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SERIOUS REMONSTRANCES,
ADDRESSED TO THE
CITIZENS OF THE NORTHERN STATES,
AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES,
BEING AN APPEAL TO THEIR
NATURAL FEELINGS & COMMON SENSE:
CONSISTING OF
Speculations and Animadversions, on the recent revival
of the Slave trade, in the American Republic:
WITH AN
INVESTIGATION
RELATIVE TO THE CONSEQUENT EVILS RESULTING TO THE
CITIZENS OF THE NORTHERN STATES FROM THAT EVENT.
INTERSPERSED
WITH A SIMPLIFIED PLAN FOR COLONIZING THE FREE
NEGROES OF THE NORTHERN, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THOSE
WHO HAVE, OR MAY EMIGRATE FROM THE
SOUTHERN STATES,
IN A DISTANT PART OF THE NATIONAL TERRITORY:
Considered as the only possible means of avoiding the
deleterious evils attendant on Slavery in a Republic.

BY THOMAS BRANAGAN,
Author of "AVENIA" "A PRELIMINARY ESSAY"
"PENITENTIAL TYRANT." &c.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THOMAS T. STILES,
NO. 251, NORTH FRONT-STREET.

1805.
downfall of empires, great and populous, have been effected by less probable means.

It cannot be consistent with the principles of good policy, to nurture an enemy in the bowels of our country, who have every reason, and the most cogent temptations to produce confusion and anarchy in peace, and be our greatest adversaries in war. For it is their interest, and no doubt will be their object, when opportunity serves, to subvert our government: they can loose nothing and will gain every thing. They can then enslave the whites and inherit their riches, and thus pay them in their own coin for all their barbarities to themselves and their ancestors. If an hour should unhappily arrive, at a subsequent period when the body politic would be endangered from foreign invasion, or intestine commotion, what direful havoc would a handfull of infuriated negroes, in conjunction with an invading foe, or an enterprising faction occasion in the heart of our country. And I may add, almost in the heart of every rich family, especially when perhaps those families in particular, (who continually keep from 3 to 6 black domestics about them) are softened by luxury, relaxed
by indolence, and incapacitated for warfare by a sedentary life, as well as the nation in general. A want of precaution in this respect, was the radical cause of the premature downfall of the Grecian and Roman Republics: those who have read the history of Greece and Rome, even with a superficial attention, will ascertain that there were many bloody insurrections of their slaves in the countries, which their histories severally comprehend. And though it has been insinuated in modern, as well as ancient times, that the opposers of slavery, and the friends of liberty, were the ultimate cause of these insurrections. It is a stubborn fact, that the misfortunes and evils were concentrated in the impolicy of slavery; hence some have reproached the friends of liberty for the insurrection that took place in Hispaniola, but no one can read even a compendious account of that event without being convinced of the fallacy of such aspersions.

"Whoever, has read the history of the West India islands from their first establishment to the year 1786, must have read it very superficially, not to know, that there have been various insurrections of the slaves
there, within this period. There was formerly a bloody one at St. Domingo, besides that which has lately happened. There have been several in Jamaica, and other Islands have had their share of them also.

Now, it is impossible that any of these could have had their origin in the efforts of the gentlemen associated for the Abolition. To what cause then may we attribute the insurrection in the islands? Undoubtedly to the slave trade, in consequence of which thousands are annually poured into the islands, who have been fraudulently and forcibly deprived of their natural rights. All these come into them of course with dissatisfied and exasperated minds; and this discontent and feeling of resentment must be further heightened by the treatment which people coming into them under such a situation must avoidably receive; for we cannot keep people in a state of subjection to us, who acknowledge no obligation whatever to serve us, but by breaking their spirits and treating them as creatures of another species. Now, that this is the cause is evident from Mr. Long, the celebrated champion of the Planters themselves, who states in his history
of Jamaica, that all the insurrections of the slaves that he could ever trace in the islands, where begun by the imported Africans, and never by the creole or island-born slaves.

Such then being actually the cause, and this being likely from common reason to be the cause while men have the passions of men, and this being adequate of itself, at all times, to produce the same effect, what reasons can there be for imagining that the insurrection in St. Domingo proceeded from any other source; particularly as these insurrections have been as numerous before any association for the Abolition of the slave trade took place, as since their institution? As, however, the present insurrection in St. Domingo is somewhat connected with the late Revolution in France, it may be necessary to say a few words upon it as related to that event.

As soon as the news of this Revolution was conveyed to St. Domingo, the white people there divided into parties, as in the Mother Country, the one for the Revolution, the other for the government in its ancient form.
Again, as soon as the principles of that Revolution, as particularized in the declaration of rights was proclaimed in that Colony, a third party, and that a formidable one, arose. This consisted of the people of colour, who, notwithstanding many of them had received a liberal education, and were in many instances larger proprietors in the island than the whites, were in a depressed and degraded state. They felt forcibly the justice of these principles; and when they considered that these where held out by the Representatives of the parent country, they determined to assert their right to equal privileges with the rest of the Colonists. In consequence of this, they held a meeting; after which they sent several worthy persons of their own body to Paris, to represent them in the National Assembly of France. On their arrival they found their way to the Bureau de Verification, where it was necessary for them to have their claim to representation ascertained and sanctioned, before they could be admitted as deputies into the Assembly.

The white planters, however, who happened to have seats in the National Assem-
bly at this time, found means to crowd in this bureau or committee, just mentioned, with a view of hindering the deputies from the people of color, from having a place in the same legislative body with themselves. They pretended to find some flaw in their powers, and put off the further consideration for a few weeks. At the end of this time, in consequence of the great exertions of the deputies of color, they were obliged to resume the consideration of the case; they then acknowledged their error, gave up the legality of the flaw at first started, but pretended to have discovered one of another nature. In this way they put off the deputies from committee to committee, hindering them by these means from coming before the Assembly at all. When at last, one of the deputies, of the name of Oge, a man of property, education and abilities, but of much stronger passions than his colleagues, returned to St. Domingo to represent to their constituents the treatment they had met with from the white planters in France.

His representations of the case, soon reached the ears of some of the whites of
St. Domingo, who communicated the intelligence to others of their own description, which produced a determination in them to make a victim of Oge, by taking away his life; they attacked him and few of his adherents, at various times, in armed parties, some of whom he defeated, and from others he was obliged to fly; pressed however at last, he was obliged to take refuge in the Spanish part of the island, where he was treacherously given up, and soon after, though he was never publicly examined, he was broken alive on the wheel, with twenty-five of his followers.

This barbarous destruction of a person, whom the people of color so generally and deservedly esteemed, only widened the breach between them and the whites of the island, and exasperated them to reek their revenge upon the latter.—While they were planning schemes with this view, news arrived in the Colony that those of their deputies who, after Oge's departure, had remained in France, had, by their perseverance, obtained a hearing before the National Assembly; which on the same day decreed, that all the people of color, born of
free parents, were Frenchmen, and of course entitled to all the privileges of Frenchmen; and among others, to that of being represented also. This news, when received at St. Domingo, as much exasperated the white inhabitants as the death of Oge had the people of color there; and all their breasts began to burn with a spirit of revenge against the latter. Here then we see no less than three factions prevalent at the same moment in St. Domingo. The whites divided into two parties, as they adhered to the new constitution or the old; and the whites and people of color burning with a fury hardly satiable but by the extirpation of one another. What then did the negroes do at this interesting moment? Seeing their lords and masters not able to agree among themselves, but at daggers drawing with one another, they determined to take advantage of the divisions among them, and to assert their violated rights by force of arms. Such is the true state of the case respecting the insurrection at St. Domingo, and what do we learn from it but the following truth? "That the slave trade, and the oppression naturally resulting from it,
was the real and only cause of this insurrection," as it ever has been, and ever will be, of similar events; but that the Revolution of France, by causing the three divisions before mentioned, did afford the Negroes an opportunity which they would otherwise not so easily have found, of endeavouring to vindicate for themselves their unalienable rights.

The above accounts then lead us to three separate conclusions: First, that the slave trade is the real cause of all the West India insurrections....Secondly, that as long as it exists, so long may these insurrections be expected....And thirdly, That the blacks are jealous of their liberties, and would wade through seas of blood, when an opportunity would offer, to vindicate their rights, and revenge past injuries. Indeed the barbarities committed by the Christian powers, particularly by the Spaniards, not only on the negroes, but on the original inhabitants of Hispaniola, will never, never be forgotten. Though it must be allowed, that Columbus the first discoverer of this Island, was not only an enterprising adventurer, but also a humane person: yet the Spaniards who fol-