

ADDRESS

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ON

THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

BY PAOLA BROWN, ESQ.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE sources from which our miseries are derived, and on which I shall comment, I shall not combine in one, but shall put them under distinct heads, and expose them in turn. In doing which, keeping truth on my side, and not departing from the strictest rules of morality, I shall endeavor to penetrate, search out, and lay open, for your inspection. If you cannot or will not profit from them, I shall have done my duty to you, my country, and my God.

And as the inhuman system of Slavery is the source from which most of our miseries proceed, I shall begin with that curse to nations which has spread terror and devastation through so many nations of antiquity, and which is raging to such a pitch at the present day in Spain and Portugal. It had one tug in England and France, and in the United States of America, yet the inhabitants thereof do not learn wisdom and erase it entirely from their dwellings, and from all with whom they have to do. The fact is, the labor of slaves comes so cheap to avaricious usurpers, and is, as they think, of such great utility to the country where it exists, that those who are actuated by sordid avarice only, overlook the evils which will, as sure as the Lord lives, follow after the good. In fact, they are so happy to keep in ignorance and degradation, and to receive the homage and labor of the slaves, they forget that God rules in the armies of Heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, having his ears continually open to the cries, tears, and groans of his oppressed people; and being a just and holy Being will, at one day, appear fully in behalf of the oppressed, and arrest the progress of the avaricious oppressors. For although the destruction of the oppressors, God may not

effect by the oppressed, yet the Lord our God will bring other destructions upon them ; for not unfrequently will he cause them to rise up one against the other, to be split and divided, and to oppress each other, and sometimes to open hostilities with sword in hand. Some may ask, what is the matter with this enlightened and happy people ? Some say it is the cause of political usurpers, tyrants, and oppressors. But has not the Lord an oppressed and suffering people among them ? does the Lord condescend to hear their cries, and see their tears in consequence of oppression ? will he let the oppressors rest comfortably and happy always ? will he not cause the very children of the oppressors to rise up against them, and of time to put them to death ?

“ God works in a mysterious way,
“ His wonders to perform.”

I will not here speak of the destruction which the Lord brought upon Egypt, in consequence of the oppression and consequent groans of the oppressed of the hundreds and thousands of Egyptians whom God hurled into the Red Sea for afflicting the people in their land ; of the Lord's suffering people in Sparta and Lacedemon—the land of the truly famous Lycurgus ;—nor have I time to comment on the cause which produced the fierceness with which Lylla usurped the title and absolutely acted as Dictator of the Roman people ; the conspiracy of Cataline ; the conspiracy against, and murder of, Cæsar in the Senate House ; the spirit with which Marc Anthony made himself master of the Commonwealth ; his associating Octavius and Sevidus with himself in power ; their dividing the Provinces of Rome among themselves ; their attack and defeat on the plains of Philippi ; the last defenders of their liberty (Brutus and Cassius) ; the tyranny of Tiberius, and, from him, to the final overthrow of Constantinople by the Turkish Sultan, Mahommed II., A. D. 1453 ;—I say I shall not take time to speak of the causes which produced so much wretchedness and massacre among those nations, for I am aware that you know too well that God is just as well as merciful,

I shall call your attention for a moment to that Christian nation, the Spaniards, while I shall leave almost unnoticed that avaricious and cruel people—the Portugese—among whom all true-hearted Christians and lovers of Jesus Christ must evidently see the judgments of God displayed. To show the judgments of God upon the Spaniards, I shall occupy but little time, leaving plenty of room for the candid and unprejudiced to reflect.

All persons who are acquainted with History, and particularly the Bible, who are not blinded by the god of this world and are not actuated solely by avarice, who are able to lay aside prejudice long enough candidly and impartially, to view things as they were, are, and probably will be, who are willing to admit that God made man to serve him alone, and that man should have no other lord or lords but Himself, that God is the sole proprietor or *Master* of the whole human family, and will not on any consideration admit of a colleague, being unwilling to divide his glory with another, and who can dispense with prejudice long enough to admit that we are men, notwithstanding our prominent noses and wooley heads, and believe that we feel for our fathers, mothers, wives, and children, as well as they do for theirs ;—I say, all who are permitted to see and believe all these things, can easily recognise the judgments of God among the Spaniards. Though others may lay the cause of the fierceness with which they cut each other's throats to other circumstances, yet those who believe that God is a God of justice, will believe that slavery is the principal cause.

While the Spaniards are running about upon the field of battle, cutting each other's throats, has not the Lord an afflicted and suffering people in the midst of them, whose cries and groans in consequence of oppression are continually pouring into the ears of the God of justice? Would they not cease to cut each other's throats if they could? But how can they? The very support which they draw from Government in perpetrating such enormities, does it not arise in a great degree from the wretched victims of oppression among them, and yet they

are calling for *Peace! Peace!* Will any peace be given unto them? Their destruction indeed may be procrastinated awhile, but can it continue long while they are oppressing the Lord's people. Has He not the hearts of all men in His hand? Will He suffer one part of His creatures to go on oppressing another like brutes always with impunity? And yet those avaricious wretches are calling for peace! I declare, it does appear to me as though some nations think that God is asleep, or that He made the Africans for nothing else but to dig their mines and work their farms, or they cannot believe history, sacred or profane. I ask every man who has a heart, and is blessed with the privilege of believing, is not God a God of justice to all his creatures? Do you say he is? Then if he gives peace and tranquility to tyrants, and permits them to keep our fathers, our mothers, ourselves and our children in eternal ignorance and wretchedness, to support them and their families, would he be to us a God of justice? I ask, O! ye Christians, who hold us and our children in the most abject ignorance and degradation that ever a poor people were afflicted with since the world begun; I say if God gives you peace and tranquility, and suffers you thus to go on afflicting us and our children, who have never given you the least provocation, would he be to us a God of justice? If you will allow that we are men who feel for each other, does not the blood of our fathers, and of us their children, cry aloud to the Lord of Sabbaoth against you for the cruelties and murders with which you have and do continue to afflict us. But it is time for me to close my remarks on the suburbs, just to enter more fully into the interior of this system of cruelty and oppression.

ADDRESS ON SLAVERY.

ARTICLE I.—*Our Wretchedness in consequence of Slavery.*

MY BELOVED BRETHREN —The Indians of North and of South America—the Greeks—the Irish subjected under the Queen of Great Britain—the Jews, that ancient people of the Lord—the inhabitants of the Islands of the sea—in fine, all the inhabitants of the earth, (except, however, the sons of Africa) are called men, and of course are and ought to be free. But we, colored people, and our children, are brutes! and of course are and ought to be slaves to the American people and their children, for ever! to dig their mines and work their farms, and thus go on enriching them from one generation to another with our blood and our tears! I promised in a preceding page to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the most incredulous, that we coloured people of these United States of America, are the most wretched, degraded, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began; and that the white Americans, having reduced us to the wretched state of slavery, treat us in that condition more cruel, (they being an enlightened and Christian people) than any heathen nation did any people whom it had reduced to our condition. These affirmations are so well confirmed in the minds of all unprejudiced men who have taken the trouble to read history, that they need no elucidation from me; but to put them beyond all doubt, I refer you, in the first place, to the children of Jacob, or of Israel, in Egypt, under Pharaoh, and his people.

Some of my people do not know who Pharaoh and the Egyptians were. I know it to be a fact, that some of them take the Egyptians to have been a gang of devils, not knowing any better, and that they, the Egyptians,

having got possession of the Lord's people, treated them nearly as cruel as Christian Americans do us at the present day. For the information of such, I would only say, that the Egyptians were Africans or colored people, such as we are ; some of them yellow and others dark ; a mixture of Ethiopians and the natives of Egypt ; about the same as you see the colored people of the United States at the present day. I say, I call your attention then to the children of Jacob, while I point out particularly to you his son Joseph among the rest, in Egypt. "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled ; only in the throne will I be greater than thou.— And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt."

Now, I appeal to heaven and to earth, and particularly to the American people themselves, who cease not to declare that our condition is not hard, and that we are comparatively satisfied to rest in wretchedness and misery under them and their children ; not indeed, to shew me a coloured President, a Governor, a Legislator, a Senator, a Mayor, or an Attorney at the bar, but to show me a man of color who holds the low office of a constable, or one who sits in a juror box even on a case of one of his wretched brethren, throughout that great slave-holding Republic ! But let us pass Joseph the son of Israel a little farther in review, as he existed with that heathen nation : "And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath Paaneah ; and he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On, and Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt." But hearken, my beloved brethren, here is intermarrying with the blacks ; remember that Joseph was a white man, and his wife a black woman, or yellow, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On.— Compare the above with the American institutions ; do they not institute laws to prohibit us from marrying among the whites ? See Genesis, chap. 41, 41st and 44th and 45th verses. I would wish candidly, however, be-

fore the Lord, to be understood that I would not give a pinch of snuff to be married to any white person I ever saw in all the days of my life. And I do say it, that the black man, or man of color, who will leave his own color, (provided he can get one who is good for anything) and marry a white woman, to be a double slave to her, just because she is white, ought to be treated by her as he surely will be, viz., as a nigger! It is not, indeed, what I care about intermarriage with the whites, which induced me to pass this subject in review, for the Lord knows, that there is a day coming when they will be glad enough to get into the company of the blacks, notwithstanding we are in this generation levelled by them almost on a level with the brute creation; and some of us they treat even worse than they do the brutes that perish. I only make this extract to show how much lower we are held, and how much more cruel we are treated by the slave-holding Americans than were the children of Jacob by the Egyptians. We will notice the sufferings of Israel some further, under heathen Pharaoh, compared with ours under the enlightened Christians of America.

“ And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee; the land of Egypt is before thee: in the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell; and if thou knowest any men of activity among them, then make them rulers over my cattle.”

I ask those people who treat us so well, oh! I ask them where is the most barren spot of land which they have given unto us? Israel had the most fertile land in all Egypt. (See Genesis, chap. 47, v. 5 & 6.) But to prove further that the condition of the Israelites was better under the Egyptians than ours is under the white slave-holding States of America, I call up on the professing, christians: I call upon the philanthropist: I call upon the very tyrant himself, to shew me a page of history, either sacred or profane, on which a verse can be found which maintains that the Egyptians heaped the insupportable insult upon the children of Israel, by telling them that

they were not of the human family. Can the whites deny this charge? Have they not, after having reduced us to the deplorable condition of slaves under their feet, held us up as descending originally from the tribes of Monkeys or Ourang Outangs? Oh, my God! I appeal to every man of feeling—is not this insupportable? Is it not heaping the most gross insult upon our miseries, because they have got us under their feet, and we cannot help ourselves! Oh! pity us: we pray thee Lord Jesus, master? Has Mr. Jefferson declared to the world that we are inferior to the whites, both in the endowments of our bodies and minds? It is indeed surprising that a man of such great learning, combined with such excellent natural parts, should speak so of a set of men in chains! I do not know what to compare it to, unless like putting one wild deer in an iron cage where it will be secured, and hold another by the side of the same, then let it go, and expect the one in the cage to run as fast as the one at liberty. So far, my brethren, were the Egyptians from heaping these insults upon their slaves, that Pharoah's daughter took Moses, a son of Israel, for her own, as will appear by the following—"And Pharoah's daughter said unto her, (Moses' mother,) take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will pay thee thy wages; and the woman took the child (Moses,) and nursed it, and the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharoah's daughter, and he became her son, and she called his name Moses, and she said, because I drew him out of the water." I here say again, "And Pharoah's daughter said unto her (Moses' mother,) take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will pay thee thy wages." I wish here to say to the Slave-holding South, do you say to any of your slaves, do this or that, and I will pay thee thy wages? Hear, Oh! hear, what St. James says—"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you; your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten; your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire; ye have

heaped treasures together for the last days ; behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth and been wanton ; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter ; ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you." In all probability, Moses would have become Prince Regent to the Throne ; and no doubt in process of time, but he would have been seated on the throne of Egypt ; but he had rather suffer shame with the people of God, than to enjoy pleasures with that wicked people for a season. Oh ! that the colored people were long since of Moses' excellent disposition, instead of courting favor with and telling news and lies to our natural enemies, against each other, aiding them to keep their devilish chains of slavery upon us, would we not long before this time have been respectable men, instead of such wretched victims of oppression as we are ? Would they be able to drag our mothers, our fathers, our wives, our children, and ourselves, around the world in chains and hand-cuffs as they do, to dig up gold and silver for them and theirs ? This question, my brethren, I leave for you to digest ; and may God Almighty force it home to your hearts. Remember that unless you are united, keeping your tongues within your teeth, you will be afraid to trust your secrets to each other, and thus perpetuate our miseries under the Christians ! Addition, remember also, see Exodus, chap. 1. To lay humble at the feet of our Lord and master, Jesus Christ, with prayer and fasting ; let our enemies go on with their butcheries, and at once fill up their cup.-- Never, never make an attempt to gain our freedom or natural right from under our cruel oppressors and murderers, until you see your way clear. When that hour arrives, and you move, be not afraid or dismayed ; for be you assured that Jesus Christ, the king of heaven and of earth, who is the God of Justice and of armies, will surely go before you, and those enemies who have

for hundreds of years stolen our rights, and kept us in ignorance of him and his divine worship ; he will remove millions of whom are this day so ignorant and avaricious that they cannot conceive how God can have an attribute of justice, and show mercy to us because it pleased him to make us black—which color Mr. Jefferson calls unfortunate ! as though we are not as thankful to our God for having made us as it pleased himself, as they (the whites) are for having made them white ; they think because they hold us in their infernal chains of slavery that we wish to be white or of their color, but they are dreadfully deceived ; we wish to be just as it pleased our creator to have made us, and no avaricious or unmerciful wretches have any business to make slaves of, and hold us in cruel slavery, and murder them as they do us. But is Mr. Jefferson's assertions true, viz : "that it is unfortunate for us that our creator has been pleased to make us black." We will not take his saying so for the fact, the world will have an opportunity to see whether it is unfortunate for us that our creator has made us darker than the whites. Fear not the number and education of our enemies against whom we shall have to contend for our lawful rights, guaranteed to us by our maker. For why should we be afraid, for God is and will continue (if we continue humble) to be on our side. The man who would not fight under our Lord and master Jesus Christ, in the glorious and heavenly cause of freedom and of God, to be delivered from the most wretched, abject and servile slavery that ever a people was afflicted with since the foundation of the world to the present day, ought to be kept with all his children or family in slavery or in chains, to be butchered by his cruel enemies. I saw a paragraph a few years since in a South Carolina paper, which, speaking of the barbarity of the Turks, it said : "The Turks are the most barbarous people in the world ; they treat the Greeks more like brutes than human beings," and in the same paper was an advertisement, which said "eight well built Virginia and Maryland Negro fellows, and four wenchies, will positively be sold this day to the

highest bidder ;” and what astonished me still more was to see in this same humane paper ! the cuts of three men with clubs and budgets on their backs, and an advertisement offering a considerable sum of money for their apprehension and delivery. I declare it is really so amusing to hear the Southern Slave-holders of that country talk about barbarity, that it is positively enough to make a man smile. The sufferings of the Helots among the Spartans were somewhat severe, it is true, but to say that theirs were as severe as ours among the American slaveholders, I do most strenuously deny. For instance, can any man show me an article, on a page of Ancient history, which specifies that the Spartans chained and hand-cuffed the Helots, and dragged them from their wives and children, children from their parents, mothers from their suckling babes, wives from their husbands, driving them from one end of the country to the other ? Notice the Spartans were heathens, who lived long before our Divine master made his appearance in the flesh ; can christian Americans, Slaveholders, deny these barbarous cruelties ; have you not, Americans, having subjected us under you, added to these miseries, by insulting us in telling us to our face, because we are helpless, that we are not of the human family ? I ask you, Oh ! Americans, I ask you in the name of the Lord, can you deny these charges ? Some, perhaps, may deny, by saying that they never thought or said that we were not men. But do not actions speak louder than words ? Have they not made provision for the Greeks and other nations who have never done the least thing for them ; while we, who have enriched their country with our blood and tears, have dug up gold and silver for them and their children, from generation to generation, and are in more miseries than any other people under heaven, are not seen but by comparatively a handful of the American people. There are indeed, more ways to kill a dog, beside choking it to death with butter. Further, the Spartans or Lacedemonians, had some frivolous pretext for enslaving the Helots, for they (the Helots) while being free inhabitants of Sparta,

stirred up an intestine commotion, and were, by the Spartans, subdued and made prisoners of war, consequently they and their children were condemned to perpetual Slavery.* I have been for years troubling the pages of historians to find out what our fathers have done to the white Christians of America, to merit such condign punishment as they have inflicted on them, and do continue to inflict on us their children. But I must aver, that my researches have hitherto been to no effect. I have therefore come to the immovable conclusion that they, Americans, have and do continue to punish us for nothing else but for enriching them and their country, for I cannot conceive of anything else. Nor will I ever believe otherwise until the Lord shall convince me the world knows that Slavery, as it existed among the Romans, (which was the primary cause of their destruction,) was, comparatively speaking, no more than a cypher, when compared with ours under the American Slave-holders. Indeed, I should not have noticed the Roman slaves, had not the very learned and penetrating Mr. Jefferson said : " when a master was murdered, all his slaves in the same house, or within hearing, were condemned to death,"— Here let me ask Mr. Jefferson, (but he is gone to answer at the bar of God for the deeds done in his body while living) I therefore ask the whole American slaveholding people, had I not rather die or be put to death than to be a slave to any tyrant who takes not only my own, but my wife and children's lives by the inches? Yea, would I meet death with avidity far, far, in preference to such servile submission to the murderous hands of tyrants.— Mr. Jefferson's very severe remarks on us have been so extensively argued upon by men whose attainments in literature I shall never be able to reach, that I would not have meddled with it, were it not to solicit each of my brethren who has the spirit of a man, to buy a copy of Mr. Jefferson's " Notes on Virginia," and put it in the hand of his son, for let no one of us suppose that the re-

* See Dr. Goldsmith's History of Greece, page 9; see also Plutarch's Lives, the Helots subdued by Ægis, King of Sparta.

tutations which have been written by our white friends are enough—they are whites, we are blacks ; we and the world wish to see the charges of Mr. Jefferson refuted by the blacks themselves, according to chance ;* for we must remember that what the whites have written respecting this subject, is other men's labors, and did not emanate from the blacks. I know well that there are some talents and learning among the colored people of that slave holding country, which they have not a chance to develope, in consequence of oppression. But our oppression ought not to hinder us from acquiring all we can, for we will have a chance to develope them by and by. God will not suffer us always to be oppressed ; our sufferings will come to an end in spite of all the American Slaveholders this side of eternity. Then we will want all the learning and talents among ourselves, and perhaps more to govern ourselves. "Every dog must have its day." The American Slaveholders is coming to an end, when God Almighty shall commence his battle in the slaveholding States on account of Slavery ; tyrants will wish they never were born. My brethren, he will surely do it, as he did in Egypt, except a great repentance toward God on the part of tyrants.

But let us review Mr. Jefferson's remarks respecting us, some further, comparing our miserable fathers with the learned philosophers of Greece. He says : "Yet notwithstanding these and other discouraging circumstances among the Romans, their slaves were often their rarest artists ; they excelled too, in science, insomuch as to be usually employed as tutors to their master's children.—Epictetus, Terence, and Phædrus were slaves, but they were of the race of whites : it is not their condition, then but nature which has produced the distinction." See this my brethren ! do you believe that this assertion is swallowed by millions of the whites ? Do you know that Mr. Jefferson was one of as great characters as ever lived among the whites ? See his writings for the world, and public labours for the United States of America. Do you

See his "Notes on Virginia," page 210.

believe that the assertions of such a man will pass away into oblivion unobserved by the American people and the world? If you do you are much, much mistaken; see how the American people treat us; have we souls in our bodies? Are we men who have any spirits at all,*

I know there are many swell-bellied fellows among us, whose greatest object is to fill their stomachs; such I do not mean: I am after those who know and feel that we are men as well as other people. To them I say that unless we try to refute Mr. Jefferson's arguments respecting us, we will only establish them. But the slaves among the Romans, everybody who has read history knows, that as soon as a slave among the Romans obtained his freedom, he could rise to the greatest eminence in the State; and there was no law instituted to hinder a slave from buying his freedom; have not the Americans instituted laws to hinder us from obtaining our freedom? Do any deny this charge? Read the laws of Virginia, North and South Carolina, &c. Further, have not the Americans instituted laws to prohibit a man of color from obtaining and holding any office whatever under the Government of the United States of America? Now, Mr. Jefferson tells us that our condition is not so hard as the slaves were under the Romans!

It is time for me to bring this article to a close. But before I close it I must observe to my brethren, that at the close of the first Revolution in that country with Great Britain, there were but thirteen States in the Union; now there are thirty-one, most of which are slaveholding States, and the other half are nearly cursed by the passing of that cursed fugitive slave bill, or slave law, and the whites are dragging us around in chains and in hand-cuffs to their new States and territories, to work their mines and farms, to enrich them and their children; and millions of them believing firmly that we, being a little darker than they, were made by our creator to be an inheritance to them and their children for ever—the same as a parcel of brutes: are we men! I ask you, Oh, my brethren!

* See his "Notes on Virginia," page 211.

are we men? did our creator make us to be slaves to dust and ashes like ourselves? are they not dying worms as well as we? have they not to make their appearance before the tribunal of heaven to answer for the deeds done in the body, as well as we? Have we any other master but Jesus Christ alone? Is he not their master as well as ours? What right then have we to obey and call any other master but himself? How we could be so submissive to a gang of men whom we cannot tell whether they are as good as ourselves or not, I never could conceive; however, this is shut up with the Lord, and we cannot precisely tell. But I declare, we judge men by their works. The white slaveholders have always been an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious, and blood-thirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority. We view them all over the confederacy of Greece, where they were first known to be anything; (in consequence of education,) we see them there cutting each other's throats, trying to subject each other to wretchedness and misery—to effect which, they used all kinds of deceitful, unfair, and unmerciful means. We view them next in Rome, where the spirit of tyranny and deceit raged still higher. We view them in Gaul, Spain, and in fine, we view them all over Europe, together with what were scattered about in Asia and Africa, as heathens, and we see them acting more like devils than accountable men. But some may ask, did not the blacks of Africa, and the mulattoes of Asia, go on in the same way as did the whites of Europe? I answer, no; they never were half so avaricious, deceitful, and unmerciful as the whites, according to their knowledge.

But we will leave the whites or Europeans as heathens, and take a view of them as Christians, in which capacity we see them as cruel, if not more so than ever. In fact, take them as a body, they are ten times more cruel, avaricious, and unmerciful than ever they were: for while they were heathens they were bad enough, it is true, but it is positively a fact, that they were not quite so audacious as to go and take vessel loads of men, women

and children, and in cold blood, and through devilishness, throw them into the sea, and murder them in all kinds of ways. While they were heathens, they were too ignorant for such barbarity; but being Christians, enlightened and sensible, they are completely prepared for such hellish cruelties. Now, suppose God were to give them more sense, what would they do? If it were possible, would they not dethrone Jéhovah, and seat themselves upon his throne? I therefore, in the name and fear of the Lord God of heaven and of earth, divested of prejudice either on the side of my color or that of the whites, advance my suspicion of them, whether they are as good by nature as we are, or not; their actions since they were known as a people, have been the reverse. I do indeed suspect them, but this, as I before observed, is shut up with the Lord: we cannot exactly tell it; it will be proved in succeeding generations. The whites have had the essence of the gospel, as it was preached by my Master and his Apostles—the Ethiopians have not, who are to have it in its meridian splendour—the Lord will give it to them to their satisfaction. I hope and pray my God, that they will make good use of it, that it may be well with them.*

*It is my solemn belief, that if ever the world becomes Christianised, (which must certainly take place before long,) it will be through the means, under God, of the blacks, who are now held in wretchedness and degradation by the white Christians of the world—who, before they learn to do justice to us before our Maker, and be reconciled to us, and reconcile us to them, and by that means have clear consciences before God and man—send out missionaries to convert the heathens, many of whom after they cease to worship Gods, which neither see nor hear, became ten times more the children of hell than ever they were. Why, what is the reason? Why the reason is obvious: they must learn to do justice at home, before they go into distant lands to display their charity, christianity and benevolence. When they learn to do justice, God will accept their offering. No man may think that I am against missionaries, for I am not; my object is to see justice done at home, before we go to convert the heathen.

ARTICLE II.

OUR WRETCHEDNESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF IGNORANCE.

Ignorance, my brethren, is a mist, low down into the very dark and almost impenetrable abyss in which our fathers for many centuries have been plunged. The Christians and enlightened of Europe, and some of Asia, seeing the ignorance and consequent degradation of our fathers, instead of trying to enlighten them by teaching them that religion and light with which God had blessed them, they have plunged them into wretchedness ten thousand times more intolerable than if they had left them entirely to the Lord : and to add to their miseries, deep down into which they have plunged them, tell them that they are an inferior and distinct race of beings, which they will be glad enough to recall and swallow by and by. Fortune and misfortune, two inseparable companions, lay rolled up in the wheel of events, which have from the creation of the world, and will continue to take place among men, until God shall dash worlds together. When we take a retrospective view of the arts and sciences, the legislators, the pyramids, and other magnificent buildings—the turning of the channel of the river Nile by the sons of Africa or of Ham, among whom learning originated, and was carried thence into Greece, where it was improved upon and refined. Thence among the Romans, and all over the then enlightened parts of the world ; and it has been enlightening the dark and benighted minds of men from then down to this day. I say, when I view retrospectively the renown of that once mighty people, the children of our progenitor, I am indeed cheered. Yea, further, when I view that mighty son of Africa, Hannibal, one of the greatest generals of antiquity, who defeated and cut off so many thousands of white Roman slaveholders or murderers, and who carried

his victorious arms to the very gates of Rome, and I give it as my candid opinion, that had Carthage been well united, and had given him good support, he would have carried that cruel and barbarous city by storm; but they were disunited, as the coloured people are now in the United States of America, the reason our natural enemies are enabled to keep their feet on our throats.

Beloved brethren, here let me tell you, and believe it, that the Lord our God, as true as he sits on his throne in heaven, and as true as our Saviour died to redeem the world, will deliver you if you continue faithful, with prayers and fastings, and lay humble at the feet of Jesus Christ. Do, I say, lay humble with fastings and prayers, and he will deliver you. Oh, my suffering brethren! remember the divisions and consequent sufferings of Carthage and of Hayti. Read the history particularly of Hayti, and see how they were butchered by the whites, and do you take warning, and trust in your God with much prayers. The south wants slaves, and wants us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us, as true as the sun ever shone in its meridian splendour. My color will root some of them out of the very face of the earth; they shall have enough of making slaves of, and butchering, and murdering us in the manner which they have. Now, some may say that I, being a black man, wish these things to occur. I say, if these things do not occur in their proper time, it is because the world in which we live does not exist, and we are deceived with regard to its existence. It is immaterial, however to me, who believe or who refuse—though I should like to see the white slaveholders of the United States repent, and peradventure God may have mercy on them. Some, however, have gone so far that their cup must be filled.

But what need have I to refer to antiquity, when Hayti, the glory of the blacks and terror of tyrants, is enough to convince the most avaricious and stupid of wretches. I hope that she may keep peace within her borders and be united, keeping a strict look out for

tyrants, for if they get the least chance to injure her, they will avail themselves of it, as true as the Lord lives in heaven. But one thing which gives me joy is, that they are men who would be cut off to a man before they would yield to the combined forces of the whole world—in fact, if the whole world was combined against them, it could not do anything with them, unless the Lord delivers them up. Ignorance and treachery one against the other; a grovelling, servile and abject submission to the lash of tyrants, we see plainly, my brethren, are not the natural elements of the blacks, as the Americans try to make us believe; but these are misfortunes which God has suffered our fathers to be enveloped in for many ages, no doubt in consequence of their disobedience to their Maker,* and which do indeed reign at this time among us, almost to the destruction of all other principles; for I must truly say that ignorance, the mother of treachery and degradation gnaws into our very vitals; ignorance, as it now exists among us, produces a state of things, Oh, my Lord! horrible to present to the world. Any man who is courageous to see the full force of ignorance developed among the colored people of the United States of America, he only to go into the southern and western States of the confederacy, where, if he is not a tyrant, but has the feelings of a human being, who can feel for a fellow creature, he may see enough to make his very heart bleed! He may see there a son take his mother, who bore almost the pains of death to give him birth, and by the command of a tyrant, strip her as naked as she came into the world, and apply the cowhide to her, until she falls a victim to death in the road. He may see a husband take his dear wife, not unfrequently in a pregnant state, and perhaps far advanced, and beat her for an unmerciful wretch, until his infant falls a lifeless lump at her feet! Can the American slaveholders escape God Almighty? If they do, can he be to us a God of justice? God is just, and I know it—for he has convinced me to my satisfaction—I cannot doubt him. My observer may see

* Hayti numbering over one million souls.

fathers beating their sons, mothers their daughters, and children their parents, all to pacify the passions of unrelenting tyrants. He may also see them telling news and lies, making mischief one upon another. These are some of the productions of ignorance, which he will see practiced among my dear brethren who are held in unjust slavery and wretchedness by avaricious and unmerciful tyrants, to whom and their devilish deeds, I would suffer my life to be taken before I would submit. And when my curious observer comes to take notice of those who are said to be free, (which assertion I deny,) and who are making some frivolous pretensions to common sense, he will see that branch of ignorance among the slaves assuming a more cunning and deceitful course of procedure; he may see some of my brethren in league with tyrants, selling their own brethren into hell upon earth, dissimilar to the exhibitions in Africa, but in a more t, servile and abject manner. Oh, heaven! I am I can hardly move my pen! I aver that when I over those United States of America, and the world; see the ignorant deceptions and consequent wretchedness of my brethren, I am brought oftentimes solemnly to a stand, and in the midst of my reflections, I exclaim to my God, "Lord, didst thou make us to be slaves to our brethren the whites?" But when I reflect that God is just, and that millions of my wretched brethren would meet death with glory—yea more, would plunge into the very mouths of cannons, and be torn into particles as minute as the atoms which compose the elements of the earth, in preference to a mean submission to the lash of tyrants, I am with streaming eyes, compelled to shrink back into nothingness before my Maker, and exclaim again, "thy will be done, Oh! Lord God Almighty."

Men of color, who are also of sense, for you particularly is my appeal designed; our more ignorant brethren are not able to penetrate its value. I call upon you therefore to cast your eyes upon the wretchedness of your brethren, and to do your utmost to enlighten them—go

to work and enlighten your brethren!—let the Lord see you doing what you can to rescue them and yourselves from degradation. Do any of you say that you and your family are free and happy, and what have you to do with the wretched slaves and other people? So can I say, for I enjoy as much freedom as any of you, if I am not quite as well off as the best of you. Look into our freedom and happiness, and see of what kind they are composed. They are composed of the very lowest kind—they are the very dregs—they are the most servile and abject kinds that ever a people was in possession of. If any of you wish to know how free you are, let one of you start and go through the southern and western States of that slaveholding country, and unless you travel as a slave to a white man (a servant is a slave to the man whom he serves) or have your free papers, (which if you are not careful they will get from you,) if they do not take you up and put you in jail, and if you cannot give good evidence of your freedom, sell you into eternal slavery. I am not a living man, or any man of color, immaterial who he is, or where he came from, if he is not the fourth from the negro race, (as we are called.) the white Christians of America will serve him the same, they will sink him into wretchedness and degradation for ever while he lives; and yet some of you have the hardihood to say that you are free and happy! May God have mercy on your freedom and happiness! I advance it therefore to you, not a problematical, but as an unshaken and for ever immovable fact, that your full glory and happiness, as well as all other coloured people under heaven, shall never be fully consummated, but with the entire emancipation of your enslaved brethren all over the world. You may therefore go to work and do what you can to rescue, or join in with tyrants to oppress them and yourselves, until the Lord shall come upon you all like a thief in the night. For I believe it is the will of the Lord that our greatest happiness shall consist in working for the salvation of our whole body. When this is accomplished, a burst of glory will shine upon you

which will indeed astonish you and the world. Do any of you say this never will be done? I assure you that God will accomplish it—if nothing else will answer, he will hurl tyrants and devils into atoms, and make way for his people. But O! my brethren, I say unto you again, you must go to work and prepare the way of the Lord.

“God works in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform:
He plants his footsteps on the sea,
And rides upon the storm.”

There is a great work for you to do, as trifling as some of you may think of it; you have to prove to the Americans and the world that we are men and not brutes, as we have been represented, and by millions treated. Remember to let the aim of your labors among your brethren, and particularly the youths, be the dissemination of education and religion. It is lamentable that many of our children go to school from four until they are eight or ten, and sometimes fifteen years, of age, and leave school knowing but a little more about the grammar of their language than a horse does about handling a musket; and not a few of them are really so ignorant that they are unable to answer a person correctly general questions in Geography, and to hear them read would only be to disgust a man who has a taste for reading; which to do well, as trifling as it may appear to some, (to the ignorant in particular,) is a great part of learning. Some few of them may make out to scribble tolerably well over a half sheet of paper, which I believe has hitherto been a powerful obstacle in our way to keep us from acquiring knowledge. An ignorant father, who knows no more than what nature has taught him, together with what little he acquires by the senses of hearing and seeing, finding his son able to write a neat hand, sets it down for granted that he has as good learning as any body; the young, ignorant gump, hearing his father or mother, who perhaps may be ten times more ignorant, in point of literature, than himself, extolling his learning, struts about in the full assurance that his attainments in

literature are sufficient to take him through the world, when, in fact, he has scarcely any learning at all !

Most of the colored people, when they speak of the education of one among us who can write a neat hand, and who perhaps knows nothing but to scribble and puff pretty fair on a small scrap of paper, immaterial whether his words are grammatical or spelled correctly, if it only looks beautiful ; they say he has as good an education as any white man, that he can write as well as any white man, &c. The poor ignorant creature, hearing this, he is ashamed forever after to let any person see him humbling himself to another for knowledge ; but, going about trying to deceive those who are more ignorant than himself, he at length falls an ignorant victim to death and wretchedness !

I pray that the Lord may undeceive my ignorant brethren, and permit them to throw away pretensions, and seek after the substance, of learning. I would crawl on my hands and knees through mud and mire, to the feet of a learned man, where I would sit and humbly supplicate him to instil into me that which neither devils nor tyrants could remove, only with my life : for colored people to acquire learning in that country of liberty, makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation. Why, what is the matter ? Why ?—they know that their infernal deeds of cruelty will be made known to the world. Do you suppose that one man of good sense and learning would submit himself, his father, mother, wife, and children, to be slaves to a wretched man like himself, who, instead of compensating him for his labor, chains, handcuffs, and beats him and family almost to death, leaving life enough in them, however, to work for and call him—master ! No, no : he would cut his devilish throat from ear to ear ; and well do slave-holders know it. The bare name of educating the colored people, scares our oppressors almost to death ; but if they do not have enough to be frightened for yet, it will be because they can always keep us ignorant, and because God approbates their cruelties, with which they have been for centuries murdering

us. The white slaveholders shall have enough of the blacks yet, as true as God sits on his throne in heaven.

My American readers will remember 1776, when, for a small tax on tea, how they murdered and cut the throats of thousands of His Majesty's subjects—why? because you were learned men, and would not bear to be taxed. Then, suppose my fathers should take your fathers and mothers, and wives, sons and daughters, and beat them almost to death to make us and our children rich, would not you murder us by thousands, yea, I say, by tens of thousands!

I pray that God Almighty may have mercy on slaveholding America. Some of our brethren are so very full of learning, that you cannot mention any thing to them which they do not know better than yourself. Nothing is strange to them. They knew every thing years ago! If any thing should be mentioned in company where they are, immaterial how important it is respecting us or the world, if they had not divulged it, they make light of it, and affect to have known it long before it was mentioned, and try to make all in the room, or wherever you may be, believe that your conversation is nothing—not worth hearing! All this is the result of ignorance and ill breeding; for a man of good breeding, sense, and penetration, if he had heard a subject told twenty times over, and should happen to be in company where one should begin telling it again, he would wait with patience on its narrator, and see if he would tell it as it was told in his presence before, paying the most strict attention to what is said, to see if any more light will be thrown on the subject; for all men are not gifted alike in telling or even hearing the most simple narration. These ignorant, vicious, and wretched men, contribute almost as much injury to our body as tyrants themselves, by doing so much for the promotion of ignorance among us; for they, making such pretensions to knowledge, such of our youth as are seeking after knowledge and can get access to it, take them as criterions to go by, who will lead them into a channel, where unless the Lord blesses them with the privilege of seeing

their folly, they will be irretrievably lost for ever, while in time ! It is a notorious fact that the major part of the white Americans have, ever since we have been among them, tried to keep us ignorant, and make us believe that God made us and our children to be slaves to them and theirs. Oh ! my God, have mercy on Christian Americans ! The word " Nigger " is a word derived from the Latin, which was used by the old Romans to designate inanimate beings, which were black—such as soot, pot, wood, house, &c., also, animals which they considered inferior to the human species, as a black horse, cow, hog, bird, dog, &c. ; the white American slaveholders have applied this term to us Africans, by way of reproach for our color, to aggravate and heighten our miseries, because they have their feet on our throats, and we cannot help ourselves. How many millions of souls of the human family, have the blacks beat nearly to death, to keep them from learning to read the word of God, and from writing, and telling lies about them, by holding them up to the world as a tribe of talking Apes, void of intellect, incapable of learning, &c. ; and still hold us up with indignity as being incapable of acquiring knowledge ! See the inconsistency of the assertions of those wretches. They beat us inhumanly, sometimes to death, for attempting to inform ourselves by reading the word of our Maker, and at the same time tell us that we are beings void of intellect ! How admirably their practices agree with their professions in this case. Let me cry shame upon you American slaveholders for such outrages upon human nature ! If it were possible for the whites always to keep us ignorant and miserable, and make us work to enrich them and their children, and insult our feelings by representing us as talking Apes, what would they do ? But glory, honor and praise to Heaven's king, that the sons and daughters of Africa will, in spite, of all the opposition of their enemies, stand forth in all the dignity and glory that is granted by the Lord to his creature man. I have said much about our ignorance, but take the blacks as soldiers, to fight death follows in

their train. Oh! I shall never forget 1836 and 1837: every colored man, as soon as he heard the Canadas were to be invaded, fled to arms under their brave leader Sir Allan McNab, and other officers. Therefore, I say to our Canadian friends, fear not, we can work and make good soldiers too, in times of troubles or war. For instance, in the two States of Georgia and South Carolina, there are perhaps not much short of seven or eight hundred thousand persons of color; and if I were a gambling character, I would not be afraid to stake down upon the board five cents against ten that there are in the single State of Virginia, six or seven hundred thousand colored persons; five hundred and sixty thousand of whom (let them be well equipped for war,) I would put against every State on the whole continent of America. Why, if you tell them they are a fighting for freedom, why, because I know that the blacks, once they get involved in a war, had rather die than to live, they either kill or be killed; the white slaveholders know this too, which make them quake and tremble.

Upon this head, read the lesson of St. Domingo, when the blacks there rose upon their masters, the proportion between the two was as 500,000 to 50,000; the whites were driven from the country with horrible cruelties, the natural revenge of a servile and oppressed race. Powerful armies were sent against these revolted slaves, millions upon millions were spent for their subjugation, but in vain. Now the slaveholders say that slavery is a sin and an evil. Now what does Paul say, he says, (and as some affirm that we say) "Let us do evil that good may come, whose damnation is just." (Romans, 3rd chap. 8th v.) Peter says, when speaking of selling men, women and children, he says, "And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandize of you; whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not." (The second Epistle of Peter, 2nd chap. 2nd and 3rd vs.)

Mr. Jefferson, in his notes on Virginia, says,—“ Oh ! you Virginians, Oh ! you Virginians, I tremble, I tremble, for my country, when I reflect that God is just ; that his justice cannot sleep for ever : a revolution in the wheel of fortune will take place one day, and God has no attributes of mercy to take sides with us in such a contest. I say I love my country where I was born ; I always have loved it ; but for this cause shall I cruelly treat one of another country ? God forbid. I am a citizen of the world, a subject of Great Britain, having taken the oath of allegiance many years ago. I am a candidate for heaven, where, I am confident, whoever, by obedient walking, is so happy as to arrive, will never be interrogated in respect to his nation, color, or profession ; for God is no respecter of persons. I wish that all distinction of parties might be done away ; we are all the offspring of the same universal parent. How much better would it be, if, instead of teaching their children to regard every other nation or profession as inferior to themselves and out of the way, they should take pains to instruct them, that he has other sheep, not of this fold, spread over the whole earth, in every country, and among every people ; and that virtue only is to be respected, and vice despised, wherever found, whether arrayed in gold or clothed in rags : whether in one that wields a sceptre or begs his bread.

With what a smile of contempt must the judicious foreigner view, on the floor of the Capitol at Washington, an American slaveholder expatiating on the cause of liberty, virtue, and patriotism, especially when he reflects that the main tenet, or, as it were the corner stone (may I not rather say the whole fabric ?) of the religion he professes, is simply the divine command already mentioned ; and when he looks back to the time that tried men's souls, as they said it did, when a price of three cents was put upon a pound of tea, what is it that is trying our souls ? I say, Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law. When they could resolve, that “ we will neither import, nor purchase any slaves imported, after the 1st day of December next,

(1775) after which we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels or sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it ;” and, in their solemn, unequivocal, positive, and pointed Declaration of Independence, they say—“ 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 ;”—when the foreigner views this disclaimer in the cause of liberty, &c. ; when he views the public prints, or newspapers, offering human beings for sale, (and frequently inserted for no fault ;) when, after a lapse of 60 or 70 years he sees the 13 or 31 stripes stoop so low in such a base and ignoble traffic, as to waft from their native homes, from every thing near and dear in this life, thousands of (as to them) inoffensive beings :—with what disgust must he turn away from such a hypocritical people, and exclaim, with one of their modern writers, “ I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just ; that his justice cannot sleep forever ;” for surely, indeed, we cannot form to ourselves an idea of an object more ridiculous than an American slaveholder or patriot, signing declarations of independence with one hand, and with the other brandishing his bloody whip over his affrighted slave. For the truth of the Declaration of Independence, let the reader refer to St. Paul, ch. xvii. to the Romans, vs. 22 to 30.

In the years 1816 or 1817, directly after the war with Great Britain, Mr. Jefferson, seeing the evils of slavery, desired the Ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to preach against the great evils of slavery, which they did openly. The Methodist Ministers led the way, then the Baptists. It made a great shaking and trembling among the dry bones for a while, as long as they so preached ; but it appears that the Ministers are prevented from preaching against that great curse. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States is a voluntary association, unincorporated by any legal enactment. Up to June,

1844, it numbered 7 bishops and 4828 preachers; the sum total of members being estimated at above 1,100,000, organized by a general conference and a number of subordinate annual conferences. Difficulties arose between the Northern and Southern members of the Church, as to the moral or religious propriety of allowing Ministers to hold slaves, which difficulty threatened seriously to impair the harmony of the body. The differences principally grew out of the voluntary connection of a bishop with slavery; that the rules of the book of Discipline, and the uniform action of the general Conference, have always been adverse to the system of human slavery, it being regarded as a great evil, that the general Conference have always refused to elect a slaveholder to that office; that, at the session of the general Conference in 1844, held in New York, it became known that the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal conference, had, since his election to that office, become an owner of slaves, the conference therefore passed a resolution that Bishop Andrew desist from the exercise of his office as long as this impediment remained.

The adoption of this resolution gave offence to a minority of the members, who were delegates from annual conferences in the slave holding States, and induced those delegates to present a formal protest against such action of the general conference, which was admitted and recorded on its journal. Now I have written this to show how our wretchedness came first in consequence of the preachers of the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and here through them slavery must fall and come to an end. Let the churches turn out every slave-holding Bishop, elder, and member that holds a slave. I say again, slavery then cannot stand; the powers of hell will give away, and the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ will triumph, and righteousness will cover the earth; but more of this will be shown under the third head of this work. Another of their elders had got in this dreadful sin of slaveholding. The conference sitting at Baltimore, 1844, found out that Mr. F. A. Harding had become a slave-

holder. It appeared that this gentleman had been suspended from his ministerial office, for refusing to manumit certain slaves which he had obtained possession of by marriage. Appeal was made to the conference on behalf of the Rev. Mr. Harding, against the action of the Baltimore conference, which had suspended him. After a prolonged debate, a motion to reverse the Act of the Baltimore conference was lost by a vote of 117 to 56. This action took place on the 11th May, 1844.

On the 20th May, the following preamble and resolution, in reference to the case of Bishop Andrew, were adopted :—“Whereas, it is currently reported, and generally understood, that one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church has become connected with Slavery ; and whereas it is due to this general conference to have a proper understanding of the matter, therefore resolved, That the committee on the episcopacy be instructed to ascertain the facts in the case, and report the result of their investigation to this body to-morrow morning.”—The committee reported on the 22nd May, that Bishop Andrew was connected with Slavery, and presented a communication written by himself, and in which he sets forth the manner in which he became connected with Slavery. He says the first slave which came into his possession was a young mu'atto girl, who was bequeathed to him in trust by an old lady of Augusta, Georgia, upon the agreement that he should send her, with her own consent, to Liberia, or in case of her refusal, to keep her and make her as free as the laws of Georgia would permit. She refused to go to Liberia, and remained in the legal position of a slave, although he derived no pecuniary profit from her. He again came into possession of a negro boy, who had been left by the mother of his former wife, about five years before, and as his wife had died without a will, the boy became, by the laws of the State, his property. By his second wife he came into possession of other slaves.

I stop here to get breath, and say, O ! my, God, here is a reverend Divine, a Bishop, contrary to the rules of

the book of discipline and the laws of God, holding his fellow beings in that cruel condition of slavery. Oh ! Jesus ! Master ! have mercy upon the slaveholders, for they know not what they do. This Rev. Divine must have felt the sting of this sin. After saying he had other slaves, he remarks, that being unwilling to become their owner, he had secured them to his wife by a deed of trust. This will not hide the crime. What belongs to my wife belongs to me.

The reading of this communication was followed by a resolution, to the effect that Bishop Andrew be affectionately requested to resign his office as one of the Bishops of the Methodist E. Church, and for which a substitute was offered, as follows : "*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this general Conference, that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains." This substitute was adopted by a vote of 110 against 68. After the passage of this substitute, notice was given by S. Pierce, that a protest would be presented by the minority on this vote at as early a day as practicable. So, Slavery split the Methodist Church ; and it is now known by the Methodist Church North and Methodist Church South, divided by the line which separates the Slave from the Free States.

“ Now, this is a true saying, if a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a good work. A Bishop, then, must be blameless ; the husband of one wife ; vigilant, sober, of good behaviour ; given to hospitality ; apt to teach ; not given to wine ; no striker ; not given to filthy lucre ; but patient ; not a brawler ; not covetous ; one that ruleth well his own house ; having his children in subjection ; with all gravity ; for if a man knows not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God ; not a novice, lest, being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the Devil. Moreover, he must have a good report of them that are without, lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the Devil. Likewise must the Deacons be grave ; not double-tongued ; not given to much wine ; not given to filthy lucre.”—*1*IM. c. iii. v. 1—8.

Now, what do we see here? A Bishop has become a slaveholder, and being reproved by the rules of the book of Discipline, the slave-holding delegates meet in the city of Nashville, Tenn., on the 1st May, 1848. The delegates of the conferences in the slave-holding States declared, that the continued agitation of the subject of slavery and abolition, in a portion of the Church, the frequent action on that subject in the general Conference, and especially the extra-judicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew, which resulted in his suspension, would produce a state of things in the South, which would render a continuance of the jurisdiction of this general Conference over these Conferences, inconsistent with the success of the Ministry in the slave-holding States.

Now, I ask the reader to answer candidly before God your Maker, do you think that a slave-holding Bishop, Elder, or Deacon, can have a good report of them which are without? No, my brethren: no slave-holder who takes away that which belongs to another man or woman, can have a good report of them without.

I have heard it told for a truth, that a Reverend gentleman got up into the pulpit at a camp-meeting, in the State of Virginia, to preach to a large congregation. He took his text and began to preach, but he could not get along. He kept on trying, but could not preach. One of the brethren, sitting by, spoke to him, and said: "Brother, you cannot preach: you have got 20 negroes in your throat." The preacher still tried to preach on. The good old abolition Brother cries again, saying, "Brother, you cannot preach; you had better give it up: you have 20 negroes crammed down your throat, and you cannot preach with them in your throat."

Now, his text may have been that which was preached by our Lord upon the mount: "Do unto all men as you would have them do to you." Now, reader, do you believe that a Rev. gentleman, holding 20 or 30 of his brethren and sisters in cruel slavery, and perhaps had been selling that very same week a man from his wife, or a child from its mother, never to see each other again this

side of eternity. I say that he cannot preach that text in its fulness and glory. I charge thee, therefore, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing in his kingdom. "Preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine."—2nd Timothy, c. iv. vs. 1 & 2. Now, what is the word? We will ask St. John about this word. He says: "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not."—St. John, c. i. v. 1 to 5. This is the Jesus, the Eternal Son of God, who died for us all and rose again for our justification.

One of the rules of the Methodist Church is, that when any travelling preacher becomes the owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in the church. Now, I am sorry it did not say that every member of our church who is a slave-holder, or shall become a slave-holder, shall forfeit his membership in our church. This would be pleasing to God; for every man who is a slave-holder commits sin before the Lord; for the slave-holder acknowledges it to be an evil and a great sin, and have been telling the Free States for years past that they had nothing to do with slavery. But, Oh! my God! let us now look! The Free States are made the very bone and sinew of slavery, by catching men and women, and tearing them away from their wives and husbands, without a moment's warning. It should be remembered, that those fugitives who were so fortunate as to arrive in the Free States, thousands of them are lawfully married to ladies of those States where they have been living. Then, here is separating man from his wife and woman from her husband, without a moment's warning.

Now, it is written, cursed is he that separate them whom God joins together. Oh! my God! what sin has

slavery brought into the world! Oh! ye ministers and preachers of the glorious gospel of my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ! preach it out of your churches! cut off every slave-holding member from your churches, and slavery will cease; for I do solemnly believe that not till then will slavery cease. It came by a preacher or a pretended preacher, of my Master's, and must go out by preaching Him to all, and cry in death, "Behold! behold! the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world."

I am a Methodist. I love the Methodist Church: I love her doctrine and discipline, and love her people, too. I was brought up with her sons and daughters, and hope to die with them. I love all churches that names the name of Christ. I believe that God has a people in all his churches; and may my God preserve us all to His heavenly kingdom. But, Oh! my God, when I look at the number of my wretched brethren held in unjust slavery, I am constrained to cry out: "Oh! my God! when wilt thou deliver us from the hands of tyrants?"

Now I will try and show the increase of slavery among our Republican friends, from the census of 1840 to 1850.

Slavery has diminished during the last ten years in Delaware and the District of Columbia; it has increased in all the other slave States. In 1840, Delaware had 2,605, she has now but 2,289. In the District, there were 4,694, in 1840; there are now but 3,687. The number of slaves in Maryland has stood nearly stationary; in 1840, she had 89,739, she has now 89,800.—South Carolina had then in 1840, 327,038, she has now 384,925. Virginia had in 1840, 448,987, she has now 473,026. Alabama had in 1840, 253,532, she now has 342,894. Georgia had in 1840, 280,945, she now has 362,966. Oh! my God, what a number of human beings are held there in cruel slavery, the property of the Holy Ghost.*

* Oh! thou Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. Enthroned thou art in heaven above, surrounded by angels here; from whence thou seest the miseries to which we are subject. The whites have murdered us, Oh! God, and kept us ignorant of thee. Not satisfied with this, my Lord, they throw us into the seas. Be pleased, we pray for Jesus' sake, thou wilt deliver us; but that thou mayest effect these things, thy glory must be sought.

Twenty members of the house of representatives will be representatives of property only ; they constitute the seventh instalment of the constitutional bonus granted by the convention of 1788, for the perpetuation of Slavery in the United States. The slave population amounts to 3,179,653, having increased in ten years just 692,303. This population casts a vote in Congress, through their proprietors, equal to that cast by 1,900,469 free citizens, or to the Congressional votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Iowa, and California. The twenty votes thus conferred upon the free population of the Southern States by Slavery are twenty votes more than are enjoyed by any equal number of free citizens in the non-slaveholding States. In this way the free men of Georgia send two men, the free men of Virginia send three, the free men of Alabama and South Carolina send each two delegates more to the house of representatives than the same number of citizens in New York or Pennsylvania are entitled to. In the States proper, waiving the fractional representatives, there will be eighty-one delegates from the slaveholding States, and one hundred and fourteen from the non-slaveholding States. Deducting from the former those who represent property merely, and giving to both sections precisely equal representation, in Congress, the slaveholding States would have but sixty-one representatives, or only eight votes more than half the vote of the free States. The total population of the non-slaveholding States is 13,533,328, that of the slave States is, 6,393,757, or less than half that of the free States, yet the representation of the latter is only a quarter less in the house of Representatives, and only four less than equal in the the Senate.

Now my dearly beloved brethren, I have strove to show you how Slavery has managed to keep together, and has lasted so long: it is done by Congressional men, and I am sorry to say it. It is kept so strong by the ministers of the Gospel of my blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ.

Clear the churches of slaveholders, and slavery will cease. If a slaveholder have a vote upon every five slaves, the Northern men, or the men of the non-slaveholding States, should have a vote upon every five horses or every five cows or sheep they own. The poor slaves are cattle, and what is he more than another animal? I pray that my God will have mercy on the slaveholders.

ARTICLE III.

OUR WRETCHEDNESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE PREACHERS OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST.

Religion, my Brethren, is a substance of deep consideration among all nations of the earth. The Pagans have a kind, as well as the Mahometans, the Jews, and the Christians. But pure and undefiled religion, such as was preached by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, is hard to be found in all the earth.

God, through his instrument, Moses, handed a dispensation of his divine will to the children of Israel, after they had left Egypt for the land of Canaan, or of promise, who, through oppression, hypocrisy, and unbelief, had departed from the faith. He then, by his Apostles, handed a dispensation of his, together with the will of Jesus Christ, to the Europeans in Europe, who, in open violation of which, have made merchandize of us; and it does appear as though they take this very dispensation to aid them in their infernal depredations upon us. Indeed, the way in which religion was and is conducted by the Europeans and their descendants, one might believe it was a plan fabricated by themselves and the Devil, to oppress us. But, hark! my Master has taught me better than to believe it; he has taught me that his gospel, as it was preached by himself and his Apostles, remains the same, notwithstanding Europe has tried to mingle blood and oppression with it. It is well known to the Christian world, that Bartholomew Las Casas, that very notoriously avaricious priest or preacher, and adventurer, with Columbus, in his second voyage, proposed to his countrymen, the Spaniards in Hispaniola or Hayti, to import the Africans from the Portuguese settlement in Africa, to dig up gold and silver and work their plantations for them. To effect which, he made a voyage thence to Spain, and opened the subject to his master, Ferdinand, then in declining health, who listened to the plan; but who died soon after, and

left it in the hands of his successor, Charles V. (See Butler's History of the United States, vol. i. pp. 24 & 25.)

This wretch, Las Casas the preacher, succeeded so well in his plans of oppression, that in 1503, the first blacks were imported into the New World. Elated with this success, and stimulated by sordid avarice only, he importuned Charles V., in 1511, to grant permission to a Flemish merchant, to import 4000 blacks at one time.

Thus we see, through the instrumentality of a pretended preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, our common Master, our wretchedness first commenced in America, where it has been continued from 1503 to this day, a period of 348 years; but 231 from 1620, when twenty of our fathers were brought into Jamestown, Virginia, by a Dutch man-of-war, and sold off like brutes to the highest bidder. And there is not a doubt in my mind but that tyrants are in hopes to perpetuate our miseries under them and their children, until the final consummation of all things. But if they do not get dreadfully deceived, it will be because God has forgotten them.

The Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans try to make proselytes to their religion, and whatever human beings adopt their religion, they extend to them their protection. But Christian American slaveholders not only hinder their fellow creatures, the Africans, but thousands of them will absolutely beat a coloured person nearly to death, if they catch him on his knees, supplicating the throne of grace. This barbarous cruelty was, by all the heathen nations of antiquity, and is by the Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans of the present day, left entirely to Christian American slaveholders to inflict on the Africans and their descendants, that their cup, which is nearly full, may be completed.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the Portuguese and Spaniards were among, if not the very first, nations upon the earth, about 370 years ago; but see what those Christians have come to now, in consequence of afflicting our forefathers and ourselves, who have never molested or disturbed them or any other of the white Chris-

tians. But have they received any thing approaching one quarter of what the Lord will yet bring upon them for the murders they have inflicted upon us? They have had, and in some degree have now, sweet times on our blood and groans. The time, however, of bitterness has sometime since commenced with them. There is a God, the Maker and preserver of all things, who will as sure as the world exists, give all his creatures their just recompense of reward in this and the world to come. We may fool or deceive, and keep each other in the most profound ignorance; beat, murder, and keep each other out of what is our lawful rights, or the rights of man; yet it is impossible for us to deceive or escape the Lord God Almighty.

Yes, says my brethren and sisters, who are members of the same Church and Society that I belong to, I have known, say they, tyrants or usurpers of human liberty in different parts of that slave-holding country, to take their fellow-creatures, the colored people, and beat them until they would scarcely leave life in them. What for? Why, they say the black devils had the audacity to be found making prayers and supplications to the God who made them!!

Yes; I have known small collections of colored people to have convened together, for no other purpose than to worship God Almighty in spirit and in truth, to the best of their knowledge, when tyrants, calling themselves *patrols*, would also convene, and wait almost in breathless silence, for the poor colored people to commence singing and praying to the Lord our God; as soon as they had commenced, the wretches would burst in upon them, drag them out, and commence beating them as they would rattle-snakes; many of whom they would beat so unmercifully, that they would be hardly able to crawl for weeks, and sometimes for months; yet the American ministers send out missionaries to convert the heathens, while they keep us and our children sunk at their feet in the most abject ignorance and wretchedness that ever a people were afflicted with since the world began.

Will the Lord suffer this people to proceed much

longer? Will He not stop them in their career? Does He regard the heathens abroad more than the heathens among the American slaveholders, where there is at this moment while I am writing these facts, thousands and tens of thousands in the slave-holding States, dare not to be seen with a book in their hands? Surely the Americans must believe that God is partial, notwithstanding His Apostle Peter declared before Cornelius and others, that he was no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. "The word, which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ, He is the Lord of all." (See Acts, x., vs. 25-27.)

Have not the Americans the bible in their hands? Do they believe it? Surely they do not. See how they treat us in open violation of the Bible! They may not believe me, but if God does not awaken them, it will be because they are superior to other men, as they have represented themselves to be. Our divine Lord and Master said: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." But an American minister, with the bible in his hand, holds us and our children in the most abject slavery and wretchedness.— Now, I ask them, would they like for us to hold them and their children in abject slavery and wretchedness? No, says one; that can never be done: you are not men: you were made to be slaves to us; to dig up gold and silver for us and our children. Know this, my dear sirs; that although you treat us and our children now as you do your domestic beast, yet the final result of all future events are known but to God Almighty alone, who rules in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth; and who dethrones one earthly king and sets up another, as it seemeth, good in his holy sight. We may attribute these vicissitudes to what we please; but the God of armies and of justice rules in heaven and in earth; and the whole slaveholding States of America shall see and know it yet to their satisfaction.

I have known pretended preachers of the Gospel of

my Master, who not only held us as their natural inheritance, but treated us with as much rigor as any Infidel or Deist in the world. Just as though they were intent only on taking our blood and groans to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ. The wicked and ungodly, seeing their preachers treat us with so much cruelty, say : " Our preachers, who must be right if any body are, treat them like brutes, and why cannot we ? They think it is no harm to keep them in slavery and apply the whip to them, and why cannot we do the same ? " They, being preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, if it were any harm, they would surely preach against their oppression, and do their utmost to erase it from the country ; not only in one or two cities ; but one continued cry would be raised in all parts of that confederacy, and would cease only with the complete overthrow of the system of slavery in every part of the country ; but how far the American preachers are from preaching against slavery and oppression, which have carried their country to the brink of a precipice, to save them from plunging down the side of which will hardly be effected, will appear in the sequel of this paragraph, which I shall narrate just as it transpired :—I remember a camp-meeting in South Carolina, (says one of my dearly-beloved brethren of the Methodist Church) for which I embarked in a steam-boat at Charleston, and having been five or six hours on the water, we at last arrived at the place of hearing, where was a very great concourse of people, who were no doubt collected together to hear the word of God. That some had collected merely as spectators to the same, I will not here pretend to doubt. However, that is left to themselves and their God. Myself and boat companions, having been there a little while, we were all called up to hear. I, among the rest, went up and took my seat. Being seated, I fixed myself in a complete position to hear the word of my Saviour, and to receive such as I thought was authenticated by the holy Scriptures, But to my no ordinary astonishment, our reverend gentleman got up and told us, (colored people) that slaves must be obedient to their masters ; must do their duty

to their masters or be whipped; the whip was made for the backs of fools, &c. Here I pause for a moment to give the world time to consider what was my surprise to hear such preaching from a minister of my Master, whose very Gospel is that of peace and not of blood and whips, as this pretended preacher tried to make us believe. What the American preachers can think of us, I aver this night, now twenty minutes after one o'clock, I say again, I aver before my God, I have never been able to define. They have newspapers and monthly periodicals which they receive in continual succession, but on the pages of which you will scarcely ever find a paragraph respecting slavery, which is ten thousand times more injurious to that country than all the other evils put together, and which will be the final overthrow of its Government, unless something is very speedily done, for their cup is nearly full. Perhaps they will laugh at or make light of this. See what you have done by passing that accursed Fugitive Slave Bill, running God's people nearly to death. But I tell you American slaveholders, that unless you speedily alter your course, you and your country are gone! for God Almighty will tear up the very face of the earth! Will not that very remarkable passage of scripture be fulfilled on Christian American slaveholders? Hear it Americans,—“He that is unjust let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy let him be holy still.” I hope that the Americans may hear, but I am afraid that they have done us so much injury, and are so firm in the belief that our creator made us to be an inheritance to them for ever, that their hearts will be hardened, so that their destruction may be sure.

This language perhaps is too harsh for the American slaveholders' delicate ears; but Oh! Americans, Americans! I warn you in the name of the Lord, (whether you will hear or forbear,) to repent and reform, or you are ruined. Do you think that our blood is hidden from the Lord because you can hide it from the rest of the world by sending out missionaries, and by your charitable

deeds to the Greeks and other nations, &c., while thousands or millions in your fields or in your kitchens are suffering for the word of God, and you will not let them read it! Will he not publish your secret crimes on the house top?

Even in some of the free States, pride and prejudice have got to such a pitch, that in the very houses erected to the Lord, they have built little places for the reception of coloured people, where they must sit during meeting, or keep away from the house of God;* and the preachers say nothing about it, much less go into the hedges and highways seeking the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and try to bring them unto their Lord and Master.—There are not a more wretched, ignorant, miserable, and abject set of beings in all the world than the blacks in the southern and western sections of that country, under tyrants and devils. The preachers of America cannot see them, but they can send out missionaries to convert the heathens, notwithstanding. Americans, unless you speedily alter your course of proceeding, if God Almighty does not stop you, I say it in his name, that you may go on and do as you please for ever, both in time and in eternity; never fear any evil at all!

Addition,—the preachers and people of the United States form societies against Freemasonry and intemperance, and write against Sabbath breaking, Sabbath mails, infidelity, &c. &c.; but the fountain head, compared with which all those other evils are comparatively nothing, and from the bloody and murderous head of which they receive no trifling support, is hardly noticed by the Americans.

This is a fair illustration of the state of society in that country. It shows what a bearing avarice has upon a people, when they are nearly given up by the Lord to a hard heart and a reprobate mind, in consequence of afflicting their fellow creatures. God suffers some to go on until they are ruined for ever! Will it be the case with the white slaveholders of the United States of America?

* See Revelations, ch. xxii., v. 11.

We hope not. We would not wish to see them destroyed, notwithstanding they have and do now treat us more cruel than any people have treated another on this earth, since it came from the hands of its Creator, with the exception of the French and Spaniards, (but France is free now, thanks be to God) they did treat us nearly as bad as the Americans of the United States. The will of God must, however, in spite of us, be done.

But here let me say of France, and be it spoken to her everlasting honor, she has freed all her slaves. The English are the best friends we coloured people have upon earth ; though they have oppressed us a little, yet notwithstanding they (the English) have done one thousand times more for the amelioration of our condition, than all the other nations of the earth put together.

We blacks cannot but respect the English as a nation, notwithstanding they have treated us a little cruel. There is no intelligent black man who knows any thing, but esteems a real Englishman, let him see him in what part of the world he may ; for they are the greatest benefactors we have upon earth. We have here and there, in other nations, good friends ; but as a nation, the English are our friends.

I must here say, in justice and in truth, before my God, that we have here and in the United States of America, among the Yankees, thousands and millions as good friends as ever lived. They would do us all the good that lay in their power if they could ; but they cannot on account of their Government. Know ye not, that the American people are divided into two parties : one are called Yankees, and the other are the slaveholding democrat party. Then, I say, they are two nations, and are different people ; therefore, I say, my brethren, for there are many genuine Yankees, who are first-rate fine-bred gentlemen. I have lived with them, and always found them to be good hearted gentlemen. I say again, the American people are two nations. "And the children struggled together within her ; and she said, if it be so, why am I thus ? And she went to enquire of the Lord, and the Lord said unto

her, two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels ; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger.”—Gen. xxv. 22 and 23.

How can the preachers and people of America believe the Bible ? Does it teach them any distinction on account of a man's color ? Hearken, Americans to the injunctions of Our Lord and Master to his humble followers : “ And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth : go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you ; and lo ! I am with you alway ; even unto the end of the world. Amen.” I declare, that the very face of these injunctions appear to be of God and not of man. They do not show the slightest degree of distinction. “ Go ye, therefore,” says my divine master, “ and teach all nations,” or, in other words, all people, “ baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Do you understand the above, Americans ? We are a people, notwithstanding many of you doubt it. See St. Matt. c. xxviii. v. 18 to 20, after Jesus had risen from the dead.

You have the Bible in your hands with this very injunction. Have you been to Africa, teaching the words of the Lord Jesus to the inhabitants thereof ?—Baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Have you not, on the contrary, entered among us, and learnt us the art of throat-cutting, by setting us to fight one against another ; to take each other as prisoners of war, and sell to you for small bits of calico, old swords, knives, &c., to make slaves for you and your children ?

This being done, have you not brought us among you in chains and hand-cuffs, like brutes, and treated us with all the cruelties and rigour which ingenuity could invent, consistent with the laws of your country, which (for the blacks,) are tyrannical enough. Can the Ameri-

can slaveholding preachers appeal unto God, the maker and searcher of hearts, and tell him, with the bible in their hands, that they make no distinction on account of men's color. Can they say, Oh ! God, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that we make no distinction between thy creatures, to whom we have to preach thy word ? Let them answer the Lord, and if they cannot do it in the affirmative, have they not departed from the Lord Jesus Christ, their Master ? But some may say that they never had or were in possession of a religion which made no distinction, and of course they could not have departed from it. I ask you then, in the name of the Lord, of what kind can your religion be ? Can it be that which was preached by our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven ? I believe you cannot be so wicked as to tell him that his gospel was that of distinction. What can the American slaveholding preachers take God to be ? Do they believe his words ? If they do, do they believe because they are whites and we blacks, that God will have respect to them ? Did not God make us all as it seemed best to himself ? What right then has one of us to despise another, and to treat him cruel on account of his color, which none but the God who made it can alter ? Can there be a greater absurdity in nature, and particularly in a free republican country ?

But the Americans have introduced Slavery among them, their hearts have become almost seared, as with an hot iron, and God has nearly given them up to believe a lie in preference to the truth ! and I am awfully afraid that pride, prejudice, avarice and blood, will, before long, prove the final ruin of that happy republic or land of liberty ! Can anything be a greater mockery of religion than the way in which it is conducted by the American slaveholders ? It appears as though they were bent only on daring God Almighty to do his best. See, my brethren, how they are a running our fathers and mothers almost to death, by that wicked Fugitive Slave Bill or Law. They chain and handcuff us and our children and drive us around the country like brutes, and go into the house of

the God of Justice, to return him thanks for having aided them in their infernal cruelties inflicted upon us. Will the Lord suffer this people to go on much longer taking His holy name in vain? Will he not stop them, preachers and all? Oh, Americans! Americans! Slaveholders, I call God, I call Angels, I call Men, to witness, that your destruction is at hand, and will be speedily consummated, unless you repent.

Now, suppose all the preachers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the United States of America and elsewhere, had to preach against slavery and oppression all over the world, slavery would have been destroyed all over the world years ago, and which it is their bounden duty to do, to preach against oppression every where. To show more fully this truth, I will give you a few words from the great speech of Mr. John C. Calhoun, in the senate of the United States, when the ministers did preach against slavery and oppression. He says, in speaking of the cords of slavery given away,—The first of these cords which snapped under its expansive force, was that of the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church, the numerous and strong ties which held it together are all broken, and its unity gone, they now form separate churches, and instead of that feeling of attachment and devotion to the interests of the whole church, which was formerly felt, they are now arrayed into two hostile bodies, engaged in litigation about what was formerly their common property, (that is, the Methodists were beginning to hate slavery.) The next cord, says he, that snapped, was that of the Baptists, one of the largest and most respectable of the denominations. That of the Presbyterians is not entirely snapped, but some of its strands have given way. That of the Episcopal Church is the only one of the four great Protestant denominations which remains unbroken and entire.

Now, my brethren, these are the words of the Hon. John C. Calhoun on the Slavery Question, delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 4, 1850. Hark-en, ye Ministers of my Master, who preach the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: he has told us who

preacheth against and hate slavery and oppression. Oh! lift up your voices for God against all sin, and He will bless you. Now, I believe we have thousands or millions of friends in the United States who feel deeply our miserable condition. These friends are among the Yankees.— But when I come to think of that great and good man, General Washington, I am astonished to see the difference between the father of his country and his sons. President Washington was modest, disinterested, brave, tolerant, a friend of the whole country, and withal a man of wonderful judgment, and a hater of slavery and oppression. He could not bear the thought of seeing men and women torn away from each other; a man torn away from his wife and children, and sold thousands of miles apart, and women sold from their husbands and children, never to meet again this side of eternity. No; he remembered that it is writ, And cursed is he that putteth asunder to them who God has joined together; what, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.—Matt. xix. 6.

I have collated from the writings of President Washington the following passages relating to slavery;—

President Washington's views on Slavery—The plan alluded to in the following letter, was one which Colonel Lawrence had brought before the Legislature of South Carolina, for raising a regiment of black levies in the State. It was voted down; but the following is an extract of a letter from Washington, in reply to one from Lawrence, communicating his failure: “To Lt. Col. John Lawrence, Head Quarters, 10th July, 1782.—My dear Sir: the last post brought me your letter of the 19th May. I must confess that I am not at all astonished at the failure of your plan. That spirit of freedom, which, at the commencement of this contest, would have gladly sacrificed every thing to the attainment of its object, has long since subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place. It is not the public, but private interest, which influences the generality of mankind. Nor can the Americans any longer boast of exception. Under these circumstances, it would rather have been surprising if you had suc-

ceeded. Nor will you, I fear, have better success in Georgia."

In a remarkable and very interesting letter, written by Lafayette in the prison of Magdeburg, he says :—" I know not what disposition has been made of my plantation at Cayenne ; but I hope that Madam de Lafayette will take care that the negroes who cultivate it shall preserve their liberty." In reply to this portion of General Lafayette's letter, Washington wrote as follows from Mount Vernon, 10th May, 1786 :—" The benevolence of your heart, my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous upon all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proofs of it ; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country. I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly, at its last Session, for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a reading. To set the slaves afloat at once would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief ; but by degrees it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be, effected, and that too by Legislative authority."

Governor Pinckney, of South Carolina, had written the following in a letter to General Washington : " Our Legislature, among other questions, agitated the one respecting the future importation of slaves, as the prohibition expires in March, 1793. Great pains were used to effect a total prohibition ; but upon the question being taken in the Senate, it was lost by so decided a majority, that I think we may consider it as certain that this State will, after March, 1793, import as largely as they ever did. It is a decision, upon the policy of which I confess I have my doubts." To this Washington replied, in a letter marked "private," Philadelphia, 12th March, 1792, which contained the following passage : " I must say that I lament the decision of your Legislature upon the question of importing slaves after March, 1793. I was in hopes

that motives of policy, as well as other good reasons, supported by the direful effects of slavery, which at this moment are presented, would have operated to produce a total prohibition of the importation of Slaves, whenever the question came to be agitated in any State that might be interested in the measure."

The following is one of the famous Fairfax county resolutions, adopted at a public meeting held in Fairfax county, Virginia, the 18th day of July, 1774, over which General Washington presided, reported to the meeting by the Committee of which he was Chairman, and by direction of the meeting, reported by him to a State Convention, held the following August: "19th.—Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British Colonies on this Continent; and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop for ever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade."

The following is the second item of General Washington's last Will and Testament: "Item.—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves whom I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties on account of their intermarriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live, and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are

unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they arrive at the age of twenty-five years ; and in case where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court upon its own view of the subject shall be final. The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or Mistresses,) to be taught to read and write,* and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeable to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphans and other poor children ; and I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth of any slaves I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatever. And I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested."

¶ Hearken, reader, to General Washington's letters, and you must say with me that he was a good and a great man. He appears to love all his country alike, black and white. Who will dare to say that President Washington was not an abolitionist ? He had the feelings of an English gentleman. But, Oh ! my God, suppose he could see what his sons and his daughters are doing now ?—What are they doing ? They are fighting against God ; they have made a law called the Fugitive Slave Bill or Slave Law. This accursed act throws more disgrace upon that land of liberty, than anything they have yet done.

Now, my brethren, I shall show you how they are fighting against God like Pharoah of old, by comparing God's law with their law. The Jews were forbidden to steal a man and sell him on pain of death, (Exodus, c. 21, v. 16 ; Deut., c. 24, v. 7.)

American slaves were originally stolen from Africa. The service among the Hebrews was domestic, not predial,

* It is a criminal offence now, in Virginia, and in most of the Slave States, to teach a slave to read or write.

their bound servants were incorporated into their families, and did only such work as the free inmates of the house performed ; if faithful and industrious they are raised to offices of honor and wealth. (Gal., c. iv, v. 1.; Prov., c. xvii, v. 2.) In America they are treated worse than the very brutes. The loss of an eye or a tooth on the part of a bond servant, through the ill-treatment of his master, entitled the servant to his or her freedom. (Exodus, c. xxi, 26 and 27 vs.) American slaveholders may cut them, mutilate them, or shoot them, and yet the term of their slavery is continued till death releases them from the fangs of their barbarous masters. The Jewish law, or the law of God, said, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee, he shall dwell with thee in that place which he shall choose." (Deut., c. xxiii, 15 and 16 vs.)* The American law saith, "Thou shalt deliver up unto his master the slave which is escaped from his master unto thee : else thou shalt be subjected to a fine of \$1000 and imprisonment for six months." Now I ask, is not this fighting against God, Pharaoh like ? But Oh ! my Lord, the slaveholders say they have a constitution which they believe is higher than thy law, but not older. Oh ! Lord Jesus Master, forgive them, for they know not what they do.

Again, the slavery of America is perpetual and hereditary : the unborn child being doomed to slavery, from the moment of its birth, till its latest hour. Amongst the Jews themselves, bondage was limited to six years, with suitable provisions upon departing free. (Deut. c. xv. 12th and 15th vs ; Exodus, c. xxi, v. 2 and 3.) The productions of sabbatical years, common to all ; (Lev., c. xxv., v. 7.) the 50th year a jubilee to all ; (Lev. c. xxv., v. 10,) in it was proclaimed liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.

* But the honorable Daniel Webster, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Foot, and others, say "Thou shalt deliver unto his master the slave which is escaped from his master unto thee ; he shall not dwell with thee in that place which he shall choose. We have a Constitution which is the law of the land, you shall obey the law of the land."

American law proclaims that the moment a British ship touches at a port in South Carolina, those of her crew whose complexion falls below a recognized standard of olive, shall be immediately taken into custody by the police, and lodged in prison. The Jewish law ordains that all strangers shall be kindly treated. (Lev. c. xix, vs. 33 & 34 ; Exodus, c. xxiii, v. 9 ; Deut. c. x, vs. 17 & 19.) The Jewish law provided for the religious instruction of all the bondmen of the Hebrews. They were treated as rational and mortal creatures. By American slave laws, they are brutes, chattels, and therefore incapable of being taught.

But why multiply instances of difference? In almost every respect, the two systems are as wide as the poles asunder ; and yet the slaveholders and their friends have the audacity to appeal to the Jewish dispensation in defence of American slavery—a bondage, in comparison to which the bondage of Egypt dwindles to nothing. Ah ! if God, for the oppression of her poor, smote Egypt with plagues, and trampled her in the mire till she passed away in His wrath, and drowned Pharaoh and all his chariots and Horsemen in the Red Sea, and sent him down to Hell, with all the nations that forget God ; if such was God's retribution for the oppression of Heathen Egypt, with how much sorer punishment shall he visit a professedly Christian people, who cloak with religion a system infinitely fouler and more degrading than ever was Egyptian bondage ! America, beware ! The day of retribution is at hand. As God said to his afflicted people of old, " I have seen the afflictions of my people in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters : for I know their sorrows, and I am come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians "—Ex. iii. 7, 8. As surely will he yet deliver those whom you are now treading in the dust, and as surely, unless you repent in time, will you suffer the punishment of the nation and kingdom that obey not God.

I propose under this head, briefly to notice some of those passages brought forward by the apologists of sla-

very, as sanctioning such an abomination. I would remark, in the outset, that the Jewish dispensation, in which, no doubt, servitude obtained, was a theocracy. God was the king and legislator of his people : He communicated his will to them in express terms, and they were in many instances the ministers of his justice. When this economy was abrogated, many of its observances and ordinances ceased to have any use, meaning, or obligation, as part of God's government of the world. Slavery we hold to have been one of these ; for it was not enjoined as a thing required by the moral law, as applicable to mankind in every age and in all circumstances, so far as it involved the enslavement of heathens by Hebrews, it was enjoined. The Canaanites were a guilty, idolatrous, and apostate people. When God saw that the measure of their iniquity was full, he commanded the Israelites to take possession of their country, and to destroy the inhabitants of the land—(Deut. vii. 7-11)—thus rendering the wall of distinction between the two broader and higher, till the time of reconciliation should arrive. Nothing short, however, of a divine commission would have justified such an act. Remnants which remained of the nations were, by the same command, subjected to bond service and menial labor.—I Kings, ix. 21.—II Chron. xvii. 17, 18. Moreover, the authority with which the Israelites were invested, was accurately defined and carefully limited. The Edomites and Egyptians were expressly exempted from the curse, not belonging to the same class of divinely condemned nations.—Deut. xxiii. 7, 8. Can slaveholders now produce their right to exercise such a power as the Jews did ? Are we Africans a divinely condemned and proscribed race ? Has God constituted the American planters or slaveholders the ministers of his righteous vengeance, and given them full, clear, and undoubted directions for enslaving the lowly sons and daughters of Africa ? Some refer to the predictions of Noah, (Gen. ix. 25,) “ Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren,” as applicable to the colored people, and hence argue that they are a devoted race.—

Now, this passage is allowed by many to be a prediction of events in the sacred scriptures, does not justify the conduct of those who are instrumental in fulfilling prophecy. If we regard the prophecy of Noah in the light of a malediction, it would furnish no apology for holding the colored race in a state of slavery, as it applies to Canaan, and was undoubtedly accomplished upon his descendants, the Canaanites, in their subjection to the Israelites. But further, even if the declaration of Noah should be shown to be an anathema, and if the tribes of Africa could be proved to be the individuals upon whom it should fall, it could not be taken as a warrant for the conduct of men who live under the clear and merciful discoveries of the christian dispensation. This in no measure vindicates the covetous and barbarous oppression of those who enrich themselves with the produce of we colored men and women's sweat and blood. God has not commanded you to enslave them as he did Israel, to extirpate the Canaanites, and therefore, without doubt, he will severely punish this cruel injustice. We have already admitted that compulsory servitude did exist under the Old Testament dispensation ; but it is necessary to consider under what circumstances it so existed. Was it in perpetuity, a forced and uncompensated tail for the benefit of another, and not as a punishment for national and personal crimes ? Abraham had men-servants and maid-servants ; some of them were born in his house, the rest were given to him by Pharaoh and Abimelech. Were the condition of these servants analogous to that of American slaves ? The patriarch is represented as living in the midst of them as a father among his children. They were evidently confidential servants. One of them was the ruler of his house and all that he had. He designed to make him his heir. The whole of his domestics were instructed by him in the fear and worship of God, and reaped substantial advantages from their relation to this holy man.—Gen. xviii. 19.

Who dare compare these servants with the poor, degraded, oppressed victims of American selfishness ? Farther, Jehovah himself expressly prohibited all bondage

between Jew and Jew. "If thy brother be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond servant, but as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee and shall serve thee until the year of jubilee." (Lev. c. xxv, vs. 39 & 40.) Apply this principle to the dispensation under which we live, and you undermine the whole system of Slavery.

The privileged distinctions of the Jews as a nation have passed away : in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free. We must look, therefore, to another quarter than the temporary institutions and allowances of the Jewish polity, for the government of our conduct. "The mere existence of bondage in that scheme of seclusion, and shadows, and peculiarities, is no authority for you who are placed in totally different circumstances, and have been privileged with deliverance and freedom from the yoke of bondage."

The advocates of slavery usually adduce as their stronghold in defence of their system the bond service of the heathen, as referred to in Lev. c. xxv. vs. 45 & 46. Let us then contrast the servitude here spoken of with American Slavery, and we shall see the measure of support derived therefrom. We shall find that the points of difference are many and important.

I have quoted largely from the Old Testament ; I might show thousands of texts from the New Testament that slavery is a curse to any nation or people. An argument in favour of slaveholding is adduced from the Apostles, addressed to masters, in the New Testament, viz., in Eph. c. vi, v. 9 ; and Col. c. iv, v. 1. So far are these precepts from affording a justification to a man to hold his fellow man in bondage, that their influence, so far as a Christian master would feel himself addressed in them, would constrain him to emancipate his slaves. One of them (Eph., c. vi, v. 9,) enjoins it on masters to do the same thing unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that they had a master in heaven, and that there is no respect of persons with him. A man who kept this constantly before his mind would not long remain a slave-

holder. I have several times called the white Americans our natural enemies : I shall here define my meaning of the phrase. Shem, Ham, and Japheth, together with their father Noah and wives, I believe, were not natural enemies to each other. When the ark rested after the flood upon Mount Ararat, in Asia, they (eight) were all the people which could be found alive in all the earth; in fact, if Scripture be true, (which I believe,) there were no other living men in all the earth ; notwithstanding some ignorant creatures hesitate not to tell us that we (the blacks) are the seed of Cain, the murderer of his brother Abel; but where or of whom those ignorant and avaricious wretches could have got their information, I am unable to declare. Did they receive it from the bible ? I have searched the bible as well as they ; if I am not as well learned as they are, and have never seen a verse which testifies whether we are the seed of Cain or of Abel ; yet those men tell us that we are the seed of Cain, and that God put a dark stain upon us, that we might be known as their slaves ! Now I ask those avaricious and ignorant wretches, who act more like the seed of Cain, by murdering the whites or the blacks, how many vessel loads of human beings have the blacks thrown into the seas ?* How many thousand souls have the blacks murdered in cold blood, to make them work in wretchedness and ignorance, to support them and their families ? However, let us be the seed of Cain, Harry, Dick, or Tom ! God will show the white slaveholders what we are yet. I say, from the beginning, I do not think that we were natural enemies to each other ; but the whites having made us so wretched by subjecting us to slavery, and having murdered so many millions of us, in order to make us work for them ; and out of devilishness—and they taking our wives whom we love as we do ourselves, our mothers who bore the pains of death to give us birth, our fathers and dear little children, and ourselves, and strip and beat us one before the other—chain, hand-cuff, and drag us about like rattle-snakes,

* The seed of Cain is sin, and all that commit sin are the seed of Cain.

shoot us down like wild bears before each other's faces; to make us submissive to and work to support them and their families. Oh! American slaveholders; let me tell you, in the name of the Lord, it will be good for you if you listen to the voice of the Holy Ghost; but if you do not you are ruined! Some of you are good men, but the will of my God must be done. Those avaricious and ungodly tyrants among you, I am awfully afraid, will drag down the vengeance of God upon you. When God Almighty commences his battle on the continent of America, for the oppression of his people, tyrants will wish they never were born.

The Americans of North and of South America, no trifling portion of whom were, for stealing, murdering, &c., compelled to flee from Europe to save their necks or banishment, have effected their escape to this continent, where God blessed them with all the comforts of life; he gave them a plenty of everything calculated to do them good. Not satisfied with this, however, they wanted slaves, and wanted us for their slaves, who belong to the Holy Ghost, and no other, who we shall have to serve instead of tyrants. I say the American slaveholders want us, the property of the Holy Ghost, to serve them. But there is a day fast approaching when, unless there is a universal repentance on the part of the whites, which will scarcely take place, they have got to be so hardened in consequence of our blood, and so wise in their own conceit. To be plain and candid with you, American slaveholders, I say that the day is fast approaching when there will be a greater time on the continent of America than ever was witnessed on this earth since it came from the hands of its creator. Some of you have done us so much injury that you will never be able to repent; your cup must be filled. You want us for your slaves, and shall have enough of us. God is just, who will give you your fill of us. Ever since 1810, the Americans have had their eyes on this Province. In 1812 they declared war against England and all her colonies. But why did they not take it. I tell you God would not let them,—

In 1837 and 1838 they and the rebellers tried a more cunning scheme, but failed. I say again, God would not let them take it, for God saw this accursed Fugitive Slave Bill at that day as plain as I see the paper I now write on.

Now, what does the Fugitive Slave Bill say—a law acknowledged by the great and the good to be an audacious violation of the first principles of civil liberty, the common law, the constitution of the United States and the law of God. Here are some of its provisions: 1. all must be man-catchers : it aims to compel every man and woman in the free States to become a slave-catcher, and, in consequence, an aider and abettor in promoting the cause of slavery, and reducing to servitude the free and happy, at the bidding of the most cruel and debased slave-driver. Every philanthropist and christian, every minister, every mechanic, is bound to assist in carrying into execution this infamous law. However long the fugitive may have resided among them, whether engaged in an honorable occupation or seated at his fireside, surrounded by an affectionate family, or worshipping God in the sanctuary, or partaking of the emblems of the body and blood of his Saviour, he may be seized, and his minister and fellow-christians be commanded to fasten the chains upon him, and drag him back to the degradation and horrors of Southern slavery.

2. This Bill subjects to a fine of one thousand dollars with imprisonment for six months, a person who harbors or conceals a fugitive, with the view of preventing his discovery or arrest.

3. Persons not fugitive slaves, are liable to be carried off under this Bill. A colored person, brought into a free State by his legal owner, and therefore free by the law of the free State ; the children born of fugitives in a free State ; a person once a slave, who has lost his free papers; all colored persons in the free States, wherever born ; indeed, every colored person is liable to be seized, certificated, ironed, and carried with railroad speed into a slave State, on the perjured testimony of any two miscreants,

before a legally bribed Commissioner. Even his family, neighbors or friends, know nothing of the matter.

Oh! my soul is sick; my heart pains me at every day's report; for, as Milton, on a similar occasion, observes, "to talk about reconciliation, it is fallacious: true reconciliation never grows where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep." But, I thank my God that we, sons of Britains and Canadians, are clear from the curse of those laws; and may God Almighty keep us clear.

Some people think that the Americans are a great and strong nation. So they are; but let a general war break out between them and some other strong nation, say England or France,—both of them, thanks be to God, have set their bondmen free—I say, then, let a war break out between these nations, the times would be awful. It will not be a taxing game that you will play with them, Sir. Those will be fighting for liberty, and the American slaveholders for slavery. Oh! my God! If that time should arrive, it will be awful indeed.

But some may say, why did not the British do that in 1812 or 1814? It is plain she could not fight so strong for liberty, being a slaveholder herself; but thanks be to God, she saw the evil, and liberated her slaves at a cost of 20 millions. Among the English are our friends and benefactors. Show me, then, a colored man, who is a rebel to the British Government, and I will tell you that man should die; nor 1837 and 1838 prove the contrary. No; let the drum beat for an invasion, or rebellion, to-morrow morning, hundreds and thousands of my color would fly to arms at a moment's warning. This I know to be true.

To show the world how Christians live on slavery, I have said, that the number of human beings held in slavery, in the United States of America, is 3,179,658, and of these, it is estimated, that more than 660,000 are held by the Ministers and Members of various denominations of Protestant Churches, viz: The Methodist Churches, 219,563; the Baptist Churches, 125,000; the Campbellites, (Baptists) 101,000; the Episcopalian Churches,

88,000 ; the Presbyterian Churches, Old and New School, 77,000 ; and other denominations, 50,000.

Oh ! my God ! I am sick ! Reader ; so melancholy and startling a fact as this requires no other comment than your own thoughts and feelings will readily suggest. Oh, ye happy Canadians ! You are clear from the curse of slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law. May my God, who has regarded that flag, which has braved for a thousand years the battle and the breeze, and conquered at Trafalgar as well as Waterloo, sir ; may God keep her waving for a thousand years more, or to the end of time.

So, we have shown the number of Christian churches in the United States that hold to slavery. Now, it will be remembered that the slaveholders, and the whole American people say, that slavery is an evil, a sin, and a great curse, and a cursed thing. The Israelites are smitten ; Joshua complains ; but the children of Israel committed a trespass in the accursed thing ; for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took the accursed thing ; and the anger of the Lord was kindled against the children of Israel.—Joshua, vii. 1st to 10th verse.

“ And the Lord said unto Joshua, Get thee up, wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face ? Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant, which I command them ; for they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also ; and they have put it even among their own stuff ; therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they were accursed ; neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed from among you.” 11th, 12th, 13th and to the 19th of Josh. c. vii.—“ And Joshua said unto Achan, my son, give I pray thee glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him ; and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from me. And Achan answered Joshua and said, indeed I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus

have I done, when I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment, and two hundred sheekles of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty sheekles weight, then I coveted them, and took them, and behold they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it."—to the 22nd vs.

Now, we see the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men, on account of that sin. How many has been killed and ruined on account of Slavery? Oh! my God thou knowest. Now, reader, let us suppose that one soul for whom Jesus died, are worth more than all the Babylonish garments and wedges of gold and silver the world could afford. But when we look at the number of these Babylonish garments held in each of the Christian churches of the United States of America, it is awful to relate.

I have said the Methodist churches had 219,563: the Baptists, 125,000; Campbellite Baptists, 101,000; Episcopalians, 88,000; Presbyterians, Old and New school, 77,000; and other denominations, 50,000. Oh! my God! what a host of Achans there are in the churches. Oh! Lord Jesus! Master! cleanse thy churches of them, and slavery will cease.

Gentlemen of Hamilton! I feel thankful to you for the invitation requesting me to deliver this Address. I could not refuse your call, signed as it was by the names of 210 citizens. I comply with your request. Now, may the Lord Jesus Christ bless you all. Amen.

I am,

Your Obedient Servant,

PAOLA BROWN, Esq.



