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(From the African Repository)

Correspondence between Mr. Tappan and Mr. Key.

the times. Mr. Key's letter is entitled to pecu- ments and reasonings of Mr. Birney? would be entitled to credit; but upon one to slavery? the most ample opportunities of information and | Colonization Society? observation, for the sole purpose of ascertaining | Have many of the officers of this so what was best to be done in relation to it, it is rated and colonized their own slaves? not easy to believe they can be very erroneous. His answer is the testimony of a witness, peculiarly qualified by his opportunities of observa- a period as you may find it convenient, tion, to the state of slavery in a portion of the south; to the manner in which it has been affected by northern abolitionists; and to the only practical influence which can be brought to bear that some of these errors involve unfounded im- | communicate. putations on the southern religious community; that the evils of slavery have been aggravated by northern interference; that what, in the spirit of fierce abstractions, has been denounced as cruelty and oppression; is often the highest benevolence; ly; and, though I could wish for more time and possibly be. that the idea of emancipation, unconnected with removal, is repudiated by the whole south; that the experience of such emancipation has been unfavourable; that the colonization scheme is the plan for meliorating the condition of the black race most likely to succeed; that lively and extending interest is felt at the south in their religious instruction; and that in this the north may usefully and actively co-operate, provided its aid be given with suitable caution. We highly ap- serve to show how far I am competent to answer two exceptions, brought up with a view to their to themselves and others. prove of the plan adopted by Mr. Tappan and his | them, and what my answers may be worth. associates, mentioned in his letter, of corresponding with gentlemen at the south, whom they know in a slave state—am pretty well acquainted with tions, and, when emancipated, were far better such appeals to his charity, that he will buy and to be men of character and intelligence. We hope | the middle states, and have been as far as Alabama they will pursue their inquiries in this way as to the south. No northern man began the world extensively as possible; and, if made and an- with more enthusiasm against slavery than I did. swered (as in the present correspondence) in a For forty years and upwards, I have felt the spirit of kindness and fairness, we confidently greatest desire to see Maryland become a free believe that such a light will be thrown upon this state, and the strongest conviction that she could me for years. I pay his board and other ex- all these cases, a man who is known to be a good

As the abolition prints confess great and almost exclusive zeal for truth, we trust that they will it now in the course of accomplishment; and, detters:

to unite in a great work of patriotism and bene-

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acquaintance and hospitality of the much-beloved way, would accomplish more, in comparatively a others I have known emancipated. A gentleman and respected Dr. Nevins. I know not whether few years, than has ever been yet effected; and in Maryland, upwards of thirty years ago, emanmake it my apology for writing to you now with arising from this delicate and exciting subject dred negroes. They all took (as they were readdressing a stranger.

within two or three years past, in the meetings in maintain these propositions. As this cannot be have not seen one for many years, and am in- and held for the mere purposes of gain by traffic, New England of ecclesiastical bodies, and resolu- the case, let me now say a word or two more formed there are none in the county where they or by extorting their labour without any regard tions have been passed, expressing their views about them. respecting it. At a late meeting of the general You may ask why such efforts should be con- states. Their name was Barnes. I do not be- so practised by some,) is not sanctioned by the conference of Maine, (consisting of clerical and fined to Maryland? I answer: because, first, lieve there could be now found in Maryland word of God. So that slave-holding is right or lay delegates from the county conferences of they would there be readily received; secondly, twenty of the name. congregational churches throughout the state,) a her people see the advantages of her becoming a committee was raised, of seven clergymen, to free state; thirdly, she is the border state and which every man I have ever spoken with upon advert to some passages of Scripture which it correspond with ecclesiastical bodies at the south.

After some consultation, the committee were of After some consultation, the committee were of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of labour, already prevailing in some parts of the British West India islands and the apprentice of the British West India islands and the apprentice of the opinion that it would be advisable, in the first state, manifests its superiority by every sort of system—at least, it must be vain to talk of these prohibitions. place, to correspond, individually, with individuals improvement. These, and many other causes things till they are fully tried. I shall be surat the south. In conformity to that opinion, I am | now in full operation, show-what experience | prised, though gratified, if the result of these extaking the liberty, dear sir, to address this com- will prove—that no slave state adjacent to a free periments differs from that of similar attempts in character by buying and selling slaves, as they munication to you. You, I am persuaded, will state can continue so. The people of Maryland Maryland. I observe that, at the last anti-slavery may find it convenient? or do they subject themnot accuse us of intermeddling, in this matter, are satisfied of this; and a vast majority of them anniversary, it was admitted that the apprentice selves to censure and discipline by any immorality with that which does not belong to us. You have are not only content, but pleased at the pros- system was all wrong, and had failed; and now, or ill treatment of which they might be guilty welcomed the aid of your fellow-citizens at the pect. Her legislature has declared these views, the recent accounts from Jamaica represent the towards their slaves?' north in the colonization enterprise—in the hope and, with reference to such a result, has made deplorable state of the island, in consequence of The persons among us who buy and sell slaves (if I have not misunderstood your views) that the | liberal appropriations to the scheme of colonizato the termination of slavery. You will not, Palmas. Its condition is flourishing; and, nottherefore, object to the inquiry, whether our in- withstanding many difficulties, and the violent fluence may not be exerted at the north, as well and most unreasonable opposition of the abolias at the south, bearing more directly upon such | tionists, the coloured people have consented to

a consummation. posed, is to obtain information. Permit me then, cumstances. It is true that her slave population opinion, how do they justify themselves in holdto request your attention to the following in- is diminishing, at the same time, by other means.

slave-holding, as practised in this country, is sanc- | so. Many are also sold, and many remove with | ter part, therefore, of the question, is unnecessary. | be attributed?' tioned by the word of God? If this is not their | their masters to the south, where their labour is opinion, how do they justify themselves in hold- more profitable. This, I agree, is not so favouraing slaves?

character by buying and selling slaves, as they remaining slaves in Maryland, where the unpromay find it convenient? or do they subject them- fitableness of their labour makes it difficult for the subject. It gives general rules to govern avow themselves against it altogether, and against selves to censure and discipline by any immo- their masters to maintain them comfortably. rality or ill treatment of which they may be You may also desire to know what I mean by this and all other cases. If men cannot hold very, and show less kind feeling towards the guilty towards slaves?

ture of Virginia, a few years since, has there been —and you may ask if I do not mean, by this right require us, under any circumstances, to hold 4th question—'Is it the general belief of humane in that state any change of opinion more favoura- way, colonization. I answer, that it must be done slaves, then the word of God sanctions such and christian colonizationists in the south, that

colonizationists at the south that slaves ought not way, to which they will consent, which is better cases of human conduct, and bears, of course, free, would not their labour still be needed, and to be emancipated, unless they are also sent out for the slaves than their present condition, it ought upon this question, as to slaveholding. Does it might it not be secured on terms more advantaof the country? If this is their opinion, on what to be acquiesced in, even by those who may think sanction slave-holding under all circumstances? or geous to both parties than under present arrangeis it founded? Were they set free, would not that there is a better way. Now, there are some prohibit slave-holding under all circumstances? It ments? their labour still be needed, and might it not be ways in which the people of Maryland will never does (and I think most wisely) neither—leaving It is, I believe, universally so thought by them. rewarded on terms more advantageous to both agree to these efforts being made: 1st. Not by it to be determined by circumstances whether I never heard a contrary opinion, except that parties than under present arrangements?

are made free? strengthening, against the continuance of the present system, and an increasing conviction that it for there are now, and always have been, more may safely and advantageously be abolished?

in the West Indies?

Have many of the officers of this society libe-

To Francis S. Key, Esq.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8th, 1838.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: - A long absence from home prevented my receiving your letter till lateleisure to answer it more fully and satisfactorily, I well remember our meeting on the occasion you induce me to treat with all respect and attention a letter from you on any subject, and particularly Before I answer your questions, you will excuse my saying a few words of myself-as that may

I was born in Maryland, and have always lived subject as shall draw the north and south together, become so. That desire and that conviction have penses, and cannot believe that I sin in doing so. master, and who has the means of employing not abated in the least-I feel sure that it will be so. I have always been endeavouring to aid in promoting that object, and do so still. I consider | cumstances, are entitled to petition the courts for | fest improvement in their condition. Will not take proper means to circulate the following could I give you all the facts in my possession, these causes with peculiar zeal, and have been their entreaties. It may be said that he should and the results of my observation and experience thus instrumental in liberating several large fami- buy them and liberate them. This, even if satisfor many years, I believe you would come to this lies and many individuals. I cannot remember fied that it would be better for them, he might not My DEAR SIR:—Some years since, I had the conclusion—that there is now a field open for the more than two instances, out of this large num- be able to afford. And shall he refuse to do the pleasure of travelling in company with you from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and was indebted to to which they should direct and confine their I so earnestly sought for them was their ruin. It

remove to it, as fast as their establishment there Our first object, in the correspondence pro- | could be prudently conducted, under present cir-Her proximity to a free state enables many to Does the opinion generally prevail among the escape. Indeed, near the Pennsylvania line, there ministers and members of southern churches that | are few slaves but such as are willing to continue ble a disposition of them as colonization; but it

qualifying these efforts to be made in Maryland | slaves without violating these rules, they must | blacks. I attribute this to the publications and Since the discussion of slavery in the legisla- by saying they must be 'pursued in the right way,' not hold them; and, if these rules permit or efforts of the abolitionists.

What will probably be the influence upon the means to remove from the state—that condition of sciences, and so come to this conclusion. Their southern mind of the experiment now in progress | removal being, as the people of Maryland think, | brethren at the north, knowing nothing of the (allowing some exceptions,) indispensable. Of peculiar circumstances under which they have What, in your opinion, has been the effect, on this I shall speak hereafter. 2dly. They will not the whole, at the south, of the efforts of abolition- allow an immediate and general emancipation, they have inquired and decided, call upon them ists? Were the letters which passed, the last deeming it ruinous both to the slaves and them- to justify themselves for violating the sanctions of The following correspondence between these winter, between Mr. Ellmore and Mr. Birney, selves. And 3dly. They require, as a condition, God's word. This, I am willing to believe, is gentlemen presents one of the most interesting read (to any considerable extent) by southern removal from the state, except in particular in- more owing to want of information than of chariand important papers to which the slavery ques- members of Congress? So far as they were read, stances, where the slaves, on account of their ty; though, certainly, even without information, tion has given birth, and is most appropriate to what was the impression produced by the state- good conduct and character, may be allowed to it would be only reasonable to indulge the hope remain, on certain conditions. That such remo- and the belief that there was something of a justiliar weight, from his situation and experience, Can there be any useful co-operation between val may be accomplished in a way advantageous ficatory nature in the circumstances surrounding and his well known feelings and active humanity, good people at the north and south (except by to the liberated slaves, the door of colonization their distant brethren which should relieve them for many years, in behalf of the coloured race. means of the colonization society) in efforts for has been opened. We believe (we think upon from such an accusation. His statements and opinions upon any subject abolishing or meliorating the present system of undoubted evidence) that, besides the obvious Consider what a proposition it is that must be and immense advantages to Africa, this mode of | maintained by those who thus denounce, in these which he has long and carefully attended, with What are the present prospects of the American disposition is the best for them: and we are sweeping terms, all slaveholders. It is this—a sure that time will make this apparent to all. | man always violates the divine precept of doing But, if the people of the free states think other- as he would be done by, when he holds a slave. wise, and are so sure that they may remain safely, Begging you to excuse the liberty which I have | happily, and usefully in Maryland, as to be will- one at all acquainted with the various circumnow taken, and requesting an answer at as early | ing to receive them within their own limits, there | stances under which persons in a slave state would be no objection to their doing so. If there | become the owners and holders of slaves, yet I I remain, my dear sir, very respectfully, yours, is this difference of opinion as to their remaining doubt not many honest, but heated, abolitionists BENJAMIN TAPPAN. among the whites, between the people of the free are ready to maintain it. Indeed, it is often states and the slave states, surely the only fair avowed in their publications. Yet I think it is P. S.—It is not proposed to make any public | way of settling it is for those who are in favour of | easy to state a few instances in which it would on it. It shows that many and grave errors exist use of your name, in connection with any facts | their remaining to take them. It is unnecessary, seem impossible to deny that this precept not at the north in relation to the whole subject; or opinions, which you may have the kindness to therefore, to discuss this question. If ever so only permitted, but required, the holding of a necessary, I am sure it would be vain; for the | slave-and they are instances continually occurpeople of Maryland have an experience upon the ring. subject that no arguments could shake. And A man becomes (sometimes by no act of his

> being so disposed of, and were made to undergo | There are, again, other instances when a benea probation of a few years in favourable situa- | volent man will meet, in a slave community, with fitted for the duties and trials of their new condi- hold slaves, because he wishes to do as he would tion than the general mass of slaves. Yet I am | be done by. Many are so bought and held. A still a slaveholder, and could not, without the | slave may have an unkind master-may be about greatest inhumanity, be otherwise. I own, for to be sold away from his friends or family-a instance, an old slave, who has done no work for family of slaves may be liable to separation: in

> various kinds, under which slaves, in certain cir- | importuned to purchase them. It will be a manitheir freedom. As a lawyer, I always undertook this christian precept sanction his yielding to

This is the first: tioned by the word of God? If this is not their | treatment towards his slaves.

ing slaves? I slaves ready to be emancipated than there are profess, have so applied this rule to their con-

Strange as this proposition would sound to any

they will believe that they are more competent to own) the owner of an old or infirm slave, when decide it than the people of the free states can | emancipation would be the basest cruelty, and there is no way of maintaining him in comfort, I will, however, state the result of my own but by holding him as a slave—is he to be eman-I will endeavour to do it without further delay. experience. I have emancipated seven of my cipated? So of a slave who is idle, intemperate, slaves. They have done pretty well, and six of | &c. &c. who, without wholesome restraint, would mention; though that would not be necessary to them, now alive, are supporting themselves com- be wretched himself, and a plague to all othersfortably and creditably. Yet I cannot but see | would this christian precept require him to be that this is all they are doing now; and, when | emancipated? So of all cases where the holder on one which has long and greatly interested me. age and infirmity come upon them, they will of slaves conscientiously believe that their condiprobably suffer. It is to be observed, also, that | tion, from the peculiar circumstances of their these were selected individuals, who were, with situation, will be made worse by freedom-worse

The laws of Maryland contain provisions of them so as to maintain them comfortably, will be

you for the privilege of being introduced to the efforts, and that such efforts, if pursued in the right has been so with a very large proportion of all I therefore answer your first question thus sanctioned by the word of God,' when it is pracyou will recollect the circumstance, but I must with these great advantages—that the dissensions cipated, by his will, between two and three hun- tised, as I know it often is, in such instances as I somewhat more of freedom than I would feel in | would be every where quieted, and the condition | quired to do) his name. For several years, they | the christian precept of doing as we would be of the slaves in the other states greatly meliorated. crowded our cities, where their vices and idleness | done by. And 'slaveholding, as practised in this The subject of slavery has frequently come up, Had I time, I would like to go on to the north and were notorious, and their sufferings extreme. I country, otherwise, as when slaves are bought were liberated. There may be some in the free | to their welfare, (for it must be admitted that it is wrong (as many other things are) according as it It is in vain, in the face of facts like these, is practised. I have not thought it necessary to

'Do professors of religion forfeit their christian

the refusal of the negroes to work, except for | for profit are never, as I have ever heard or beinfluence of that enterprise would be conducive | tion. The state has a colony of its own at Cape | wages beyond the power of the planters to give. | lieve, professors of religion. Such conduct, or I will proceed now to answer your questions. any immorality or ill treatment towards their slaves, would forfeit their christian character and Does the opinion generally prevail among the privileges, if their minister did his duty. And ministers and members of southern churches, that | nothing more disgraces a man, in general estimaslave-holding, as practised in this country, is sanc- | tion, than to be guilty of any immorality or ill

> the legislature of Virginia, a few years since, has The ministers and members of southern churches | there been in that state any change of opinion will not attempt to justify themselves in any thing | more favourable to the continuance of the present without the sanction of the word of God: the lat- system? If so, to what cause is that change to

You ask, then, if we believe that slave-holding, A considerable change of opinion has taken as practised in this country, is sanctioned by the place in all the middle states, particularly, perword of God. I answer, that they believe gene- haps, in Virginia and Maryland, such as your Do professors of religion forfeit their christian cannot be helped, and it is better for them than rally, I think, that Scripture contains neither an question suggests. Some, who were favourable men's conduct towards each other, applicable to the agitation of every thing connected with sla-

ble to the continuance of the present system? If in a way that the people of Maryland will agree slave-holding. Take, then, the great rule of the slaves ought not to be emancipated, unless they so, to what causes is that change to be attributed? to. Nothing can be more unreasonable than to gospel—Do unto others as you would they should are also sent out of the country? If this is their Is it the general belief of humane and christian attempt it in any other way. And if there is any do unto you.' This must govern all possible opinion, on what is it founded? Were they set

abolition publications—because they are danger- this law of love authorizes or forbids it. If a some conceived, some time ago, that a territory Is there any good reason to believe that any ous and unnecessary. It is vain to argue about christian, then, considering whether he shall hold in our country, to the west, might be set apart for thing of importance will be done, generally speak- their being dangerous. They know it from expe- a slave or not, takes this rule, and applies it them. But few, comparatively, adopted this idea; ing, to prepare the slaves for freedom, before they rience, and certainly are better judges of what is honestly, as in the sight of God, to his case, and and I never hear it advocated now. This opinion dangerous to persons in their situation than any comes fairly to the conclusion that he should, is founded on the conviction that their labour, Is there not an under current of opinion and men elsewhere can be. Further—whether better who shall condemn him? All that can be said is however it might be needed, could not be secured, feeling in the south, among the more enlightened judges or not, they will be, and they ought to be, that he is misled by prejudice or interest, and has but by a severer system of constraint than that of and philanthropic, and is it not widening and the only judges; for the danger is to themselves. come to a wrong conclusion. Hundreds and slavery—that they would constitute a distinct and

(Concluded on the fourth page.)