

[WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

ADDRESS

Delivered on the First of August,

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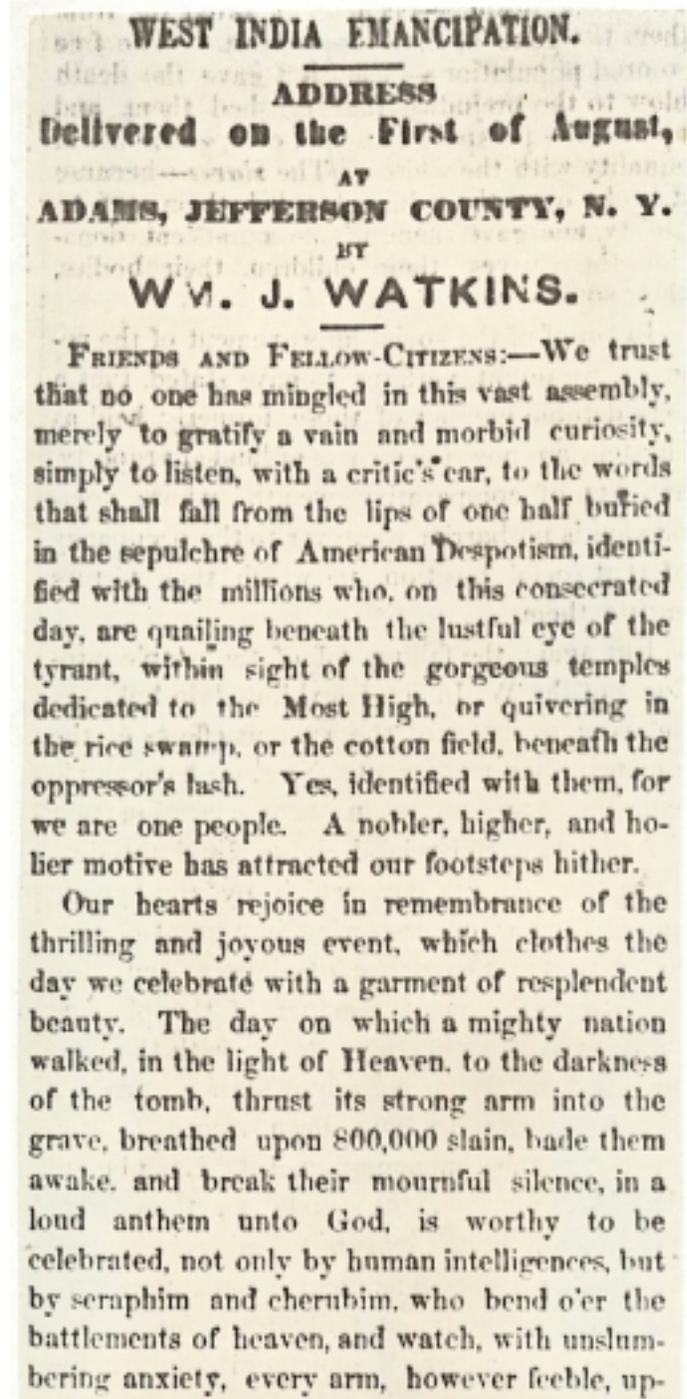
ADAMS, JEFFERSON COUNTY, N. Y.

BY

WM. J. WATKINS.]

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—We trust that no one has mingled in this vast assembly, merely to gratify a vain and morbid curiosity, simply to listen, with a critic's ear, to the words that shall fall from the lips of one half buried in the sepulchre of the American Despotism, identified with the millions who, on this consecrated day, are quailing beneath the lustful eye of the tyrant, within sight of the gorgeous temples dedicated to the Most High, or quivering in the rice swamp, or the cotton field, beneath the oppressor's lash. Yes, identified with them, for we are one people. A nobler, higher, and holier motive has attracted our footsteps hither.

Our hearts rejoice in remembrance of the thrilling and joyous event, which clothes the day we celebrate with a garment of resplendent beauty. The day on which a mighty nation walked, in the light of Heaven, to the darkness of the tomb, thrust its strong arm into the grave, breathed upon 800,000 slain, bade them awake, and break their mournful silence, in a loud anthem unto God, is worthy to be celebrated, not only by human intelligences, but by seraphim and cherubim, who bend o'er the battlements of heaven, and watch, with unslumbering anxiety, every arm, however feeble, up-



lifted to strike down the proud oppressor, and lift upon the broad platform of human brotherhood, the millions daily groaning for redemption, and muttering, in broken accents, their ejaculations to their Father and their God.

This, fellow-citizens, is the day *we* celebrate. Our tongues may refuse to chant the hypocritical hallelujahs of this God-defying, and apparently, God-forsaken nation, on its festive day, the "*glorious Fourth of July*," for reasons as palpable as the sun in mid-heaven, but *we smile when this Sabbath appears*. It is fraught with hallowed associations, which entwine themselves around our hearts, and around which our memories love to linger. This is the day which illumines our dark horizon, and streams its cheerful light athwart our obstructed pathway. It gives rise to soul-inspiring emotions, and bids those who are cradled in the clouds of slavery, and baptized in its pelting storms, look forward to the happy hour when their day of redemption shall burst upon them, in ever living brightness, and American stand forth among the family of nations, without one drop of human blood, without the tear of one bleeding bondman, to stain her bright escutcheon.

To-day, as the winds of heaven waft to our shores, the shouts and hosannahs of our happy brethren, who celebrate the hour when their manhood was recognized, and their fetters broken, we are encouraged by the reflection, that what man has done, man can do again. If the slave has been redeemed anywhere in the wide

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To-day, as the winds of heaven waft to our shores, the shouts and hosannahs of our happy brethren, who celebrate the hour when their manhood was recognized, and their fetters broken, we are encouraged by the reflection, that what man has done, man can do again. If the slave has been redeemed anywhere in the wide

world, he can be redeemed here in the United States. If the mountains have been hewn down in other lands—if the crooked places have been made straight, and the rough places smooth—if the rains no longer descend, and the floods are buried in the deep, and the lightnings are sleeping sweetly in the bosom of the once troubled, but now tranquil sky, and the thunders have forever ceased their vengeful mutterings, we may rest assured that He who has wrought the mighty change, will yet crown our efforts with success, the same change will creep almost imperceptibly over us in this tyrant land; our mountains shall be cast into the midst of the sea, and the now raging elements be hushed into silence, by the imperative mandate, "PEACE, BE STILL." For this, my fellow-countrymen, let us labor, for this let us wait, and watch, and pray, with our eye ever fixed upon our "*pillar of cloud by day,*" and our "*pillar of fire, by night.*"

In our remarks to-day, we shall take as wide a range as the nature of the subject will admit, and shall, accordingly, discourse not only upon the proximate cause or motive which has induced us to assemble in this capacity, but shall improve the occasion, by a rapid glance at the terrible realities of that despotism which still lives, and breathes, and burns, in *this free country!* It will not do for us merely to meet together and rejoice over the events which inaugurated that new and brilliant era in the history of civilization and freedom, which we, this day,

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commemorate.

It is our duty on such a day as this, to search after the heart of the American people—a heart apparently imbedded in the solid incrustations of ignorance, and prejudice, and all manner of iniquity; to appeal to their moral sense, their reflective powers, their deliberative judgment, their humanity, their justice, and their religion. This is a duty we owe to the slave in America, and to the oppressed everywhere, for despotism is a unit the world over. We should speak to-day not only of the fetters torn from the limbs of 800,000 British slaves, and dashed to the earth, but of the manacles forged every hour, as it were, in our very midst, for your brethren, and my brethren, in America, the outraged, the plundered, and the dumb. Yes! this is the day to dwell upon the barbarities which characterize this Oligarchy under which we live. To-day, we hold up the whips, and chains, and gags, and fetters, and thumbscrews, and String-fellows, and doughfaces, and pro-slavery preachers, running before they were sent, and hateful auction blocks, and blood-hounds, and all the horrible paraphernalia of American slavery.—To-day, we rattle in the dull, heavy ear of the sleeper, the massive chain which speaks more eloquently than human tongue, of broken hearts, of orphans, and of widows, immolated upon the altars of a nation wafted into being upon the outspread wings of liberty. To-day, we would hold up the recaptured fugitive, and crack the merciless lash that drinks up his

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blood, and extorts from his inmost soul, the piteous cry for mercy, and the heart-rending supplication to the remorseless fiend who feeds upon his flesh, to end his agonies in death. To-day, we catch the spirit of the noble Whittier, as he rushes to his poetic lyre, and sweeps from thence the indignant strain towards Heaven:

“Is not thy hand, O Lord, stretched forth,  
Visibly in the heavens, to awe and smite?  
Shall not the living God of all the earth,  
And heaven above, do right?”

Their glory and their might  
Shall perish, and their very names shall be  
Vile before all the people, in the light  
Of a world's liberty.”

In the year, 1788, the House of Commons, voted Parliamentary inquiry. The friends of the Abolition measure, began to notice a gleam of sunshine, darting athwart the general gloom. Three years after Wilberforce introduced a Bill to abolish the Slave Trade. This bill was supported by PITT, and FOX, and others, BURKE among the number, but met with the most virulent opposition. It met no favor with the majority of the royal family.— This seriously damaged the prospect of its passage. The Planters, and others identified with the West India interest, rallied, and with their strong arm, defeated it. But Mr. Wilberforce, relying upon the justice of his cause, the omnipotence of Truth, and the Almighty arm, renewed the attempt, ten times in sixteen years. He did not despair of *the ultimate triumph of the Right*. The whole Nation eventually arose,

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And here, allow me to remark, let the Anti-Slavery minority in the United States Congress, advocate THE ENTIRE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE LAND, with the boldness and ardor, and perseverance which characterized, and rendered successful the leaders of the Anti-Slavery movement in the British Parliament, and Slavery's occupation's gone. Let them cease their concessions to the Slave Power, shew the enemy no quarter, but bravely meet him, *with the right weapons*, in a hand to hand conflict, and they'll soon lay the monster low. We want men at the present crisis, in the anti-slavery ranks, who are not afraid to die, men who will defend their rights, if need be unto Death. We must not regard the thunder of the enemy. We should have the spirit of the war horse, which Job describes so eloquently: "Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? the glory of his nostrils is terrible.

"He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength, he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage; neither believeth he

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that it is the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha! and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shoutings."—Job 39th ch. 19-25vs.

But the time admonishes me to proceed.

After the passage of the Bill, introduced by Wilberforce, the traffic in human flesh still continued. Under false colors, the trade was still carried on. It is said that in the year 1821, 200,000 slaves were obtained from Africa.— New ships, remarkable for their swiftness, were built for the service. They carried from five hundred to eight hundred slaves, after burying half of them in the depths of the sea. In the West India Islands, the most shocking and infernal cruelties were perpetrated. We cannot enter into a detail of these enormities. Turn your eyes to the southern regions of our own Republican land, and towards Kansas, and you find their parallel. The British Nation was once more roused into enthusiastic indignation. Petitions, from every quarter, rolled into Parliament. The clergy thundered, and lightened. Now was the time, or never, to hold up to royalty, the soul-sickening picture. In the year 1833, amid the most intense excitement, the Minister of the Colonies, Lord Stanley, introduced into the House of Commons, a bill proposing gradual emancipation. It was burdened with several restrictions and conditions, changing the Institution, into a sort of Apprenticeship system. The apprentices, one portion of

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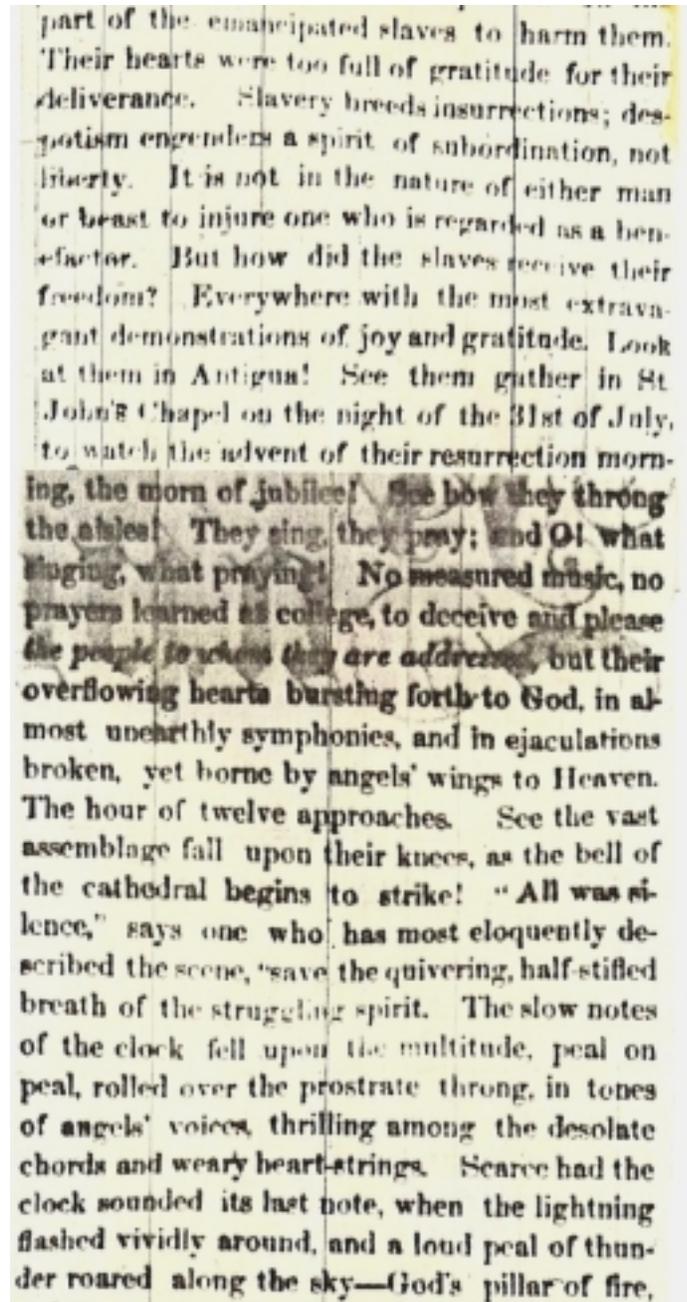
Praise we the Lord, His wrath arose,  
His arms their fetters broke;  
The tyrant dropped the lash and they  
To Liberty awoke!"

Awoke to what, my fellow-citizens? To murder, or rapine, or violence of any kind?— Awoke to what? To the cutting of their master's throats, to the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children? Not at all; not one drop of blood was shed, not one house was pilaged. No! they awoke from the heavy slumber of the long, dark, and dreary night, to sing hosannahs unto God! O! that was a memorable night on which they were transformed from chattels into men. A most fearful dread, a gloomy foreboding, an expectation of righteous retribution caused the knees of the planters to smite together, as though Belteshazzar's trembling had seized upon them. Their guilty souls were harrowed up by visions of their murdered wives and innocent children. They had been taught that it was utterly unsafe to turn the ignorant slaves loose upon the community, to scatter, tear, and slay. It is said, that many planters left their plantations and many American captains at Antigua, reflecting, that in that island, there were but 7000 whites, and 30,000 blacks, and knowing the former were at the mercy of the latter, fled affrighted from the shore, and put to sea, anticipating a general massacre of the whites. But they soon experienced that there was no disposition on the

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part of the emancipated slaves to harm them. Their hearts were too full of gratitude for their deliverance. Slavery breeds insurrections; despotism engenders a spirit of subordination, not liberty. It is not in the nature of either man or beast to injure one who is regarded as a benefactor. But how did the slaves receive their freedom? Everywhere with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy and gratitude. Look at them in Antigua! See them gather in St. John's Chapel on the night of the 31st of July, to watch the advent of their resurrection morning, the morn of jubilee! See how they throng the aisles! They sing, they pray; and O! what singing, what praying! No measured music, no prayers learned at college, to deceive and please *the people to whom they are addressed*, but their overflowing hearts bursting forth to God, in almost unearthly symphonies, and in ejaculations broken, yet borne by angels' wings to Heaven. The hour of twelve approaches. See the vast assemblage fall upon their knees, as the bell of the cathedral begins to strike! "All was silence," says one who has most eloquently described the scene, "save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky—God's pillar of fire,



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and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed—then came the *burst*—they broke forth in prayer—they shouted—they sang “glory,” “alleluia”—they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole, there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings in broken negro dialect of gratitude to God.”

Thus, fellow-citizens, they passed that memorable night. When Heaven thundered forth his approval, the old chapel rocked with their responsive and grateful shouts. They were now men, breathing for the first time the air of freedom, and walking to and fro, in all the majesty of unfettered manhood. And so would the slaves in the United States receive their freedom. There would be no riots, no rapine, no insurrections. Now, while they are goaded to desperation by the lash, literally saturated with their blood and tears—now is the time to expect insurrections. But we must hasten to notice very briefly THE HAPPY RESULTS ATTENDING THE EMANICIPATION MOVEMENT.

The slaveholding oligarchy in the United States, are continually affirming, despite the facts in the case, that emancipation has ruined the West India Island in every respect. The Island of Jamaica has been singled out, and held up to the world, as in illustration of the impracticability of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION,

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and the evils necessarily resulting from it.—  
“*The negroes will not work,*” cry the slaveholders; “*look at Jamaica.*” *The negroes are lazy.*” remarked the American Consul at Kingston, Jamaica, to Messrs. Thome and Kimball. “They are rearing their children in perfect idleness; their parents are too proud to let them work, and they send them to school all the time.” Hailing as he did from Virginia, where they imprison women for teaching a colored child to spell the name of Jesus, he did not like to see the “*little niggers*” going to school, for the reason that education has an elevating tendency. “Every afternoon,” continued he, “the streets are thronged with the half-naked little black devils, just broke from the schools, and all singing some noisy tune learned in the infant schools; the burthen of their songs seems to be ‘O THAT WILL BE JOYFUL.’ These words,” said he, “are ringing in your ears wherever you go. O that will be *joyful, JOYFUL, JOYFUL!!!*” The “doleful” sound from the tombs of *slavery*, was music in his ears, and he did not like to hear the “*joyful*” sound of liberty. We should not wonder if the slaveholders in America should find the same fault with “*the little black devils*” in their respective localities, before a great while, and then that *will be “joyful, JOYFUL, JOYFUL.”* When told that there were slaves in America, and that they were not yet emancipated, an old emancipated slave exclaimed, “Ah, de Savior make we free, and he will make dem free

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too. He come to Antigo first—he'll be in Merica soon."

The enemies of emancipation have affirmed that the emancipated slaves have not improved their mental, moral, social, or religious condition, and that they are, indeed, much more degraded than formerly. The enemies of the colored man, believing in the truthfulness of such declarations, very readily conclude that freedom has been a curse to the country. But these assertions are wholly without foundation. In plain English, they are lies, concocted by the enemy, to promote the base purposes of despotism.

Had we time, we could adduce the most important testimony from various sources, all proving, in the clearest light, that the Emancipation Movement in the British West Indies has been attended with the most happy and beneficial results. We might point to the various schools, crowded with the children of the emancipated, making rapid progress in their studies, and in every way testifying their appreciation of the educational advantages which liberty has afforded them.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball, who were deputed to the West Indies, to make the proper investigation, have remarked, in reference to the education of the emancipated children, and the interest their parents evidence for their welfare, as follows:

"Our inquiries under this head were directed to three principal points—first, The extent to

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Had we time, we could adduce the most important testimony from various sources, all proving, in the clearest light, that the Emancipation Movement in the British West Indies has been attended with the most happy and beneficial results. We might point to the various schools, crowded with the children of the emancipated, making rapid progress in their studies, and in every way testifying their appreciation of the educational advantages which liberty has afforded them.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball, who were deputed to the West Indies, to make the proper investigation, have remarked, in reference to the education of the emancipated children, and the interest their parents evidence for their welfare, as follows :

"Our inquiries under this head were directed to three principal points—first, The extent to

which education prevailed previous to emancipation; second, the improvements introduced since; and third, The comparative capacity of negroes for their receiving instruction.

“Being providentially in the island at the season of the year when all the schools have their annual examinations, we enjoyed the most favorable opportunities for procuring intelligence on the subject of education. From various quarters we received invitations to attend school examinations. We visited the schools at Parham, Willoughby Bay, Newfield, Cedar Hall, Grace Bay, Fitch’s Creek, and others; besides visiting the parochial school, the rectory school, the Moravian and Wesleyan schools, in St. John’s. All the schools, save those in St. John’s, were almost exclusively composed of emancipated children from the estates.”

After having described their frequent visits to the various schools, they remark:

“Education has become very extensive *since* emancipation. There are probably not less than *six thousand* children who now enjoy daily instruction. These are of all ages under twelve. All classes feel an interest in *knowledge*. While the schools previously established are flourishing in newness of life, additional ones are springing up in every quarter. Sabbath schools, adult and infant schools, day and evening schools, are all crowded. A teacher in a Sabbath school in St. John’s informed us, that the increase in that school immediately after emancipation was so sudden and great, that he could

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compare it to nothing but the rising of the mercury, when the thermometer is removed *out of the shade into the sun.*"

This does not look like retrogression in a mental point of view. Their moral and religious improvement has kept pace with their intellectual. We could adduce abundant testimony, in attestation of this pleasing fact. Referring to this subject, Messrs. Thome and Kimball, observe, "that one of the prominent features of *regenerated* Antigua, is its education. An intelligent religion, and a religious education are the twin glories of this emancipated colony."

Rev. Mr. MORRISH, a Moravian Missionary, has declared, "Insurrection or revenge is in no case dreaded, not even by those planters who were most cruel in the time of Slavery. My family go to sleep every night with the doors unlocked, and we fear neither violence nor robbery."

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Messrs. Thome and Kimball further remark: "Emancipation is regarded by all classes as a great blessing to the island.

"There is not a class, or party, or sect, who do not esteem the abolition of slavery as a *special blessing to them*. The rich, because it relieved them of "property" which was fast becoming a disgrace, as it had always been a vexation and a tax, and because it has emancipated them from the terrors of insurrections, which

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kept them all their life time subject to bondage. The poor whites—because it lifted off from them the yoke of civil oppression. The free colored population—because it gave the death blow to the prejudice that crushed them, and opened the prospect of social, civil, and political equality with the whites. The *slaves*—because it broke open their dungeon, led them out to liberty, and gave them, in one munificent donation, their wives, their children, their bodies, their souls—every thing!”

In proof of the social improvement of the negroes, we ought, perhaps, to have stated, that a considerable number of those formerly held as chattels, are now the owners of landed property, and men of comparative wealth, whose complexion is no barrier whatever to the occupancy of that social position, to which their virtues entitle them.

But again, the falling off of the staple products of the W. Indies, is exhibited in bold relief as an evidence of the ruinous effects of the Emancipation movement. Now, we have ample evidence to sustain us in the declaration that the alleged commercial declension and the diminution in exports, &c., which by and by, are quite exaggerated, are owing, in a great degree, to the previous existence of slavery, and also that the subsequent conduct of the planters themselves, has something to do with the matter. We speak particularly of Jamaica, as this island is alleged to have been ruined by the passage of the Emancipation Act. Long before

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the slaves received their freedom, there were visible many of the evils now said to be caused by emancipation. The commercial interests of the island suffered materially from the numerous servile wars which afflicted it, during the existence of slavery. But this is apparently lost sight of by slaveholders and their apologists in this country. We also learn that the resistance by the local legislature, to every measure of the British government, for the benefit of the slaves, was the occasion of a great revolt in 1831 and '32, by which a great deal of valuable property was destroyed. This property became mortgaged, and the owners, being involved in pecuniary embarrassment, found it wholly impossible to avert their impending doom. Shortly after, the Emancipation Act, deprived them of their slaves. But had the planters employed them at reasonable wages, instead of forcing them to work for a remuneration wholly inadequate, *thus depriving them of the principal incentive to labor*; had they been kind and affectionate, instead of cruel, haughty, and overbearing in their new relation to the slaves, Jamaica would have presented to-day, a different aspect.

Suffer me, just here to read an extract of a letter published a few months ago, in the *Tribune* and written by a resident. The writer remarks:

“Born in the principal agricultural parish of this island, and having lived there almost all my life—a period of thirty-two years—I am fully conversant with all I have written about;

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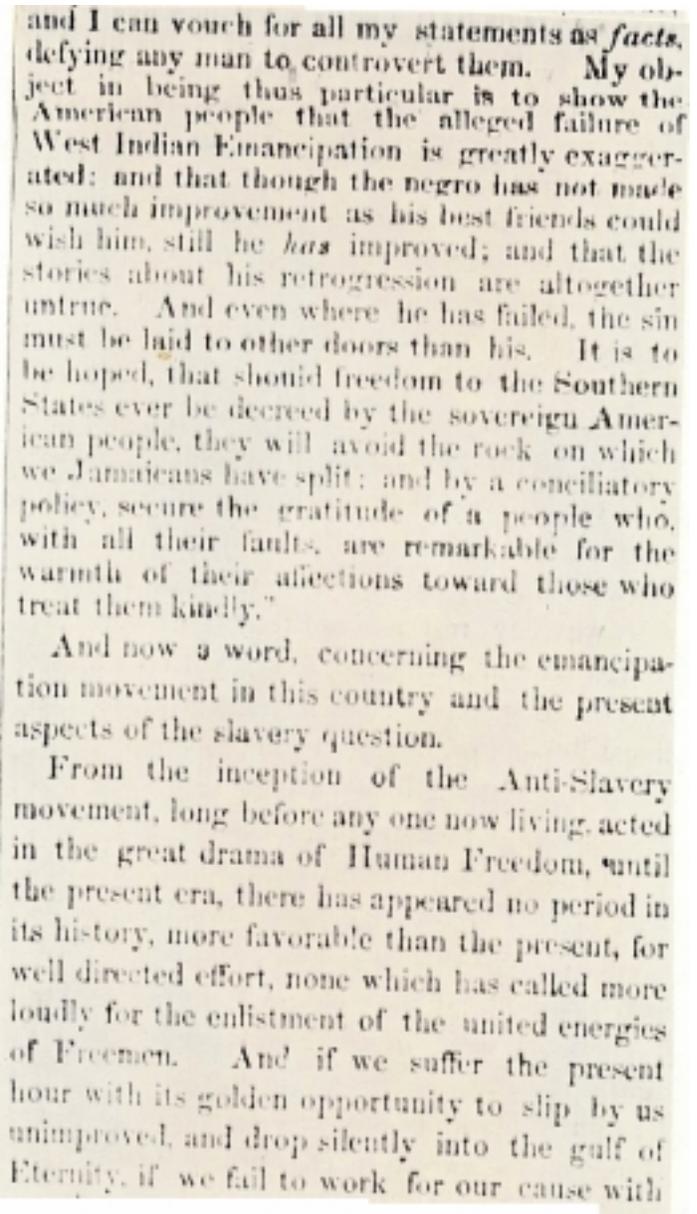
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And now a word, concerning the emancipation movement in this country and the present aspects of the slavery question.

From the inception of the Anti-Slavery movement, long before any one now living, acted in the great drama of Human Freedom, until the present era, there has appeared no period in its history, more favorable than the present, for well directed effort, none which has called more loudly for the enlistment of the united energies of Freemen. And if we suffer the present hour with its golden opportunity to slip by us unimproved, and drop silently into the gulf of Eternity, if we fail to work for our cause with



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a zeal commensurate with its solemn significance, the future historian of this sublime movement, will note the fact to our shame, that when our services were most needed, when the exigencies of our cause, demanded the highest type of Anti-Slavery development, we slumbered and slept, proved recreant to Liberty, false to our country and our God. Like all other causes which have for their object the amelioration of Man's condition, and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, the cause of Freedom has encountered many obstacles calculated to impede its progress. But it must triumph. The principles which underlie the Abolition Movement are not of earthly origin. We believe in their *ultimate* triumph. The undying truth of Man's Equality, of his Right to Liberty, is written by the hand of Deity, upon the bright, enduring page of Immortality. Yes! there is it written! Thence it flashes forth its glory and its grandeur. There was it written when the fiat "*let us make Man.*" proceeded from the triune God. And it is madness, in any man, to conceive that he can blot out with his puny hand those ever living Principles which Heaven has stamped with the impress of Immortality. The enemy may continue to preach and practice the "democratic" doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, he may pile up his Nebraska and Fugitive Slave Bills, till they reach the heavens, but we receive aid and comfort from all such demonstrations. God maketh the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath will

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And now a glance or two at the present aspect of the Slave Power, and we shall have done.

We have incidentally adverted to the recent developments of the Slave Power, as the legitimate effects of the democratic doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, as developed in the Nebraska Bill. These are enough to cause the coldness of the grave to creep over us. But slaveholders have not yet arrived at the perfection of their iniquity. The passage of the infamous Nebraska bill, is but one of a series of measures to be enacted for the aggrandizement of the Slave Power.

The South is determined to exercise *undisputed* control of the American Government, which theoretically pronounces all men free and equal. Her extension scheme is being made public, with an audacity commensurate with its Heaven-daring iniquity. Look at the picture! She demands entire possession of the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western States of the Union, as well as of all the Territories. She demands the repeal of all restrictions interposing an obstacle to the introduction of slavery into these States. Slaveholders affirm, in reference to this demand, that if slavery can have a legal and constitutional existence in the Southern States, it can have in the Northern States, as "the Constitution knows no North, no South, no East, no West." And in this they are right. The Constitution,

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ten to the music of her lion's roar, not all the bayonets or bloodhounds of this Fourth of July Country, would prove effective in dragging them into the dungeon of American Slavery. They could clap their unfettered hands to Heaven, and none dare molest them or make them afraid. By this decision, Wm. and Ellen Crafts, of noble memory, stand to-day upon the free ground of England, and with defiant tone, they challenge the President of the United States, and the army and navy at his bidding, to lift up one finger against them, while, with hearts attuned to melody, they chant the inspiring anthem, GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!—  
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the Quakers. It found way into their churches, as well as their private domicils. Unlike some of the hypocritical religionists of the present day, they deemed it a question fit to be discussed in the sanctuary dedicated to the most High. Their tender consciences would not suffer them to listen unmoved, to the dreadful stories which fell upon their ears. A half dozen among the most influential, assembled in London, on the 6th of July, 1783, "to consider what step they should take for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave Trade on the coast of Africa." They did not, as do some of the religious bodies in America, attempt to lull to sleep their conscientious scruples, by the mere passage of flaming resolutions. They did not suffer the matter to rest here. They agitated it in their yearly Meetings, and made it a prominent theme of discussion. Not only were the Quakers of England interested, but those in America also. There were not so many timid doughfaces among them as at the present time.

They were not afraid of the anathemas of a gain saying world. They cried aloud, and spared not; they showed the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob, their sins.

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only to interest himself further in the subject, but to interest others. He was aware, that, in order to insure success, his labors must secure the co-operation of others. He left the theatre of his studies. Upon meeting with the six Quakers already alluded to, they engaged his services. He called upon Mr. WILBERFORCE, who, with characteristic zeal and benevolence, exerted all his influence and talent in the righteous undertaking. Meanwhile, Mr. Clarkson went to Bristol, where on board the slave ships he saw enough to convince him of the indelible horrors of the Slave Trade. At length, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, and others, became interested through his instrumentality. He enlightened their minds, and fired their hearts.— He seemed, indeed, the chosen instrument in this great work, and with untiring zeal, did he prosecute the object of his mission.

And why talk of whips and chains to-day? Why dwell upon the crushing cruelties, and atrocious iniquities of American slavery, on this, the Anniversary of West India Emancipation? It is because slavery does not like to be disturbed on any day, and especially on a day consecrated to freedom. Slavery loves the darkness. It dreads proximity to the light of day. Every ray of light, however feeble, that penetrates the dense darkness of its kingdom, is watched with a vigilance that never tires, and a jealousy that never slumbers. It creeps under the wing of midnight, and fancies itself intact from the indignant and annihilating frown of truth and justice. Hence, we feel it our duty, whenever

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an opportunity presents itself, to penetrate its darkness, tear off its midnight covering, and hold it above the horizon, in all its native hideousness, where the sunlight can flash upon its every feature. Let the monster be portrayed in its true colors, and it cannot withstand the concentrated indignation of the civilized world. There is about it, no inherent vitality, no recuperative energy, and its terrible doom cannot be averted. God has, in all ages, employed human instrumentalities in the accomplishment of the grandest results. And we firmly believe, that the intellect, and conscience, and humanity, and religion of the indignant world, will yet elaborate some mighty movement, which shall sweep into the abyss of ruin, this incarnation of Death and Hell, as though a whirlwind, red with the avenger's blood, had, in all its fury, breathed upon it.

In discoursing to-day upon the West India Emancipation Movement, it may be appropriate to notice the allegation sometimes brought by the people of the United States against the people of Great Britain, that the latter, until within a comparatively recent period, regarded with apparent unconcern, the existence of slavery, within their own dominions, and, indeed, abetted the system down to 1832. The allegation is unfairly made. There are extenuating circumstances in the case, which are lost sight of by those hypercritical and hypocritical Americans, who see nothing to commend in the British Government, and who, with their faces

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stretched to an almost indefinite tension, and amid a profusion of lacteal demonstration, profess to regret the inactivity which characterized the people of Britain with reference to the slavery question, down to the year just specified. They seem to forget that what the British knew of slavery, was not gathered from the field of observation and experience. They got a glimpse of the slave, but at a distance quite remote.— They had no correct apprehension of its iniquity, no vivid realization of its honors. They heard not the crack of the slave-driver's lash, mingling with the heart-rending screams of the slave mother, plundered of her babe. They had not the poor, heart-broken sufferers in their midst, to gaze upon, and warm their instinctive hatred into life. They could behold none of those terrible auction-block realities, which are of every day occurrence in this Christian land—scenes which are almost sufficient to cause the pallid cheek of death to crimson to life.— They could not hear the wailing of the hunted and recaptured fugitive. They had no ministers of Christ snatched from the pulpit, no pastors sundered from their flocks to appease the wrath of the insatiate tyrant. They had, in their presence, no women hunted by trained blood-hounds, no men shot in the shoulders, and finally drowned by the dogs; no, they had not this bloody picture to gaze upon. Could they have seen the slave, and heard his stifled, sepulchral groanings, his chains would soon have melted beneath the burning incense of their

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sympathy, and the ire of their wrath.

But, at length, the thrilling narrative of his sufferings and his wrongs, flew upon the wings of the wind. It fell upon Britain's ear, and sank into Britain's heart. It was not at first believed. The masses of the common people believed it a lying report of the missionaries.— They began to examine the subject with intense anxiety. Their conscience roused them to activity. Day after day, the most shocking reports reach the shores of Britain. The humane and liberal minded declared, that if these reports were not true, their falsity should be satisfactorily demonstrated; and if true, the subject demanded national interference.

A West India planter had brought with him to London, a slave who had been the victim of the most shocking cruelties. His body was completely lacerated by the whip; his head had been shamefully beaten with a pistol; in fact, he was so disabled as to be of no service to his master. He was left to take care of himself.— The poor fellow, in this forlorn predicament applied for relief to a surgeon, the brother of GRANVILLE SHARPE. He was healed through medical skill and attention, and went at length to work. His master accidentally met and recognized him, and upon seeing him look so well, endeavored to force him again into his service. Granville Sharp, his noble benefactor, interposed, declaring he would protect him. This gentleman was informed that the laws and the decisions of the Judiciary were against him,

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and, also, that the master could recover his slave, despite his interference. Sharpe declared as the radical abolitionists of to-day, of the Gerrit Smith and Goodell stamp, that NO HUMAN ENACTMENT COULD POSSIBLY LEGALIZE SUCH INIQUITY. He was reasoned with by the lawyers, and solicited to desist in his fruitless endeavor to defend the slave. Nothing daunted, he applied himself, for over two years, with unwearied assiduity, to the study of English law, and learned, to his entire satisfaction, that the decisions relied on, in support of the master's claims, were wholly incompatible with the principles which formed the basis of English law. He saw clearly that these decisions differed from former decisions, and so expressed himself.

He was aware of the tremendous odds against him. The King's Attorney General and his Solicitor General had affirmed that slavery was a legal institution. The system had, indeed, been practically "legalized" for three quarters of a century. It was known both at home and abroad, that Parliament and the Royal Family regarded the institution with comparative favor, and with it the almost illimitable commercial interests of England were immediately identified.

To these stubborn facts, Mr. Sharpe was not a stranger. He resolved, however, despite all opposition, to pursue the even tenor of his way. He boldly affirmed and re-affirmed that slavery was prohibited in the British Constitution. At length, in the ever memorable year, 1772, the

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logic of the slaveholders is much better than their humanity. They argue thus: Slaves are acknowledged by the majority at the North, as our property. They are ranked with our horses and sheep and oxen. We can carry the latter into the Northern States and sell them, because they are our property. And so long as Northern men regard our slaves as our property, so long as they acknowledge our constitutional right to hold them as such, they cannot consistently interfere with us in the transit or disposition of this species of our property, more than in any other. Hence, we demand the repeal of those statutes which prevent us from bringing our slaves, as such, with our horses, cows, and other cattle into the Northern States. This, then, is another measure to be enacted, for the “*necessary expansion*” of slavery.

We might allude to others, the annexation of Hayti, the enslavement of its now free and independent people, the conquest of Cuba, the subjugation of the whole western continent, the revival of the slave trade, and so on; but we must hasten on.

Yes, fellow-citizens, a few short months ago, and the angel of freedom fancied herself secure, at least in the wilderness of the far off West.— There she hoped to remain undisturbed, intact from the foul beak of despotism. But her hopes now seem blasted. Slavery must have room in which to breathe. The doctrine of “*necessary expansion*” is now being advocated by the slavery propagandists with commendable

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enthusiasm. Freedom must not now be allowed to live even in the wilderness. See the savage hordes of desperadoes, invading the territory, which was, we have been told, forever consecrated to the spirit of liberty! The press thrown into the river! The sacredness of the ballot-box destroyed!! The pulpit overthrown!!! Ministers of the Gospel driven from the territory to make room for marauders!!!!—Men, for the crime of being born with the north star twinkling over them, hunted like wild beasts, and visited with the most cruel indignities! Bowie-knives, bayonets and bludgeons, the propagators of republican principles in our land of the free and home of the Brave! Hail, Columbia, happy land! Three cheers for the Fourth of July and the declaration that all men are born free! Liberty uttering in sepulchral tones the Macedonian cry, come, help me, and George Bancroft, the American historian, responding to the startling appeal, in the nonsensical Fourth of July declaration, “OUR COUNTRY IS BOUND TO ALLURE THE WORLD TO LIBERTY, BY THE BEAUTY OF ITS EXAMPLE!”

Is not this a slaveholding nation? One unacquainted with the facts of the case, would judge from this choice sentence we have quoted, that this is a land of Freedom, unpolluted by the foul footprints of the Tyrants who arrogate to themselves the power to “crush out” the humanity of millions, and reduce them to a level with the brute. “Allure the world to *Liberty.*” indeed! What is the example of the

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United States? Where is the beauty? Is there any thing very beautiful in whipping women, burning them with red hot irons, setting bloodhounds upon their track, tearing their infant children from them, and selling them with horses and other cattle? Is there any thing very beautiful in *this* example? This is a government which makes it a crime, punishable with fine and imprisonment, for a man or woman to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked. No man can be a Christian and obey its demoniacal enactments. Would Mr. Bancroft have the world imitate the example of the United States, when she snatched a minister of the cross, from his Heaven-appointed labors, and by the help of rum, and bayonets, and cannons, and men lost to all sense of shame, or honor, thrust him into the hell of Slavery? The *beauty* of its example! Is there any thing beautiful in theft, and murder, and prostitution, and all the black catalogue of American Slavery? Any thing specially beautiful in our chains, and thumb-screws, and bloodhounds, and branding-irons? Any thing very delectable in the contemplation of the slave code? O what a beautiful example does America set before the world! But Mr. Bancroft says, we are alluring the world to Liberty. How? By legislating in favor of Slavery? By pulling down the old barns of Slavery, and building greater? Where has Mr. Bancroft been living, that, with all his wisdom and erudition, he has not found out, that the great object of this Government, *as*

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*developed in its policy*, is the extension, the consolidation, and the perpetuity of a system of robbery, and plunder, and oppression, aptly characterized the vilest that ever saw the sun.

The nation is ruled by a horde of despots, who would, if possible hurl the Eternal from his throne, in order to get at the heart's blood of the negro. The influence of the American Government abroad is only an influence for evil. Our theory is well enough; but our practice is as far removed from it as the east is from the west. While making loud professions in behalf of Liberty, no nation under heaven is so powerful an ally of Despotism. We are a hissing and a by-word among all civilized nations. Even the heathen blushes at our inconsistencies.— These inconsistencies, are almost sufficient to cause the stocks and stones they worship to tremble into life. We may preach about Freedom forever; but until the three and a half millions of men, women and children, now writhing in the dust, are emancipated from their thralldom, all our nonsensical rhapsodies about free thought, and free discussion, and free institutions—all the unmeaning twaddle of Fourth of July orators, concerning the “beauty of our example” —will be regarded by the “world,” to which Mr. Bancroft alludes, as a sounding brass, and a thinking cymbal.

And now, fellow citizens, you will allow me to remark, that if we desire the speedy dissolution of Slavery, we must work in the right direction. Experience has abundantly demon-

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[Suffer] me, just here to read an extract of a letter published a few months ago, in the *Tribune* and written by a resident. The writer remarks:

“Born in the principal agriculture parish of this island, and having lived there almost all my life—a period of thirty-two years—I am fully conversant with all I have written about; and I can vouch for all my statements as *facts*, defying any man to controvert them. My object in being thus particular is to show the

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American people that the alleged failure of West Indian Emancipation is greatly exaggerated and that though the negro has not made so much improvement as his best friends could wish him, still he *has* improved; and that the slaves about his retrogression are altogether untrue. And even where he has failed, the sin must be laid to other doors than his. It is to be hoped, that should freedom to the Southern States ever be decreed by the sovereign American people, they will avoid the rock on which we Jamaicans have split; and by a conciliatory policy, secure the gratitude of a people who, with all their faults, are remarkable for the warmth of their affections toward those who treat them kindly.

And now a word, concerning the emancipation movement in this country and the present aspects of the slavery question.

From the inception of the Anti-Slavery movement, long before any one now living, acted in the great drama of Human Freedom, until the present era, there has appeared no period in its history, more favorable than the present, for well directed effort, none which has called more loudly for the enlistment of the united energies of Freemen. And if we suffer the present hour with its golden opportunity to slip by us unimproved, and drop silently into the gulf of Eternity, if we fail to work for our cause with a zeal commensurate with its solemn significance, the future historian of this sublime movement will note the fact to our shame, that when our

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And now a glance or two at the present aspect of the Slave Power, and we shall have

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We have incidentally adverted to the recent developments of the Slave Power, as the legitimate effects of the democratic doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, as developed in the Nebraska Bill. These are enough to cause the coldness of the grave to creep over us. But slaveholders have not yet arrived at the perfection of their iniquity. The passage of the infamous Nebraska bill, is but one of a series of measures to be enacted for the aggrandizement of the Slave Power.

The South is determined to exercise *undisputed* control of the American Government, which theoretically pronounces all men free and equal. Her extension scheme is being made public, with an audacity commensurate with its Heaven-daring iniquity. Look at the picture! She demands entire possession of the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western States of the Union, as well as of all the Territories. She demands the repeal of all restrictions interposing an obstacle to the introduction of slavery into these States. Slaveholders affirm, in reference to this demand, that if slavery can have a legal and constitutional existence in the Southern States, it can have in the Northern States, as "the Constitution knows no North, no South, no East, no West." And in this they are right. The Constitution, in defiance of the established rules of legal interpretation, has been made to recognize the idea, that man can hold property in man. The

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question was brought to its final issue. A slave, named SOMMERSET, from one of the colonies, was taken to London by his master, and escaped.— He was arrested, at the instance of his master, and upon the eve of being shipped to the West Indies, was brought before the highest court in the realm, on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Granville Sharpe determined that Lord MANSFIELD, who was then Chief Justice, should render a righteous decision. An attempt was made to divert him from the real issue, and bully him into silence, by a reference to precedents, and former judicial decisions. Law and the administration of justice, claimed his attention.— The trial was repeatedly delayed, and numerous attempts made to evade the point in issue. But all these attempts were in vain. Granville Sharpe was not the man to be driven from the field in which he was to achieve so signal a victory. The Chief Justice knew not what to do. He made more than one suggestion from the bench, during the trial, shewing how the case might be abandoned, but Mr. Sharpe was inexorable. Mansfield sank under the mighty weight of argument, bro't to bear upon the question. He clearly saw that the Philanthropist was in the Right, and that the previous decisions of the courts, were wholly incompatible with the established Principles of English jurisprudence. He did not wish to have the decision of the case pressed upon him. He would gladly have purchased the slave, and liberated him, had this been sufficient to satisfy Mr.

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Sharpe, and the noble men by whom he was surrounded. But it was for the triumph of a grand Principle that they so manfully and persistently struggled. He did not as we have before remarked, desire, if it could be avoided, to render a decision laying aside the precedents which stared him boldly in the face. But the hour came. He must decide the great question. There was no alternative. Mr. Sharpe demanded judgment in the case, and the decision affirming that EVERY MAN IN ENGLAND IS A FREEMAN UNDER THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION, was, at length extorted from him. "Immemorial usage," said the learned Judge, "preserves the memory of positive law, long after all traces of the occasion, reason, authority, and time of its introduction, are lost; and in a case so odious as the condition of slaves, must be taken strictly; (tracing the subject to natural principles, the claims of Slavery can never be supported.) The power claimed by this return never was in use here. We cannot say the cause set forth by this return is allowed or approved of by the laws of this kingdom; and, therefore, the man must be discharged."

From that hour to the present, the air of England, has been unpolluted by the foul miasma of Slavery. If the three millions of Slaves in the United States, or the millions elsewhere, could but touch the shores of Britain, once listen to the music of her lion's roar, not all the bayonets or bloodhounds of this Fourth of July Country, would prove effective in drug-

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ging them into the dungeon of American Slavery. They could clap their unfettered hands to Heaven, and none dare molest them or make them afraid. By this decision, Wm. and Ellen Crafts, of noble memory, stand to-day upon the free ground of England, and with defiant tone, they challenge the President of the United States, and the army and navy at his bidding, to lift up one finger against them, while, with hearts attuned to melody they chant the inspiring anthem, GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!—  
*Franklin Pierce may remove Gov. Reeder from Kansas in compliance with the edict of the Slave Power, but he cannot remove Wm. and Ellen Crafts from England. Let him try it.*

The decision to which we have adverted, did not abolish the system in the West Indies. It merely reversed the decisions of the past, affirming the legality of the relation between master and slave, and established the Principle, that slaves could not breathe in England. But the agitation once begun, could not be crushed. The impressible sympathies of the People were awakened; many waters could not quench them, nor all the floods drown them. The horrors of the Slave Trade, the manner in which slaves were obtained from the African coast, for the West India market, this was a subject which began to attract the interest and sympathy of the Quakers. It found way into their churches, as well as their private domicils. Unlike some of the hypocritical religionists of the present

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day, they deemed it a question fit to be discussed in the sanctuary dedicated to the most High. Their tender consciences would not suffer them to listen unmoved, to the dreadful stories which fell upon their ears. A half dozen among the most influential, assembled in London, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, 1783, "to consider what step they should take for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of he Slave Trade on the coast of Africa." They did not, as do some of the religious bodies in America, attempt lull to sleep their conscientious scruples, by the mere passage of flaming resolutions. They did not suffer the matter to rest here. They agitated it in their yearly Meetings, and made it a prominent theme of discussion. Not only were the Quakers of England interested, but those in America also. There were not so many timid doughfaces among them as at the present time.

They were not afraid of the anathemas of a gain saying world. They cried aloud, and spared not; they showed the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob, their sins.

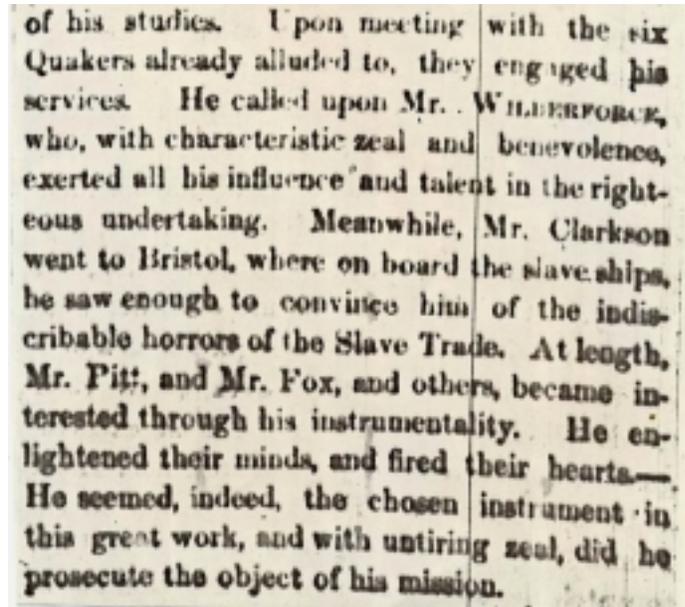
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of his studies. Upon meeting with the six Quakers already alluded to, they engaged his services. He called upon Mr. WILBERFORCE, who, with characteristic zeal and benevolence, exerted all his influence and talent in the righteous undertaking. Meanwhile, Mr. Clarkson went to Bristol, where on board the slaveships, he saw enough to convince him of the indelible horrors of the Slave Trade. At length, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, and others, became interested through his instrumentality. He enlightened their minds, and fired their hearts.— He seemed, indeed, the chosen instrument in this great work, and with untiring zeal, did he prosecute the object of his mission.



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