could get money out of the Bank, he replied no—that he slightly knew Mr. Smith only.

On being asked with respect to the speeches which he had heard in Congress, and whether he was particularly pleased with those of Messrs. Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, he replied that he was, because they were on his side. He was then asked if he was well pleased with the speeches of Col. Benton and Judge White? He said he was, and thought Col. Benton highly talented.

When asked if he was friendly to Gen. Jackson, he replied, No. Why not? He answered, because he was a tyrant. Who told you he was a tyrant? He answered, it was a common talk with the people, and that he had read it in all the papers. He was asked if he could name any one who told him so? He replied, No. He was asked if he ever threatened to shoot Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, or Mr. Calhoun, or whether he would shoot them if he had an opportunity? He replied, No. When asked if he would shoot Mr. Van Buren? He replied, that he once met with Mr. Van Buren in the rotundo, and told him he was in want of money and must have it, and if he did not get it he (Mr. Van Buren) or Gen. Jackson must fall. He was asked if any persons were present during this conversation? He replied, that there were several present, and when asked if he recollected any one of them, he replied that he did not. When asked if any one advised him to shoot General Jackson, or say that it ought to be done? he replied, I do not like to say.—On being pressed upon this point, he said that no one in particular had advised him.

He further stated, that believing the President to be the source of all his difficulties, he was still fixed in his purpose to kill him, and if his successor pursued the same course, to put him out of the way also—and declared that no power in this country could punish him for having done so, because it would be resisted by the powers of Europe, as well as of this country. He also stated, that he had been long in correspondence with the powers of Europe, and that his family had been wrongfully deprived of the crown of England, and that *he* should yet live to regain it—and that he considered the President of the United States nothing more than his Clerk.

We now think proper to add, that the young man appears perfectly tranquil and unconcerned, as to the final result, and seems to anticipate no punishment for what he has done. The above contains the leading, and literally expressed facts of the whole conversation we had with him, which continued at least two hours. The questions were frequently repeated at different stages of the examination; and presented in various forms.

NATHL. P. CAUSIN, M. D.
Physician to the Jail of Washington.
THOMAS SEWELL, M. D.

[From the Salem Landmark.]

'INQUIRE AT AMOS GILES' DISTILLERY.'

Some time ago the writer's notice was arrested by an advertisement in one of the Newspapers, which closed with words similar to the following: 'Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery.' The readers of the Landmark may suppose, if they choose, that the following story was a dream, suggested by that phrase:—

Deacon Giles was a man who loved money, and was never troubled with tenderness of conscience. His father and his grandfather before him had been distillers, and the same occupation had come to him as an heir-loom in his family. The still-house was black with age as well as with the smoke of furnaces that never went out, and the fumes of tortured ingredients, ceaselessly converting into alcohol. It looked like one of Vulcan's Stithies translated from the infernal regions into this world. Its stench filled the atmosphere, and it seemed as if drops of poisonous alcoholic perspiration might be made to ooze out from any one of its timbers or clapboards on a slight pressure. Its owner was the treasurer to a Bible Society, and had a little counting room in one corner of the distillery, where he sold Bibles.

He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house. Any one of those Bibles would have told him this, but he chose to learn it from experience. It was said that the worm of the still lay coiled in the bosom of the family, and certain it is that one of its members had drowned himself in the vat of hot liquor, in the bottom of which a skeleton was some time after found, with heavy weights tied to the ancle bones. Moreover, Deacon Giles' temper was none of the sweetest, naturally, and the liquor he drank, and the fires and spirituous fumes among which he lived, did nothing to soften it. If his workmen sometimes fell into his vats, he himself oftener fell out with his workmen. This was not to be wondered at, considering the nature of their wages, which, according to no unfrequent stipulation, would be as much raw rum as they could drink.

Deacon Giles worked on the Sabbath. He would neither suffer the fires of the distillery to go out, nor to burn while he was idle; so he kept as busy as they. One Saturday afternoon his workmen had quarrelled, and all went off in anger. He was in much perplexity for want of hands to do the work of the devil on the Lord's day. In the dusk of the evening, a gang of singular looking fellows entered the door of the distillery. Their dress was wild and uncouth, their eyes glared, and their language had a tone that was awful. They offered to work for the Deacon, and he on his part, was overjoyed, for he thought within himself that as they had probably been turned out of employment elsewhere, he could engage them on his own terms.

He made them his accustomed offer; as much rum every day when work was done, as they could drink, but they would not take it. Some of them broke out, and told him they had enough of hot things where they came from, without drinking damnation in the distillery. And when they said that, it seemed to the Deacon as if their breath burned blue; but he was not certain, and could not tell what to make of it. Then he offered them a pittance of money; but they set up such a laugh, that he thought the roof of the building would fall in. They demanded a sum, which the deacon said he could not give, and would not, to the best set of workmen that ever lived, much less to such piratical looking scape-jails as they. Finally he said he would give half what they asked, if they would take two thirds of that in Bibles. When he mentioned the word Bibles, they all looked towards the door, and made a step backwards, and the Deacon thought they trembled, but whether it was with anger, or delirium tremens, or something else, he could not tell. However they winked and made signs to each other, and then one of them, who seemed to be the head man, agreed with the deacon, that if he would let them work by night instead of day, they would stay with him awhile, and work on his own terms. To this he agreed, and they immediately went to work.

The Deacon had a fresh cargo of molasses to be worked up, and a great many hogsheads then in from his country customers, to be filled with liquor. When he went home, he locked up the doors, leaving the distillery to his new workmen. As soon as he was gone, you would have thought one of the chambers of hell had been transported to earth, with all its inmates. The distillery glowed with fires, that burned hotter than ever before, and the figures of the demons passing to and fro, and leaping and yelling in the midst of their work, made it look like the entrance to the bottomless pit.

Some of them sat astride the rafters, over the heads of the others, and amused themselves with blowing flames out of their mouths. The work of distilling suited them, and they carried it on with supernatural rapidity. It was hot enough to have boiled the molasses in any part of the distillery, but they did not seem to mind it at all. Some lifted the hogsheads as easily as you would raise a tea-cup, and turned their contents into the proper receptacles; some scummed the boiling liquids; some with huge ladles dipped the smoking fluid from the different vats, and raising it high in the air, seemed to take great delight in watching the fiery stream, as they spouted it back again; some drafted the distilled liquor into empty casks and hogsheads; some stirred the fires; all were boisterous and horribly profane, and seemed to engage in their work with such familiar and malignant satisfaction, that I concluded the business of distilling was as natural as hell, and must have originated there.

I gathered from their talk that they were going to play a trick upon the Deacon, that should cure him of offering rum and bibles to his workmen; and I soon found out, from their conversation and movements, what it was. They were going to write certain inscriptions on all his rum casks, that should remain invisible, till they were sold by the Deacon, but should flame out in characters of fire, as soon as they were broached by his retailers, or exposed for the use of the drunkards. When they had filled a few casks with liquor, one of them took a great coal of fire, and having quenched it in a mixture of rum and molasses, proceeded to write, apparently by way of experiment, upon the heads of the different vessels. Just as it was dawn, they left off work, and all vanished together.

In the morning, the Deacon was puzzled to know how the workmen got out of the distillery, which he found fast locked as he had left it. He was still more amazed to find they had done more work in one night, than could have been accomplished, in the ordinary way, in three weeks. He pondered the thing not a little, and almost concluded that it was the work of supernatural agents. At any rate, they had done so much that he thought he could afford to attend meeting that day, as it was the Sabbath. Accordingly he went to church, and heard his minister say that God could pardon sin without an atonement, that the words hell and devils were mere figures of speech, and that all men would certainly be saved. He was much pleased, and inwardly resolved he would send his minister a half cask of wine, and as it happened to be communion Sabbath, he attended meeting all day.

In the evening the men came again, and again the Deacon locked them to themselves, and they went to work. They finished his molasses, and filled all his rum-barrels, and kegs, and hogsheads with liquor, and marked them all as on the preceding night, with invisible inscriptions. Most of the titles ran thus:—'Consumption sold here. Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.' 'Convulsions and Epilepsies. Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery.' 'Insanity and Murder. Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.' 'Dropsy in the Collapse. Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery.' 'Delirium Tremens. Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.'

Many of the casks had on them inscriptions like the following: Distilled death and liquid damnation. The Elixir of Hell, for the bodies of those whose souls are coming there. Some of the demons had even taken sentences from the Scriptures, and marked the hogsheads thus: 'Who hath woes? Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery. Who hath redness of eyes? Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.' Others had written sentences like the following: A portion from the lake of fire and brimstone. Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery! All these inscriptions burned, when visible, 'a still and awful red.' One of the most terrible in its appearance was as follows: Weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth. Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.'

In the morning the workmen vanished, as before, just as it was dawn: but in the dusk of the evening they came again and told the Deacon it was against their principles to take any wages for work done between Saturday night and Monday morning, and as they could not stay with him any longer, he was welcome to what they had done. The Deacon was very urgent to have them remain, and offered to hire them for the season at any wages, but they would not. So he thanked them, and they went away, and he saw them no more.

In the course of the week, most of the casks were sent into the country, and duly hoisted on their stoups, in conspicuous situations, in the taverns, and groceries, and rum shops. But no sooner had the first glass been drawn from any of them, than the invisible inscriptions flamed out on the cask head to every beholder. 'CONSUMPTION SOLD HERE. DELIRIUM TREMENS, DEATH, DAMNATION and HELL-FIRE.' The drunkards were terrified from the dram-shops; the bar-rooms were emptied of their customers; but in their place a gaping crowd filled every store that possessed a cask of the deacon's devil-distilled liquor, to wonder and be frightened at the spectacle; for no art could efface the inscriptions. And even when the liquor was drawn into new casks, the same deadly letters broke out in blue and red flame all over the surface.

The rum-sellers, and grocers, and tavern-keepers, were full of fury. They loaded their teams with the accursed liquor, and drove it back to the distillery. All around and before the door of the Deacon's establishment the returned casks were piled one upon another, and it seemed as if the inscriptions burned brighter than ever. Consumption, Damnation, Death and Hell, mingled together in frightful confusion; and in equal prominence, in every case flamed out the direction, 'INQUIRE AT DEACON GILES' DISTILLERY.' One would have thought that the bare sight would have been enough to terrify every drunkard from his cups, and every trader from the dreadful traffic in ardent spirits. Indeed, it had some effect for a time, but it was not lasting, and the demons knew it would not be, when they played the trick: for they knew the Deacon would continue to make rum, and that as long as he continued to make it, there would be people to buy and drink it. And so it proved.

The Deacon had to turn a vast quantity of liquor into the street, and burn up the hogsheads; and his distillery has smelled of brimstone ever since; but he would not give up the trade. He carries it on still, and every time I see his advertisement, '*Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery,*' I think I see Hell and Damnation, and he the proprietor.

Off Hats, Gentlemen!—the Bishop is coming!!—The following extract from the New York Sun of yesterday will be read with astonishment and indignation by every American in whose bosom beats the heart of a man.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

RIOT IN CINCINNATI.—We regret to learn by the Cincinnati Journal, that a serious riot occurred in that city a short time since, on the occasion of the consecration of the Catholic Chapel. It appears that Dr. Alexander Duncan (a member of the Ohio Senate,) happened to be standing in the street through which the procession passed, and not aware that the rules of their church require every person to uncover his head in the presence of the Bishop on such occasions, he neglected to take off his hat. On the arrival of the procession opposite to where he stood, he was requested to uncover his head immediately. He replied that he was in a public street, and that how much soever he respected the forms and ceremonies of the Catholic religion, it ill comported with his dignity as an American citizen to do homage to any man. On saying this, he was immediately surrounded by a large number of those in the procession, his hat forcibly torn from his head, his clothes torn, and himself beaten in a most shocking manner. Several other persons who had the hardihood to stand in the presence of a foreign bishop with their hats on, shared the same fate with Dr. Duncan. By the accounts in the papers, there was a good deal of excitement on the subject, and fears were entertained that another Charlestown scrape would be the result. It is extremely unpleasant, as the conductor of a press, to record such scenes as those, as occurring in the United States. The Catholics who have emigrated to this country are very numerous. They enjoy all the benefits of our free institutions. The liberty of speech, of the press, and of conscience, is guarantied to them by the Constitution of our Government—and there is no necessity of resorting to violence as a means of promulgating their religion. It is too late in the day to *command* American citizens to take off their hats to the agents of the Pope of Rome. We are naturally a peaceable unoffending people. We are willing that all should act and think as they please on matters of religion, and we *demand* the same privilege.

We knew that in the legitimate dominions of Popery, all heads must be uncovered at the approach of certain processions, but we could not have believed it possible that that intolerant religion would have the audacity, *as yet*, to attempt to enforce the same indignity upon American citizens. Had this outrage been committed by Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, or any other sect, except the Catholics, the country would ring with bursts of indignation from one end to the other. And well it might. What have we gained by our political emancipation, if we are still to be lorded over by Priests and Bishops,—of all tyrannies the worst? By foreign Bishops too, appointed by the Pope, and sent here to compel that reverence from American *Senators*, which would not be yielded, nor required, in behalf of the President of the United States! No wonder that such an outrage should beget a riot! though the only violence used, appears to have been on the part of the Catholics.

MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL RETURNS.—An abstract of the School returns, recently published by order of the Legislature presents a highly satisfactory view of Schools of the State. Of 301 towns, the whole number in the State, 261 have made returns. In these towns, the number of School districts is 2251; male children attending school, from 4 to 16 years of age, 67,499; female children 63,728; children over 16 and under 20, unable to read and write, 158; male instructors 1867; female instructors 2388; amount raised by tax to support schools, $310,178 87; amount raised by contribution to support schools, $15,141 58. The average number of scholars at academies and private schools 24,749. Estimated amount paid for tuition in academies, &c. $276,505 75. Total amount paid for schools in these 261 towns, $600,825 90. In 70 towns there are local funds reported. In Boston, 8,423 children are reported as attending the public schools, and 4,018 attending academies and private schools—total 12441; wages of the 131 instructors of the public schools, $55,500; amount raised by tax, $67,000; estimated amount expended in academies and private schools, $107,702—total expended, $174,702 00.

We copy the following statement respecting some of our principal towns:—

Towns.	*Pop.*	*Public Schools.*	*Private Schools.*
Salem,	13886	$10,500	$20,672
Newburyport,	6,388	4,000	6,858
Cambridge,	6,071	3,774	7,071
Charlestown,	8,787	8,000	5,376
Worcester,	4,172	5,585	2,028
Northampton,	3,613	1,925	2,901
Springfield,	6,784	3,750	
Westfield,	2,941	1,182	2,027
Dorchester,	4,064	4,000	2,140
New Bedford,	7,592	8,500	9,800
Taunton,	6,045	3,000	1,950
Nantucket,	7,202	3,000	10,000

The Religious Magazine.—We have received the first No. of a new monthly periodical bearing the above title, published in New-York, and edited by *Mr. Origen Batcheler*. It is a large imperial octavo work of 64 pages—neatly printed, stitched and covered; price, $3 per annum in advance. It is got up in excellent style, both in respect to matter and manner; and contains a mass of miscellaneous information, relating to the various religions of mankind, their creeds, history, ceremonies, &c. &c., deeply interesting to almost every description of readers. It presents also numerous cuts and engravings illustrative of the persons, things, scenery and ceremonies treated of in the various articles. Besides this valuable miscellany, there are doctrinal and controversial articles on several subjects. An invitation is given particularly to Calvinists and Arminians to discuss their points of difference in its pages. Restorationism, withal, receives a touch. The work promises to be worthy of an extensive patronage.—*Independent Messenger.*

France and Hayti.—A letter from Port au Prince, dated 13th January, says:—'We have two French ships of war here, and it is said that the French Government has accepted the offer of this Government made some time since. This Government is to pay 1,000,000 of francs in cash, this being the debt of Lafitte, besides 45,000,000 francs, to be paid in 45 years. We consider the affairs between the two Governments as *finally* settled.'

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have for sale at their office, No. 46, Washington-street—

Medals representing British Emancipation, August 1, 1834. 25 and 12 cts.

Anti-Slavery Seals, representing the Imploring Slave—both male and female. 42, 33, and 18 cts.

Just received, Plaster Paris kneeling Slaves in chains. 50 cts.

Address of the New-York Young Men's A. S. Society: Just received. 12 cts.

The Sin of Slavery and its Remedy—By Elizur Wright. 12 cts.

Four Sermons, Preached in the Chapel of the Western Reserve College, by Rev. Beriah Green. 12 cts.

THE OASIS, by Mrs. Child, author of an Appeal in favor of that Class of Americans called Africans. It contains the English Protest against Colonization, with facsimiles of the signatures; three copperplate engravings, among which are likenesses of Wilberforce and Prudence Crandall; six excellent wood engravings, with numerous minor illustrations, nearly all of which were drawn expressly for the work. Among the writers are Mrs. Follen, Miss H. F. Gould, Miss E. H. Whittier, Rev. S. J. May, J. G. Whittier, D. L. Child, and Mrs. Child. Price one dollar fifty cents.

Report of the Aguments of Counsel, in the case of Prudence Crandall, Plaintiff in error, *vs.* State of Connecticut, before the Supreme Court of Errors, at their session at Brooklyn, July term, 1834. By a member of the Bar. 16 cts.

Man-Stealing and Slavery denounced by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, by Rev. George Bourne. 6 cts.

Bourne's Picture of Slavery in the United States. 50 cts.

Address to the People of the United States, by a Committee of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, held in Boston on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of May. $4,00 per hundred—50 cents per dozen.

Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization. 62c.

Ivimey's Lecture on Colonial Slavery. 25c.

Injustice and impolicy of the Slave Trade and of the Slavery of the Africans—a Sermon by Jonathan Edwards, D. D. 6 cts.

Complete setts of the Abolitionist unbound. 62 cts. Do. bound. 75 cts.

Examination of Thomas C. Brown, at the Chatham-Street Chapel, New-York. 10 cts.

British Opinions of the American Colonization Society. 6 cts.

Garrison's Address before the African Abolition Freehold Society of Boston. 6 cts.

Proceedings of New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, held in May last, in Boston. 18 cts.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor's Address before the Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity. 20 cts.

Child's Speech, the Despotism of Freedom. 10 cts.

Mrs. Child's Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans. 50 cts.

Second Annual Report of the N. E. A. S. Society. 12 cts.

First Annual Report of the American A. S. Society. 12 cts.

Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley. 50 cts.

Sketch of Garrison's Trial for an alleged Libel on Francis Todd. 10 cts.

☞ Those who buy for distribution, or to sell again, will receive the usual discount.

All orders promptly attended to by

B. C. BACON, *Agent.*

REGISTER FOR 1835.

JAMES LORING, No. 132, Washington street, has just published the *Massachusetts Register for* 1835, containing the names of the new Legislature, new City Officers, Justices, Lawyers, Ministers and Doctors throughout the State; the Cashiers of the Banks in Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire, and the names of the Banks in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Also, a complete list of the Post Masters, Militia Officers, Colleges; Education, Missionary, Bible, Tract, Sabbath School, Medical, Literary, Marine, Temperance, Charitable and Anti-Slavery Societies; Banks and Insurance Companies; National, Army and Navy Departments; names of Consuls, &c. and much other useful information.

Also, just published—*STORIES OF GENERAL WARREN*, in relation to the Fifth of March Massacre, and the Battle of Bunker Hill—by a Lady of Boston.

Feb. 14. 3tis