The existence of slavery is the standing reproach of America. In the structure of society, it is a flaw which has corrupted the manners of the people and the policy of the state. In the northern provinces, the people are sen­sible of its evils, and of its peculiar reproach in a land of freedom ; and they have not failed to convey these sentiments to the proprietors of slaves. Slavery has ac­cordingly been abolished, and is nearly extinguished, in all the New England states and in New York, and is hasten­ing to its extinction in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Dela­ware, and Maryland. By the laws of Pennsylvania, all persons born within that state since 1780 are free, the children of a slave being subject to a limited servitude to her owner. In New Jersey, every child born after July 1804 is declared free, and all traffic in slaves was prohibited in 1798. The revised laws of New York declare, that every person born in that state is free ; that all persons brought into the state, except for a limited period, become free ; and that no person can be sold within the limits of the state. The ordinance for the territory north-west of the river Ohio, passed in 1787, prohibits for ever the introduction of sla­very into that tract of country in which the four states of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan, have already been formed. The introduction of slaves from abroad was pro­hibited by Virginia in 1798, and by Congress into the Mississippi territory in the same year; and in 1808, by the same authority, into any part of the United States. But though declining, slavery still prevails in the southern states, namely, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, the Carolinas, Geor­gia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and even in the dis­trict of Columbia, and is the fruitful source of complicated evils. Louisiana and several other states prohibited the intro­duction of slaves from any other state except by an immigrant proprietor ; but an active internal trade among the south­ern states is carried on in slaves, who are exported in great numbers from the worn-out districts towards the north and east, to be employed in the cultivation of new and fresh cotton lands in the south. Like the lower animals, slaves are encouraged to breed and to multiply, by those who have invested their capital in the trade.

But slavery, if it be the reproach of America, the far- famed land of liberality and freedom, is also her misfortune ; and the slave-holders would receive, as they would merit, the sympathy and aid of Europe, if they would endeavour to improve the condition of the slaves, and gradually prepare them for emancipation, the only consummation in which it is so devoutly to be wished that slavery, so unhappily begun, should happily end. In a commu­nity divided, as in all slave-holding states, between two hostile races,—the oppressor and the oppressed,—there are two alternatives, either by kindness and humanity to mingle the two into one, or to maintain by rigour the bondage and degradation of the inferior cast. In the one case, the slaves are retained in chains and darkness, without hope, and the system will only stand so long as power re­mains on the side of the oppressor. But so surely as love springs from kindness, resentment, curses not loud but deep, are the fruits of oppression; and thus, in a long course of abused power, a standing feud is established between two great sections of the community, an arrear of ven­geance accumulates, which, if occasion offers, will be duly repaid by the oppressed class, in a measureless retribution, for ages of violent wrong ; and how precarious therefore must be the condition of society, where one class lives in continual dread of the other, the sentinel ever at his post, and where the slumbering vengeance of thousands may at any moment awaken into activity, and convert the whole country into one scene of anarchy and blood. It was from this just apprehension, and from a desire to wipe out the moral stain of slavery, that Great Britain, by a generous policy, emancipated the slaves in her West India colonies ; and though the proportion of blacks to whites was much greater, being ten, and sometimes twenty, to one, than in North America, where they seldom amount to above a third of the population, yet their emancipation would be a great reform, which would conduce not less to the improvement of morals than to the peace of society. But this great change must be the work of time. The way must be prepared by the diffusion of intelligence and of purer morals ; and great was the error of those over-zea­lous missionaries who went about preaching to the Ame­rican slaves the dangerous doctrine of natural right ; thus agitating society by the fear of some dreadful crisis, which might involve the land in devastation and blood, or, if autho­rity were maintained, which would rivet, and render more cruel, the yoke of slavery. And such, in point of fact, has been its effect. The incendiary doctrines of these apostles of freedom really alarmed the slave-holders for their lives and properties ; and they now regarded them as the enemies of good order, to be repressed and punished, and treated some of them so roughly that they narrowly escaped with their lives. It is char that slavery will never be abolished, either in America or elsewhere, except by the aid of the slave­holders themselves. In the West India islands they were gained over by a bribe of 20 millions sterling; and it is only, we fear, by some such powerful argument that the master will ever consent to the emancipation of the slave. There is no authority in America that could effect the abo­lition of slavery. An act of Congress for this purpose could scarcely be obtained; and it is even doubtful how far the wealthy planters of the south would submit to a law passed, as they would reason, by fanatical zealots, and endangering both their property and their lives. Such dis­cussions are now considered to be dangerous and inexpe­dient. Hence they are forborne in the Congress, and still more all attempts to legislate on the subject, as putting in jeopardy the supreme authority and unity of the empire.

The alarm excited in the southern states, by the mis­sionaries of freedom, has rather been unfavourable to the slaves. Fear has, as usual, been the parent of cruelty. It has added to the rigour of their bondage, and has given rise to laws without a parallel for barbarity in any civilized country, which are intended for ever to debar the slave from the blessings either of knowledge or of religion. In all the slave-states, namely, the Carolinas, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, &c., not only are those cruel laws enforced against slaves, but, in the wantonness of abused power, they are extended to free men of colour, who are exposed to every species of injury and insult. They are not allowed to pass from one state into another. Mr Stuart, who cannot be accused of prejudice against American manners or in­stitutions, relates of an individual in South Carolina, who was accustomed, during the unhealthy season, to go from Charleston to New York, that, by a law recently passed, he was prohibited from crossing the boundary, under the pain of not being allowed to return ; and thus, having his wife and children in the state, he was confined a pri­soner within its limits; while a person of colour coming into the same state, or brought in by a vessel, is apprehend­ed and confined in jail until the vessel is ready to sail. It ⅛ contrary to law that this class of nominal freemen, but real slaves, shall be educated ; they are not competent wit­nesses where the rights of the other class are concerned, though their testimony is received against each other, as is even the evidence of slaves; and they are tried for any offence with which they may be charged, by a justice of the peace and freeholders, without the benefit of a jury. From those laws passed against the offspring of slaves having the original taint of slavery, we may in­fer the treatment of the slaves themselves. Several bar­barous enactments have lately been passed. In 1830 the state legislature of Louisiana ordained, that “ whosoever shall write, print, publish, or distribute any thing *having a tendency* to create discontent among the free coloured