SERIOUS REMONSTRANCES,

ADDRESS 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.

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DEDICATION.

TO all the true friends of Liberty, particularly the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Commercial Citizens of the Northern States of America, who are the bulwark of our Nation, and the pillars of our Constitution; and who by their distinguished exertions in advocating the rights of man, have done immortal honor to themselves, to their Ancestors, and to the Republican cause: The following work, is respectfully inscribed

By their Sincere Friend,

And Fellow-citizen, the

AUTHOR.
Preliminary Remarks.

It will no doubt be asked, (especially by those persons who have perused my recent productions on this subject,) why multiply publications on a topic so well understood, so ably discussed, and philosophically digested by men of profound erudition, distinguished refinement, and liberal sentiments? To answer this interrogation, I may with propriety, as well as authenticity affirm, that perhaps no subject exhibited for popular investigation, so imperiously demands the attention of the patriotic citizens of America as the present, and which is so essentially connected with their interest, and the prosperity of their children, and their children's children. While our presses are crowded with the futile productions of the novelist and romancer, may we not indulge a hope, that a subject so momentous, and interesting, will command some attention. In the discussion of this subject, as well as in the arrangement of my antecedent publications, I have attempted to blend amusement with information, to exhibit variety, and avoid prolixity, to scientific acquirements or extensive reading; to distinguish refinement in sentiment or composition, I do not pretend. However having gained information (if not by books and literary pursuits) by extensive travels, and practical researches, having visited different parts of Africa, as well as the principal West India Islands, and having been myself unhappily concerned in the Slave trade, and personally, as well as theoretically acquainted with the manners, customs, and propensities peculiar to the African race, antecedent and subsequent to their degredation, even from my youth. It must therefore be allowed, that I am
more capacitated to discuss a subject of this nature, than those characters who generally receive their information by hearsay, and surely none can be under greater obligations to expose the complicated guilt of tyrannical slave traders, as well as the deleterious evils resulting from the impolitic commerce and slavery of the human species, than a "penitential tyrant." Had I ten thousand tongues, and ten thousand pens, they should all be employed in disclaiming against a traffic, as impolitic as it is impious, as villainous as it is injudicious. Having relinquished the most sanguine prospects of worldly accumulation and prosperity, from conscientious motives, and having a spirit above flattering villany, offering incense at the shrine of vanity, or adulation to characters clothed with a little brief authority, whether they are honorable or excellent, reverend or right reverend sinners. I consequently cannot expect a patron, and without one, what are the most exhilarating sentiments, the embellishments of fancy, or even the flowers of rhetoric, like a tapering vapour in our atmosphere, one moment seen, and the next consigned to oblivion; but, with the patronage of his excellency, or his reverence, a flood of words with only a drop of matter, the most insipid composition that ever disgraced the Republic of letters, will pass for sterling merit, and perhaps pass through many editions, especially if a few strings of titles or capitals, such as AM, DM, LLD, or FRS, are affixed to the name. However, amidst all these discouragements, I have one consolation left, to wit: the liberty of claiming the patronage of, and dedicating my works to all their masters, the patriotic, the virtuous, the enlightened, and the independent citizens of America: and if my simplified arguments are instrumental in impressing them with a tenfold solicitude, for the honor and safety of their incomparable Constitution, and glorious Independence; which is their own richest patrimony while untarnished, and the greatest temporal blessing they can bestow on their children, and transmit to posterity, my object is gained, and I am amply rewarded. To consolidate their happiness in par-
ticular and the political emancipation of the African race in general, is the primary object of this performance. Indeed it irritates me, when I remember that the tyrants of the South, gain an ascendancy over the citizens of the North, and enhance their paramount rights of suffrage and sovereignty, accordingly as they enslave and subjugate the inoffensive, the exiled sons of Africa. I am astonished at the stupidity of our citizens, in suffering such palpable villany to be rewarded by political, as well as pecuniary gratifications. But in order to obviate as much as possible, the most cogent objection to my plan, which is the only one that even has the appearance of consistency, namely,—"If we export our African Brethren, we will relinquish the votes we are entitled to on their account." I will advance, or endeavour to advance, the most natural reasons, why we should oppose the antecedent, unjust and injurious inequality in time; which may easily be done by amending the federal constitution, as it respects this clause. But some will say, why not alter that constitution so as to preclude the importation of another slave into the United States?—I would answer such, that this is not probable, as that constitution allows the citizens of the South to import slaves till the year 1808, positively; of consequence this evil cannot be obviated, but the other can. And indeed, unless this villainous inequality is in time remedied, the rights and liberties of our citizens will be eventually swallowed up by importations from Guinea; even admitting we keep, and continue still to import more black citizens (the refuse and off-scouring of the citizens of the South) into the bowels of our states. For they will, no doubt, even after the year 1808, continue to import slaves as they have done, for as they have done prior to the revival of the slave trade, they will do after the abolition of that trade,—to wit: import thousands of slaves through the instrumentality of smugglers; I say, admitting this to be the case, the votes of all the citizens of the North, including their negro citizens, will not be equal to the negro votes of the South! and what will the consequences be? I shudder even to think of them.
Hence, if my plan was once adopted, and our citizens were virtuously to have nothing to do with negroes, or their votes, it would prove an intrinsically glorious incentive or stimulus, to induce the patriotic citizens of the North, to use all their power and influence to have that scandalous and infernal inequality eradicated, before it is (which without doubt will soon be the case) the cause of anarchy and intestine commotion; and perhaps, the annihilation of the federal compact. With how much more success would our citizens, on such an event, vindicate their rights without being burthened with negroes. To suppose the citizens of the North will peaceably submit to be robbed of all their rights of suffrage, by the slave-dealers of the South, is to suppose a drop of the blood of their fathers does not flow in their veins; and that they are all worse than cowards, traitors and enslavers of their own children. They should invincibly protest against this infamous inequality, and resolve with a manly and honourable assiduity, not to have neither hand, act, or part in negroes; and their votes.
SERIOUS REMONSTRANCES,

ADDRESSED TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE NORTHERN STATES,

AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES:

Relative to the impolicy of keeping three hundred thousand well informed and aspiring Negroes in the bowels of their states: especially in an event, of the Citizens being necessitated to march to the frontiers to repel an invading foe.

WHEN I view in the historic page the downfall of the most popular and prosperous of the nations of antiquity, through the instrumentality of vassals and the insurrections of slaves, I am truly astonished that the people of America do not, or rather will not see, that the same cause will produce the same effects, in modern as it did in ancient times. Yet how cautious were the orientals of their slaves in time of peace, and how prudent in time of war; when they were compelled to take the front of battle, and were not allowed to remain with the women and children in the cities and towns, while their
masters repelled in the field, their invading foes. What a pity it is, that the friends of our constitution, in all their amendments, never attempt to remedy this growing evil, this accumulating gangrene, which is devouring the vitals of the body politic. How many will cry out when they read our title page, "never fear," without investigating any of our arguments. I can scarce refrain from pointing the finger of scorn at such ungenerous and uncandid characters. Every intelligent person, will at once see the impolicy of leaving our cities and towns to face an invading foe, (which I fear will be the case sooner than many expect) with thousands of revengeful negroes in full possession of them. Yes, I firmly believe, we will be compelled, though perhaps contrary to our inclinations and interest, to enter the lists with some of the belligerent powers. At any rate, we cannot always expect to be at peace; and many thousands of the oppressed Africans look with anxious solicitude for that moment to arrive, when the nation is engaged in domestic or foreign hostility—when they expect to avenge their wrongs, and vindicate their rights—\textit{the}
natural rights of man. If therefore, my plan is rejected, without a hearing, and my arguments without even a superficial investigation, would it not in this case be at least prudent for our citizens, contrary to their present policy respecting negroes and people of colour, I say, would it not be more prudent and less dangerous to arm them, and bring them to the field of battle, in imitation of the ancients, rather than leave them with our wives and children? surely it would be far less dangerous. How important the consideration, (yet how neglected) that one revengeful negro in our city, is. a more formidable foe, than a thousand Indians on our frontiers. I must acknowledge that it would be far better, if it could be done, without inhumanity, to send the blacks to some distant island, out of our territories altogether. But this measure would be both unjust and cruel, though it has been recommended by many respectable politicians, as a necessary defensive measure.

But the plan I propose for the accommodation of the blacks, I would wish a number of my fellow citizens joyfully embrace myself, and
consider it as the most advantageous circumstance of my life to have the offer made me; then with industry I might not only provide comfortably for my family through life, but at death leave them independent; whereas, if matters continue as they are, the very reverse will be the case. I would just hint to some of my fellow citizens, whose sentiments correspond with mine in this respect, that it would be an excellent design, if a number of them would unite and appoint a committee to petition Congress, to allow them a certain number of acres of land for a new settlement, and the same committee to investigate and choose the land and make other necessary arrangements, &c. &c. Thus many an honest family would be provided for comfortably, who are now in penury and want, and many others would gain at least a competency. Their children would then have a home, and means with industry to provide for themselves; whereas, now when their unfortunate parents die, they are promiscuously bound out in rich men's houses, to pick bones in their kitchens, be associates for their negroes, treated with contempt and without even a
Title: 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 Branigan, author of "Avarice," "A preliminary essay" "Penitential tyrant." 

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prospect of advancement; and when sick to be hoisted away to the bettering house to die in obscurity.

These judicious measures, would not only dry up the orphans' tears,* cheer the widows heart, and cause the stranger to dance for joy, but would be the means of depositing millions of dollars, in the public treasury. Fifteen million, have been paid for Louisiana, and it behoves government to use every just means to reimburse that money.

Many rich men will reprobate my plan, because they suppose black persons will suit them better as servants, than poor white people, and will bear kicking about, and put up with their insults better than white servants, and take less wages. And must the greater part of our citizens, the commercial, mechanical, and agricultural part of the community, be opposed and injured, for the foolish and capricious accommodation of a few epicures, debauchies, or rich gluttons? I hope

* There has been more mercantile failures in this city, and families reduced within these two months than for many years before. Merchants have failed to my knowledge, in that time to upwards of 700,000 dollars.
not. All rich persons are by no means included in this animadversion, none but the supercilious, capricious and penurious. If their parsimonious propensities move them to oppose my plan, the pecuniary embarrassments of millions of their fellow citizens, move them to advocate and support it. Though such characters regardless of others, attend merely to their own private accommodation; yet if the evils I depri cate should fall upon us, the event would convince them of their folly, and the impolicy of their partiality. They would then feel, as well as know, that the cunning of the fox is more destructive than the rage of the lion. If my plan should unhappily be consigned to oblivion, without investigation, and my arguments in favour of it without a hearing, and the evils I anticipate be realized, in such an event this performance would be the mittimus to convey the names of some official characters, who have it in their power to provide ways and means for the practical operation of my plan, to the prison of public indignation, perpetual execration, and the bitter denunciations of posterity. There are cases which lan-
guage is unable to depicture; and such must be the case of those, who read these arguments with indifference; for if they see no danger in the circumstances I relate, I must either be dreaming while I write, or they must be delerious while they read my propositions: however, those who take reason for their criterion, are not easily beaten out of their arguments. To me my reasoning on this subject, is as clear as a sun beam, and indeed I endeavour to exhibit truth before the mind's eye, and bring reason to the intellectual ear, clear as the moon, bright as the sun, and powerful as an army with banners; and those that will not see or hear, must be wilfully deaf, and resolutely blind; or, to speak plainer, must be either rogues or fools. In reasoning upon this subject, I think it is impossible for a person to err, unless he does it voluntarily. There are such a cloud of witnesses, so many concurring circumstances, to prove the validity of my arguments, in Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, that a person has nothing to do, but as it were, by a counter-march into the rear of time, by a retrospective view of past
events to judge of our present danger. By this means we may become wise with very little trouble. Local prejudice and error in opinion may be corrected, by a single exertion of thought, and the mist once dissipated, cannot be collected again. One cogent argument or energetic reason, will be more efficacious in obliterating prejudice from the mind, than volumes of dull, though correct, puerile though methodical arguments.

It is sometimes with governments, as injudiciously parsimonious individuals, who save at the spile and lose at the bung-hole, according to the old proverb; and this sentiment will be applicable to our government, if they from selfish motives reprobate the prefixed plan, and prefer spending thousands, and losing millions of dollars on account of the negroes in the North, sooner than appropriate a few hundred thousand acres of land, at some distant * part of the na-

* The new state might be established upwards of 2000 miles from our population. It is asserted that the most distant part of Louisiana is farther from us than some parts of Europe.
tional domains, (that will not be worth a cent to government this five hundred years) for their accommodation and support. We are the most prosperous nation in the world, and have been the most brave, in "times which tried men's souls:" Heaven forbid it should be with us as was with Agamemnon, who vanquished mighty armies like a hero, and was, for the want of precaution, himself vanquished like a woman. Our Southern brethren are like a profligate, bent on his own ruin; duplicity and vanity are so interwoven with their politics, that recent scenes exhibited in Hispaniola, does not in the least alarm their fears. Our prospects and politics are as different from theirs, as light is from darkness. It would be as absurd to reason with them in this manner, or cause them to forego their slaves, as it would be to attempt by argument to prevail on a lion to forego his mangled prey. We have like true christians and patriots, relinquished our ill-gotten slaves; we have made them free virtually, but not politically: let us then from motives of generosity, as well as self-preservation, make them free and happy in
every sense of the word, in a republic of their own; seeing it is impracticable to make them such amongst ourselves; and thus, like Pilate, let us wash our hands, and shake their blood from our garments. I remember when I was a minor, while a privateering on board of the brig Lamp of Bermuda, the first cruise I went, I saw such palpable villainy in the business, that I relinquished all my prize money, and at the same time left the privateer and her piratical crew; and in the same manner, and from the same conscientious motives, I relinquished a lucrative establishment in Antigua, as planter. The citizens of the North, have thus relinquished the wages of unrighteousness; like me let them likewise separate from those, who their avarice formerly subjugated, and make them ample amends for interior injustice, by subsequent acts of kindness and benevolence; and the only way to do this, is by making them free and independent citizens of America, in a separate state of their own, as already hinted. Notwithstanding the rectitude of our republican principles and the justice of many of our penal
and social intercourse will be appreciated: accordingly as they facilitate in industry and attachment to each other, which local circumstances will abundantly accelerate. Hence, after a few years, each individual of the Colony will have a little convenient plantation cleared and cultivated, where he may sit, under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid, especially if under the protection of the General Government. He will of course enhance his enjoyments according to his own industry, not only in the cultivation of his land, but also in raising the stock peculiar to a farm, and every year, would augment his riches and the value of his property. Thus, by his industry he would not only make genteel provision for the support of his children, but would also assist in replenishing the national finances; for in my opinion, one industrious farmer is of more benefit to a nation, than a standing army of one hundred thousand strong.

These are only a few of the blessings consequent on the adoption, and practical operation of my plan. Now, for the sake of illustration, we will contrast the relative situation of these colonists, with the condi-
tion of the five thousand, who remained in the city; and in advancing these speculative hypotheses I collect my ideas from the nature of things, and I defy art to overturn them. But I need not expatiate on this proposition, any of my fellow citizens by common observations and daily remarks, may ascertain the wretched condition of such. One out of every thousand may acquire by fraud or force independent fortunes; five out of each five hundred accumulate sufficient property to secure a competency; fifty out of each hundred will be employed by gentlemen for coach-men, foot-men, &c. The rest, at least a majority of them, will become pests to society, live in idleness, wretchedness and dissipation. They are ruled by a government in which they do not participate as candidates; they live among a people that can in general have but little confidence in them, and in many particulars, despise them and treat them with contempt, for even their best friends are ashamed to associate with them, and will not eat, drink, or sleep, with them, though by the by they are not ashamed to make their poor hirelings do so, or else discharge them.

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from their employ, and particularly their poor bound girls, unhappy orphans, who have none to see them justified. Indeed it is a stubborn fact, that there are more bound and hired white girls in rich mens houses, deluded by black men, than any where else. If I was to give an account of instances which have come to my own knowledge, to authenticate and demonstrate the assertion, it would make my readers shudder, yea, it has frequently happened, that negroes have forcibly violated white girls, and certain white men, have attempted to screen them from the penalty the law demanded. But as it is not my design nor wish, to exhibit the horrid depredations, rapes, assassinations, robberies, thefts, &c. committed by the negroes after their arrival in the cities of the North, from the tobacco and rice plantations of the South, no farther than to prove the utility laudability, and propriety of my plan, I will drop this disagreeable part of the subject, which almost irritates me when I think upon it, especially when I remember the inconceivable injury many an honest citizen's child meets with after his decease, when the poor orphan is sent to a
gentlemans kitchen as a place of the greatest security, especially if he professes religion. And then the rich man without the least care or concern, consigns a respectable girl* to be an associate for negroes: for my part I am of the opinion, that an honest mechanic will do more justice to such an orphan, than many of the richest people in the city. Reader, if thou art a father, look at thy little smiling daughter; and then in sympathetic thought, survey the many wicked impoverished white women, who have been deluded, and are now married to negroes, living in little smoaking huts, despised and scorned by both blacks, and whites; for it is certain, decent black people shun their company as despicable, as much as the whites. Think how it would grieve thee, to live to see that smiling child meet such a wretched fate: then be assured if matters remain as they are, their is nothing more possible, and probable; this has been the fate of many a respectable mans child.

* The boys are generally bound out to learn trades. Indeed the brutal usage many an orphan and bound child has to endure, from the caprice of their savage masters and mistresses, is almost incredible.
Thus, while the negro emigrants are sitting under their own vine and fig-trees, and participating in their own government, and the administration of their own laws, the negro citizen who is comfortably accommodated and situated to day, may be destitute of a home or the necessaries of life tomorrow; his children, whether by a white or a black woman, is thrown upon the public without any prospect. For a servant often has to change places, and is frequently out of place, consequently with his small wages he cannot support a family. Yet their poverty, will not preclude the multiplication of their children; hence according to a common calculation children of color will be augmented in ten years, at least to double their present number; particularly mulattoes, as black men (being encouraged thereto by a certain description of people) will still, as heretofore, make it their chief ambition, object, and aim, to inveigle white women into the bonds of matrimony. By this means they suppose they come to a nearer similarity with the whites; consequently the want of virtue, chastity or even sobriety, will not prove a barrier to their ambition.
But, methinks I hear some exclaim "we all must allow a train of evils will attend the revival of the slave trade in America, sooner or later; and we measurably felt the effects of it already; but perhaps many years may elapse before the paramount evils consequent on slavery takes place; at any rate in my time there is not much danger of experiencing these dreaded consequences," such a thought is dastardly unmanly, and execrable. Posterity would remember such ancestors with detestation, and curse their cowardice and duplicity, when they are rotting in their graves. The language of such should be nay, if we are to meet danger, we will meet it in our day, that our children may escape it; and if trouble threatens our offspring after we are dead, we will either obviate or anticipate it while we are yet living, that our children may have peace, and then we may die, at least as it respects them, with satisfaction, and consolation. There is no subject the citizens of the North can attend to, more intrinsically momentous, and interesting than the present; it not only concerns the poor, but also the rich, for many are rich one year and poor the next: riches
The citizens of the North have been alarmed to a sense of their danger, from the infatuation of a Southern legislature, in reviving the slave trade. Let them then while their minds are agitated, give the subject a fair and impartial investigation. What benefit do we derive from receiving periodically into the bowels of our states, thousands of contaminated degenerated negroes, where they are free, though on account of their former degradation they are not fit to be members of a free community, at least for some years, subsequent to their manumission? The answer is obvious, we receive no benefit whatever, but many injuries. By slavery the citizens of the South are enriched, but those of the North are impoverished. It is the policy therefore of the former, to keep blacks amongst them, but the policy of the latter should be via versa.

In England, no negroes are allowed to reside, though their finances are abundantly replenished annually, by the price of their labour. In the Northern States, tens of thousands reside, to the extreme injury of the poor white people; and yet the latter are the
bulwark of the nation, while the former do not pay a cent, nor lift their little finger to support it. However our minds may be deceived by prejudice, or our ears by sound, yet these arguments are the simple offspring of truth, and reason in conjunction with common sense, will say they are just. The trust deposited in our care, is truly great; providence has appropriated these states, as he did the city of refuge amongst the Israelites, thither the sons of Europe flee, as to an asylum from the iron hand of despotism. It is our duty therefore, to keep these secure from the attacks of internal, as well as external foes: our fathers, and our brothers in slavery in the old world, look to us for a place of refuge in the new; but how great is their grief, astonishment, and disappointment, when on their arrival they see thousands of men, who must necessarily be their enemies, advanced on many accounts, and in many respects before them: this excites jealousy, which produces riots, &c. Now is the time to prevent an evil, that will one day fall upon us, or our children. The fate of St. Domingo declares this will be the case, in capitols that appear like sun beams.
Therefore, our safety, interest, policy, prudence, patriotism, and every weighty consideration summons us to provide ways and means, for the security of ourselves and children, and the accommodation of our oppressed brethren in Europe. This business is not the concern of a year, or an age, but it concerns millions yet unborn. Posterity are literally involved in our decision, and our great great grand children, will be more or less benefited or injured, degraded or exalted, blessed or wretched, according as we conduct ourselves in this business. If any will have the temerity to say, my anticipated danger is only the offspring of my own distempered brain, and that "when I nod, I dream of negroes in arms;" such characters I will only point to ancient history, which will give them the lie in form. "Never-fear" has proved the downfall of many nations, enslaved and impoverished many individuals, and in cases far less apparent than the present. Much has been said by benevolent men, respecting the propriety of naturalizing, as well as christianizing and civilizing the negroes; and as philanthropy was brought in to aid such sayings, it appeared on a su-
peripheral investigation amiable, but which like a pleasing dream, before the opening day, has disappeared. Such characters are attempting to bring about a change, that they would abhor themselves, i.e. if they would impartially reflect on the merit and demerit of their propositions. Ask them the questions I have already suggested, whether they would be willing to receive the blacks for governors, representatives, family connections, &c. they would answer, no doubt, with abhorrence in the negative: but, admitting they answer in the affirmative, as I have already intimated, there are other barriers in the way, which are, and ever will be impenetrable; and if these barriers are broke through, the case will be via versa, as it respects the blacks and whites; or, to use the language of Scripture, "the first will be last, and the last first." But, in order to form a correct judgment of the case before us, we should examine both sides of the question, and enquire seriously and candidly, what are the injuries the citizens of the North will sustain, by not adopting my plan, and what will be the advantages resulting to them, as well as the blacks, by adopting it.
The intelligent citizen, the man of scientific researches and profound erudition, will recognize many radical evils, and paramount blessings on such an enquiry, which the brevity of my plan, will not permit me to particularize. Indeed the most illiterate, who will investigate this subject, on the principles of reason and common sense, will immediately see what we are to expect, by nourishing amongst ourselves multitudes of natural enemies, who have opportunity to favour them, and importunity to stimulate them to daring deeds, incomparably more so, than the blacks of the South; and what we may reasonably expect from them. But, some perhaps will say, America flourished notwithstanding so many negroes amongst us, why not again? No reasoning can be more fallacious than this, to answer which, I will relate the case of a man that had a bad corn on one of his toes for many years; for want of precaution this corn grew, and for want of an early remedy it became more and more troublesome, though it did not retard him in his business: it was in other respects a potent injury to him, and as it grew larger and more painful, he was under
the necessity of using a remedy, that would have effectually cured him without the least danger, a year or two before: namely, cutting it off; but now being too far advanced in its verulent influence, it was the cause of the mortification of his leg, which was cut off, and shortly produced his premature death: this is a fact, for I knew the person; and this in my opinion is in minature, what the present policy of keeping thousands of blacks in our cities is in magnitude. But I will go farther and affirm, that the Northern States would have flourished far more, if there was not a negro in the Union.

I challenge the warmest advocate for the naturalization of the blacks, to show a single advantage that the citizens of the North can reap from such a change. I repeat the sentiment, not a single advantage can be derived, but what would be anticipated ten fold on the operation of my plan. Every sentiment noble and genius pleads in favour of it: the blood of millions of negroes brought to premature deaths, with the voices of their groaning, weeping, dying progeny cries, it is time to make ample provision for the children, whose parents
our averseus sibjugated, and our cruelty murdered. The authority of the tyrants of the South, over their slaves, must sooner or later come to an end, and when that end comes, woe to their oppressors in the South, and their pretended friends in the North, i.e. if my plan is not adopted, or a similar one substituted in its room in time. But some will say with great assurance "if the negroes were properly informed they would become useful and respectable citizens, in a domestic, as well as political point of view; such assertions are frequently made without a moment's previous reflection. Indeed I have not only made a similar observation myself verbally, but also in writing, which I hereby acknowledge to be spurious and done without due reflection. But in order to prove this, it will be necessary to bring the doctrine for naturalizing the negroes, to the touchstone of reason and common sense, and examine it by our own natural feelings in particular, and mankind in general, from Adam to his youngest son.

For the sake of illustration, we will suppose a fleet from England arrives in the
river Delaware, comes up to Philadelphia, brings fire and sword into our city, violates our wives and daughters, slays our crying and smiling infants with impunity, plunders us of all our property and riches, and even our liberties: they force us on board of their ships, and then convey us unto England, in the same manner as we convey Africans to America. After we land, we are separated and sent to different parts of the kingdom, the inhabitants of Liverpool allow the slaves that fall to their lot all their liberty, and adopt them as citizens, while the rest of their relatives and countrymen are kept in horrid slavery. Can the persons liberated, love, honor, and faithfully serve the people, that oppress their nearest and dearest friends? It is impossible. If such a connection could be formed, it must be on the plan of present conveniance, and of consequence must not only be forced, but unnatural. But the similitude is not sufficiently sonorous to illustrate the case before us, the similarity is not sufficiently striking: but if some will say, they could in such a case forget, and so pass over all the violations they experienced themselves, and for-
give all the injuries heaped upon their friends, I would ask such characters, have your fathers, brothers, sisters, wives, and mothers been murdered and violated before your eyes with impunity, have they been robbed of their lives, their liberties, and their all, or have your ancestors for some hundreds of years, though innocent and inoffensive, been consigned to the most terrible slavery, that ever disgraced and tormentcd the human race, and millions of them brought thereby to untimely graves, and are millions of them still in the same wretched condition? The answer is, no doubt, in the negative: then you are not, nor indeed cannot be a correct judge in this business. But if you, and your friends and country-men, have suffered all these accumulated and complicated evils, and yet you can cordially shake hands, and sincerely associate with your murderers and ravishers; then you forfeit your title of a patriot, are unworthy the name of relative, or even a rational being; and whatever your rank may be in the community, whether reverend or right reverend, honorable or excellency, gentleman or simple man (excuse my plainness)
you are a traitor, a coward, a sycophant in your heart, without virtue or principle, politically, religiously, domestically or morally, and if opportunity served, and importunity solicited, you would commit every horrid depredation on friends and foes, to purchase a little brief authority, affluence, or ease; and I believe there are such miscreants, demons in human form, to be found among those, who bear the honorable appellation of Christians. This is not exaggerating matters, but simply trying them by arguments as plain as a, b, c, and as clear as a ray of light, and which reason consolidates and nature justifies. I do not wish to delineate the complicated injuries we suffer, on account of harbouring such multitudes of negroes, when we do not gain a single cent by them: in order to provoke revenge against them.* I do not wish to exhibit hor-

* In order to establish our hypothesis, we have been necessitated to exhibit a specimen, and only a specimen of the degeneracy of those beings, subjugated and contaminated by modern depots. Who are sensible for this degeneracy. Is it the miserable oppressed! no! but the villainous oppressors: the former are to be pitied, the latter to
ror for the purpose of producing terror and dismay, but rather that we may be deliver-
ed from our long standing prejudices, fatal slumber, deleterious policy, and foolish no-
be reproached. Homer beautifully observes, that servility debases the human mind.

"For half his senses Jove conveys away,
"When once he dooms to see the servile day."

Yet it often happens, that the innocent suffers instead of the delinquent, and especially in the instance before us; to illustrate which, I would beg leave to introduce an applicable, though vulgar similitude. The Spaniards have a barbarous custom established amongst them, called "bull beating" they generally take special care to secure the infuriated beast, after the bull dogs have maddened him; but notwithstanding all their precaution, it sometimes happens that the bull, mad and furious, breaks from his savage tormentors, who are instantly on their guard with defensive weapons, ready either to kill or confine again their comparative innocent victim; but the beast still runs, still flees, till meeting the ignorant and unguarded traveller he rushes on, and leaves him breathless on the spot. Then invades the unconscious citizens habitations, destroys their property, and kills their crying and smiling infants, who strive to flee from impending destruction, but strives in vain: like the traveller, who pursued by the poisonous serpent, in vain exerts his skill and strength, the cagar reptile darts its deadly breath, its fatal sting, and now the die is cast: where can he fly for refuge, where can he get an antidote, the poison flows to his panting heart. Thus the citizens of the South, infuriate and contaminate their fellow men; then let them close to the North, with all their accumulated vices upon them,
tions of hospitality, which has ruined others, and will eventually ruin us, without a speedy remedy. Indeed a reconciliation, as suggested by a large majority of the friends of the blacks, and men of erudition, is repugnant to nature, common sense, the order of things, and all president of ancient and modern times. Nature laughs at the supposition, and art with all its acquirements, cannot give a plausible reason for their hypothesis; and though these arguments are adduced by an ignoramus, in opposition to be the tormenters of their innocent unconscious fellow citizens: but the similitude is not sufficiently sonorous, we should rather compare the injured, the infuriated, the exiled sons of Africa (who are naturally valiant when invaded, and revengeful when injured) to the mighty monarch of the woods, who couched at the foot of some dreadful rock, when pierced by the hunters flying dart, he suddenly starts at the unexpected wound, and devours all that comes within his reach, while the hunter screens himself secure from his fury, in the cliff of the rock. If the Africans are indeed valiant and revengeful, how great must our danger be, especially when they remember the accumulated injuries they have suffered for three or four hundred years from the hands of the barbarous whites; bereaved of what was most near and dear to them, husbands violently separated from their loving wives, children from their parents, and a thousand nameless injuries.
to the writings of literary characters, who can read Greek, and talk Latin, yet I do not hesitate to affirm, that they cannot be controverted: because the voice of nature says they are true, and Milton says they are reasonable. "Never," says he "can true reconciliation grow, where wounds of deadly heat have pierced so deep."

And since concluding the first part of our subject, being referred by a friend, to Mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia, for further information, I had the pleasure to find that his writings, with the decision of a committee of gentlemen of the first respectability and information; declares the solidity of my hypotheses: and if they approve, conceited critics and cruel despots, may disapprove in welcome. As a majority of the laws of Virginia, which were in force during the monarchy, were incompatibly with the principles of republicanism; the first assembly which met after the organization of the Commonwealth, appointed a committee, men of the first talents and respectability, to revise the whole code, and report it to the assembly; part of which revision Mr. Jefferson relates in the following words,
materials for men of letters to improve into useful matter.

Any man, who will for one moment candidly reflect on the vicissitudes and precariousness of all human affairs, will be convinced, that it is incomparably safer, wiser, and better to remove the most distant cause of evil, and then the effects will naturally cease, in a cool deliberate manner, while it can be done, than to trust it to time and chance, or postpone it to a period when it cannot be removed without the effusion of blood, if removed at all, extreme wrongs and insults will reduce the quietest man to a state of desperation, and repeated acts of cruelty will arouse the slumbering vengeance of an ass. What then must we think of nine hundred thousand negroes who are slaves with numbers who are free; and add perhaps three or four hundred thousand people of color, who are naturally of a revengeful spirit in the heart of our country, in the south they are enslaved, and north degraded, and precluded from all social rights, and political privileges? I ask what must be the magnitude of their vengeance if it corroborates
with the turpitude of their wrongs? To talk therefore of the naturalization of the blacks, and their domestic and political assimilation with the whites, is the quintessence of absurdity, and an insult to common sense.

Some people will say with great assurance, why may not free blacks live in friendship with the whites?......Many will speak twice before they think once, and some will speak without thinking at all; and this is the case with such characters, who talk of the blacks having friendship with those, when their common sense forbid them to have faith in, who their reason instructs them to detest, and the innocent blood of their ancestors command, them to execrate. Admitting for the sake of illustration, that some degree of unanimity and friendship at present existed (though the contrary is the case) yet then, even then, every slave ship that arrives in Charleston, tends to obliterate that friendship, makes the breach wider, and the wound deeper, the animosity keener, and gives still more cause to produce an open rupture. Can the
lamb have confidence in the lion, who depopulates the fold? no! no more can the blacks have confidence in the whites. The recent revival of the slave trade, has given them more cause to hate the whites than ever; it is as unreasonable to talk about reconciling them, as it is for the assassin to give the victim of his rage new life, or the ravisher to give the victim of his lust new chastity.

There is a native principle in the rational, which is not to be found in the brutal creation, and which deity implanted in us for valuable purposes, for without it, all social intercourse would cease: and that is natural affection, which when invaded by violence, provokes us into justice, without which, the murderer would escape with impunity, and the robber pass on unimpeached. This natural affection, compels irresistibly the oppressed to abhor the oppressor, the injured to execrate the delinquent: it would cease to be natural affection, if it had not this effect. There are not on this Continent, many persons but what have acknowledged, as their opinion; that the evils consequent on slavery, would take place one time or
another, and the fate of all the nations of antiquity, who supported slavery, confirms the opinion. Those then, who concur in this opinion, should agree as to the means and time, to remove the cause of these threatening evils: but, we need not go far to find either the time or means, for both has found us; the fate of St. Domingo, and the revival of the slave trade in the South proves the fact.

The most powerful stimulus to keep negroes, avarice being removed, evince we have obviated the crime, a little exertion will also remove the punishment. What absurdity it would be for a man, who from virtuous motives, refused to participate in the crimes, or the accumulation of a gang of robbers, and yet continued in their company, till the avengers of blood, pursued and overtook them, when the innocent suffered with the delinquent: yet this is the literal case of the citizens of the North. Now is the opportunity to shun with the greatest ease, the evils consequent on slavery. Other nations have had such opportunities, but let them slip, and their lassitude proved their ruin. Americans have met with adversity, and was su
prior to it: by valour and wisdom they conquered invincible foes. How mortifying the thought, yet how true, by their carelessness and impolicy, they may become the victims of insignificant enemies, for one diminutive enemy in a garrison, will do more injury than a thousand formidable ones without. By prudential caution now, we may secure what we procured for posterity by the revolution, and thereby fix a memorable area, a second 4th of July for our children to glory in! From oppressors, ancient and modern, we may learn excellent lessons, and be surprised into a sense of our danger by their misfortunes, and our errors by their mistakes. My arguments will no doubt at first appear strange, and the plan they are intended to consolidate will appear stranger. The first step to render the operation of them practicable, will be as strange, as it will be in opposition to local prejudices, and sentimental prepossessions: but when the first steps are taken, the business will become both familiar, natural and agreeable: and while we postpone these necessary preliminaries, we will be like a slothful gardner,
till it is covered with weeds: he must clear it some time or starve, as in his garden is his sole dependance for a livelihood: he wishes it done, but is too indolent to set about it: the longer he puts it off, the more he is harrassed with thoughts of the necessity of doing it: by his neglect, the weeds take deeper root in the ground, his nerves relaxes, his strength decreases, and starvation approaches: at last he is forced to set about the work, but being incapacitated to endure hard labour in this languid condition, he faints and dies at the unwelcome task. Thus the longer we put off the work, that must be done, the harder it will be to do, when it is undertaken.

Another consideration strikes my mind, which proves the necessity of adopting my plan.* If no possible danger could be apprehended from the negroes, still the benevolence of our general Government should appropriate part of the millions of acres of our national domains, now laying waste; for

* The Reader will pardon me for introducing so many spontaneous thoughts, which perhaps bear some similarity to the antecedent and subsequent reflections.
the comfort and accommodation of many thousands of their fellow creatures, who are at present destitute of both the necessaries and comforts of life. Let them use their power only to follow the dictates of their goodness, and remember, that none but the merciful shall find mercy, in that dread moment, when both the oppressor and the oppressed, shall appear at the Judgement seat of Christ, and answer for their official, as well as their private conduct.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 15--line 27 from the top, for D. M.—read M. D.
38 1 for contrast—read contrast.
44 18 for body—read body.
ib. — for knowing—read knowing.
86 21 for and I—read I.
111 22 for genius—read generous.