

[*Resolved*, That sufficient evidence has been given to the world, to convince the enlightened public, that the immediate emancipation of the colored people is morally right, and politically safe.]

Permit me, sir, (said Mr. G.) to say, that this day is to me of the highest interest. When I cast my eye over this respectable and enlightened congregation, I see that the doctrines of this resolution will be responded to by every intelligent mind. Let me take a view of what American Slavery is. It consists in this: in making men chattels; in brutalizing the image of God, the purchase of the blood of Jesus Christ; impressing its seal on childhood, and wresting from the hand of the rightful owner that exercise of the judgment for which he is accountable only to God. It denies to the slaves, and in many parts of the country to the free colored people also, access to that heavenly chart, which is laid down by Jehovah as the only safe rule of faith and practice, the liberty of reading and understanding how he may serve God acceptably. It withholds from him all the proceeds of his labor, except a scanty subsistence, and two suits of clothing in a year, of the coarsest description. Is it morally right and politically safe to abolish such a system immediately?

Let us look at the evidences. They are not drawn from the days of Hannibal, nor from a period a thousand years back, nor even one hundred years since; but from to-day—from things as they are, and may be seen to be—at our own times—now.

The first evidence I will give, is that of the slaveholders themselves. They are certainly good witnesses. In their daily papers, you will see, at any time, advertisements for the sale of ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred valuable negroes, recommended and qualified in such terms as these: Jack, a good farmer; Joe, a skilful carpenter; Bob, a first-rate shoemaker; Jim, a capital blacksmith, fully guaranteed; Bets, a good washerwoman; Nell, a faithful nurse; Sall, a seamstress, fully guaranteed. Is not that evidence that they may be safely made free? If, under the oppressions of slavery, they can become skilful mechanics, trusty housekeepers, and safe nurses, would they be less so, if made fully free. I trow not. If they sustain so

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much moral worth while crowded within the small circle which slavery allows, what would they not exhibit, if placed in circumstances to develop all the powers with which they are endowed by a beneficent Creator?

In the second place, I will call your attention to the evidence from the disposition that has been manifested by those who have already obtained their freedom. It is in evidence, that those who have been slaves, and who have been liberated, by gift or will, or by their own industry, have ever manifested the strongest and tenderest affection for the family of their former masters. I was once honored with a travelling connection in the Methodist Episcopal Conference of Philadelphia, and labored in the peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays, where I had great opportunity of becoming acquainted with the disposition of the people of color. I will say, that I do not know of more ignorant people on earth, than many of the field hands on that peninsula. And I believe the mass of the whites are about as ignorant. For, once while I was travelling the Lewistown circuit, I was called to preach a sermon at the execution of two black men, one of whom had murdered his master. A short time before, the Court of Oyer had sentenced a white man to death, for murdering his wife and child, and he had been hanged. About three weeks afterwards, the court appointed for the trial of slaves sentenced these two black men to death, and the time was appointed. When we went from the prison to the gallows, only a short distance, we found such a mass of people assembled, with stands for the sale of cider, and cakes, and rum, that the sheriff could with great difficulty force a passage. And this, notwithstanding there had been a white man hanged three weeks before. Is not this evidence of the degradation of the whites? How, then, can you expect to find an enlightened community of colored people among such masters?

But I found many people of color, who had obtained their freedom, and had purchased lots, and built cabins, where they had their pigs and chickens, and seemed to be comfortable and improving. I have seen the children of their former masters come to these people and ask for something to eat, and I have seen every thing of the best in the cabin provided for them. I asked one aged woman, "Sister Judy, who was that young lady I saw here?" "Ah!" said

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she, “it was my old master’s daughter: many time I have been severely beaten for her sake; but, poor thing, she is very poor now, and has nothing but what her friends give her. I forgive her now, and look to God for my reward. I have no right to take vengeance, and I do the best I can for her, when she comes here, to get something good to eat.” Here is the evidence. Shall such benevolence as this, when exhibited by those who have every reason to take vengeance, be passed by? Shall those who have such a spirit be kept in bondage?

A third evidence to be considered, is drawn from the general character of the people of color, including their situation, and their ability to get along in the world. Let it be remembered, that the man of color has to labor against wind and tide, to meet all the prejudices, and contend with all the proscription and opposition of the times. Notwithstanding this, I can show that the colored man is capable of making headway under all his disadvantages. Go with me to Baltimore, and in Howard-street, we will find a man of color who, seven years ago, paid \$600 for his own body and soul, and \$300 or more for his wife: now he owns nearly a block of ground, with three brick houses, two of which would rent in New-York for \$300 a piece, and the other for \$700, besides several wooden tenements. Come to Philadelphia, and there is a man named Hales, who has twice paid \$350 for himself, being cheated out of the first payment by his *humane* master. Now he has on the front of his lot a three-story house, and on the rear, such buildings as rent for more than \$600 a-year.

In Philadelphia, we have fourteen respectable congregations of colored people. We own several churches that are worth from \$25,000 to \$50,000 each. The whole amount of our public property, in churches, school houses, and burial grounds, is more than two hundred thousand dollars, the greater part paid for by ourselves. Several pay schools are supported by us. About sixty beneficial societies do much to provide for the sick and the helpless, and for the burial of the dead, paying for these objects from eight to twelve thousand dollars a-year. Not a colored person of any respectability, however poor, is buried at the expense of the poor funds in Philadelphia. In New-York, there are six or eight churches, with beneficial societies, and schools, and other useful institutions. So in other cities. It is true, we have in Philadelphia, and elsewhere, a low class of colored

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people, who are both degraded and vicious: but who is to blame? I live near the church in which I have the honor to officiate; and in one square there are fifteen grog-shops located, by the authority of the city; and in the immediate neighborhood there are forty-five. When *you* set the trap, is the rabbit to be blamed for being caught? The weary traveller or laborer is snared in the gins that are set by those in authority, who ought to know better. But amidst all our difficulties, the man of color advances in a surprising degree. And when the people of color are compared with other portions of the laboring class in the community, I venture to declare, that in regard to the number of the vicious and the wretched, they will not overrun the common ratio.

In the fourth place, I will notice the evidence drawn from the power of intellect exhibited by the man of color. I know our heads have been measured, to determine whether we had as much brains as blood. I know that prejudice has blinded the eyes of many who ought to have seen and acknowledged the truth. I know the popular delusion everywhere prevailing, has extended its influence even over ourselves; and that many among us have tacitly consented to admit that we were an inferior race. But I will appeal to facts. I will mention one case, and I am happy to see a reverend gentleman in the house who can attest it. There was a man, who used to travel with Bishop Asbury, named Henry Hosier, who was a most extraordinary natural orator, and was admitted by the bishop to be a correct theologian. When he was preaching on the peninsula, he came to Bahama manor, in the neighborhood of Esquire Bassett's, afterwards governor of Delaware, but now removed, I trust, to his heavenly rest. One Sabbath day, Esquire Bassett had his church minister to dine with him, and while they were at table, his servant came in, and whispered to Mrs. Bassett. The Esquire asked, "What does Joe want?" Mrs. B. replied, "He wants to go and hear a colored man preach." He turned to the clergyman, and said, "A colored man preach! Did you ever hear of a nigger's preaching? Let us go." So he told the man to bring up the carriage, and they would go and here Joe's preacher. When they came to the place, which was in the woods a few miles distant, Esquire Bassett rolled a log near to the stump where the preacher stood, and they sat down to hear. The old gentleman stood up, and took his text. Doubtless,

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he was abashed at seeing all the masters in the neighborhood. But he preached his sermon. After he was through, Esquire Basset took him by the hand, and asked him, "Where were you educated?" "I have no education, sir." "Can you not read?" "No, sir, I know only one letter in the book, and that is O." "Well," said he, "I have been to colleges and seminaries, and if I were to be hung for it, I could not preach such a sermon as that." But this is not the whole. Conviction seized upon his soul, under the preaching of that sermon, and he became Christian, and lived a faithful member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and died in the full assurance of a glorious immortality. Now, bring me a white man, that don't know a letter in the book but O, who can preach a systematic gospel sermon, and be pronounced by an intelligent congregation a correct theologian.

We have among us a number of men, who know but little about reading, but yet are able preachers of the gospel. Last Sabbath, I had the pleasure of inviting to our pulpit a preacher named Shadrach Green, of Kentucky, a man 26 or 27 years of age—a slave. His humane master had sold his soul and body to himself for a thousand dollars. In preaching, he took for his text the words, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called sons of God." He commenced with a description of the excellent gifts of God in prophesy. Secondly, the exact fulfilment of prophecy, in the coming, life, and death of Jesus Christ. Then he laid open the sufferings of Christ, and showed the goodness of God in giving forth the influences of his Spirit on the hearts of sinners. And he crowned the whole with a declaration of the manner in which God had visited his own soul. "Behold," said he, "what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." Now, that man could scarcely read a chapter in the book. Was there no natural talent here—no moral power—no material to work upon—no foundation for a superstructure of cultivation, that would have shone with brilliancy? And, thanks be to God, he was not a mulatto, neither, but a black man. There are some people foolish enough to think a few drops of white blood in our veins will impart more gifts and powers than a black man can exhibit.

These are but a few of the statements of facts which I might make. But,

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surely, in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word shall be established. Here let me say, that no small sagacity has been evinced by the people of color, in their course respecting the great contest now going on in this nation. We have always had our own views on this subject. We view slavery to be like the carnal mind, which is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. And therefore it must be abolished, and not ameliorated. There is no such thing as ameliorating slavery. You might as well talk of having the love of God in a carnal mind.

William Lloyd Garrison has been branded as the individual who turned the people of color against the colonization scheme. But I can tell you, sir, that when William Lloyd Garrison was a schoolboy, the people of color in different parts of the country were holding extensive meetings, which always agreed in declaring that they regarded the scheme as visionary in itself, and calculated only to rivet the chains of those who remain in slavery. I had the pleasure of hearing the Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia, declare frankly that the Colonization Society never would be able to accomplish their objects. The Hon. William S. Archer told me the same in conversation. How far it may act beneficially, in abolishing the slave-trade, or in planting benevolence and civilization in Africa, I leave for time to disclose. But these facts show, that as to its bearings on ourselves, the people of color were not asleep. Long before William Lloyd Garrison was a man, we had fixed our *veto* on it. From its very commencement, we had washed our hands of all connection with it.

It is said by the pro-slavery party, that the people of color, so far as they are informed on the subject, are opposed to the principles and measures of the abolitionists. Sir, I deny it. I know I speak the language of every intelligent man of color in the United States, that has had the opportunity of understanding the subject, when I say that we do approve of the benevolent scheme of immediate emancipation. There may be some at the South, who are respectable and intelligent, but who are not allowed to read for themselves the truth of the matter, because it is considered treason for a colored man to read, and treason to receive or give a book or a paper; and some of these may disapprove of the abolition principles, because they do not understand them. But with this exception, we

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approve of them to a man, and are ready to stand by our friends, and to hold up the hands of our Moseses and our Aarons, and give them our best wishes, our sincere prayers, and all the pecuniary aid our circumstances admit.

I have another evidence to offer, in support of this resolution; and that is from the law of God. When God gave his law to Moses, he said to him “Come up hither.” And the mountain shook, and the lightning flashed, and the thunders rolled, and the clouds appeared, portending that God was about to give law to men. And what is that law? He enjoins this precept, “Lay up these my words in your heart, and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.” See, then, the wickedness of those laws which go contrary to the law of God, and say to the slave, “You shall not read these Scriptures, nor understand them, nor teach them to your children, nor obey them.” Is it not morally right, and politically safe, to abolish such a system?

I say, then, that immediate abolition is both morally right and politically safe. Is it not right and safe to let men go free, who are proved capable of being governed by the laws of God? If all the moral worth and influence that has been lost to the world through American slavery, could be condensed into real matter, and placed in the scale, with the Atlas mountains in the opposite, the mountain scale would kick the beam, as though it were a feather’s weight. Such is the withering influence of American slavery on the man of color.

And now, sir, considering the proscription we labor under, would it be a wonder if we were all a debased set of wretches, involved in the greatest vice and misery that can be expressed? We ought to be better than we are—that is clear. But would it be a wonder if we were a thousand times worse?

Seeing, then, that under all our disadvantages and provocations, we have given evidence of a benevolent and peaceful disposition—that we have never been

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