

[The next resolution was moved by the REV. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, a coloured clergyman of New York, United States:—]

“That this meeting regard with unfeigned gratitude to Almighty God, the progress which, the anti-slavery cause has made during the past year. They view, especially, the decree of the late Provisional Government of France, for the entire abolition of slavery throughout all its foreign possessions, with the highest satisfaction and approval : nor can they withhold the tribute of their respect from the King and the States of Sweden, for the manner in which they have secured the complete extinction of human bondage in the island of St. Barts. That it is the opinion of this meeting that its thanks are due to the British authorities in India for the interest they have taken, and the influence they have exerted over the native States, on the anti-slavery question, whereby the Kingdom of Lahore, the Rajpootana and other States, have abolished both slavery and the slave-trade, and established freedom.

“That this meeting regard the measures taken by the King of Denmark in his late rescript, for assuring the complete emancipation of all slaves in the Danish West Indies in the year 1859, and the recently avowed determination of the Portuguese government to effect the abolition of slavery in its ultramarine provinces, both in Africa and Asia, as additional concessions to the general cause of humanity and freedom.

“That this meeting sincerely rejoice that one great fruit of the changes which have recently taken place in Germany, has been the abolition of serfage in Hungary, Prussian Poland, and Galicia, and the expectation which is thereby held out that this debasing institution will soon disappear from the whole of Northern Europe.

“That, in view of the progress of the abolition cause in various parts of the world during the past year, this meeting express their earnest hope that the United States and the Netherlands may be prompted to remove from their otherwise free institutions the foul blot of slavery.”

In reading this resolution, Mr. Chairman, my mind recurs to the fact, that the events spoken of as affecting the African race in the French dominions, and in other parts, are owing, to a great extent, to Great Britain, and more especially to the friends of abolition in this land ; and in rising to address myself to this Society, I desire to thank God that in His providence it pleased Him to give existence to this great kingdom, and to make England the foremost of the nations ; and that, amid the rise and

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fall of nations, and the decay of empires, He has kept you firm, steady, and unshaken, as though fast anchored by the throne of the Eternal.

I would also express my gratefulness to the same august Being for having raised up such a glorious race of philanthropists in this land, and for the gift to humanity of such men as Sharpe and Wilberforce, Clarkson and Buxton, whose names are immortalized by their zeal and devotedness in behalf of the degraded negro. In the providence of God, England has been made a leading instrument, through her Government and her Christian philanthropists, in promoting the cause of freedom, and emancipating the enslaved. He has raised up distinguished individuals touched with humanity to listen to the cries and mark the miseries of the poor debased African : and the Christian efforts they have put forth, and the effective zeal they have manifested, have already produced noble results, and will ultimately tend to restore Africa to her ancient glory among the nations. To some of these results, produced within the last few months, in the West and the East Indies, our attention is directed in the resolution I have the honour to offer ; and over them we are called to rejoice, with “unfeigned gratitude to the Almighty God.” Few things, Sir, are so capable of affording gratification to the minds of men, as the breaking off the fetters of down-trodden humanity ; and few things give so much genuine delight to the Christian heart as the deliverance of the captive, and the restoration of their rights to those who have been in a state of slavery. There are some, however, who think that political enfranchisement, physical emancipation, is a thing with which Christians and Christian ministers have little to do. They are so deeply engaged in saving the souls of men, that they think it unnecessary to manifest much interest in their temporal condition. I have heard such views often expressed in my own country. I beg to differ, entirely, from them. I confess, Sir, that I have not much respect for a religion that dwells so much in the clouds that it cannot attend to sublunary affairs ; – which exists so far above this world and its concerns that it cannot interest itself in the transactions of earth. The truth is, that a religion which cares so much about the spiritual part of a man, and pretends to be so divine, while it has not the genial element of humanity infused in it, is nothing but fanaticism. A full and complete answer to all this is furnished in the mission of our Saviour. He came to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to

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those who were bound. It may be said that that allusion was to spiritual bondage and captivity, and to the disenthralment of the Holy Spirit.

But it is a common rule that the greater includes the less ; and it cannot be regarded a wrong inference, that the divine errand that sought the welfare and the freedom of the higher, nobler part of our nature, could not disregard that earthly liberty and disenthralment, of which it is the higher expression and exponent. The results of Christianity in the first ages give the same teaching. Wherever the Church went, there went freedom. Wherever the Gospel of salvation wrought its wonders, there was produced, not only the glorious liberty of the sons of God, but the amelioration of man's temporal condition, and the freedom of the slave.

Christianity is the religion of freedom, and the *only* religion of freedom. Its nature, its spirit, its aim and tendency and mission, is to break asunder all fetters, to destroy all chains, to remove all galling yokes, and to make man conscious of a healthy power of soul, and an unrestrained though lawful exercise of his capacities. Hence, in every land where Christianity has made its advent, there immediately has appeared a spirit, and started an effort, for the destruction of slavery and the progress of freedom. As Christians, then, all our principles, and all our prejudices, even, should be in favour of the emancipation of the oppressed. And when we hear, as we have heard, of the onward progress of the cause, in the emancipation of thousands of men, not in one country only, but by several powers, in various quarters of the globe, it is our duty, as Christians, to rejoice, whether this emancipation be effected by the Bey of Tunis, the Republic of France, or the king of Sweden. But I may take a lower ground than even this. Without speaking of Christianity, we are bound as MEN, to rejoice in the raising up of our fellow-men from degradation and wretchedness. On the common ground of human nature we have an interest in this cause, most direct and personal. Slavery is a man-destroying institution. Slavery is at war with humanity. Wherever it exists, it aims a blow at the vitals of humanity everywhere. It is not a system which seeks the reduction of the negro race merely to chattels and things ; it strikes with murderous intent at the whole species ; it seeks the subjection of man ; and therefore every man, whether living beneath the burning sun of India, or in the cold climate of England, is interested in this question. We are none of us

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safe, Sir, while such an institution exists in any part of the globe. So long as any part of the human family are bound by the yoke, and sold as slaves, our own liberty is neutralized, and our own humanity held bound and fettered ; for no man is in full possession of freedom, no matter where he lives, while there exists one slave beneath the lash in any quarter of the globe. And so our consciousness of humanity is expanded, and our sense of freedom becomes stronger, as we find the system decaying, and the day of its final termination approaching. And for myself I can say, that the idea of my own personal freedom is always conditioned on, and proportioned to, the emancipation of my own afflicted race. Whenever I hear—as, thank God, I often hear—that *one* slave, led on by the North star, has, by the kindly providence of God, succeeded in crossing those broad streams, and climbing those mighty mountains, and in piercing those vast wildernesses, that prevail in my own country ; and at last has crossed the dark rolling Niagara, and gained the protection of the British flag in Canada ;—I feel as if I were taller and more erect than before. I breathe freer than I previously breathed. I am more a man than I ever had been : because a chattel has burst forth from degradation and misery, and gained the lofty table-land, and the open heavens of manhood and of freedom, and had become a MAN ! We are called upon, by the resolution I hold, to rejoice in the large numbers who have been recently emancipated. In Sweden and France, several hundred thousands of my own race have been declared free. There is a certain prospect of the emancipation of slaves in the Danish West Indies. In the kingdom of Lahore, the Rajpootana and other states, slavery and the slave-trade have been abolished ; while in the north of Europe, in Germany, in Hungary, a part of Poland and in Silicia, serfage has been abolished. What a change in the condition of poor wretched humanity ! What an alternation, from misery to comfort, from darkness to light ! Sir, we have but to consider in slight detail, for a few moments, the degradation and wretchedness included in slavery, and we shall see how beneficent has been the change, how glorious the deliverance, and what cause of thankfulness we have, as friends of humanity. A few months since, and these many thousands were nothing but things ; but now they have risen to the rank and position of men ! What a glorious creation this ! Thousands of beings

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transformed, by a simple legislative act, from nothings into realities ! Here, surely and indeed, is cause for gratitude and rejoicing. The morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy, at the dawn of young creation, at the birth of this visible frame of earth ; but here is the new creation, the upstarting from the dust of hundreds of thousands of spiritual and immortal creatures into life and being, the consciousness of manhood, the bland atmosphere and the genial influences of freedom. And then, Sir, recal the personal miseries of this odious system. Take, for instance, the mental darkness it entails, the spiritual night which it fosters. Men and women emerge from infancy into youth, and from youth into manhood and womanhood, with no culture, no instruction ; children all their days, to bent, and grey-haired, and decaying old age. No knowledge of themselves, as spiritual creatures, is given. No acquaintance of the noble capacities and the immortal prerogatives of their nature is imparted. They grow up in ignorance and vice and bestiality, and the way of life they know not ; and the common salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord, they are not allowed to participate in. Why, Sir, in some of the American States, it is a capital offence to furnish black men with the rudiments of education, or to teach them to read the Word of God. I mention this case because I know more of the system in my own country than anywhere else ; but it is illustrative of it everywhere. Wherever slavery exists, its victims live in the region and shadow of death. The truth is, that mental development and spiritual enlightenment are incompatible with the existence of slavery ; and therefore, wherever it exists, you may expect to find the mind shackled, and the soul kept in darkness. Look at the physical sufferings slavery genders. The husband is torn from the wife, and children separated from their parents. The dearest, tenderest ties are sundered. Men are beaten like cattle, and the whip applied to the shrinking flesh of women and little children. A regular auction is kept up, where old men and babes, and youths and maidens, are sold like sheep and oxen at Smithfield. And when we think over these heart-rending facts, and see what slavery is, and then behold the murderous system ended and destroyed at *any* place, we cannot, as men, do otherwise than answer the call of this resolution, and render unfeigned thanks to the Almighty that one, and another, and another outlet of this dark stream of misery is dried up, and is to have a pestife-

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rous flow never more, for ever ! And gathering my sentiments of freedom from the Bible, fully assured that the progress of the human race, in enlightenment and freedom, is coincident with the diffusion of the principles of the word of God, I rejoice in emancipation whether effected by a France, A Sweden, or a heathen country. Wherever it takes place it is a testimony to the cause of Christianity and the worth of Christianity. The destruction of slavery by a Pagan country is a cause of *Christian* delight and congratulation. It is a result of the common Christian sentiment of the world. It is not an offshoot of even the mildest and most humane heathenism. It is the power and the influence of the example of Christian governments. For where, in the history of the world, can be found such splendid deeds of emancipation which took place before the Christian era, as that of your own country ? Nowhere. But since the coming of Christ, and the proclamation of His gracious saving truth, and the leavening of his lofty principles into the civil, religious, and governmental systems of the world, the march of freedom has been onward ; and will yet ultimately prevail throughout the world, to the destruction of all tyrannic powers and dynasties. Let us then, as Christian men, rejoice in the kindly deeds of philanthropists and governments ; and use our opportunity to congratulate each other on the various testimonies of our times to the freedom-giving character of our holy religion. When, however, we see in some parts of the world both individuals and nations putting forth unusual exertions to strengthen the bands of slavery, and to increase the oppression of the negro race, we have indeed great cause for regret. The latter clause of this resolution adverts to such a cause of regret, and expresses the hope “that the United States and the Netherlands may be prompted to remove from their otherwise free institutions the foul blot of slavery.” The United States is the grand offender against the world, and the world’s morals, and the world’s Christianity – the grand offender of the nations, against freedom and civilization, and good government. It sets itself up as the freest of the nations, and yet is the greatest trader in the bodies and souls of men, and most influential promoter of slavery. As an American, I regret to say this. I shame to say it. But, it is the most evident of facts, we, as a nation, stand in the same position, nationally, to the cause of political freedom, that Rome does to spiritual freedom. *She* is the great enslaver of the *souls* of men,

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And this position of my country is sad and regretful. It is a sad and sorrowful thing to see a young and vigorous country, fresh born as it were among the nations—just commencing in her virginity the race of existence—commit herself with the whole force, and fervour, and energy of being, to the maintenance of an institution, barbarous in its origin and unchristian in its influences. My regret is increased by the consideration that my country is a Protestant country. It is wrong and awkward and out of the way for Protestant institutions to be wedded to slavery. The spirit of Protestantism is uncongenial and unfitted to the spirit of oppression. When expressed in its integrity, it dooms all slavery and all injustice to destruction ; and where it fails to do so, its own existence is jeopardized and its own vitality is neutralized. And so, in consequence, the very fact of my country being so strongly pro-slavery makes perilous the existence of a true Protestant spirit in that land, and at the same time injures and retards the cause of free institutions in other lands. The Report just read refers with great hope to the United States. But I must confess I am not so sanguine, and that I entertain great fears with respect to that country and the disposal of the slavery question therein. The grounds of these fears I will state : one of these is the tenacity of the hold of slavery on the part of the American people. You know what great republicans we are ; we are somewhat propagandists of it. No people in the world hold on to any national sentiment so strongly as my countrymen do to the idea of republicanism. But as tenacious as is our hold upon republicanism, so strong is the grasp of the people upon the institution of slavery as a part of their system ; and many would as soon think of giving up one as the other. In their minds slavery and republicanism are one and indivisible. I fear that this is a fixed principle with them to hold on to slavery. Another occasion of fear in this regard is the fact that the entire governmental power of the country is case in the scale of slavery. Whatever executive patronage is held by the chief authorities is offered up on this shrine. It is the undoubted purpose and endeavour of the powers that be to throw, if possible, a solid shield around the system. It has ever been thus. The protection of slavery has always been the *chief* object of our executive system. It commenced with the very incipient steps which gave us a constitution and formed a govern-

and *we* (the United States) of the bodies and the liberties of men. And this position of my country is sad and regretful. It is a sad and sorrowful thing to see a young and vigorous country, fresh born as it were among the nations—just commencing in her virginity the race of existence—commit herself with the whole force, and fervour, and energy of being, to the maintenance of an institution, barbarous in its origin and unchristian in its influences. My regret is increased by the consideration that my country is a Protestant country. It is wrong and awkward and out of the way for Protestant institutions to be wedded to slavery. The spirit of Protestantism is uncongenial and unfitted to the spirit of oppression. When expressed in its integrity, it dooms all slavery and all injustice to destruction ; and where it fails to do so, its own existence is jeopardized and its own vitality is neutralized. And so, in consequence, the very fact of my country being so strongly pro-slavery makes perilous the existence of a true Protestant spirit in that land, and at the same time injures and retards the cause of free institutions in other lands. The Report just read refers with great hope to the United States. But I must confess I am not so sanguine, and that I entertain great fears with respect to that country and the disposal of the slavery question therein. The grounds of these fears I will state : one of these is the tenacity of the hold of slavery on the part of the American people. You know what great republicans we are ; we are somewhat propagandists of it. No people in the world hold on to any national sentiment so strongly as my countrymen do to the idea of republicanism. But as tenacious as is our hold upon republicanism, so strong is the grasp of the people upon the institution of slavery as a part of their system ; and many would as soon think of giving up one as the other. In their minds slavery and republicanism are one and indivisible. I fear that this is a fixed principle with them to hold on to slavery. Another occasion of fear in this regard is the fact that the entire governmental power of the country is cast in the

scale of slavery. Whatever executive patronage is held by the chief authorities is offered up on this shrine. It is the undoubted purpose and endeavour of the powers that be to throw, if possible, a solid shield around the system. It has ever been thus. The protection of slavery has always been the chief object of our executive system. It commenced with the very incipient steps which gave us a constitution and formed a govern-

ment, and made us a nation. And in this regard, paradoxical as it may seem, the dotage of our country is coeval with its birth. My fears are strengthened by the remembrance of the inconceivable, the universal repugnance of the American people to the African race, exhibited equally and alike in Church and State. This spirit of exclusion and of hate you can have no idea of in this country. It is universal and overwhelming, preventing the elevation of the negro race, sorrowing the life of little black children ; making fiery and bitter, coloured youth and young men ; taking away hope from the negro matron ; bringing on premature age, and dragging my people down to early graves in despair and wretchedness, and oftentimes in infidelity ! The difference between the two countries in this respect is wonderful, is amazing ; sometimes I can hardly realise it. I am not ashamed to confess that the change sometimes bewilders me. When I first came to this country, and found myself free from this system of exclusiveness, I was at times doubtful whether it was fiction or fact. The last cause of fear that I have in relation to the subject of slavery in America is, that a *part of the recent* abolition movement proceeds not from a genuine regard for humanity. Our true and tried friends fear this themselves. With some, the opposition to slavery is merely political. They fear the preponderance of the slave power in Congress. For the black man they entertain no sympathy whatever ; and if slavery will remain just where it is, without any extension, they will be satisfied, even if slavery is eternal. With others, the movement is a matter of interest. They see the difference in prosperity between the free and the slave States. They know slavery to be a system of pauperism ; and, with the hope of an increased value to their lands in the future, they would be pleased with emancipation. But all this regardless of the black man. Such, Sir, are my chief fears upon this topic, and the sources of them. But if there are fears, there are hopes also. Grounds for grateful expectation here and there are discoverable. First of all we have the consciousness, and the assurance, that ours is a cause of principle and truth. This is a strong vantage ground – the strongest. Everything fundamental in morals, in taste, in literature, in science in religion – nay, even in man, however bad he may be, is on our side. The grand ideas and the everlasting sentiments that move society and governments, the world, and the heart of man, are

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ours, in our maintenance and advocacy of our cause ; and, for the truths and principles we advocate, we are sure of the hearts of *all* good men—sure of the kindly ministrations and refreshing of angels, in their behalf and ours. God is pledged to them, and “how many,” to sue the quaint expression of Henry, “will you count Him for?” I have hope, too, from the fact that the white race in America are divided amongst themselves upon the question of our rights and our humanity. Nowhere do they present an undivided front against us. Thank God, the question of freedom is not a question of colour or of race, in any land. In every relation of life—in every sphere of society—among all ranks, in Church and State, among the several denominations of Christians, we have strong and devoted friends. Bishops, ministers, laymen, are constantly rising up, and befriending us ; and the division between the pro-slavery and freedom-loving parties of the land is becoming wider and wider. In the providence of God, the agitation is reaching and touching at every point ; God is overturning, and overturning, and overturning ; and I hope that at no very distant day we shall see the mighty pillars and the huge buttresses of this colossal iniquity toppling down to eternal destruction and oblivion ! My chief hope, however is in the free-coloured men of the United States themselves. It is my firm conviction that the main means and instrument for the emancipation of my race, are the capable men of the race, vindicating their rights and elevating their brethren. I think that they themselves are conscious of the duty, and are striving to meet their responsibilities. On every side and in divers ways are they working, and striving to upbuild themselves. I deem it my duty to render this tribute in favour of my earnest co-adjutors in my native land. A more heroic set of men the world has never seen :—not heroic in the sense of a sanguinary disposition, or even of mere political strife. But heroic, in seeking to educate and refine their people,—in founding schools, and starting churches, and diffusing intelligence, and increasing the numbers of learned and good men, in their midst, capable of raising the race to manhood, capability and equality. Some of these men you have heard of. Pennington and Douglass you have seen on your own platform ; and there are McCune Smith (known to some on this board), and Garnet and

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Ward, and Bias and Zuille, and Downing, and the Reasons—zealous, earnest men, devoted to their people, and striving to elevate them. And here let me, in conclusion, make an allusion to the part which Great Britain has to take in the elevation of my race in America. The efforts which coloured men are making in the United States to found high schools, to diffuse learning, to establish the Gospel, are but partial efforts, because the people are poor, and their white brethren will not aid them. They need aid and encouragement from abroad ; and I know no country which is able, and has the sympathy, to aid them, but England. I know the feeling is a natural one that you can care only for the blacks in your own colonies. But this feeling you *cannot* entertain. If there is one thing clear and evident and certain, it is, that this country is to emancipate and civilize, and christianize the negro race—all over the globe. The providence of God keeps you from confining your regards to this race in your own West Indies alone. No. If the negro race in the French West Indies, and the Spanish West India islands, in Hayti, on the coast and in the interior of Africa, ever are christianized, it will be through the agency of England. To what other country can we look? You know that my own country has but little interest in the negro's cause ; and what folly would it not be for us to turn to France for civilization and Christianity—France, absorbed as she is in the vagaries of communism, or spell-bound by the benumbing influences of infidelity ; or to Germany, one eye vaguely wandering amid the mazes of a misty antiquity, or else with the other dreamily peering the vistas of a doubtful transcendentalism ; or to Spain, lost amid the gloom of Romanism, or else ardently devoted to a sanguinary suicidalism. Sir, England, and England alone, is to be the great civilizer of Africa and her sons. In my soul, I believe God has thrown this race upon you ; and that he designs to make you the grand means of their enlightenment in every quarter of the globe. And so, by-and-by, the vast continent of Africa shall be blessed with the institutions of religion, and the spires of unnumbered temples will be seen glittering all along her coast ; and her sable priests will be seen going to and fro throughout all her wide domains, proclaiming the glad tidings of redemption ; and her noble sons, in all quarters of the globe, will come and sit down at the feet of Jesus, and render ascriptions of praise to God for

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