

THE COLOURED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE NO DESTINY
SEPARATE FROM THAT OF THE NATION OF WHICH THEY FORM AN
INTEGRAL PART.

Nearly two and a half centuries have rolled away since the African was first introduced into the American colonies as a slave. The first 130 years of his heavy bondage was borne under the British crown. The enlightened mind will be reluctant to go back so far in search of materials in the history of a people, when it is known beforehand that that history will furnish some of the most startling specimens of outrage that can be found in the annals of nations and peoples. There is now but one reason why I would desire you, gentlemen, to waive such reluctance, and to take with me a glance at that history, namely, to illustrate the fact that a most powerful conflict has existed between Japheth and Ham in the matter of slavery. We behold these two limbs of humanity meeting on the western continent nearly at the same time, but under different auspices. The one goes from England, his native soil, where he has been cradled in the bosom of arts and sciences for centuries; he goes with the powerful sympathy of enlightened government, and with the patronage of all the pious and educated. The other goes from Africa, *his* native soil, where no light of science has shone for centuries, and where Christianity did not shed its benign influence. The son of Japheth comes to enter upon a new career of glory,—to lay the foundation of institutions that are, in their progress, to rival those he left behind. The son of Ham goes to enter upon a new career of degradation and slavery, in all its worst and most ruinous forms. A slavery which has in it no element or attribute of civilization, no tendency to Christianize, but whose primary law of perpetuating its cruelties and animosities are all averse to civilization in any degree. The attributes of justice, mercy, and love, those great elements of refinement to the human soul, are utter strangers to slavery. Evangelization and regeneration are impossibilities under the system, so far as it works its own results. All its aids and tendencies are to barbarism; a barbarism which is the perfect opposite of Christian civilization. Slavery has no power to alleviate the original miseries of humanity. It has no solitary law of elevation, no mode of redemption, no cup of happiness, no spirit of consolation, no window of light to the soul. But on the contrary it is capable of souring more deeply the bitterest dregs of the cup of human depravity; it traces with a bolder hand the darkest outlines of the

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midnight shades that mark the horizon of man's fallen state. If the enslaved makes any progress, it must be by a law which operates to the destruction of slavery; a law which virtually or actually emancipates the man from the tendencies of the system; a law that contains in itself a power more than equal to the destructive elements of the system.

Some classes of the human family have sunk and perished under slavery; their physical and mental strength have not been able to stand the shock; there are two exceptions—the Jews in Egypt, and the Negro in America.

The proud monarch of the land of pyramids tried his hand at the work of cruelty and destruction in vain. By a powerful law, as fixed as the everlasting throne of God, the objects of his oppression stood the shock of his vengeance, and, to his great dismay, increased upon his hands; and when he resorted to the foul project of checking their progress by his capital and malicious movement of murdering the male children, God met him upon his own, in the fulfilment of the original threat. "Israel is my son; even my first-born; and I say unto thee, let my son go; and it shall come to pass, if thou refuse to let my son go, I will slay thy son, even thy first-born."

If a brief digression from the immediate thread of discourse be admissible, I would remark just here, upon a fact in the history of Egyptian slavery. The Jews well understood and practised so skilfully the law of self-preservation, that they sustained themselves against the murderous cruelties of their oppressors; and the latter, maddened to desperation, plunged on, till they arrived at a point where they met God and were punished. But to return.

In the case now being discussed, we behold two minds pledged to bring about opposite results. At an early period in the history of American slavery, it was found by the Anglo-Saxon that the Negro was possessed of mind, which made him a powerful antagonist. The proud and selfish Anglo-Saxon found, to his great surprise, that *his mind* had to devise ways and means, not to hold in check brutes only, as a man would halter and break a horse into the harness, but that he had to deal with a mind possessing all the natural attributes of mind for which himself is peculiar. He had seized upon the Negro to be used merely as a beast; but he was soon alarmed to find that he must undertake the difficult task of forging chains for a mind like his own. The herculean work was undertaken, and

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On the one side, the crusade has been marked by cruelties that have no parallel in the records of judicial, legislative, or municipal proceedings. These acts have been met by the Negro in a temper so cool, calculating, cautious, and with a strength of will and self-possession so singular, as to be abusively named "The Stubborn Negro."

One of the most curious and amusing records I have seen, in proof of this, is the history of what is called

THE NEGRO PLOT

This scene occurred in the city of New York in 1740. The city contained at that time 10,000 whites and 2000 negroes, five to one. There had been taken into the port of New York a Spanish prize-ship, on board of which were a number of coloured seamen. The Court of Admiralty ordered these men to be sold as slaves; they protesting that they were free subjects of Spain. This act not only had the effect to disquiet the public conscience, but it introduced a new and more spirited element of resistance among the slaves. The whites were perfectly aware these men were alleging their wrongs and declaring their rights openly about the streets and warehouses, and sometimes showed signs of sullenness. They took the alarm and began to expect the worst.

The history of the so-called plot shows, that on the night of the 28th of February, 1740, a petty robbery was committed at the house of one Robert Hogg; subsequently to this, several fires occurred, with one or two exceptions, *in the daytime*. In addition to all this, a Mrs. Earle, being at her window on Broadway one Sunday, saw two coloured men walking up the street, and one of them said, "Fire, fire, scorch, scorch, A LITTLE, damn it, BY-AND-BYE."

This she told to a certain Mrs. George, and they two talking the matter over, worked their minds up to the belief that these men had been concerned in the late fires, and made a communication of their evidence and views to the aldermen. This led to several arrests, and to a general belief that the negroes had a conspiracy for burning the city, and murdering all of the inhabitants. This state of alarm continued for more than a year, during which time they tried 160, transported 71, hanged 18, and burned 13. The history of this affair fills nearly 400 pages, containing a journal of the courts, with all the evidences taken; and it is certain that a theft

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was committed, the amount of which is carefully omitted; and that fires were set in the daytime. It does not appear that a single human being among the whites suffered any personal injury, or that any attempt was made to perpetrate any such injury. I shall make extracts from the volume, not with a view, however, to call in question either the fact of a conspiracy, or the extent to which it may or may not have existed, but rather to show the extraordinary barbarity and malignity with which the negroes were treated by Christian authorities.

(1.) Attempts were made to induce persons condemned to implicate others. A magistrate, in sentencing *Caesar* and *Prince*, said to them,—“You *Caesar* and *Prince*, the grand jury having found two indictments against each of you, for feloniously stealing and taking away from Mr. Hogg and Mr. Meyers Cohen sundry goods of considerable value. To these indictments you severally pleaded *not guilty*, and for your trials put yourselves upon God and the country; which country having found you guilty, it now only remains for the court to pronounce that judgment which the law requires and the nature of your crimes deserve. And as it is not in your powers to make full restitution for the many injuries you have done the public, so I advise both of you to do all that in you is to prevent further mischiefs, *by discovering such persons as have been concerned with you in designing or endeavouring to burn this city and to destroy its inhabitants. This I am fully persuaded is in your power to do, if you will; if so, and you do not make such discovery, be assured God Almighty will punish you for it, though we do not; therefore, I advise you to consider this well, and I hope both of you will tell the truth.*” “And now, nothing further remains for me to say, but that *you Caesar, and you Prince*, are to be taken hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you, and each of you, are to be hanged by the neck until you be dead. And I pray the Lord to have mercy on your souls.” “Ordered, that their execution be on Monday next, the eleventh day of this instant, between the hours of nine and one of the same day. And further ordered, that, after the execution of the said sentence, the body of *Caesar* be hung in chains.” These two were executed for theft.

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“Gentlemen,—the monstrous ingratitude of this BLACK TRIBE is what exceedingly aggravates their guilt. Their slavery among us is generally softened with great indulgence; they live without care, and are commonly better fed and clothed, and put to less labour than the poor of most Christian countries. They are indeed slaves, but under the protection of the law, none can hurt them with impunity: they are really more happy in this place than in the midst of the continual plunder, cruelty, and rapine of their native countries; but notwithstanding all the kindness and tenderness with which they have been treated amongst us, yet this is the second attempt of the same kind that this BRUTISH AND BLOODY SPECIES OF MANKIND have made within one age.” To the criminals : — “*Quack and Cuffee, the criminals at the bar*, you both now stand convicted of one of the most horrid and detestable pieces of villany that ever Satan instilled into the heart of human creatures to put in practice; ye, and the rest of your colour, though you are called slaves in this country, yet you are all far, very far, from the condition of other slaves in other countries; nay, your lot is superior to that of thousands of white people. You are furnished with all the necessaries of life, meat, drink, and clothing, without care, in a much better manner than you could provide for yourselves, were you at liberty, as the miserable condition of many free people here of your complexion might abundantly convince you. What then could prompt you to undertake so vile, so wicked, so monstrous, so execrable and hellish a scheme, as to murder and destroy your own masters and benefactors ? Nay, to destroy, root and branch, all the white people of this place, and to lay the whole town in ashes.”

Another.—“You, Tom, the criminal at the bar, hearken to what is now to be said to you. The hellish scheme you have engaged in, as you have confessed before the magistrates over and over again (I think no less than four several times), was to set Walter Hyer’s house on fire, and (as you concluded and proposed) that would subsequently set the next house (Ratsey’s) on fire, and that would set your mistress’s on fire, and burn your mistress in it, and then that would burn the whole town; then the Long Island negroes were to come over to the assistance of the negroes here; and they, in conjunction, were to murder all the white people of this city. And, in order that your malicious, hellish purposes might effectually take place, the fire was to be put, as it actually was, when the wind

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blew hard, that in all probability any attempts made to extinguish the flames might be in vain.

"And such a trusty agent you have been in the devil's service, that in prosecution of this infernal conspiracy, you did actually take the first step proposed, in order to accomplish this diabolical purpose, by putting fire to Hyer's house on both sides of it.

"All this that I have said you have confessed over and over again; and in this we must take your word. It as a merciful act of Providence that your designs were timely prevented, that you were committed upon suspicion only, and that thereupon the truth has thus bolted out from you.

"It was rumoured without doors that you were a half-witted fellow (boy I think they called you, though you are said to be two or three-and-twenty years old); and indeed one would think hardly any body but arrant fools or mad folks would engage in such chimerical, wicked, villainous, and dangerous projects, which must most probably end in the confusion and destruction of the wretches concerned, as you found by woeful experience in the many examples of those miserable creatures of your colour that expired in flames, and at the gallows, the last summer, for the like detestable offences; and yet so hardened and stupefied are ye in villany, that no examples, though ever so severe, no terrors of punishment can affright ye; but ye will even defy the gallows and commit your bodies to the flames, rather than not risk the chance of gratifying your savage, cruel, and insatiable thirst for blood.

"You negroes are treated here with great humanity and tenderness; ye have no hard taskmasters, ye are not laden with too heavy burthens; but your work is moderate and easy. You say your mistress no cross to you, she very good, or she good enough; and yet with small persuasion you were prevailed upon to destroy her in flames. Such worthless detestable wretches are many, it may be said, most of your complexion, that no kindnesses can oblige ye. There is such an untowardness, as it should seem, in the very nature and temper of ye, that ye grow cruel by too much indulgence; so much are ye degenerated and debased below the dignity of human species, that even the brute animals may upbraid you; for the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; even the very dogs also, will, by their actions, express their gratitude to the hand that feeds them, their thankfulness for kindnesses; they will fawn and fondle upon their masters; nay, of any one should attempt to assault them, they will defend

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them from injury to the utmost of their power. Such is the fidelity of these dumb beasts; but ye, the beasts of the people, though ye are clothed and fed, and provided with all the necessities of life, without care; in requital of your benefactors, in return for blessings ye give curses, and would scatter firebrands, death, and destruction around them, destroy their estates, and butcher their persons. Thus monstrous is your ingratitude! But thanks be to Almighty God, that through his wondrous and merciful Providence, your hellish devices are discovered, and you are now to reap the just reward of your labours.

“And since justice has at last overtaken you, I shall, in compassion to your poor soul, which is in the utmost, the greatest danger of being for ever miserable, give you a word of advice, in order to prevail upon you to make use of those few moments you have to remain in this world to the best advantage; for be not deceived, there is another world after this, and there is a God above who has a clear view of all your actions, and knows the very secrets of your heart, and will require at your hands, according to that degree of your reason which he has given you; and though your body be consumed in flames here on earth (a punishment of short continuance), yet your soul will never die; that must survive the body, either to be for ever happy or for ever miserable, according to your actions here.”*

(3) The Negroes were denied the benefits of the Gospel; see proclamation of Lieutenant Governor Mr. George Clarke.

“26th January, 1742

“Gentlemen, —After the providential discovery of the late most execrable conspiracy, and the hellish and barbarous designs of a perverse and blood-thirsty people, for the ruin and destruction of the whole province and the inhabitants thereof, and that even at a time when all things were ripe for execution, and the intended desolation was so nigh at hand, one would think our signal preservation could never be forgot, and that no one could be so blind to himself and regardless of his future safety, as to suffer the negroes to have private or public meetings and caballings together; thereby giving them an opportunity of forming new designs, or another conspiracy, knowing them to be a people whom no example can reclaim, no punishment deter, or lenitives appease; yet from the many undoubted informations I have received from the diverse parts of the country, the inso-

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lence of the negroes is as great, if not greater than ever, and they are not only suffered to have private but even public meetings, in great numbers, without the least molestation or interruption from the magistrates; and in defiance of those laws they ought to be the protectors of, and see put in due execution; thereby suffering them and themselves to be trampled on and insulted, to the endangering of the peace of the province. If this practice continues, what may we not fear? For I doubt there are too many yet remaining among us who were of the late conspiracy, and though we have felled the tree, I fear it is not entirely rooted up. I must therefore require you, as you value the peace and safety of this city and province, and your own preservation; and you are hereby strictly charged and required to see the laws against negroes duly and punctually executed, suffering no meetings of them within your city and county, and several districts. And in order that the same may be more effectually done, I do hereby direct you to charge all the constables and other officers to be diligent in their duty, and that they apprehend and bring before you, or some of you, all and every one so offending; as also all such persons as shall be found to harbour negroes, confederate or consort with them, that they may be proceeded against according to law. And in order that every one may have notice hereof, I do direct that you cause this letter to be read from time to time at your general quarter-sessions, and that you give in charge to the grand juries that they make inquiries concerning the offenders. I doubt not but you will have regard hereto, as it so highly concerns you all; and that you will take such prudent measures as may prevent any future disturbance.—I am, Gentlemen, your most humble servant,

GEO. CLARKE

(4 The multitude were permitted to vent their rage against the negroes while executed.

“Saturday, May 30th.

“This day Quack and Cuffee were executed at the stake according to sentence. The spectators at this execution were very numerous; about three o’clock the criminals were brought to the stake, surrounded with piles of wood ready for setting fire to, which the people were very impatient to have done, their resentment being raised to the utmost pitch against them, and no wonder. The criminals shewed great terror in their countenances, and looked as if they would gladly have discovered all they

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knew of this accursed scheme, could they have had any encouragement to hope for a reprieve. But as the case was, they might flatter themselves with hopes; they both seemed inclinable to make some confession; the only difficulty between them being, at last, who should speak first. Mr. Moore, the deputy-secretary, undertook singly to examine them both, endeavouring to persuade them to confess their guilt, and all they knew of the matter, without effect; till at length Mr. Roosevelt came up to him, and said he would undertake Quack, whilst Mr. Moore examined Cuffee; but before they could proceed to the purpose, each of them was obliged to flatter his respective criminal that his fellow-sufferer had begun, which stratagem prevailed. Mr. Roosevelt stuck to Quack altogether, and Mr. Moore took Cuffee's confession, and sometimes also minutes of what each said; and afterwards, upon drawing up their confessions in form from their minutes, they therefore intermixed what came from each. After the confessions were minuted down (which were taken in the midst of great noise and confusion), Mr. Moore desired the sheriff to delay the execution until the governor be acquainted therewith, and his pleasure known touching their reprieve; which, could it have been effected, it was thought might have been a means of producing great discoveries; but from the disposition observed in the spectators, it was much to be apprehended there would have been great difficulty, if not danger, in an attempt to take the criminals back. All this was represented to his honour; and before Mr. Moore could return from him to the place of execution, he met the sheriff upon the common, who declared his opinion that the carrying the negroes back would be impracticable; and if that was his honour's order, it could not be attempted without a strong guard, which could not be got time enough; and his honour's directions for the reprieve being conditional and discretionary, for these reasons the execution proceeded."

Such is a view of the situation in which the negro found himself at the early period to which I have referred, on the part of the coloured people of New York to gain their freedom. This was long before the date of the Declaration of Independence; before a finger had been lifted in the colonies against the authority of the British king. It was for this that such a singularly barbarous attempt was made by men administering justice under the auspices of the British crown, to exterminate this people.

The coloured people of the state and city of New York have now increased to the number of 50,000, and are among the most intelligent

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coloured people of the world. But the early policy of New York was the early policy of all the states.

Consider a powerful race, having all the advantages and implements of civilization, wealth, and power in their hands, and using these to crush a minority in their midst. By the most legislative and municipal regulations, this minority are made to feel the hand of oppression invading this social circle; their hearthstones stained with the blood of their relations; their tables made a snare; their midnight slumbers broken up; their sleep made bitter by the vision of their wives and daughters violated; their sons led into captivity; their own persons seized upon, and the iron plunged deeply into their souls.

Twenty-seven generations of coloured people have thus by the heavy shaft of vengeance been transfixed against the dismal walls of the prison-house of their bondage. In this long and dismal operation we have seen the deliberate, cool, and systematic working of two antagonistic minds; minds, from their very relations maintaining a *fearful conflict*—the one aiming at complete *conquest*, and the other at complete *deliverance*.

One of the chief attributes of mind is a desire for freedom; but it has been the great aim of slavery to extinguish this desire.

To extinguish this attribute would be to extinguish mind itself. Every faculty which the master puts forth to subdue the slave, is met by a corresponding one in the latter. The following table will show the time when the coloured people were introduced into America; the number first brought; and their number at the time the states declared their independence.

SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES, 1776

The first slaves introduced into this country were twenty in number, brought by a Dutch ship of war from the coast of Guinea. They were landed for sale in James River, in the colony of Virginia, August, 1620, two hundred and twenty-eight years ago. Negroes thenceforth soon constituted a species of tariff, more or less in all the colonies. At the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the whole number of them was estimated at 500,000, viz.

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Massachusetts	3,500	Delaware	9,000
Rhode Island.....	4,373	Maryland	80,000
Connecticut	6,000	Virginia	165,000
New Hampshire	629	North Carolina	75,000
New York	15,000	South Carolina.....	110,000
New Jersey.....	7,600	Georgia.....	16,500
Pennsylvania.....	10,000		
		Total	502,133

The census of 1790 exhibited 697,897 slaves and 59,46 free persons of colour; that of 1800, the number of 893,041 slaves; in 1810, 1,191,364; in 1820, 1,538,064; in 1830, 2,009,031; and in 1840, 2,427,355.

From the date of the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 to the present, 1850, seventy-four years, we have increased from 500,000 to nearly 4,000,000. Of this number, one-eighth are now free, and are mainly inhabiting the 15 free states. Of these 15, seven, viz. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were originally slaveholding States; and have each at different periods declared acts of emancipation.

In fifteen states of the American confederacy this people are, by constitutional as well as by statute law, chattelized into property personal. In the federal constitution there is a distinct clause by which the master holds jurisdiction over the person of the slave, even after he has fled from the state in which he has been held in bonds. In 9 out of the 15 free states, every free coloured man is by constitutional law barred from the ballot-box.

At least two-thirds of the whites in the free states hold and act upon the opinion that the coloured people are a distinct and inferior race; that their elevation in America, even by the gospel, is utterly impracticable, and that therefore they must remove to Africa. Carrying out this opinion to its results, they think themselves perfectly honest in making his civil, social, and even his religious condition unhappy, by excluding him from the benefits of the civil institutions, from business, and from a seat in the *House of God*, except under circumstances so degrading as to make him feel that he is not welcome.

The amazing power which the slave population of America are now exerting for self-preservation will be seen in the light of facts drawn from the crushing influence of the domestic slave-trade to which I have alluded. I have to thank a writer in the "Buffalo Republic" for the following valuable article on the subject:—

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"The Inter-State Slave-Trade—Slave Markets.—The increase of all the slaves in the United States in ten years, ending with 1800, was thirty-five and a half per cent. In the ten years ending with 1810 it was thirty-five and four-fifths per cent.; in the next ten, ending with 1820, it was thirty-five and a half per cent.; in the next ten, ending with 1830, it was thirty-two per cent.; and between 1830 and 1840 it was but fourteen and one-eighth per cent., I suppose from the extraordinary mortality growing out of the suffering incidental to the American slave-trade. The greater part of the horror of this trade has not been recorded on earth, but the record of which in heaven will yet blacken the gaze of somebody. The census of 1840 discloses the astounding fact that the increase of the slave population, in the ten years then terminated, was less than twenty-five per cent.; from which it would appear that the extra waste of human life during this decade was equal to seven per cent. of the entire mass of slaves, or 138,298. The following table shows the proper increase, based upon that of the former ten years, viz. thirty-two per cent., and the actual increase in the state of population in 1840. It shows as much as such documents can do, what each state has lost below, and what each state has gained above its proper increase, proving the amount of the mitigation of the slave population in ten years, by moving with the planters to the new states at the south and south-west.

"Slave-exporting States.

States.	Slaves 1830.	Proper No. 1840.	Actual No. 1840.	Deficiency.
Delaware,.....	3,292	4,345	2,605	1,740
Maryland,.....	102,994	125,952	99,485	46,457
D. Columbia,....	6,119	8,17	4,694	3,483
Virginia,....	469,757	620,019	448,987	171,092
N. Carolina,.....	245,601	324,193	245,817	78,376
S. Carolina,....	415,401	416,329	327,039	89,291
Georgia,....	317,539	286,140	289,944	6,196
Kentucky,....	175,243	210,081	182,072	26,000
Tennessee,	141,603	186,919	183,059	3,847
Total....	1,667,514	2,201,512	1,754,711	426,501

"The three last named are large states, that fifteen years since had new lands to be taken up, consequently, till 1840, nearly absorbed their own natural increase; but then began to be in a very slight degree slave-exporting states. Providing the new comparatively unsettled states with

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426,501 slaves in ten years, no wonder that the slave-breeding and slave-extending interest in these states should be fond of prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa! No wonder that eastern Virginia slaveholders boast of having first denounced the importation of slaves from Africa as piracy! Let us see what account the census makes of those exported, by examining the returns of the slave-buying and slave-carrying trade :—

Slave-importing States.

States.	Slaves 1830.	Proper No. 1840.	Actual No. 1840.	Gain.
Alabama,....	117,549	155,164	253,532	93,268
Missouri,.....	65,659	86,660	195,211	108,541
Louisiana,....	109,588	104,656	165,218	20,563
Missouri,.....	25,091	33,120	58,240	15,120
Arkansas,.....	4,596	6,040	19,935	13,895
Florida,.....	15,501	20,461	25,559	5,098
Total...	337,964	446,111	717,696	371,585

“From this it appears, that although the more northern slave-states had parted with 426,501, the more new and south-western slave-states show a gain of only 271,585 in 1840. The deficiency of 168,946 between the loss of one section and gain by the other, can only be explained by a loss of life equal to it. This mass of humanity of 168,916 men, women, and children, were actually killed and worn out prematurely on the cotton and sugar plantations of the far South in ten years! If this is so, and I ask candid men if it is not, let us in all conscience *abolish* the market for slaves, whether coming from Africa, or our own states, by making all our territories free by act of Congress. The effect of this will be to confine slaves, *as such*, to the states now existing, where by reason of their *multiplication within them*, two powerful causes will be operating upon their masters toward emancipation—the fall of price and the fears of insurrection.”

This estimate covers a period of fifty years, and in the light of these facts we may exclaim, “Behold the Man.” From 1790 to 1800, ten years, he produces thirty-five and a half per cent.; he next ten years he rises to thirty-five and four-fifths; the next he is brought down to thirty-five and a half, next to thirty-two, next fourteen and one-eighth! but again

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he rises to twenty-five per cent., with a clear loss of 168,946 souls by premature death. Could an inferior race preserve itself under operations like the above? Let common sense and facts answer.

There is another view which we are to take of the Negro mind in its conflict with its powerful antagonist. Soon after the northern states emancipated, there set in a tide of exits from the slave states. Within the last fifteen years 30,000 slaves have escaped, mainly to Canada. A history of those escapes would put the world in possession of one of the most heroic volumes the world has ever seen. To arrest this tide of daring self-aman-cipations, the planters have again called to their aid all the elements, im-plements, and agents of power, malice, vengeance, and destruction that earth and hell could invent. Indeed it would seem that they at times brought up the very demons to their aid. By the offer of great rewards, they have summoned to the pursuit gangs of desperadoes, who, burning with a desire for the gain, have risked life and character.

They have themselves, on fleet-footed horses, chased their victims to the Red Sea with blood-hounds and fire-arms; they have shot them from trees, while swimming rivers; they have followed in gangs, with records and witnesses, into the cities of the North; and at one time, it was no new thing to see a constable in New York or Philadelphia chasing a slave through the streets. Our judges have been known to surrender hundreds to their claimants. They have followed the slave to the very seat of government in Canada with a false accusation. At this moment 2,500 annually are making their escape in every possible way.

In this great work of self-emancipation, the slave evinces all the great elements of mind out-scheming mind, iron will, penetrating judgment, quick invention, profound insight of human nature, power of endurance, physical and moral courage, and practical knowledge of heavenly bodies.

I have aimed to show that the negro has been successful in maintaining the laws of self-preservation and natural generation in America, under a system of cruelty that has no parallel in the history of man.

My next proof will be, that the coloured people of America are advancing as rapidly in civilization as any other class of native Americans.

I shall give you a condensed digest of facts with reference to their popular education, agriculture, commerce, mechanic arts, and Christianity.

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My next proof will be, that the coloured people of America are advancing as rapidly in civilization as any other class of native Americans.

I shall give you a condensed digest of facts with reference to their popular education, agriculture, commerce, mechanic arts, and Christianity.

I. POPULAR EDUCATION is one of the first indications of a state of civilization. The popular school system of America is her great boast. We have no governmental system of education, but each separate state has a school fund which is the property of the people. Congress has power to appropriate the public lands or the proceeds thereof to aid those funds, but it has no legislative power over the schools. Well, in each state, popular schools are provided; professedly for the whole people; and the whole people are invited to enter them; *i.e.* to send their children. Foreigners as well as native born Americans are thus invited. It is natural to suppose that all will be ready to embrace the privilege; and we among the rest. Well, we come among the rest. To illustrate, I will lay before the reader a scene in a town where there are one of these schools. Here is a fond mother who has a darling child whom she is anxious to train for useful purposes. As she and the companion of her youth sit by their fireside and their boy sleeps upon his couch, this evening she says, "Our boy is now five years old; I have taught him his letters, I see he will make an early scholar; won't you get him some books, &c.; he must go to school. That father is not slow to accede to such a proposition; he loves his boy too well. The next day, the books are forthcoming, and the next morning the mother, with her boy, finds her way to the district school to enter him as a scholar; but he is met by sneers on the part of the white boys, and she is told that "the school committee have voted not to admit coloured children." How can this mother turn away from that school-house door, with her trembling boy by the hand, while scores of little civilized white boys and girls are making wry faces at them, and heaping upon them all the reproaches they can by their superior talents invent. "What's that nigger wench want here?" "That little darky coming to school! guess if that little nig. comes here, I'll leave the school pretty quick." My father's one of the committee, and he said nigger children warn't coming to school."

But this new and unexpected trouble has got to be communicated to the father; and he shares the chagrin and mortification of the mother and child. Nor does it stop here. Each of these little civilized Anglo-Saxons goes home with mouth opened for news, and eyes stretched like one who had seen sights unseeable, the girl to her mamma. "Why ma, what do you think?" "Well, what is it now?" There was a little nigger brought to school to-day." "Well, the teacher didn't take him in I hope?" "No

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indeed, his mother had to take him away again. Oh what fun we had about it; I had to snicker right out a laughing; indeed the whole school didn't do much else all day." "Well, I do hope for the land's sake we shan't be troubled with any niggers in our school, if there is any black children goes to school there, you certainly shall not go."

But the news is carried home by the committee-man's son; he has gone home and engaged in play, and forgets it until the family are seated at tea. The first blush of tea-table talk being over, and the conversation dying away, John, as if just recalled to memory, exclaims, "Oh! father, there was a black boy brought to school this morning; it was Bill Simpson's son, his mother brought him."—"Well, what did teacher do?" "Why he sent him off."—"Right." "I didn't hear exactly what he said to her at the door, but anyhow they soon cleared out."—"Bill Simpson's boy you say?" "Yes, sir."—"See Bill, I'll speak to him about it; don't see what he wants to crowd his children into the school for; he knows blacks never have been admitted; there's the effects of these abolitionists urging these blacks forward."

Mother. "Well I think niggers better be made to know and keep their places. I shall never consent to have our children go to school with niggers."

So the matter goes from family to family until all the Anglo-Saxon wrath has concentrated itself from every quarter of the school district upon the heads of William Simpson, his wife, and child; and, as a matter of course, this becomes a question of general interest. With Simpson it is a question of right, not one of propriety, and he does not wait for Mr. Committee-man to see him; but he calls on the school committee himself, and makes a respectful representation of his grievance. He wishes simply to know why his child has been excluded from the public school? Why he is told that no coloured children can be received into the school.

"But why not, sir?"

"Oh, why, because many white people will not send their children."

"Must I then rear my child in ignorance, because some whose skins are not coloured like my own objects to its entering school with their children? Is it not as much my duty to educate my child as it is that of white parents to educate theirs? And, above all, I ask, have I not a *right* to send my child to the public free schools?"

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The committee-man replies to Mr. Simpson's questions by saying,—
 "Well, you know it has not been usual to admit coloured children to the
 school, and it will only create an excitement and make it *worse for you*."

Well, here Mr. Simpson has a genteel hint to be aware how he insists upon
 his right to send his child to the school, lest he awaken the mob spirit,
 and thus be severely chastised for his conduct.

Such is the way the negroes are unceremoniously driven out of the
 popular schools of America. There are five states of the Union that are
 exceptions to this statement—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode
 Island, and Massachusetts; but in the remaining twenty-five states, in-
 cluding New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,
 Michigan, &c., ten free states, so called, and fifteen slave states. I ought
 to say, in regard to the five states to which I have referred as constituting
 the honourable exceptions, that they comprize what is called New Eng-
 land, with the exception of one state, Connecticut. It should be observed
 that this odious distinction is not carried out in many of the towns of
 Connecticut; in the towns of Farmington, Avon, Hartland, Litchfield,
 Bakerville, &c., coloured children are admitted to the public schools, while
 in the cities of Hartford, Newhaven, &c., they are excluded.

I present this as a case in which we are debarred the privilege of
 doing our part in aid of the work of civilization.

You will be anxious to know that course a coloured man, placed
 in circumstances like those I have related, will act. If such a man is in a
 town where there are no other coloured families but his own, he will em-
 ploy a teacher to instruct his child by the evening or the month, or he will
 move to another town where he can send his child to a school; but if there
 are many other families in the same town, they will act in this wise. A
 public meeting will be called of all the coloured citizens; the meeting
 having assembled, they will proceed to appoint a chairman and a secre-
 tary; it will then be stated by the chairman that the object of the meet-
 ing is to take into consideration the outrageous treatment received by the
 coloured inhabitants of the town, in excluding their children from the
 public school. Then speeches will be made, and resolutions will be offered
 expressive of their sense of indignation, and three counsels will be offered;
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we must go into a court where the judges and lawyers are all prejudiced against us. Others will propose to send the coloured children, and insist on their being received. To this it will be objected, that it will be exposing the children to a treatment so barbarous, that it must crush their spirit and discourage them; also, that it would be exposing the character and feelings of the whole coloured community to mobs, &c.. Others still, and the majority, will propose to demand our part of the public money, and to set up a school for ourselves. This is objected to, on the ground that it is catering to the prejudice, and virtually admitting what the whites claim, that we are inferior; but to this it is replied, that our object is not merely to gain a point in entering the school, but it is to educate our children, and thus to keep pace with the age, that we do not sanction, or even yield to the wicked conduct of the whites in excluding our children. If we yielded to them, they would prevent our educating our children at all; but the plan we propose admits not the justice of their conduct, while it will enable us to rebuke them in time; for we shall advance our children in the same branches of knowledge equal with their children, and perhaps surpass them. Upon this principle, hundreds of schools have been established by coloured people at the North for the advancement of popular education. I can take you into New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and show you some of the best schools and teachers to be coloured. We have schools and teachers that stand at the head of their class. Our children enter these schools, and here they learn all that is necessary to qualify them to begin civilized life. We challenge examinations; we give public exhibitions, we invite these same school committees, teachers, and scholars who have rejected us. They come, they see, they hear, and they confess we are up with them; and their editors declare the same to the world in editorials, & c.

And then, to, as aids in the great work of civilization, the coloured popular schools have the rare merit of being the only schools, with those exceptions I have named, where children can enter free of distinction. There is not a coloured school in the land from which an Anglo-Saxon child would be excluded; white children would be freely admitted, and would be carefully taught.

Are we doing nothing, then, in the work of civilization?

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Are we doing nothing, then, in the work of civilization?

II. AGRICULTURE is an indication of civilization. Cultivation in America is not what it is in the old world; but it has attained some perfection in the older states. The most skilful and tasty cultivation will be found in parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts; particularly on Long Island, which is called the garden of New York. On this island (150 by 50 miles) the farms are small, and the land is valuable on account of its proximity to the New York city market. It is here that great quantities of milk and butter are furnished, besides every description of fruit and vegetable; also hay, turf, and wood, together with considerable quantities of beef, pork, poultry, and fish; but from knowledge acquired by many years personal observation, I am enabled to say that many of the best cultivators on that island are coloured men. There are many who are employed to cultivate for others, and to attend the market to make sale of their hay and other market stuff. But others own land themselves; these men enter fully into the spirit of their task, and study the economy of agriculture as a science. Not only here, but in other parts of the free states, you will find free men engaged in agriculture. GARRET SMITH, Esq., of Peterborough, has given small farms to several thousand coloured men in western New York. This itself is a tribute to the negro's agricultural talent from that gentleman. In Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, the great wheat-growing states, you will find large and able coloured cultivators. Here, then, notwithstanding all that we are doing in the department of agriculture as a branch of civilization, it is asserted we are doing nothing.

III. In the departments of MECHANICAL ARTS AND MANUFACTURES, we have had the same difficulties that we have in entering the popular schools. Our young operatives have been driven with insults from the manufactory, and the workshop has been thrown into confusion by the application of a coloured youth to be received as an apprentice. But mechanics have increased among us to a very respectable number, and a large amount of mechanical talent has been exhibited. You will find able blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinet-makers, tailors and bootmakers, in almost any number. You will find in New York and Connecticut, among coloured men, some as elegant tailors and bootmakers as can be produced in any part of the world. Our mechanics are universally men of skill and of fine taste. Owing to the oppressive prejudices which exclude them from the workshops, they are compelled to confine themselves to trade upon a

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small scale.

IV. COMMERCE is an indication of civilization. Large numbers of coloured men are engaged in commerce in all its branches, from the common sailor up to the counting-house clerk. We furnish the best seamen in the world. Our seamen are in all climes under the sun, doing efficient and able service to American commerce; they are manning the ships of our princely merchants, and bringing the wealth of the Indies to their warehouses. Thousands of American merchant and trading vessels are manned in part or entirely by coloured sailors; we have thousands of men who understand and are capable of discharging all the duties of marine life, from the common sailor to the master and the profound navigator; and not only by sea, but also by land, our men are doing their part in commerce, from the common wharf labour up to the counting-house duties. Neither the nation nor the world are aware of the amount of service that is rendered to the commerce of America by our men: the part they perform calls not only for an equal degree of skill, tact, and fidelity, with any class of white merchants, but it requires a degree of physical power which is possessed by few others.

Many of the finest commercial establishments in our great emporiums are not conducted without the aid of coloured men. In some of the establishments all goods coming in or going out pass through the hands of those trusty coloured agents or attendants. In some of those establishments the keys are entrusted to a coloured man, who is first there in the morning, and last in the evening.

Why have we no coloured merchants and shipmasters? Simply because our men are not advanced according to their character as white men are. We will suppose two men of equal education and equal intelligence, of equal integrity and of equal susceptibility for preferment, to be employed in the capacity of sailors on board one of the merchant liners between London and New York. They run several seasons in that capacity, each equally improving in common sailorship and practical navigation, but *one* of them is a coloured man. The third season his white fellow-sailor is advanced to the second-mateship leaving him a common sailor. Here the white man has it in his power to put on the appearance of great superiority over the coloured, though he is really not so in any point of view.

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Matters thus stand a while, and next the second mate becomes a first mate; but where is his coloured fellow-sailor? Is he permitted, seeing he has been in the service of the owners as long, to take the second mate's place? No, he still is retained in the capacity of a common sailor; while a white man, of less sailorship than he, is put into the berth of second mate, and not the least wink or hint has been given him on the subject. Now this is a common occurrence. A coloured man will stand and see a white man of no letter, and often far less sailorship, handed along from his side on the deck, from a common hand to a mate, and next to be a captain. By this time he will become disgusted at the unfairness and want of liberality in his owners; he quits and goes into the service of another, and there meets with the same treatment.

The same is true in the mercantile business. I will not stop to say that merchants will not take a coloured man's son and train him to the business; but I will say, that they will never give him the same chance to work his way up to the clerk's desk, and to a partner's place. In the case of a coloured man who "works in a store," and who proves himself faithful in his calling, and who is also economical and lays up his earnings, a few hundred dollars, his employer *never* says to him, "You had better invest your money in business," and adds, if need be, "we will give you a chance to come in as a partner, we know you pretty well, and you are now well acquainted with our business;" but in the case of a white man, who has been in their employment long enough to gain their confidence and amass sufficient money, they would.

I have heard of a case in which a merchant borrowed surplus money from a trusty coloured man about his store, and other cases, in which he will say to him, "You had better put your money in the Savings' Bank." In the first case he gets six or seven per cent., in the other five or five and a half. This is doing kindly by a coloured man; but it is not putting him in the way to double and treble his money, so that in a few years he can own the half or the whole of an establishment himself.

V. CHRISTIANITY is the highest and the most perfect form of civilization. It contains the great standard, the only true and perfect standard of civilization. When tried by this standard, we are compelled to confess that we have not on earth one strictly civilized nation; for so long as the sword is a part of a nation's household furniture, it cannot be called strictly civilized; and yet there is not a nation, great or small, black or white, that

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has laid aside the sword.

But there are nations which profess to have adopted the forms of Christianity, and to be carrying on the work of civilization. We should expect that one natural result of the church prejudice in America would be to turn coloured people in masses to infidelity. I wish I could say that none of our youth are thus affected; it is mournfully true of many, that, disgusted by the spirit of caste in the church, they turn away and rush into infidelity. They say "The Bible teaches that all are brethren; that God has made of one blood all nations to dwell on all the face of the earth; that all men are entitled to the privileges and blessings of God's house; that the church is no better than the world; that if religion allows men to treat each other thus, they are as well without it." With this kind of reasoning some of our people, and especially youth, are carried away from the truth as it is in Jesus. But the large mass of coloured people are worshippers of the true God. In all parts of the United States, where they exist in sufficient numbers, and where they are treated with indignity in the white churches, the coloured people have their own churches. We have churches of all the great denominations, except Roman Catholic, Unitarian or Universalist, and Swedenborgian, &c.; but of all the other denominations, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregational, &c., we have many.

The coloured people do not think they are bound to worship where their consciences are wounded. They will leave any church where they find the feeling is not cordial and Christianlike. There is no instance on record in America where the coloured people have maintained any church quarrel or battle with their white brethren. They will not attempt under any circumstances to maintain their position in a church by violent or unpleasant measures; but in vacating their churches for peace sake, as they have often been called to do, they do not give up religion; nothing would be a greater calamity to them; and this they avoid by building up numerous churches in every city, town, and village where their numbers and circumstances will permit. In these churches the faith and practice of the gospel is maintained in the most pure manner. They maintain the order of the churches from which they secede; Baptists remain Baptists, Methodists remain Methodists, Presbyterians remain Presbyterians, and Congregationalists remain Congregationalists. The membership is acquired

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and regulated and disciplined in the same way as they are in white churches of the same denomination; their pastors are qualified in the same way pastors of white churches are, so far as they have been able to obtain the means of education. The Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, and a few of the Methodist and Baptist churches, are not separated from the white denominations in their general ecclesiastical organization, but the great body of the two latter are.

In these churches all the institutions of the gospel are held sacred. A regular ministry is highly esteemed; the Sabbath is sanctified; the Bible is held to be the only rule of faith and practice. Our people also prize all those other means which Christian communities regard as essential—Sabbath schools, Bible classes, temperance, and moral reformation societies.

The coloured pulpit of the country is the most efficient and disinterested. Coloured men have no temptation to enter the ministry for worldly popularity. The coloured people are poor. Our people are the most particular about having their ministers preach and visit faithfully; no coloured minister can maintain his position unless he preaches and visits well, and withal lives an exemplary godly life.

Our pulpit is very systematic and doctrinal. It dwells upon the distinguishing doctrines of the Bible—the being of God, his natural and moral attributes, the inspiration of the Bible, &c. &c.

Our pulpit is highly expository. We aim to give the sense of the Bible to the people. For this reason our preachers are generally well versed in Biblical history; they deal much in illustration, anecdotes, comparisons, and suppositions.

Our pulpit is highly experimental. We inculcate the distinctive doctrines of grace, and insist earnestly upon the necessity of witnessing our profession by holy living.

Our pulpit aims to be practical. It reaches life and applies the truths of the gospel to it in all its springs. We teach our hearers that the church is the only true reformatory organization in the world; that the only necessity for other methods of reform grow of the degeneracy of the church; that when the church fails to exert a reformatory influence upon the world, she needs reforming herself; and here we insist upon the duty of aiding in all the great reforms of the day, and the objects of benevolence.

The first state or general society in America formed upon the principle

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of total abstinence was formed by the coloured people of the state of Connecticut. One of the largest and most respectable missionary bodies for the sending of a pure gospel to the heathen had its beginning among the coloured people.

There are three theories held in America in reference to the coloured people. The are these:—

1. That we, as a class, must be held in perpetual slavery by the whites.
2. That we, as a class, must all migrate to Africa.
3. That we, as a class, must be assigned some distinct and separate place on the American continent.

The first of these theories is held by the ultra pro-slavery party; the second is held by the apologists of slavery at the North; the third is held by speculators.

The chain of facts I have thrown around them swamps the first two of these theories, and renders the other highly impracticable. The providential uses of the coloured people in America are of the most important character; too much so to be submitted to the whims and prejudices of men whose highest aims are selfish ends. My deductions are these:—

1. We, the coloured people of America, are sustaining the truth of the Bible account of the common origin of man. The oppressors of the coloured people practically deny this truth; they talk of us as a separate and distinct race. If they are right, the Bible is wrong on that point; and if wrong on that point, who would trust it in the matter of our common salvation? But we maintain that the Bible account is true.

2. We stand in America as a defence of the New Testament from the foul allegation that it sanctions slavery. We make this stand, not upon the narrow question of clearing ourselves from eternal bondage, but believing, as we do, that if the New Testament sanctions slavery, it authorizes the enslavement of the whites as well as us. We believe we are doing a service to the whole human family by disputing this point.

If it can be proved that the New Testament sanctions slavery, nothing more is gained than a general principle which may be applied *by* a coloured man as well as *to* him.

Now, we say, the idea that God has handed down a book from heaven to licence each man of our common species who can make a raise to be a slavetrader, is monstrous—it is ungodly. But God has handed down this

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blessed book from heaven; we receive it with joy for the light it contains; read it, we study it, and we do not believe there is a particle of slavery in it. We stand in the midst of those who hold the contrary, and solemnly protest against the views they promulgate, as disgraceful and outrageous.

Will God suffer us to be exterminated from a soil where our labours have laid the foundation of its boasted institutions, while doing this service? That would be unlike what he has ever done before.

3. We, the coloured people in America, are testing the genuineness of the spirit of Christianity, and the great advantages of Christian civilization. The world, after warring and battling for thousands of years, is made to hope that the spirit of the New Testament will abolish those barbarous animosities which have ever been the prolific causes of tribe and national wars.

The oppressors of the coloured people practically deny that the spirit of the New Testament can ever better man's condition by reconciling him to men of other nations: but that he must for ever stand sentinel, with sword in hand, to watch, suspect, and hew down men who do not belong to his tribe or nation. This idea we repudiate, and hold that the spirit of the New Testament inculcates a different sentiment—a sentiment of good will to all mankind.

4th. We, the free people, alone are sustaining the fundamental maxim of the American Republic, "That all men are born free and equal." If we, born in America, cannot live upon the soil upon terms of equality with the descendants of Scotchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Hungarians, Greeks, and Poles, then the fundamental theory of the American Republic fails and falls to the ground; and the door once opened to kick out the people of colour, let others be prepared for their turn.

In conclusion, I will say, that I am not aware that the coloured people in America have any doubt about their own destiny as a part of the American Republic. We do not expect to remain in slavery; we are laying off our fetters at the rate of 2,500 annually, while the question is being discussed, and without leave asked of our oppressors; we have cordially embraced all the forms of civilization, we expect to overcome the spirit of caste, and enjoy full American liberty. We have our homes and our institutions in the different states, and we know of no more reason why

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we should all congregate into one, than there is why we should all leave the country and go to Africa. And it is due to say that we are succeeding in all the states; our 2,500 brethren, who free themselves, come from all the states where slavery exists.

The anti-slavery spirit is advancing in all the free states. It would be more than I dare undertake in this tract to enumerate all the proofs we have of advancement, made within the last ten years. We have swept the Jim Crow carriage from almost every railway south of Mason and Dixon's line. We have abolished the Black Laws of Ohio and Connecticut.* We have enacted laws in most of the free states protecting fugitive slaves from the interference of their citizens, from being seized by warrants from the magistrates, or being confined in their prisons. Several colleges have been thrown open for the reception of coloured youth, upon equal terms with whites. Large portions of several of the largest ecclesiastical bodies have taken decided anti-slavery ground. Numerous individual churches have excluded slaveholders from their communion. A factory at Bentonville, Massachusetts, and a few others, have admitted coloured operatives. In the same town, Dr. Ruggles, a coloured man, has statedly thirty or forty white patients under his care, as a water-cure practitioner. Dr. James M'Cune Smith, a coloured gentleman, educated at Glasgow university, has a large practice in New York city, among whites as well as his own colour. Mr. Charles Reason, another accomplished coloured gentleman in that city, has been appointed to a professorship in a college in Western New York. Rev. S.R. Ward is, and has for a number of years been, pastor of a white church and congregation; he is pure black. His cousin, Rev. H.H. Garnet, was a few years ago elected a member of the Young Men's Institute in the city of Troy, a body composed of the most respectable and influential white gentlemen in that city. A few years ago a coloured minister living in Hartford county, Connecticut, was invited to exchange pulpits with the Rev. Dr. Porter of Farmington, one of the oldest and

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Such is a rapid glance at our progress in wearing away the prejudices of our countrymen, and in our advance to the enjoyment of American liberty. We should be unjust to our beloved countrymen, if we did not record these; and we should be treacherous to God, and rebels against his law of destiny, if we did not *stand* to our part, and maintain our national rights. Our destiny is bound up with that of America; her ship is ours, her pilot is ours, her storms are ours, her calms are ours. If she breaks upon any rock, we break with her. We love America and hate slavery the more; and thus, loving the one and hating the other, we are resolved that they shall NOT LONG DWELL TOGETHER.

The American Colonization Society was formed in 1817, and has from that time been famous for its abuse of the free people of colour and the abolitionists, and has also systematically opposed the emancipation of the slaves, except on condition of their being sent out of the country. For the first twenty years of its history, there was hardly a man of influence in the land, either clergyman, statesman, civilian, lawyer, legislator, or merchant, who did not give money or the influence of his name to the scheme. Almost the entire country was made to believe that it would be a good thing to get rid of what the leaders of that society called, in their speeches and documents, "*Aliens—political, moral, social aliens,*"—"Nuisances,"—"The most degraded and abandoned race on earth,"—"A class introduced among us by violence, notoriously ignorant, degraded, and miserable—mentally diseased, broken spirited, acted on by no honourable motive," &c. &c.

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array of talent and influence, the coloured people throughout the free states rose with a moral courage that has not been surpassed in the history of any movement in America, and dissented from the views of their proposed colonizers; searching into their motives, and exposing their reasoning with such boldness, that it shook the confidence of thousands in the system of colonization, who eventually deserted its ranks, and are now in those of the sound abolitionists of the country.

The design of the leaders of that society, from the first, was to bring to its aid the Congress of the nation, and to avail themselves of the fears, injustice and prejudices of the nation to exterminate the whole coloured population from the land. They were in a fair way to accomplish their object when we broke upon their ranks. Never did an oppressed people escape a more imminent peril. We have reason to thank God for the aid and moral courage he gave us for the fearful task.

We drew many noble-minded men to our cause from among the whites, which laid the foundation of the great abolition movement; and such was the mortification of the foe, that we were, with our friends, pursued by a series of mobs that have no parallel; but surviving and recovering from these, we have been, and are, pursuing the onward course of improvement, gaining upon the sympathy of the nation, and disarming the prejudices of all classes.

A few additional able pastors, editors, and teachers, and well-regulated Christian churches and schools, and newspapers, among the free coloured people, will give us a moral power in the American Republic, which will successfully shame out the prejudice of the North, and overthrow slavery at the South.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—From this array of facts, I have shown you a people who have passed through scenes of untold cruelties and barbarism from the earliest moment of their existence in America; a people who have most skilfully practised the law of self-preservation; until they are now numerically the dread of their oppressors; a people who at this moment stand largely connected with America's proud fame, *aiding largely to sustain her boasted popular school system, her agriculture, commerce, manufactures, mechanical arts, medical science, theology, popular literature, and taking the lead in all her great reforms.* What more can the sincere inquirer after truth ask?—what more can speculative philosophy

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itself demand? Yes, I have shown you a people who have the most special and precious promises of any people now in existence—Ps. lxviii. 31, “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God;” “Zeph. iii. 10, “From beyond the rivers Ethiopia my suppliants, even the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering.” Who may disannul this? Yes, I have shown you a people who are practising, more faithfully than any other, the true Christian law of *moral power*—I mean the law of *forgiveness* and endurance of wrong. There is no solitary case on record of a minority, with justice on its side, being crushed, while adhering to the law of forgiveness and endurance. It is not in the nature of God’s moral government to permit such a thing. On this grand basis the coloured people of America are safe for their future destiny. The American oppressor may destroy himself; but destroy the coloured man he never can.

We thank God that we have now been able to bring this great subject before Him and good men. We do not fear the result; on the evil-doers be the shame. If men may continue to rob the Almighty with impunity, if they can change the nature of God’s moral government and show that a moral agent will do as well for a horse for another moral agent to ride as for the moral government purposes of the Being that made all souls for himself,—then may the proud American continue to enslave the coloured people, but not otherwise. He that reproveth God by taking moral agents which He has made for Himself, and reducing them to the perpetual drudgery of brutes, will surely have to answer for it!

Christian Young Men,—I have a request to make in conclusion. It is this:—While you have shown the deep and sincere sympathy you have for my suffering brethren in bonds, I beg you to pray for their oppressors. Perhaps we have too much neglected this powerful means. These men are not only profoundly wicked, but they are labouring under a most perilous delusion. They are to be pitied; and prayer is to be one means of saving them, if saved at all. *The present position of the slave power, after despising many chastisements similar to his, is just that of Pharaoh as he was setting out to pursue his victims to the Red Sea, where he met God the eleventh and last time on earth; your prayers may save them from a fate similar to his.*

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