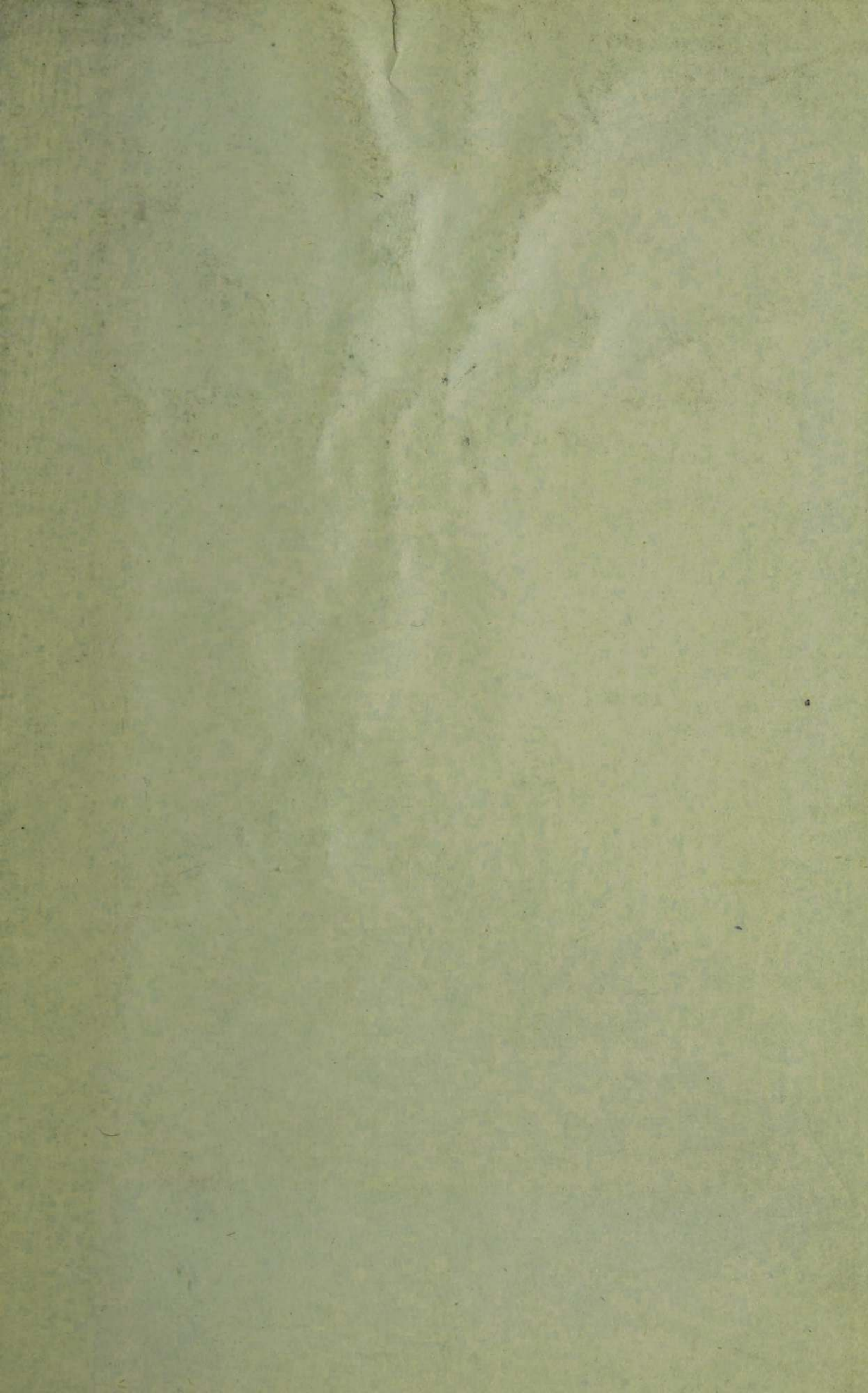




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AMERICAN SLAVERY.

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ADDRESS

ON THE SUBJECT OF

AMERICAN SLAVERY,

AND THE PROGRESS OF

THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM THROUGH-
OUT THE WORLD.

DELIVERED IN

THE NATIONAL HALL, HOLBORN,

ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 2, 1846.

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BY

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

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Wm. Lloyd Garrison
-998199-

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

W. L. G.

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AMERICAN SLAVERY.

A crowded meeting was held in the National-Hall, Holborn, on Wednesday evening, to hear an address from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., on the subject of "American Slavery."

The chair was occupied by Mr. George Thompson, who commenced the proceedings of the evening by a few remarks, and concluded by introducing to the meeting

Mr. Garrison, who, on coming forward, was received with enthusiastic applause. He said:—Mr. Chairman,—I need, not say to you how near and dear you are to my heart—or to this meeting, that there is no man in the wide world that I would sooner see in that chair than George Thompson—(loud cheers). I know him well. I know him thoroughly on British, and, what is of far more consequence, on American soil; and I have ever found him true to the cause of humanity and universal liberty—(hear, hear). With regard to the enthusiastic greeting which you have just given me, I can only say that I am profoundly affected by it; it is something that I am quite unused to. For the last sixteen years I have had to contend with the enemies of man, malevolent and mighty, and my lot has been one of adversity and persecution. To come, therefore, into the presence of an assembly where I can be cheered and welcomed, is something to be found, not on the other side, but on this side the Atlantic; and as we are not personally acquainted, I shall take it for granted that you make this demonstration because you believe what has been said to you, "that I have been true to the cause of liberty; that I never have quailed before the strong arm of tyranny;"

and, by the help of God, I never will! I have desired to see the working-people of Old England; I have desired to see those who dare to risk something of character, something of personal interest, and, it may be, of personal safety, in their endeavours to remove the wrongs and abuses which are found, unhappily, on this side of the Atlantic. I sympathise in every effort of reform that is going on among you. I wish to be identified with you out and out. I will not stop to ask whether you are held to be respectable people, whether you move in a fashionable walk of life; one thing I believe I may say that I know, and that is, that you are struggling forward, that you are determined England shall be a free nation—(hear, hear). I am glad to be with you for another reason, because I am a working-man—(cheers). I served more than seven years as an apprentice in the printing business. I have worked as a printer; and, when I am at home, there is no week that passes over my head that I do not labour with my hands in my printing-office. When I began the *Liberator*, a paper which is published in Boston, I had nothing to begin with but a hopeful spirit, and these hands—(hear, hear)—and with these hands, toiling at the case and the press by day and by night, working, at least, as many hours as the Southern slaves on the plantations, I was enabled to unfurl my banner to the breeze, and throw out that sheet which has since been the terror of the slave-holder, and the joy of the slave—(loud cheers). I glory in labour—in manual labour—and, of course, I glory in the labourer. Not that I mean to say that those who do not perform what is called manual labour are not still labourers. There are men whose tools are their brains; and if those brains work well for humanity, I, for one, will never taunt that man who has them, because he does not take tools of another kind into his hands. I am glad to stand here and join with you in saying, that it is not by labour that a man is degraded,—that he who will regard labour as a menial thing, is a vulgar-minded man—(hear)—that he who would scorn the labourer, who would look down on him, is a tyrant. Well has Scotia's bard told us,—

What though on hamely fare we dine,
Wear hoddin gray, and a' that,
Gi'e fools their silks, and knaves their wine,
A man's a man for a' that.

“ For a’ that, and a’ that,
 Their tinsel show and a’ that,
 The rank is but the guinea’s stamp,
 The man ’s the gowd for a’ that.”

It is because I feel deeply interested in the great question of human labour throughout the globe, that I have desired to say a few words to you this evening, with regard to the subject of American slavery; believing, as I do, that the existence of slavery in the country which professes to be the model country of the world—a Republican country—a Christian country—constitutes the mightiest obstacle in the way of human freedom to be found under the sun—(cheers). And, in asking you to rally for the overthrow of that system, by all the means which God has put into your hands, I feel that I am not asking you to forget yourselves, or to forget the starving thousands in this country, but that I am asking you to do the very thing which shall be the best thing to be done for those starving thousands, and for the redemption of mankind. I wish to be understood. I am not here to represent either the American Anti-Slavery Society, or any other body of men in the United States. I am not here as an Abolitionist, technically speaking, but I desire to be regarded by you as a man wishing to throw out such thoughts as may occur to me in regard to the question of human freedom, and beseeching you to make no man responsible for anything I shall say, excepting myself; that responsibility I cheerfully assume—(cheers). I have another reason for wishing to be with you to night. I have come over to England on a specific mission, on behalf of the down-trodden millions in America, as their agent, their representative, and their mouth-piece, and I know very well that there is an anti-slavery sentiment prevailing in England. I have been everywhere welcomed and cheered in the work of overthrowing American slavery, and if I chose to do so, I am quite sure that I might pass through England, Scotland and Ireland, without finding any one to oppose me, that is to say, if I chose to remain silent on other questions, which might touch a vital cord here, if I chose to know nothing of the reforms going on among you—(hear). If I merely wished to glide along smoothly as an Abolitionist, I know very well I could do so. Heaven knows that I have no desire to injure the anti-slavery mission

on which I have come here ; that I have no wish to raise prejudices in any man against the anti-slavery cause in America ; but I will not go through England without giving expression to my feelings and sentiments as it respects the movements which exist on your own soil. It shall never be said of me, on my return to America, that I took advantage of the popularity of the anti-slavery cause in England to be welcomed everywhere ; but I said nothing to cheer on the working-men, in their labour to effect redemption for themselves. I wish to be identified with every reform ; and in saying this, I feel that I am not injuring the cause of the black man in the United States. If I am an Abolitionist, I did not become one with a pledge that I should never say anything about the wrongs of the white man ; nor did I make any agreement that I would think of nothing else but the wrongs of the black man in bondage. He who will forget one to aid the other, forgets both, and is true to neither ; therefore I wish to remember all, and then I can injure none—(applause). Sir, this will not be thought politic by some, who would like to aid me in my anti-slavery efforts here. Sir, I have not yet learned to be politic ; I have long since learned to be honest and straight forward—(cheers) ; never to calculate the consequences of doing right, in pleading for suffering humanity everywhere. I know that the consequences will be glorious, as God is good and glorious—(hear, hear). It cannot be otherwise. I now turn to America, and I wish to draw your attention to the position of that country, sixty or seventy years ago. You are well aware how it became settled by the “Pilgrim Fathers” landing, in 1620, in Plymouth ;—men who dared to brave the wintry ocean, and the perils contingent upon such a voyage, at such a time of the year ; men who dared to peril their lives in going to an inclement clime, and among hostile tribes of savages ; men who were willing to bear and suffer everything, rather than to consent to give up the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences—(hear, hear). It would seem as if the stock was a noble one, and as if, from that stock, noble men and women ought to have sprung, and have carried America to the highest point of greatness and glory. Let us next come down to 1776 : the people of America were then colonists under the mother-country ; they were endeavouring to obtain their independence ; they com-

plained of England, that she was oppressive in her rule, and, in the spirit of freemen, they declared that they would not submit to it, and they did not submit. What did they do, then? They rose up in a body, and declared that henceforth they would be an independent nation. I shall not communicate anything new to you this evening, if I read a portion of the Declaration of Independence they declare to the world. (In order to deepen the infamy of the American people of the present hour, I desire to hold up to your attention the standard which they themselves gave, by which they should, in all after times, be measured.) They began by saying,—“We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness;” and conclude,—“We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.”

I ask (continued Mr. Garrison), if ever a more important document was given to the world? I ask, if ever a deed was done with more solemnity, more that

pledged men entirely to the cause of human right in the name of the God of the human race? Never! And yet at that time, with that Declaration of Independence in their hands, we see no less than fifty thousand SLAVES around them—not political slaves, not deprived of the elective franchise, but men registered and treated as marketable commodities. The men who declare it to be a self-evident truth that God has made all men equal, were slave-holders and slave-mongers in the hour that they were fighting for their own liberty. They did not emancipate one of their slaves; in the year 1776 they had half a million of slaves. They went on fighting for liberty, and in process of time they achieved their independence; they said it was God who interposed in their behalf: did they remember their suffering slaves? Now, in the year 1846, how many slaves has this same democratic and republican and Christian country, America? has the number diminished? have they less than their half million? is there hope of their repentance? are they beginning to wash their hands of this foul stain? No! they have multiplied their numbers, till now they have not less than three millions of slaves—(cries of “Shame!”). They have increased the bonds of their slaves—made their chains heavier—their chances of liberation more hopeless; and instead of being ashamed—instead of any desire to do right—they are only more eager still to multiply their slaves without end, and increase the power of the slave-holders. In the year 1776, the time of the adoption of our constitution, we had thirteen States, seven of which were nominally free States, six slave States; at the present time we have twenty-eight States, thirteen of these free States, and fifteen slave States, which have the entire mastery over the nation—(hear). In 1790 the value of slave property in America was probably about two hundred million dollars; at the present time it is worth fifteen hundred million dollars. In 1790, the whole of the slave States comprised 223,000 square miles; at the present time it comprises 790,000 square miles: and thus it is that the slave power has been strengthening its cause from year to year, from month to month, from hour to hour; still it cries—“Give, give!” and it will never be satisfied.

After the independence of America was achieved, it became necessary that these isolated colonies should become one nation; in one part of the country Slavery had

been abolished, in the other it was beginning to extend itself, and grow from day to day. Now came the time for them to attempt to do what it is not in the power of God to do, and which still they insanely and blasphemously tried to do, and that was, to reconcile in one union liberty and slavery—freemen and slave-holders; it was like trying to reconcile burning fire and gunpowder, by bringing them together; it was an impossibility; but the slave-holders said to the non-slave-holders—“There are certain conditions on which we will become partners with you in a union; and unless these conditions are complied with, we will have no union.” The people of the North did not wish to go into any such bargain, as a matter of choice; but, alas! they had not virtue enough to withstand the temptation, and say, “As for ourselves, we are determined we will never enter into a union with slave-holders.” No! they allowed their fears to obtain the mastery over their judgments; and here they argued thus:—“What will become of us if we do not unite? we are then a divided people, and if divided, we fall. England cannot cope with us if we are one; if we are two, we shall fall victims to the tyrannous power of the mother-country. Now, then, we don't wish to do evil that good may come, as a matter of choice, but then we must look after our own interests a little, and see that England does not devour us: so we will turn our backs on all the principles of liberty, and strike hands with men-stealers, and then we shall find safety.”

The deed was done! and from that hour Liberty was crucified in the United States, and still lies in that state, waiting for the resurrection; for they who will go into such a union, leave nothing for themselves. What slavery demands is, that every one striking hands with it shall be true to carry out its own diabolical principles. To be sure, slavery promised to do something for the North, if the North would do *everything* for slavery; but, true to her evil character, she has jilted the North, and done nothing. It is a just retribution, and may the people of all lands see, in the light of it, how important it is never to compromise principle on any account whatsoever—(cheers). “What do you want?” said the North to the South. “I want you to be a slave-catcher and a slave-holder for me,” says the South, “when my slaves run away.” “I will agree to it,” said the North. “What else do you want?” “I want you to legalise

and protect, for twenty years, the foreign slave-trade on the coast of Africa; to agree that you will join hands with me in desolating the coast of Africa, in kidnapping the sons and daughters of Africa, that they may be brought over and made slaves in the Southern States of America." "I agree to it," said the North; "the star-spangled banner shall be the protector of the foreign slave-trade for twenty years, against the power of the world. What else do you want?" "I want you to agree that you will keep my slaves securely in their chains, that I may treat them as marketable commodities, cleave down their rights, rank them among four-footed things; and, if any manhood be left in them, and any dare to make examples of Washington or Franklin, then you come, and put these slaves back again into their chains, or destroy them, if necessary." "I agree to that," says the North; "it is a bargain. What else do you want?" "Power to rule over my slaves in a manner that I cannot do, unless you make a concession. I want you, in the Congress of the country, to allow me to have a large amount of political power, to be conceded to my slaves in form, but, in fact, to be put in my hands, that I may multiply those slaves—(cheers). Three-fifths of the slave population must be regarded as free men, and then each slave-holder possessing his million of slaves shall have three hundred votes"—(shame). "It is a bargain," said the North, and then wiped her mouth, and said, "I have done nothing criminal in the sight of Heaven or of man." Now, I ask, what can we expect of such a bargain, carried on in such a manner, and in such circumstances, after appealing to the Ruler of the universe to deliver them from political thralldom? You will not be surprised that they have gone on waxing worse and worse, till they have made republicanism a byword among the nations of the earth—(cheers). What has American slavery done in the United States in regard to the cause of liberty? It has taken away liberty from one-sixth part of the swarming population in that country; every sixth man, woman, child and babe in the United States is a slave, one who has no more rights than a beast,—not even the protection of a beast; may be murdered by any slave-holder, cut up into pieces, given over to torture; though three millions of people can see that torture inflicted, not one of them would be able to be heard against a slave-holder in a court of justice.

slavery engenders, nothing in any country of the world

What, alas! has it done to men? What is it doing? The annual increase of the slave-population in the United States is probably not less than eighty thousand—more than a thousand persons a-week! Babes given by the glorious God, who has created mankind to be but a little lower than the angels, to be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, to be burning and shining lights here below, not less than eighty thousand of such ones are annually seized on by the Southern slave-holders—as soon as they are born—reckoned as chattels personal, and doomed to a life of slavery of the most horrible kind. And yet, on the coast of Africa, if a man take a babe, or any African, *even* by the laws of the United States, he is a pirate, and is to be hung as a pirate; he may say that he has taken the babe to bring it up for its own advantage, for the purpose of teaching it civilisation and Christianity, that he has given the wealth of Cræsus for it, and yet, if he bring it to the United States, to make a slave of it, he is a pirate, and deserves to die the death of a pirate—(cheers). Now then, I say, that by that law of Congress, if there be any justice in it, if there be any righteousness in it, there is not a single slave-holder in the United States, from James K. Polk in the President's chair, down to the meanest slave-driver, who does not this hour deserve to be executed as a pirate—(tremendous applause).

I stand here as I stand in my own country, for I shall say nothing here that I have not said thousands of times before—(cheers). I stand here, with a reward of five thousand dollars offered for my head by the Southern State of Georgia, and I say that the slave-holder is not the man to accuse me of using hard language, and being uncharitable. There is a law of Congress, passed by the slave-holders themselves, "that any man who goes to Africa, and does these things, is a pirate." Now, although I think that no man is better than another, I do still think that a man in America is as good as one in Africa, and that if you put an American into slavery, you commit as great a sin as if you put an African into slavery—(hear). Again, slavery has begotten in America a baneful spirit of caste, unknown, thank God! in this country, though you have some castes which ought to be sent to a place that is below—(cheers). I hate castes of all kinds; but, as to that spirit of caste which slavery engenders, nothing, in any country of the world,

is so malevolent, so murderous, so fiendish, so damnable—that which hunts a man down, and crucifies him, because of the manner in which it has pleased God Almighty to fashion him. A man with a coloured skin in America is a doomed man—(hear),—whether he be a free man of colour or a slave, whether he reside in the north or in the south, he is a hunted man. Even in the place called, in blasphemy, the house of God, they must have what is called the negro pew, where he may sit, as though he were a beast. Is not this a war against God?—(“ Yes, yes,”)—and can the men who do this believe in God?—(“ No, no ;”)—have they any fear of God in them? No matter what may be their religious professions, (and they are full of them,) they are Atheists, in the bad sense of the word—(cheers). It is the Abolitionists in America, the uncompromising Abolitionists, who, of all people in the country, are to grapple with this foul stain of caste, and say to every coloured man, “ thou art, indeed, a man and a brother ”—(hear, hear). And no marvel that the Abolitionists in that land are persecuted and hunted; they have identified themselves with the slave population, and must take their position by the side of the slaves, if they would be true to the principles which they profess. Slavery in America has made labour disgraceful, and, of course, labour is despised and contemned. In the southern parts of the country, no white man will work—(laughter),—work! he'll wear his rags, he'll steal, he'll do anything and everything to keep body and soul together, except work. And, next to the slave population, of all the people on the face of the globe, who deserve to be commiserated, is the larger portion of the white population of a slave-holding state—(hear),—men who cannot become slave-holders, though they would like to very much; but they are too proud to put themselves on a level with the slaves, therefore they won't work—(laughter),—and not working, of course they can't get a great deal to live on, and their condition is very miserable. Now, I hold it to be a calamity to labour throughout the world—(hear). If, in such a country, there is a giant system which puts the brand of infamy upon labour, then it affects the honour of all countries, and they have a common interest to overthrow that giant system. In the northern states, it is not so general that labour is disreputable, and yet, of course, it exerts a disastrous influence throughout the whole country. For

I just want to observe, now, that slavery, although it is local as an institution, in America, is universal in its presence and power; there is no part of the American soil where we must not confront the slave power; and you will find it as strong in Maine, which is the remote eastern part of our country, as in any other part,—it is universal. It engenders hatred and contempt of labour in the northern states, and, of course, we have an aristocracy growing up there, trampling more and more to the ground the working classes of the North, and striking hands with the slave-holders of the South.

I will now give you a specimen of the effect slavery has on the soil of America. Let us compare Virginia with New York, the only state which could challenge a comparison with her. In 1790, Virginia, with 70,000 square miles of territory, contained a population of 748,308,—New York, upon a surface of 45,658 square miles, contained a population of 340,120. This statement exhibits, in favour of Virginia, a difference of 24,342 square miles of territory, and 408,188 in population which is the double of New York, and 68,000 more. In 1830, after a race of forty years, Virginia is found to contain 1,211,405 souls, and New York, 1,918,608, which exhibits a difference in favour of New York, of 707,203. The increase upon the part of Virginia will be perceived to be 463,197, starting from a basis more than double as large as that of New York. The increase of New York, upon a basis of 340,120, has been 1,578,588. This exhibits a positive difference in increase of 1,115,341 human beings. Now, supposing that slavery had been abolished in the United States, at the time of our Independence, then where would have been Virginia? where would the Southern States have been?—First and foremost in improvement and glory. Where would Old England have been then? I will venture to say, that while we have not yet jostled a single throne in the whole world, if America had been true to her Declaration from 1776, there would not have been left a throne standing in the wide world to-day. Slavery has done another evil work for the country, and especially for its victims. It has made intelligence a crime—the teaching of the letters of the alphabet an offence, not to be forgiven; it is in a league with that darkness, which enables tyranny in all lands to carry on its diabolical agency, and keep the people in their chains. I do not

wonder that the slave-holders are afraid that their slaves, if they learn to read, will want to be free. Men of England, knowledge is power—(hear). Have you all your rights? Are you still labouring under disabilities? Look well to the education of the people; do not wait for the government to educate you—(applause). I tell every existing government on the face of the earth, that it is not safe to educate the people, if the government wishes to remain as it is. Take, then, the work into your own hands, and oh, I pray you, enable the slaves in America to take it into their own hands, that thus you may proclaim liberty throughout the whole world—(cheers). Slavery has destroyed public virtue and morality; and, horrible to say, it has seized upon the form of religion, in order to baptize itself in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Slavery dares to stand forth in the presence of the world, in the year of our Lord 1846, and to invoke the smile of Heaven upon it, and to say that it is heaven-originated; and that the Bible, as the book of God, justifies it, and proclaims to the world, that “as for slavery, it is the corner-stone of republicanism”—(shouts of derision). Why this was the language of the governor of South Carolina, in a message to the legislature of that State; he says that slavery “is the corner-stone of our republican edifice, and who makes war on slavery, makes war on republicanism”—(expressions of disgust). If that is republicanism, why then I will go for monarchy—(cheers). I will go for the autocracy of Nicholas in Russia, before I will receive to my bosom republicanism like that. It is the last effort of Satan to do his evil work on the earth, to bring Christianity into the service of slavery; a more horrible deed he never has done, or one more to his own purpose he cannot do.

Though we have the Bible in America, and though we profess to believe in the gospel of Christ in America, and though we say that Christ is our Redeemer and Saviour, we have not yet discovered that the system which dehumanizes millions of our countrymen is incompatible with the spirit of Christianity, and they have not discovered it in a certain body in this country at the present time—(hear). I allude to that body called the Evangelical Alliance. A more ludicrous body never assembled—(cheering). A thing to be scouted by every one. Men assembled from all parts of the world to carry

on the cause of the prince of emancipators, Jesus Christ, who came to open prison doors and set the captive free; men claiming to be ambassadors from God, watchmen on the walls of Zion, and all that—(laughter)—have been a week at it, day and night, endeavouring to see how they can get over or under slavery, or round it, and propitiate the anti-slavery sentiment of Old England, while they shan't offend the pro-slavery of America—(hear, hear), and all the while asking that God will enlighten them what to do, the rogues!—(loud laughter and cheers). All the while canting about the importance of being united, about being charitable one to another, not sitting in judgment on the acts of others. I will just read you what they have done, or rather, not done:—"In respect to the necessity of personal holiness, the Alliance are of opinion that it is recognised in the Article of the basis—on the work of the Spirit: and in reference to various social evils existing in countries within the circle of this Alliance—such as the profanation of the Lord's day."—What do they mean by the Lord's day? They mean the day that brings grist to their mill—(cheers). They mean the day on which they can have the people to mould and fashion to their wills, as if God had not given them tongues and souls of their own. I say that I am indignant as a believer in the Christianity which was taught by Christ, when men dare in his name to make the non-observance of ONE day in seven as holy time, a sin like that of duelling, intemperance and slavery. I know of no such thing, but this I know, instead of our making ONE day in seven holy, we should make seven days out of seven holy—(great applause). But we are not to go by the clock of St. Paul's, to know how we may feel and look, but to do all to the glory of God, and to sanctify our lives—(hear, hear). I say there is not one word in the Bible, that the first day in the week was ever instituted by God or Christ, or by the Apostles, to be observed as the Sabbath; but we ought to do right always—(cheers). "Intemperance, duelling, and the sin of slavery." They don't say anything about moderate drinking, or anything in favour of teetotalism—(hear, hear). They are men who like the wine bottle, I know, as well as anybody in the world—(cheers). It is all stuff for such men to talk of intemperance. "The sin of slavery." And what is slavery? The dehumanizing of a man; and this is to be compatible with

good membership in the Evangelical Alliance! Well, even that twaddling, absurd and monstrous declaration was too much for the American clergymen, and two or three, or a dozen times, they have been on the point of blowing up sky high as an Evangelical Alliance; and a committee has been appointed of some thirty or forty members to deliberate on it, and prayers have been offered to God, that these men might be illuminated, and brought to a happy termination of the affair. Now, if they had had two grains of honesty, and half a grain of humanity, they could have settled it in half a minute—(cheers).

Slavery has done another deed in America—it has thrown down the sacred right of petitioning—the last right that suffering humanity can consent to yield. When a man is trodden down to the earth—when bleeding and bound—he may not offer up a cry, begging for mercy! In America, the slave may not petition. The friend of liberty, therefore, has no right of petitioning in America. The petitions sent into Congress are only received in form; they are put into the hands of the clerk of the house. Sometimes a question is raised on their reception, and the question is laid on the table. There is no freedom of speech on the part of the Northern representatives on the floor of Congress; the Southern slave-holders may and do say anything they please; but if any man dare to say a word in favour of liberty, he does it at the peril of his life. John Quincy Adams, a man renowned in our land, dared to stand forth as the champion of the right of petitioning, and again and again his life was put in jeopardy; and it is a marvel that he was not butchered on the floor on which he stood by some of the slave-holding ruffians, who always carry their pistols and bowie-knives. Yet he could stand there only by declaring that he was no Abolitionist, by assuring the slave-holders that though he was in favour of having petitions received, he would go against the Abolitionists; it was only on that ground that he was permitted to say aught in favour of the right of petitioning.

Mr. Garrison then related one or two cases in which those who had been suspected of being favourable to Abolition, had been ill treated. He then went on as follows:—Let me show you how the world is deluded and deceived with regard to the results of emancipation. A short time ago, we had a census taken of the

United States: the census shows, that in the towns in the State of Maine the number of coloured inhabitants is eight; and in another part of the report, the number of insane and idiotic coloured people in these towns amounted to sixty-nine! Sixty-nine insane and idiot coloured people in the towns in which only eight coloured people exist—(laughter). In New Hampshire, where there were only two coloured people, there were a dozen put down as insane and idiots. In Massachusetts there are 151 coloured people—133 are put down as insane or idiots. In Connecticut, two coloured people exist, and twenty of them returned as idiots and insane people! In Vermont, eight coloured inhabitants, and nine of them insane or idiots. In New York, twenty-two in one case, and out of these forty-eight insane. In New Jersey, one coloured inhabitant, and seven of them insane! In Ohio, thirty-three that actually existed, and eighty-six of these were insane, &c. In Indiana, two in the one case, and nine in the other. In Illinois, eight coloured inhabitants, and thirty of them idiotic. In Pennsylvania, there are twenty-seven coloured inhabitants, and forty-eight of them are described as insane or idiotic. And in Michigan one only existed, and 13 of them were idiotic and insane. And on this document has Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of the United States, ventured to form an argument against emancipation, in an official document to the American Minister at that time in Great Britain: he contended that freedom only made those emancipated idiotic, insane, blind, deaf, and dumb—(laughter).

Slavery has done another evil thing—it has infused hatred into the bosom of the working people of the North, against the working of the South. I lament to say, that as yet but a small portion of the working people of the North are Abolitionists; they look down upon the coloured people with aristocratic feelings, they despise and persecute them; they wont allow them to have any trade, and thus are rivetting their own fetters, while they are putting the galling fetters of slavery on the necks of their brothers in the South. It is the design of slavery to foster this hatred among the working people; and the slave-holders ask the people of the North, “Do you wish these slaves to come into competition with yourselves? If they are emancipated, they will take the bread out of your mouths; don’t go for emancipation.” And the working men take heed to such in-

structions, and say, "We won't go for emancipation." Thank God, there is no hope for the working people of the North till they take the chains off the working people of the South; they will go up together, or they will go down together—(cheers); and we want the working men of this country to address their brother working men in America. My esteemed friends, William Lovett and Henry Vincent, asked me the other day if I thought an address to the working people of America, signed by two or three hundred thousand here, would do any good to the cause of freedom? Why my heart almost leaped out of my mouth at the suggestion. I said, give us fifty thousand, and we'll see whether slavery does not bend. I say slavery is doing an evil work in regard to the white labouring people in America. If I had time, I could show you how the United States itself has endeavoured to make England give up the fugitive slaves from America. Henry Clay, the idol of a large portion of the American people, endeavoured, year after year, to make England restore those fugitive slaves who get to Canada and take refuge under the flag of Great Britain—(cheers). The Americans threatened and blustered! England would not give up: and there are fifteen thousand of those fugitives in Canada, and they are multiplying every day—(cheers).

Then, with regard to a case which I must refer to, of a slave-ship going from Richmond to New Orleans, with slaves for the market there. There was an insurrection on board, on the part of the victims, led by one Madison Washington, who showed that he had something of Madison and Washington in him, and that he felt that God had made him a man, and, therefore, that he had as much right to his liberty as Washington, and he would take it, too. He was not at all bloodthirsty, but was willing that there should be no harm done, if the captain and officers would not resist. They made some resistance, and one man was killed, and several wounded. They then took the vessel to New Providence, where they were put into prison, and then tried, and set at liberty. The manner in which the slave-holders denounced that act I will just show to you. Mr. Garrison then read extracts from several New Orleans papers, of which the following from the *New Orleans Advertiser*, is a fair specimen:—"The affair of the Creole is the cap-sheaf of British aggression upon American rights. It strikes at the root

of our intercourse with Great Britain, and overturns at one blow all our relations, amicable and commercial. If it be not promptly discountenanced, and ample reparation immediately made by her Majesty's Government, there can be but one course for the United States to pursue—a course that the pride, honour and dignity of the nation will strongly demand the execution of." And then Mr. Calhoun, the champion of the slave-system in America, said, in his place in Congress, "He considered it one of the most *atrocious* and *insulting* outrages ever perpetrated by one civil government upon another. He considered it as a *case of naked piracy*, and our Government, as soon as the official report was received, should demand *the pirates* for punishment. He trusted this Government would be true to itself, and prompt and ample reparation demanded; and if Great Britain refused to do us justice, he looked to every man who had an *American heart*, to raise his voice and arm against such tyrannical insolence and oppression." Other extracts, much in the same strain, were read from the speeches of various members of Congress, and the Senate. Mr. Garrison then explained that the reason Texas had been annexed to the United States was, because the fugitive slaves had found a refuge there; and that now the Americans wanted to annex some part of Mexico, to prevent the slaves from Texas flying there. He then continued: Now, I will give you a specimen of the songs sung in the land of the free, the noble, and the brave—a song sung at a large meeting assembled at New York, to cheer on the infamous war with Mexico:—

" We are the boys who fear no noise,
We'll leave behind us all our joys,
To punish those half-savage scamps
Who've slain our brethren in their camps.

We're on our way to Matamoras,
On our way to Matamoras,
On our way to Matamoras,
And we'll drive them all before us.

" We'll cross the famous Rio Grande,
Engage the villains hand to hand,
And punish them for all their sins,
By stripping off their yellow skins.
We're on our way, &c.

“ And when we’ve punished them enough,
 We’ll make them shell us out the stuff,
 To pay the war’s expense, and then
 We’ll have, besides, old Yucatan.
 We’re on our way, &c.

“ The world is wide, our views are large,
 We’re sailing on in freedom’s barge,
 Our God is good and we are brave,
 From tyranny the world will save.
 We’re on our way, &c.

“ We have a mission to fulfil,
 And every drop of blood we’ll spill,
 Unless the tyrants of our race
 Come quail before our eagle’s face.
 We’re on our way, &c.

“ He is thrice armed whose quarrel’s just,
 And we fight now *because we must*,
 And any force that would us stop,
 Down to the earth must surely drop.
 We’re on our way, &c.

“ John Bull may meddle if he please,
 But he had better keep at ease,
 For we are strong by sea and by land—
 If he don’t mind we’ll have old Ireland!
 We’re on our way, &c.

“ The God of war, the mighty Mars,
 Has smiled upon our stripes and stars;
 And spite of any ugly rumours,
 We’ll vanquish all the Montezumas.
 We’re on our way to Matamoras,
 On our way to Matamoras,
 On our way to Matamoras,
 And we’ll conquer all before us.”

[The reading of the above effusion was frequently interrupted by roars of laughter.]

Now, this was sung by an immense meeting at New York,—where religious men, members of the Church, men of the highest standing, were present, and participated in the meeting,—and it is a fair specimen of American Republicanism and Christianity: of course, you will

not understand me as saying that there is no genuine Christianity in America—"No, no"),—that there are not in America genuine republicans. I thank God that there are more than 7,000 men who have not yet bowed the knee to Baal—(cheers)—and they are increasing day by day; for liberty, though now in a minority, is strong and powerful, and every hour is gaining new victories over the enemy.

Mr. Garrison then briefly alluded to the designs of the United States in Cuba, and also to the treatment British coloured subjects received at the hands of the Americans. Such is American slavery, my friends; but the time is elapsing, and I must bring my remarks to a close. What has been the effect of American slavery in England? I ask you, who are labouring to have reforms effected here, if the fact that slavery is defended in America is not a mighty hindrance to your success? If tyrants here do not make an argument out of American slavery against the equality of the working-men of England?—"Yes, yes." And, I ask, if it is thus, if it is not for you to cry out against American slavery, as putting fetters round your limbs, as well as of those on the American soil? Why, it has made people contented with a despotic and monarchical form of government, who otherwise never would have been contented with them, because they have been led falsely to believe that slavery is the legitimate child of republicanism. It is not: republicanism is the friend, the advocate, the champion of the freedom of all—(cheers). When, in 1835, Sir R. Peel argued, at Tamworth, that the republican form of government would never answer for the people of England, how did he attempt to sustain his declaration? By reminding them of slavery in America, and then attributing those evils to the republic, most unfairly and unjustly, for he ought to have known that slavery is from beneath, republicanism from above—(loud cheers). Why, what has been your Anti-Corn-Law movement but a republican movement—(hear)? and I'm glad that Sir R. Peel has changed his opinion somewhat—(hear),—and thinks that republican measures may be safely trusted with the people, and I trust he will go further, and that you will meet with further success that will give you still larger liberty than you now possess—(cheers). Again, slavery has corrupted and degraded free labour in America, and been an obstacle to the labouring men of England; but let

me say, in the words of one of our most glorious poets,
J. G. Whittier,—

“ Hear it, old Europe ! we have sworn
The death of slavery—when it falls,
Look to your vassals in their turn,
Your poor dumb millions, crushed and worn,
Your prison and your palace walls.

“ Justly you scorn us now, and show
What deeds in freedom’s name we do :
’Tis well—since every taunt ye throw
Across the waters, goads our slow
Progression to the right and true.

“ Not always shall our outraged poor,
Appalled by democratic crime,
Grind as their fathers ground before.
The hour which sees our prison door
Swing wide, shall be their triumph time.

“ On then, my brothers ! every blow
Ye deal is felt—the wide earth through ;
Whatever here uplifts the low,
Or humbles freedom’s hateful foe,
Blesses the Old World through the New.

“ Take heart ! the promised hour draws near,
I hear the downward beat of wings,
And freedom’s trumpet sounding clear.
Say to the people !—Woe and fear
To new world Tyrants, old world Kings.”

I will only add, in conclusion, that I want to see you join in putting down the abuses and corruptions that exist among you. I did want to say, that if there are any here endeavouring to overthrow the unholy alliance between Church and State, I am with them—(cheers). An alliance not to be tolerated by any people who claim to be Christians ; for it is utterly at war with the gospel of Jesus Christ, and of course with the freedom of mankind—(hear, hear). If there are any struggling after an extension of the elective franchise, I am with them—(cheers). Are there any endeavouring to put down the horrible law of primogeniture, so called, why, I am with them—(cheers). Why, next to slavery, I know nothing under heaven more to be hated, de-

nounced, and assailed, than the law of primogeniture—(cheers). It is by no weapons of steel, remember—it is by argument and reason, by justice and moral association, by reliance on the right and the truth, on the understanding and hearts of men—(hear, hear). Against these there is no law, or if there be, and if they have dungeons for those who do these things, then go into dungeons. You have men among you that don't fear the dungeon—(hear, hear). Why, there is our glorious friend, William Lovett—(loud cheers). There is that eloquent champion of liberty, Henry Vincent—(tremendous applause); he does not fear the dungeon; and friends, I have been honoured with a place in a dungeon, (hear). Let tyranny imprison the men who are pleading for liberty, liberty never suffers by it. Let not vengeance overtake justice, for justice will come if you be peace men; peace men, because it is unlawful before God to be anything else; because the weapons of war are the weapons of tyranny, and should never be the weapons of free men.

Mr. Garrison then resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic bursts of applause.

It was moved by Mr. William Lovett and seconded by J. Parry, Esq. :—“ That this meeting having listened to an address delivered by Wm. Lloyd Garrison on the subject of American Slavery, have been forcibly struck with the heart-sickening, soul-debasing cruelty of that infamous institution; and especially with the strange inconsistency of its being upheld by men professing the universal rights of humanity as the foundation of their political creed, and the brotherhood of man as the basis of their religious faith;—they therefore deem it a duty to embrace this opportunity of recording their solemn protest against slavery in every form and in every clime, but more especially against the political and social machinery maintained by the people of America for keeping three millions of their fellow-men in bondage, as such a baneful example gives countenance and encouragement to despotism, and retards the sacred cause of democracy throughout the world.

“ That this meeting express their deep sympathy with Wm. Lloyd Garrison and his indomitable colleagues in their praiseworthy endeavours and great sacrifices to redeem republican America from the crime of slavery, and

recommend their brethren throughout the united kingdom to aid in this great object of human emancipation."

Mr. Thompson:—I need not assure this audience, that it is with peculiar pleasure I put this resolution. My heart goes with both portions of it. My soul revolts against slavery, and my warmest affections are with Mr. Garrison and his heroic coadjutors in the cause of freedom. May the Almighty scatter to the winds the machinations of those counterfeit democrats, whose object is to extend the dominion of slavery; and may the same Almighty Being preside over the councils of the men and women who are labouring to establish the principles of impartial liberty!

No one, I think, can have received the impression that Mr. Garrison is the enemy of religion. He is only the enemy of that spurious religion, which, while it tithes mint, and anise and cummin, neglects the weightier matters of the law, justice, judgment, and truth—(cheers). Against all such religion he is at war; and I trust he will continue to give battle to such a religion, until the *true* religion of Christ, which is full of mercy, and impartiality, and good works, is established over the whole earth. Our beloved friend has counted the cost. He knows that persecutions and tribulations await him at every stage in his career. Hitherto he has been unmoved by the storms which have raged around him. I have no fear that he will cower before those that are to come. Posterity will do him justice. Already he beholds the fruit of his labours.

He is Freedom's now, and Fame's—

One of the few, the immortal names

That were not born to die—(cheers).

The Chairman then put the resolution, which was carried with three times three cheers.

[From the "INQUIRER" of Saturday, September 5.]



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