

The Lecturer commenced by saying it was hardly to be expected that all he would say would be acceptable to the audience, as it came from one of a race who were looked on by a large portion of the race to whom the audience belonged as a *stock*. Still, people who so often assembled to hear the praises of this Republic magnified might sit out an hour while listening to the views of one of the proscribed race. He might, were he the blackest man in America, speak of the men of the Revolution as "our fathers," because black men stood shoulder to shoulder with whites in the war of Independence and that of 1812. But he stood there as a representative, by his father, of the slaveholder, and, by his mother, of the slave, and he could speak of the system from bitter experience—as one who had himself worn the chain and suffered under the lash. The lecturer then adverted to the early history of American slavery, and showed by what combination of circumstances it received a place in the new-born Republic, however repugnant by nature and fatal in prospect to the existence of republican institutions. This Republic (he said) has so far been signally successful as a national power; but, if we look to the principles of liberty, even as stated in the fundamental republican document; it is a failure. He gave instances of the atrocities of the slave trade, in which he had passed a year (being owned by a trader), and been obliged to act as manacled and driver of his fellow-slaves. In his own town, St. Louis, the city he had the unspeakable pleasure of running away from [applause and laughter], he had seen a husband sold apart from his wife; the

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husband entreated his new purchaser to buy his wife, but did not succeed; another bought her; he approached her and said, "We can never meet again on earth, but be true, and we shall meet in heaven." White people pretend to say the black does not feel so acutely as the white—but how do they know? Were they ever black? Let the whites speak for themselves, the blacks for themselves. Such is the system which gives character to the view entertained abroad of this Republic. Mr. Brown referred to Dr. Nehemiah Adams's late work; Dr. A. was in the South three months—he had been there twenty years. He found many things in the book he could not agree with. Dr. A. mentioned that there was no poor-house for the slave. He had seen a white-headed slave standing at his door, who had not worked for 20 years—he was 100 years old! If Dr. A works till 90, he will like to rest the remaining 10 years, should he live them. It reminded the lecturer of the donkey which his master emancipated, and settled a pension of hay on, when he was no longer able to hobble about. The American Bible Society has done nothing for the slave; so of the Tract Society. They have hunted down all other sins, even to dancing (against which they got out a large tract), but they have no premium for the daily dance of three millions of slaves at the end of the master's cowhide. It is the same with all American Associations; and foreign Associations watch and know this well. The lecturer found members of them knowing as much as himself about the doings of the American Associations.

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Americans are known abroad by their ambassadors; two-thirds of these are slave-owners. Stevenson, Ambassador to St. James, wished to be introduced to a member of the British Parliament; the member asked him if he was a slave-owner. He answered he was. "Then," said O'Connell, "no slaveholder shall ever touch my hand!" [Applause.] Soule, the Legree of Louisiana [applause], and northern men who might as well be slave-owners—such are our representatives abroad; and such men sunk our national character lower and lower. In Windsor Castle there hangs a picture of Von Humboldt, in an English sportsman's red coat, holding a whip in one hand and cap in the other. When the visitor asks the reason of this incongruous costume, the explanation is given. The great painter, Lawrence, got hold of Humboldt for a few minutes; he would never have the chance again; he had at hand only a canvass on which he had sketched the body of Lord Liverpool, meaning to add the head when he could get a sitting from his Lordship. On this body he painted Humboldt's head, and shortly after died. No painter dares lay a brush on the canvas Lawrence had filled, and thus Humboldt's magnificent head remains on Liverpool's decrepit body [laughter]. The anomaly furnishes a comparison for American Republicanism: It has a fine face, speaking fairly of freedom, but its practice is a decrepit and decaying body [applause]. I went abroad (said Mr. Brown) an American, and I return an American; I went abroad a Republican, and I return

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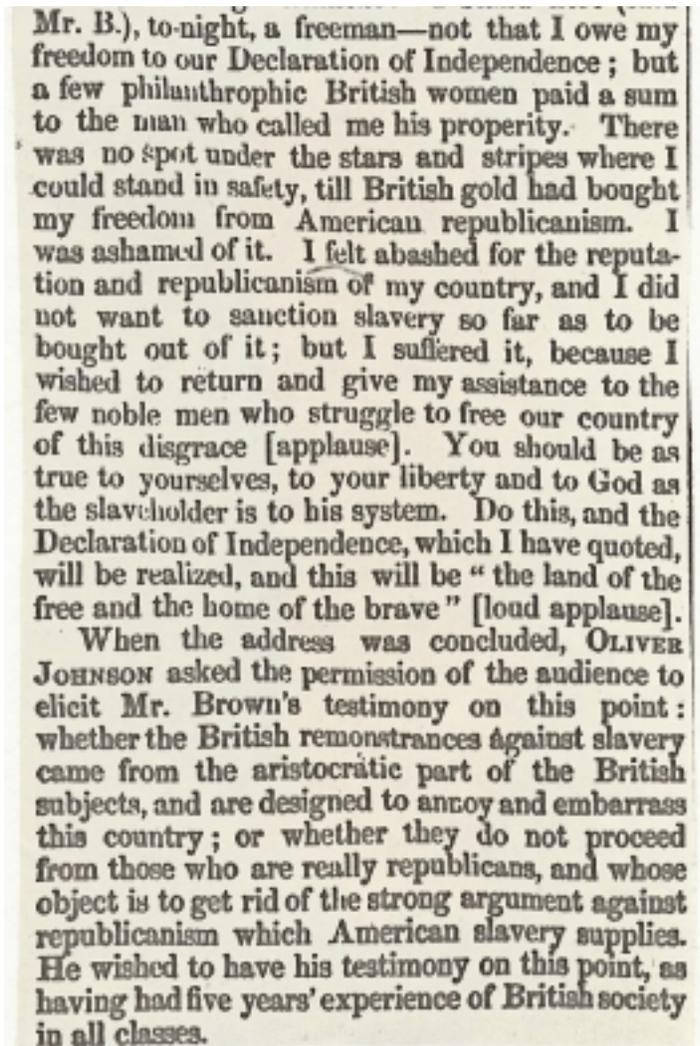
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one. And I have had opportunities, and made it my business, to understand British life, from the peer to the peasant. I have never spoken against anything American, where I could possibly avoid it; I was tender of our national character—the little we had. The middle classes of England, who are the bone and sinew of the country, sympathize with America; but they complain that she gives them no aid in reform; America has sympathy with Ireland, Hungary, Italy—but the sympathy for freedom of a people who hold slaves has no moral weight. Cobden and such men love the free American institutions; but they cannot quote them, because they are blackened with the stain of slavery. When a pro-slavery delegate was sent to Exeter Hall, he was denied admission as being pro-slavery. Does not the national character suffer from such incidents? Assuredly. Haynau, who had flogged a woman in the streets of Vienna, received a sample of English feeling; this shows that the abhorrence is not against Americans, but against any man what would flog a woman—white or black. American feeling sympathized with the draymen. But what worse did Haynau do than is done daily in our Southern cities? America invites the oppressed of all nations to come and be oppressed no longer; yet she drives away her own sons and daughters by the scourge of her own oppressors. How dare Americans call this the land of the free and the home of the brave, when Ellen Craft, a white woman, had to flee from it, and seek liberty under a monarchical government? I stand here (said

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Mr. B.), to-night, a freeman—not that I owe my freedom to our Declaration of Independence; but a few philanthropic British women paid a sum to the man who called me his property. There was no spot under the stars and stripes where I could stand in safety, till British gold had bought my freedom from American republicanism. I was ashamed of it. I felt abashed for the reputation and republicanism of my country, and I did not want to sanction slavery so far as to be bought out of it; but I suffered it, because I wished to return and give my assistance to the few noble men who struggle to free our country of this disgrace [applause]. You should be as true to yourselves, to your liberty and to God as the slaveholder is to his system. Do this, and the Declaration of Independence, which I have quoted, will be realized, and this will be “the land of the free and the home of the brave” [loud applause].

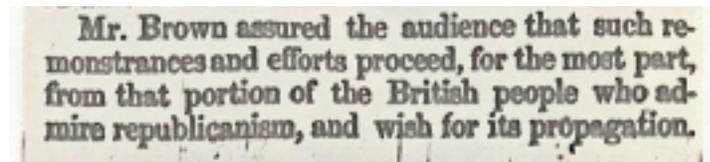
[When the address was concluded, OLIVER JOHNSON asked the permission of the audience to elicit Mr. Brown’s testimony on this point: whether the British remonstrances against slavery came from the aristocratic part of the British subjects, and are designed to annoy and embarrass this country; or whether they do not proceed from those who are really republicans, and whose object is to get rid of the strong argument against republicanism which American slavery supplies. He wished to have his testimony on this point, as having had five years’ experience of British society in all classes.]



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