THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION,

MONTHLY PERIODICAL WORK,

CONTAINING

ORIGINAL ESSAYS, DOCUMENTS AND FACTS,

RELATIVE TO THE SUBJECT OF

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE U.S.

BENJAMIN LUNDY, EDITOR.

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emancipation. That many honest, but too cre-
now to "open our mouths for the dumb," and
plead the cause of the widow and the fatherless,
and those that have none to help them, than it
was in olden time? Also for my country!
when the soundest precepts of the Christian re-
ligion, and the plainest principles of natural
right, are denounced as fanatic and incendiary!
A country, too, loudly boasting of civil liberty
and gospel light. The judicial blindness and
Egyptian darkness that prevail in a large por-
tion of the community, on the all-important sub-
ject of slavery, are ominous of coming judg-
ments. "I tremble for my country when I re-
fect that God is just, and that his justice will
not sleep for ever!" It is for my country I
mourn, when I see a deaf ear turned to the voice
of truth, of justice, and humanity, and the ad-
monitions of philanthropy repaid by threats, de-
nunciations and opprobrious epithets. We do not
fear for ourselves, or quail at the impotent abuse
of the interested and the designing. The shafts
of the enemy fall harmless at our feet. Covered
by the shield of innocence, and armed with the
panoply of gospel truth and republican justice,
and feeling the consciousness of inward peace
in the performance of an imperious duty, we
fear nothing for ourselves. But we fear for our
country. We hear the distant murmurings of
divine displeasure, at the accumulated wrongs
which the American people are heaping upon
the descendants of Africa. We see the sombre
clouds of his indignation ready to burst upon us.
We feel the deliberate conviction that the justice
of heaven will not sleep for ever; and that the
day of retribution and righteous inquisition for
the innocent blood we have caused to be shed, is
drawing near. And yet when the warning
voice is raised, when the people are called upon
to beware of the dangers which threaten them,
and the means of averting the judgments which
are hanging over the country are pointed out,
the hue and cry is raised against the messengers
of good to the nation, and they are stigmatised
as "fanatics and incendiaries."

But let "the wicked rage, and the heathen
imagine vain things," it shall not divert us from
our purpose. Our duty is imperative. Our
country may yet be saved. The remedy for the
evils which threaten us is easy and simple. It
consists in doing justly and loving mercy. It
is for this we plead. It is for this we will
continue to labor. And whether our coun-
trymen will receive or reject our council, it is
this only that can save us from the evil to
come. It is this only that can avert the impend-
ing judgments of heaven, preserve unimpaired
the blessing we enjoy, and secure the harmony
and union of the states.

"Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legisla-
ture of 1831 and 1832, by Thomas R. Dew,
Professor of History, Metaphysics and Politi-
cal Law, in William and Mary College. Rich-
mond. 1832."

This is an elaborate work of 183 octavo pages,
in defiance of slavery. The author has pro-
stituted his talents and learning in support of a
system which the plainest dictates of common
sense, and the unbiased impulses of every man's
conscience condemns. That one man is not
born to serve another—that the extortions of un-
required labor from a fellow creature is a viola-
tion of the natural order of creation—and that a
system which outrages the common rights of
man, and debases and brutalizes the noblest
work of creative wisdom, can neither be neces-
sary nor expedient under any possible circum-
cstances, are positions which the unsophisticated
reason of every man will acknowledge and adopt
as true, upon their first presentation to the
mind.

It requires consummate skill in the art of
disguising the truth, and making the worse ap-
ppear the better cause, to make them appear even
plausible. We shall attempt to expose some of
our author's sophistry and false reasoning, and
expose the error of his pretended facts.

He says, in the first page, that "the parlia-
ment of Great Britain, with all its philanthropic
zeal, guided by the wisdom and eloquence of
such statesmen as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt,
Canning and Brougham, has never yet seriously
agitated this question, in regard to the West In-
dia possessions."

This assertion is refuted by the recent acts of
the reformed parliament.

Again he says:—

"Revolutionary France, actuated by the most
intermediate and phrenetic zeal for liberty and
equality, attempted to legislate the free people
of color in the island of St. Domingo into all the
rights and privileges of the whites; and but a
season afterwards, convinced of her madness,
she attempted to retrace her steps, but it was
too late; the deed had been done, the bloodiest
and most shocking insurrection ever recorded in
the annals of history, had broken out, and the
whole island was involved in frightful carnage
and anarchy, and France in the end has been
stript of the brightest jewel in her crown"—
the fairest and most valuable of all her colonial
possessions."

The apologists and advocates of slavery have
harped upon the horrors of St. Domingo, and
cited the insurrections and massacres in that
island so often and so long, as an example of the
danger of emancipation, that the world has been
almost persuaded there was some foundation for
apprehension. Nothing is more false and falla-
acious than the argument drawn from the exam-
ple of St. Domingo in support of the danger of
dulous persons, should be deceived by the per- petual reiteration of the falsehood that the rising of the blacks in the island was caused by their being set free, is not to be wondered at. But we should have expected Professor Dew would have sought and obtained correct information, which was so easy of access. We would not willingly accuse him of deliberate and wilful misrepresentation, but his ignorance of facts is inexcusable. No apology can be offered for citing in support of his positions an assumed fact which is known to be false. The insurrec- tions in St. Domingo were caused, not by eman- cipation, but by an attempt to reduce the black, who had tasted of liberty, again to slavery. There is no instance recorded in history of insurrec- tions and bloodshed being caused by the emancipation of slaves. It is contrary to the natural order of cause and effect. No man is converted into an enemy by just and humane treatment. The emancipated slave has no in- ducement, no temptation to injure his benefactor. The idea is too absurd to deserve a serious argument.

We shall give some facts in proof, however, of the safety and advantages of emancipation wherever it has been tried.

Of the many persons who declare themselves averse to slavery, and yet afraid to join in mea- sures for its abolition, some perhaps have not paid much attention to the instances of emanci- pation that have already taken place. If any such will take the trouble to read the following account of the effects of emancipation as far as it has hitherto been tried, they will perhaps see that their fears on the subject are not justified by experience.

The history of Haiti, when separated from the accidental circumstances attending it, furn- ishes irrefragable evidence of the safety and advantage of immediate emancipation. It is true that much blood was shed there during the course of the French revolution; but this was not owing to the emancipation of the slaves, but was the consequence either of the civil war which pro- ceeded the act of emancipation; or of the atro- cious attempt to restore slavery.

In September, 1793, Polveral, one of the Com- missioners sent to St. Domingo by the National Convention, issued a proclamation declaring the whole of the slaves in the island free. Colonel Malefanti, a slave proprietor, resident at the time in the island, thus describes the effects of this event: "After the public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet both in the south and in the west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors where the owners had left them. The people agents to guide them, and on those estates where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before." Colonel Malefanti says that when many of his neighbors, proprietors or managers, were in prison, the negroes of their plantation came to him to beg him to direct them in their work.

"If you or any of your blacks can, go to talk to them of the restoration of slavery, but talk to them of freedom, you may with this word chain them down to their labor. How did Toussaint succeed? How did I succeed before his time in the plain of the Culde-Sac on the plantation of Gouraud, during more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time, let the blacks themselves be asked: they will all reply that not a single negro upon that plantation, consisting of more than 450 laborers, refused to work: and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I inspired no such activity into three other plantations of which I had the manage- ment." If all the negroes had come from Africa within six months, if they had the love of independence that the Indians have, I should own that force must be employed; but ninety- nine out of a hundred of the blacks are aware that without labor they cannot procure the things that are necessary for them; that there is no other method of satisfying their wants and their tastes. They know that they must work, they wish to do so, and they will do so.

Such was the conduct of the negroes for the first nine months after their liberation, or up to the middle of 1794. In the latter part of the year 1796, Malenfant says: "The colony was flourishing under Toussaint, the whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes con- tinued to work for them." General Lacroux who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," in 1819, says that in 1797 the most wonderful progress had been made in agri- culture. "The colony," says he, "marched by enchantment towards its ancient splendor: cultivation prospered; every day produced per- ceptible proof of its progress." General Vincent, who was a general of brigade of artillery in St. Domingo, and a proprietor of estates in the island, was sent to Toussaint to view his affairs, in 1804. After the Directory had erected the new constitution which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo. He ar- rived in France just at the moment of the peace of Amiens, and found that Bonaparte was pre- paring an armament for the purpose of restoring slavery in St. Domingo. He remonstrated against the expedition; he stated that it was totally un- necessary and therefore criminal, for that every thing was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making a rapid pro- gress; the blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy. He conjured him therefore not to reverse this beautiful state of things; but the efforts were in vain, and he expected the troops ar- rived upon the shores of St. Domingo. At length, however, the French were driven from the island. Till that time the planters had retained their property, and then it was, and not till then, that they lost their all. In 1804 Desalines was pro- claimed Emperor; in process of time a great part of the blacks were disarmed, some returned to cultivation again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them.

A gentleman who had been for upwards of twenty years past a general merchant in Haiti, frequently crossing to Europe and America
gave the following account of the condition of the Haytians to Captain Stuart at Belfast last winter. The present population he supposes consists of at least 700,000. He said that there was very universal happiness amongst them, and that though their conduct was not unexceptionable, yet there was a less proportion of such crimes as disturb the public peace in Hayti, and less distress than in any other country within his knowledge. That they obtain abundance by their own labor; that there were no papours except the decrepid and aged; that the people were very charitable, hospitable, and kind, very respectful to Europeans, temperate, grateful, faithful, orderly, and submissive, easily governed, lively and contented, good mechanics, and that no corporal punishments are allowed.

Cayenne and Guadaloupe were the only other French colonies in which the slaves were emancipated. In Cayenne the sudden enfranchisement was attended with no ill consequences; after their emancipation the negroes in general continued voluntarily upon the plantations of their former masters, and no irregularities whatever were committed by those men who had been recently obtained their freedom.

In Guadaloupe the conduct of the freed negroes was equally satisfactory. The perfect subordination which was established, and the industry which prevailed there, are proved by the official reports of Victor Hughes, the governor of Guadaloupe, to the French government. In 1793 liberty was proclaimed universally to the slaves on that island, and during their ten years of freedom their governors bore testimony to their regular industry and uninterrupted submission to the laws. The reports of the commissioners to the local government also speak of the tranquillity which reigned in the agricultural districts, and on the plantations. In a letter addressed by the supreme command of the colony in February, 1802, to the Commissary Valluet of the Canton de Deshayes, it is said: "Continue, Citizen Commissary, to maintain that order in your Canton which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other under an administration which secures justice to all classes."

From the following paragraph it will be seen that our author deprecates equally "every plan of emancipation and deportation," and "emancipation with permission to remain." The first might easily be shown to be "totally impracticable," as well as utterly inconsistent with justice and sound policy. Besides, the incongruity of the words associated in the proposition reduces it to a mere nullity. It is a contradiction in terms. Emancipation associated with deportation is no emancipation at all. It is only calculated to bewilder the understanding and mislead the judgment. But the idea that slavery in this country must be perpetual, is too gross to be sustained, even by the learning and talents of Professor Dew. To speak of truth and justice, or even expediency, on the side of slavery, is a prostitution of the use of language, and a palpable perversion of the meaning of words.

"We have not formed our opinion lightly upon this subject; we have given to the vital question of abolition the most mature and intense consideration which we are capable of bestowing, and we have come to the conclusion,—a conclusion which seems to be sustained by facts and reasoning as irresistible as the demonstration of the mathematician,—that every plan of emancipation and deportation which we can possibly conceive, is totally impracticable. We shall endeavor to prove, that the attempt to execute these plans can only have a tendency to increase all the evils of which we complain, as resulting from slavery. If this be true, then the great question of abolition will necessarily be reduced to the question of emancipation, with a permission to remain, which we think can easily be shown to be utterly subversive of the interests, security and happiness, of both the blacks and whites, and consequently hostile to every principle of expediency, morality, and religion. We have heretofore doubted the propriety even of too frequently agitating, especially in a public manner, the question of abolition, in consequence of the injurious effects which might be produced on the minds of the population. But the Virginia legislature, in its seal for discussion, boldly set aside all prudential considerations of this kind, and openly and publicly debated the subject before the world. The seal has now been broken, the example has been set from a high quarter; we shall, therefore, waive all considerations of a prudential character which have heretofore restrained us, and boldly grapple with the abolitionists on this great question. We fear not the result, so far as truth, justice, and expediency alone are concerned. But we must be permitted to say, that we do most deeply dreads the effects of misguided philanthropy, and the marked, and we have to have said, imperious instruction in this matter, of those who have no interest at stake, and who have not that intimate and minute knowledge of the whole subject so absolutely necessary to wise action."

The author then goes into an examination of the origin of slavery among mankind, and attempts to prove its unlawfulness from the fact of its general prevalence among the nations of antiquity, and in modern times among the uncivilized tribes of Africa. The argument in its favor, drawn from the practice of barbarous nations, is too futile to demand a serious refutation. If the example of the uncivilized heathen, in regard to slavery, is to justify Christians in violating the plainest precepts of their religion, the obligations of the moral are prostrated, and all the abominations of heathenism become the legitimate objects of imitation.

But the claim of divine authority for the practice of slavery, derived from the example of the Israelites, partakes more of the character of impious than argument. No man, who seriously believes in an overruling Providence, and the accountability of man for his actions, can believe that a system of slavery, similar to that now practiced in a Christian country, would ever
have received the sanction of a just and merci-
ful God.

"Slavery, says he, "was established and sanc-
tioned by Divine authority, among the elect of
Heaven—the favored children of Israel. Abra-
ham, the founder of this interesting nation, and
the chosen servant of the Lord, was the owner
of hundrads of slaves—that magnificent shrine,
the temple of Solomon, was reared by the hand
of slaves." Truly the professor must be accre-
cdited for boldness of assertion, in the absence of
all evidence. What proof have we that Solo-
mon's workmen, and the Tyreans who assisted
them, were slaves? None but the word of Pro-
fessor Dew. "The servants of Solomon," and
"the servants of Hyram, king of Tyre," were
not slaves, in the modern use of that term, but
the subjects of those kings. We have no evi-
dence in the only authentic history of these
events extant, of their being servants in any
other sense than the subjects of absolute monarchs.
The political condition of the subject under those
absolute kings, furnishes no argument in sup-
port of the unconditional slavery and abasement
of the African race, in a country where personal
freedom is the acknowledged right of every man.
Besides, the builders of the temple were archi-
tects of the first order in skill and experience in
the art. And we have the evidence of history
to prove that none but freemen were permitted,
in those days, to be initiated in the art of build-
ing.

Again. The professor asserts that the patri-
arch Abraham owned hundrets of slaves. We
assert that he never owned one slave. One as-
sertion is just as good as the other, because nei-
ther assertion is capable of proof. The proba-
bilities of the case, however, are in favor of the
latter assertion. First, because the government
of Abraham over his household was patriarchal.
The servants born in his house submitted to his
paternal authority, as children to a father whom
they loved, and obeyed from a principle of love
and gratitude. Secondly, because the servitude
among the Hebrews, as we discover from the
Pentateuch, bore no analogy to the slavery of
the African race in our own country. The lat-
ter finds no parallel in ancient history. The con-
dition of the slave in the United States is be-
yond comparison more hopeless and debased
than the slave of ancient Greece or heathen
Rome. And when we attempt to compare it
to the condition of the Hebrew servant, the con-
trast is so striking and obvious that the two con-
ditions cannot be represented by the same form
of words, and ought not to be designed by a
common name.

"But granting for the sake of argument, the
civil provisions of the law of Moses to be obliga-
tory upon us, (which we deny,) the advocates of
negro slavery would gain nothing by the admis-
sion. For it has already been shown that the
latter has no parallel in ancient history.

If the comparatively mild system of servitude
which existed among the Hebrews and the
neighboring nations, was sanctioned by the
Jewish lawgiver, does it follow that the more
cruel and debasing bondage in which the negro
race are held in the United States, would also
have been tolerated? The many humane pro-
visions contained in the law, in favor of the bond
servant, prove the contrary—provisions which
if admitted into our code, would be found incom-
patible with the present system. That of Deu-
teronomy xxiii. 15 and 16, would alone be suffi-
cient to put an end to slavery in this country,
and prove the mildness of servitude among the
Hebrews. 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his mas-
ter the servant which is escaped from his master
unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among
you in that place which he shall choose, in one
of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt
not oppress him.' Again: The penalty for man-
stealing in the 21st chapter of Exodus, verses
16th. is death. 'And he that stealeth a man, and
selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he
shall surely be put to death.' The crime is
ranked in immediate connexion with the capital
colone of smiting or curing father or mother,
and the same punishment is awarded to each.
The 29th and 31st verse of the same chapter
provides that the serv-

vant shall go out free in the year of Jubilee.
'both he, and his children with him.' This pro-

vision is general, and applies to all servants,
without distinction of nation, country or reli-
gion. But the Hebrew servant was to be free at
the end of six years, the utmost limit of his ser-
vitude. The law provides, 'And if he desire to
other, a Hebrew man, or a Hebrew woman, be
sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in
the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from
thee. And when thou sendest him out free from
thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty.
Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock,
and out of thy bath, and out of thy wine-press,
(See Deut. xv. 12-14.)

If the Mosaic law is to be rescued and in jus-
tification of slavery, let us take the whole of it
as it was given by the inspired lawgiver, and
let not the hapless servant be deprived of its in-
sinent provisions in his favor. If we are to be
Jews and not Christians, let us at least be con-
sistent Jews, and conform literally to all the in-
structions of our lawgiver.'

(To be continued.)

From a late English publication.

PETITIONS RESPECTING NEGRO SLAVERY.

Ought the friends of lawful liberty to petition
for the complete and immediate emancipation of
the oppressed Negroes, that they may at once be
raised from slaves into subjects; and while they
share in all the wise and wholesome restraints
of law, may partake with us in its privileges and
blessings?—or, ought they to insert in their peti-