

The Liberator.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

REPORTED BY JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.

The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in the city of New York on Tuesday, May 6th, at the Church of the Puritans, and at the Cooper Institute. The first meeting took place at the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. CHEEVER'S,) commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. A very large and highly intelligent audience was in attendance, the church being entirely filled, and among them were many who, years ago, enlisted for the war, and have been spared to see the "beginning of the end" for which they have so long and so faithfully labored. On the platform were seated the President of the Society, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, WM. GOODELL, WM. WELLS BROWN, THEODORE TILTON, Rev. Mr. POST, of Jersey City, Rev. R. M. HATFIELD, of Brooklyn, and other well-known friends of the Anti-Slavery cause.

OPENING REMARKS OF MR. GARRISON.

At the hour above mentioned, the President called the meeting to order, and said:

I congratulate the audience on the day and the occasion on which we are assembled together. I congratulate you upon the tidings which have come to us from Yorktown; but there is to be something more glorious than any retreat of the enemy either from Yorktown or any other part of our country; and that is, the retreat of slavery from our country and the world. (Applause.) I congratulate the American Anti-Slavery Society on being permitted to enjoy the privilege of holding one of its annual meetings in this consecrated house; and had the same generous and Christian spirit been exhibited toward it from the beginning till now, there had never been any controversy of the American Anti-Slavery Society with the churches or the clergy of the land. Our movement is emphatically, radically, thoroughly, a Christian movement, in the primitive meaning of the word. We have endeavored, ever since its organization, to defend the Gospel of Christ as a freedom-loving and freedom-giving Gospel, and to disclaim all assertions as false and blasphemous which would attribute either to God or to Christ the responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery in our land.

Without further preliminary remarks, I will read a few selections from the Scriptures, which seem to me peculiarly applicable to the present state of the country.

Mr. Garrison then read passages of Scripture as follows:—

THE SIN AND GUILT OF THE NATION.

Son of man, say unto her, Thou art the land that is not cleansed, nor rained upon in the day of indignation. There is a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they have devoured souls. Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they shewed difference between the clean and the unclean. Her princes in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain.

The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. Therefore have I poured out my indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord.

THE CAUSE OF THE PRESENT CIVIL WAR.

Thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine.

Thus saith the Lord: A sword, a sword is sharpened, and also furnished. It is sharpened to make a sore slaughter; it is furnished that it may glitter: should we then make mirth? Cry and howl, son of man; for it shall be upon my people: it is made bright, it is wrapped up for the slaughter.

THE SPECIAL PUNISHMENT OF THE SOUTH.

Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop thy word toward the south, and prophesy against the forest of the south field; and say to the forest of the south, Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every dry tree: the flaming flame shall not be quenched, and all faces from the south to the north shall be burned therein. And all flesh shall see that I the Lord have kindled it: it shall not be quenched.

Wherefore, O harlot, hear the word of the Lord: Thus saith the Lord God: Because thy filthiness was poured out, and thy nakedness discovered through thy whoredoms with thy lovers, and with all the idols of thy abominations, and by the blood of thy children which thou didst give unto them: behold, therefore, I will gather all thy lovers, with whom thou hast taken pleasure, and all them that thou hast loved, with all them that thou hast hated; I will even gather them round about against thee; and will discover thy nakedness unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness; and I will give thee blood in fury and jealousy. And I will also give thee into their hand, and they shall throw down thine eminent place, and shall break down thy high places: they shall strip thee also of thy clothes, and shall take thy fair jewels, and leave thee naked and bare. They shall also bring up a company against thee, and they shall stone thee with stones, and thrust thee through with their swords, and they shall burn thine houses with fire, and execute judgments upon thee.

THE DUTY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings.

Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke.

THE BLESSED CONSEQUENCES OF EMANCIPATION.

When shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

In accordance with the usages of the Society, an opportunity was given to any one who wished to offer vocal prayer, and Rev. Mr. POST, of Jersey City, came forward, and offered a fervent prayer to the God of the oppressed for his blessing and guidance.

In the absence of the Treasurer of the Society, WM. I. BOWDITCH, Esq., of Boston, his report was read by OLIVER JOHNSON, as follows:—

ANNUAL ACCOUNT

Of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Table with financial details: To publication of Standard, for Lecturing \$9,983 85; Agents and office expenses, 4,550 39; To balance to now account, \$14,534 24; Ca. By balance from old account, \$1,086 98; By donations, subscriptions to Standard, and sale of Tracts, 13,447 26; Total \$14,534 24.

(E. E.) May 1st, 1862.

WM. I. BOWDITCH.

I have examined the above account, with the vouchers, and find the additions correctly made, and the balance on hand as stated.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

The Report was laid on the table, to be taken up at the business meeting.

The PRESIDENT then said—It was the desire of the Executive Committee, that our friend GERRIT SMITH, of Peterboro', should be here to-day, and be one of the speakers on this occasion; but he has written us a letter, stating that it is not convenient for him to be with us, and expressing his sentiments in regard to the state of the country in brief terms; and I will ask Mr. JOHNSON if he will read the letter to the audience.

Mr. JOHNSON, in compliance with this request, read the letter. [It was published in last week's Liberator.]

Mr. GARRISON then read the Statement of the Executive Committee, as published in the Liberator of last week; the reading of which was listened to with earnest attention, interrupted only by the applause which some of the passages called forth, which was especially marked at the reference to ENGLAND.

THE PRESIDENT—There are a great many people at the North who seem to be exceedingly troubled in regard to the disposal of the slaves when they shall be emancipated. What shall be done with them? they anxiously inquire. I am happy to introduce, as the first speaker, one who is abundantly qualified to give a full and complete answer to that question; for I take it that no one is so well qualified to speak at that point as one who has himself been a chattel slave; and that we are to ask the slaves themselves what are their ideas of justice, and what they want at our hands, rather than undertake to dispose of them without any regard to their views or feelings whatever. There are two questions—What shall be done with the slaves if emancipated? and, What shall be done with the slaveholders, whether the slaves are emancipated or not? My friend WM. WELLS BROWN will now, as one formerly a slave, answer those questions.

SPEECH OF WM. WELLS BROWN.

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: For the last thirty years, the colored people have taken the greatest interest in the agitation of the abolition question, as carried on by this Society. We have watched with hope and fear as impediment after impediment has been thrown in the way of its progress. Among the many obstacles which have been brought to bear against emancipation, one of the most formidable has been the series of objections urged against it upon what has been supposed to be the slave's want of appreciation of liberty, and his ability to provide for himself in a state of freedom; and now that slavery seems to be near its end, these objections are multiplying, and the cry is heard all over the land, "What shall be done with the slave, if freed?" I propose to use the short time allowed me this morning in examining these phases of the question.

It has been clearly demonstrated, I think, that the enslaved of the South are as capable of self-support as any other class of people in the country. It is well known, that throughout the entire South, a large class of slaves have been for years accustomed to hire their time from their owners. Many of these have paid very high prices for the privilege. Some able mechanics have been known to pay as high as \$600 per annum, besides providing themselves with food and clothing; and this class of slaves, by their industry, have taken care of themselves so well, and their appearance has been so respectable, that many of the States have passed laws, prohibiting masters from letting their slaves out to themselves, because, as it was said, it made the slaves dissatisfied to see so many of their fellows well-provided, and accumulating something for themselves in the way of pocket-money. The Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, whose antecedents have not been such as to lead to the suspicion that he favors the free colored men, or the idea of giving to the slaves their liberty, in his "Southside View," unconsciously and unintentionally gives a very valuable statement upon this particular point. Dr. Adams says:—

"A slave woman having had \$300 stolen from her by a white man, her master was questioned in court as to the probability of her having had so much money. The master said that he not infrequently had borrowed fifty and a hundred dollars from her himself, and added that she was always very strict as to his promised time of payment."

There was a slave woman who had not only kept every agreement with her master—paying him every cent she had promised—but had accumulated \$800 toward purchasing her liberty, and it was stolen from her, not by a black man, but, as Dr. Adams says, by a white man.

But one of the clearest demonstrations of the ability of the slave to provide for himself in a state of freedom is to be found in the prosperous condition of the large free colored population of the Southern States. Maryland has 80,000, Virginia 70,000, and the other slave States have a large number. These free people have all been slaves, or they are the descendants of those who were once slaves; what they have gained has been acquired in spite of the public opinion and laws of the South, in spite of prejudice, and everything. They have acquired a large amount of property; and it is this industry, this sobriety, this intelligence, and this wealth of the free colored people of the South, that has created so much prejudice on the

part of slaveholders against them. They have felt that the very presence of a colored man, looking so gently and in such a prosperous condition, made the slaves unhappy and discontented. In the Southern Rights Convention which assembled at Baltimore, June 8th, 1860, a resolution was adopted, calling on the Legislature to pass a law driving the free colored people out of the State. Nearly every speaker, Mr. President, took the ground that the free colored people must be driven out to make the slave's obedience more secure. Judge Mason, in his speech, said, "It is the thrifty and well-to-do free negroes, that are seen by our slaves, that make them dissatisfied." A similar appeal was made to the Legislature of Tennessee. Judge Catron, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a long and able letter to the Nashville Union, opposed the driving out of the colored people. He said they were among the best mechanics, the best artisans, and the most industrious laborers in the State; and that to drive them out would be an injury to the State itself. This is certainly good evidence in their behalf.

The State of Arkansas passed a law driving the free colored people out of the State, and they were driven out, three years ago. The Democratic press howled upon the heels of the free blacks until they had all been expatriated; but after they had been driven out, the Little Rock Gazette—a Democratic paper—made a candid acknowledgment with regard to the character of the free colored people. It said:—

"Most of the exiled free negroes are industrious and respectable. One of them, Henry King, who has been known from our boyhood, and take the greatest pleasure in testifying to his good character. The community in which he casts his lot will be blessed with that noblest work of God, an honest man."

Yet these free colored people were driven out of the State, and those who were unable to go, as many of the women and children were, were reduced to slavery, and there they are tolling in chains and slavery to-day.

The New Orleans True Delta opposed the passage of a similar law by the State of Louisiana. Among other things, it said:—

"There are a large free colored population here, correct in their general deportment, honorable in their intercourse with society, and free from reproach so far as the laws are concerned, not surpassed in the industriousness of their lives by any equal number of persons, in any place North or South."

That I consider testimony of real value. I produce this, Mr. Chairman, because there is nothing entitled to greater weight on this point than the testimony of the people of the slave States themselves.

Dr. Nehemiah Adams, whom I have already quoted, also testifies to the good character of the free colored people; but he does it unintentionally; it was not a part of the programme; how it slipped in I cannot tell. Here it is, however, from page 41 of his "Southside View":—

"A prosecuting officer, who had six or eight counties in his district, told me that, during eight years of service, he had made out about two thousand bills of indictment, of which not more than twelve were against colored persons." (Applause.)

Hatred of the free colored people, and abuse of them, have always been popular with the pro-slavery people of this country; yet, an American Senator, from one of the Western States—a man who never lost an opportunity to vilify and traduce the colored man, and who, in his last canvass for a seat in the United States Senate, argued that the slaves were better off in slavery than they would be if set free, and declared that the blacks were unable to take care of themselves, while enjoying liberty—died, a short time since, \$12,000 in debt to a black man, who was the descendant of a slave. (Applause.) Thus, those who have fattened upon us, often turn round and traduce us. Reputation is, indeed, dear to every nation and race; but to us, the colored people of this country, who have so many obstacles to surmount, it is doubly dear.

"Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands; But he who filches from me my good name, Robs me of that which nothing enriches him, And makes me poor indeed." (Applause.)

In the District of Columbia, since the abolition of slavery, it is found that, according to their numbers, the larger proportion of the property-holders are among the negroes. Figures, though we are told that they very often lie, are sometimes found to tell the truth. The Tammany Hall Young Men's Democratic Committee of the city of New York, on the 13th of March, 1862, passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That we are opposed to emancipating negro slaves, unless on some plan of colonization, in order that they may not come in contact with the white man's labor."

Now, Mr. President, this resolution is based upon the supposition that the slaves, if freed, will all flock to the North; and that is a very popular cry with the pro-slavery people of the free States, because they know that nothing would be so effective to the accomplishment of their ends as to make the laboring whites of the North believe that they will be overrun by the negroes, if slavery is abolished. Now, I hold to the right of the black man, whether liberated or not, to go where he pleases, to make himself a home in any part of the country he chooses: but I do not believe that, if slavery is abolished, the slaves will flock into the free States. I do not believe it, because I have a reason for not believing it. Look at the large free colored population in the slave States! See how odious are the laws they live under! See how cruelly they have been oppressed! Why, the State of Virginia long had a law on her statute-books, and has now, unless it has been very recently repealed, taxing the free colored people one dollar per head, over and above any other class in the community, by which the State of Virginia put into her treasury, in one year, \$50,000, taken from the colored people. Maryland had a similar law. The Gulf States have been still more severe on this class of their population; and yet the free colored people have remained in the Southern States. Why did they not come North? Because they were unwilling to leave the congenial climate of the sunny South for the snowy hills of the rugged North; and, where you have found ten colored persons coming from the South to the North, nine out of the ten have been fugitive slaves, flying from the South because they could not enjoy liberty there; not the free colored people, who had the right to go off if they chose. Now, Mr. President, what has kept the free colored people in the Southern States will prevent the slaves coming here, if slavery is abolished.

But we are told that the contrabands are flocking, even now, into Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania Legislature has been petitioned, by the working people of Philadelphia and other cities, to pass a law prohibiting their settling in that State. Illinois has already passed such a law. Ohio either has, or is trying to do so. But you must expect that the slave, running away now, will seek to get beyond the Border Slave States. His liberty is in doubt; we have had Generals who have sent slaves back; and, after getting out of his master's hands, his first thought is to get further North, where his liberty is secure. If you were there, and in his position, you would take the same course the contraband takes now. He feels precisely as he did before the commencement of the rebellion; he wants to get out of the way. But if you want to stop the contraband from coming into the free States, if you want to stop the slave's running off from the South, give him his freedom upon the soil. (Loud applause.) The Tammany Hall Committee is opposed to abolition, unless expatriation shall follow it. The first Napoleon was waited upon by a Committee of the old planters of St. Domingo, urging him to send an army to Hayti to reduce the emancipated slave, again to chains. After the Committee had withdrawn, Napoleon turned to Gregoire, and asked him what he thought of the advice. The latter replied: "If those planters should change their color to-night, they would come back to-morrow, and give your Majesty different advice." So it would be, Mr. President, with the Young Men's Democratic Committee of New York. (Applause.)

Now, everything has shown that the slave can be trusted in slavery, except when he can get a chance to use his heels; for the slaveholders themselves have testified to his good character. You know we were told by the slaveholders, just before the breaking out of the rebellion, that if we got into any difficulty with the South, their slaves would take up arms, and fight to a man for them. Mr. Toombs, I believe, threatened that he would arm his slaves, and other men in Congress from the slave States made the same threat. They were going to arm the slaves, and turn them against the North. They said they could be trusted; and many people here at the North really believed that the slave did not want his liberty, would not have it if he could, and that the slave population was a very dangerous element against the North; but at once, Mr. President, on the approach of our soldiers, the slaves are seen, with their bundles and baskets, and hats and coats, and without bundles or baskets, and without hats or coats, rushing to our lines; demonstrating what we have so often said, that all the slave was waiting for was the opportunity to get his liberty. Why should you not have believed this? Why should you have supposed for a moment, that because a man's color differs a little from yours, he is better contented to remain a slave than you would be, or that he has no inclination, no wish, to escape from the thralldom that holds him so tight? What is it that does not wish to be free?

"Go, let a cage with grates of gold, And peerly rood, the eagle hold, Let dainty viands be its fare, And give the captive tenderest care; But say, in luxury's limits pent, Find you the king of birds content? No, oh! he'll sound the startling shriek, And dash the eagle with angry beak: Precarious freedom's far more dear Than all the prison's pampering cheer."

As with the eagle, so with man. He loves to look upon the bright day and the stormy night; to gaze upon the broad free ocean, its eternal surging tides, its mountain billows and its foam-crested waves; to tread the steep mountain side; to sail upon the placid river; to wander along the gurgling stream; to trace the sunny slope, the beautiful landscape, the majestic forest, the flowery meadow; to listen to the howling of the winds and the music of the birds. These are the aspirations of man, without regard to country, clime, or color. (Loud applause.)

What shall we do with the slave of the South? "Expatriate him," say the haters of the negro. Expatriate him for what? He has cleared up the swamps of the South, and has put the soil under cultivation; he has built up her towns and cities and villages; he has enriched the North and Europe with his cotton and sugar and rice; and for this, you would drive him out of the country! "What shall be done with the slaves, if they are freed?" You had better ask, "What shall we do with the slaveholders, if the slaves are freed?" (Applause.) The slave has shown himself better fitted to take care of himself than the slaveholder. (Renewed applause.) He is the bone and sinew of the South; he is the producer, while the master is nothing but a consumer, and a very poor consumer at that. (Laughter.) The slave is the producer, and he alone can be relied upon. He has the sinew, the determination, and the will; and if you will take the free colored people of the South as the criterion, take their past history as a sample of what the colored people are capable of doing, every one must be satisfied that the slaves can take care of themselves.

But it is said, "The two races cannot live together in a state of freedom." Why, that is the cry that rung all over England twenty years ago—"If you liberate the slaves of the West Indies, they can't live with the whites in a state of freedom." Twenty years have shown the contrary. The blacks and the whites live together in Jamaica; they are all prosperous, and the island in a better condition than it ever was before the act of emancipation was passed.

But they tell us, "If the slaves are emancipated, we won't receive them upon an equality." Why, every man must make equality for himself. No society, no government, can make this equality. I do not expect the slave of the South to jump into equality; all I claim for him is, that he may be allowed to jump into liberty, and let him make equality for himself. (Loud applause.) I have got some white neighbors around me; they are not very intellectual; they don't associate with my family (laughter and applause); but whenever they shall improve themselves, and bring themselves up by their own intellectual and moral worth, I shall not object to their coming into my society. (Renewed merriment.)

Now, Mr. Chairman, this talk about not letting a man come to this place or that, and that we won't do this for him, or won't do that for him, is all idle. The anti-slavery agitators have never demanded that the President, the colored man, any more than that you shall take the uncultivated and uncouth white man, and place him in a certain position in society. All I

demand for the black man is, that the white people shall take their heels off his neck, and let him have a chance to rise by his own efforts. (Applause.) One of the first things that I heard when I arrived in the free States—and it was the strangest thing to me that I heard—was, that the slave cannot take care of themselves. I came off without any education. Society did not take me up; I took myself up. (Laughter.) I did not ask society to take me up. All I asked of the white people was, to get out of the way, and give me a chance to come from the South to the North. That was all I asked, and I went to work with my own hands. And that is all I demand for my brethren of the South to-day—that they shall have an opportunity to exercise their own physical and mental abilities. Give them that, and I will leave the slaves to take care of themselves, and be satisfied with the result.

Now, Mr. President, I think that the present contest has shown clearly that the fidelity of the black people of this country to the cause of freedom is enough to put to shame every white man in the land who would think of driving us out of the country, provided freedom should be proclaimed. I remember well, when Mr. Lincoln's proclamation went forth, calling for the first 75,000 men, that among the first to respond to that call were the colored men. A meeting was held in Boston, crowded as I never saw a meeting before; meetings were held in Rhode Island and Connecticut, in New York and Philadelphia, and throughout the West, responding to the President's call. Although the colored men in many of the free States were disfranchised, abused, taxed without representation, their children turned out of the schools; nevertheless, they went on, determined to try to discharge their duty to the country, and to save it from the tyrannical power of the slaveholders of the South. But the cry went forth—"We won't have the niggers; we won't have anything to do with them; we won't fight with them; we won't have them in the army, nor about us." Yet scarcely had you got into conflict with the South, when you were glad to receive the news that contrabands brought. (Applause.) The first telegram announcing any news from the disaffected district commences with—"A contraband just in from Maryland tells us" so much. The last telegram, in to-day's paper, announces that a contraband tells us so much about Jefferson Davis and Mrs. Davis and the little Davises. (Laughter.) The nation is glad to receive the news from the contraband. We have an old law with regard to the mails, that a negro shall not touch the mails at all; and for fifty years the black man has not had the privilege of touching the mails of the United States with his little finger; but we are glad enough now to have the negro bring the mail in his pocket! The first thing asked of a contraband is—"Have you got a newspaper?—what's the news?" And the news is greedily taken in, from the lowest officer or soldier in the army, up to the Secretary of War. They have tried to keep the negro out of the war, but they could not keep him out, and now they drag him in, with his news, and are glad to do so. Gen. Wool says the contrabands have brought the most reliable news. Other Generals say their information can be relied upon. The negro is taken as a pilot to guide the fleet of Gen. Burnside through the inlets of the South. (Applause.) The black man welcomes your armies and your fleets, takes care of your sick, is ready to do anything, from cooking up to shouldering a musket; and yet these would-be patriots and professed lovers of the land talk about driving the negro out!

Now, what shall you do with the slaveholders? That is the other question. The only recommendation I have to make in regard to that is, that you shall take the slave from the slaveholder, and let the slaveholder go to work and labor for himself, and let him keep out of mischief. (Applause.) If the slaveholders had had the opportunity of laboring for themselves, for the last forty years, we should never have had this rebellion. It is because they have had nothing to do but to drink and walk about and concoct mischief, while the black man was toiling for their support, that this rebellion has taken place.

Mr. President, I must bring my remarks to a close. This nation owes the colored people a great debt. You, the people of New York, owe us a great debt. You have kept us down, helped to degrade us by your odious laws—the fugitive slave enactments and others—you have loved to keep us in chains, while the slaveholders have deprived us of our liberty and everything; and now the time has come for you to do your duty in this matter. You see that this has affected you, as well as it has affected the black man, North and South; and now the world is looking on, expecting that your duty to the negro, to the cause of freedom, will be performed; and the moral sentiment of the world will hold the American people accountable, if this rebellion shall close, and the negro be still left weltering in his blood and chains. There is no mistake about it: the time has come for the nation to discharge its duty to the black man. Now is the time, and I hope the nation will have the moral courage to perform its duty. That the slave will have his liberty, I have not the slightest doubt. These black men in the slave States, whom Jefferson Davis and Beauregard have been teaching the science of arms on the one hand, and the contrabands at Port Royal and Fortress Monroe, to whom your men and women have been teaching the science of letters, on the other hand, have implanted in the black man's bosom in the Southern States that which will ultimately give him his liberty, if you do not give it to him. (Applause.) I am confident that the tree of Liberty has been planted. If it was not planted by this Society, Mr. President, it has been planted by the rebellion of the South, and it is growing—it is growing, and its branches are overshadowing the land; and, in the language of the poet, we may say:

"Our plant is of the cedar, That knoweth not decay; Its growth shall bless the mountain, Till mountain pass away; Its top shall greet the sunshine, Its leaves shall drink the rain, While on its lower branches The slave shall hang his chain." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

REMARKS OF THEODORE TILTON.

Good friends, we have just this moment come to the most interesting period of the meeting—the taking up of the collection (laughter). I am asked by the President, in the name of the Society, to hold out

of my hand, that you may drop something into it. This Society is no beggar, and I make no appeal; only my good cause goes on better with the wheel of a silver dollar under it. I remember that it was said that once Leigh Richmond looked into the faces of working men, and, disdaining to make an appeal to their liberality, they returned him a collection of pennies that filled a peach basket. Now, if you belong to the working-class of the anti-slavery movement, I hope that when the plates go round, you will send them back so filled; and if you have not a copper to fill up, you may put in silver and gold (laughter). I will tell you what I propose to do. There is a hat. It is the hat of a good Christian—you can tell it by its broad brim (laughter). This hat covers the head of an old man who has helped over two thousand fugitive slaves from bondage to freedom. (MANY VOICES—"Give us his name!") Friends, your children and grandchildren will have no need to ask his name—FATHER GARRETT, of Wilmington, Delaware (loud applause). Now, all the speech I am going to make is just this—I propose to pass round among the audience Father Garrett's hat; and do you see that you fill it as full as Leigh Richmond's basket.

While the hat was passed round, the speaking was continued, the President introducing Rev. HENRY M. HATFIELD, of Brooklyn, who spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF REV. ROBERT M. HATFIELD.

I am always sorry when a public speaker begins with an apology, and I have none to make; I have one or two words of explanation, only. I came here with no speech, with no preparation, with no expectation of saying anything at this time. I was asked, a year ago, to attend the Anniversary of this Society; no matter why I had not been asked before; no matter whether I should have accepted the invitation if it had come five or seven years ago; I did accept it last year, but after the appointment was made, I had no opportunity of filling it. The same friends sent me an invitation, several weeks ago, to be here to-day and make a speech, and I very positively, and, as I thought, reasonably declined to do it; and I will tell you why, sir. I had been for the last year—for full twelve months—so out of tune with many of my anti-slavery friends, that I really feared that, coming here, I should chill your ardor rather than inspire you. I was afraid that I should be a kind of croaker among you, dispiriting those men who ought to march on side by side, full of hope for the victory that, as you tell us, you are about to win. I have not been able to take that hopeful view of affairs, nor do I this morning. Though Yorktown is evacuated; though the General leading our armies declares that he is about to "drive the rebels to the wall," I have not been able to sympathize heartily with those hopeful views that so many of our good anti-slavery friends take of the present position of affairs. I am willing, however, to stand up here, and I am glad of the opportunity, to express my honest and thorough conviction that this trouble that is upon us now is God's direct judgment on this nation for the sin of slavery (applause); and I am here to affirm, sir, that whatever differences we may have on other subjects, or with regard to the treatment of this subject, no reasonable man who has faith in God has any right to be surprised that we are involved in the present disasters and calamities, that threaten to swallow us up. There has been great danger that, in Church and State, among all classes of people, we should forget that divinely-ennunciated truth—"Whoever a man sows, that shall he also reap." For three-quarters of a century, we have been sowing seed of a certain kind; it has taken root; it has sprung up; the harvest waves before us to-day; and there is no release, there is no escape—the sickle must be thrust in, the grain must be gathered. It is that terrible harvest—a harvest of carnage and blood and desolation—that waves before us to-day.

Now, sir, I have hoped, and do hope, that God, out of this confusion and disorder, out of these scenes of strife and bloodshed, will evolve peace, harmony, justice, beauty, and order. I do not despair of the Republic; but yet my hopes are mingled with many fears. I have had sad and terrible apprehensions lest there should not be enough of virtue, enough of regard for God and love of humanity, to save the nation. We are on God's threshing floor to-day; we are under the flail. "We are in the mortar, and are being pounded; whether it shall be for our purification and salvation, God alone knows; at least, I have no power to lift the veil, and look in upon the things that are to be in the future. What right have we to be surprised, any of us, at the trouble, at the calamities, that have overtaken us? Have we not been taught, does it not lie at the very foundation of our belief in the existence of God, that He is a God that doeth justice?—that, sitting upon the throne of His glory, He looks down upon the earth, to raise up the down-trodden, to help the poor and the friendless, to save the outcast, and to punish and destroy the oppressor and wrong-doer? And we have been in great danger, as a nation, of lapsing into Atheism; of coming to doubt whether God really lives and rules—whether he sways the sceptre of power over His creatures. Men have come to question whether it is not possible for a nation to sow to injustice and dishonor and corruption, and yet reap prosperity and permanent well-being; and, sir, though I believe that God's hand has been in the history of our nation—though I believe our ancestors were guided by that hand—though it seems to me that a special Providence watched over them, and guided them to the land where they first planted themselves—though I believe that that Providence has been manifested every year of our history, I do believe that it is of so much consequence to the nations of the earth that all men should believe that God is a God of unchanging justice, that "from everlasting to everlasting He is the Holy One," that He would sooner this nation were blotted out of existence than that we should be the cause of skepticism among the nations in regard to that truth.

Now, sir, is there any truth more self-evident than this—that the system of American slavery is in all time, and through all changes, "the sum of all villainies"? Has the heart of man conceived of anything more dishonoring to God, more essentially unjust and injurious to man, than the system that transmits the bodies and souls of millions of human beings into chattels, and declares that they shall be taken, held and adjudged to be personal property, to all intents and purposes whatsoever? We have heard appeals for this system and vindications of it, and pleas drawn from perversions of God's Word, with the view of reconciling the nation to its continued existence, and to its general, to its universal diffusion; and there was imminent danger, as it seemed to some of us, that the nation would accept this state of things, and come to believe that God really connived at iniquity, that He consented that human slavery should be perpetual; and so I say, that, though the nation suffer to the last extremity, even though it must perish with the system, there must come an end to this monster abomination.

I do not know much about the questions that are discussed here and elsewhere pertaining to the character of the Constitution—whether it is pro-slavery or anti-slavery. I am not very clear in my convictions, and I have not very great confidence in my judgment, with regard to questions of that sort; and to tell the honest truth, I do not care much about it, one way or the other. If justice is in the Constitution, God is against it, and every one of His attributes. (Applause.) Men cannot build any sanctuary for wrong; cannot make any holy of holies for injustice. Call it law, call it the Church, call it the Constitution, call it what you will, where justice is to be safe, God's hand will search it out, God's hand will bring it down. So, I say, I have not felt any great interest in the discussion of these questions, I have not had great confidence in my conclusions with regard to them; but, sir, I should despise and loathe myself, I should hate my scoundrel heart to its very centre, if I ever had a single moment of questioning or hesitancy in regard to the infernal wickedness of slavery. (Loud applause.) The man who has a man's heart, the man who has learned to love his own mother, the man who has a wife and children of his own, and who can look in their faces,

and then require thirty seconds to determine whether it is right for somebody else to own and possess them, does not deserve the name of a man, much less of a Christian. (Loud applause.) I do not know, sir, what our government is going to do with this question. I have great confidence in Uncle Abe—I think he is an honest man. (Applause.) I think he means to go just as fast and far as he can consistently with his views of his obligations—obligations that he has recognized by his oath. I wish he was in the way of going faster. (Applause.) I wish the way might be opened before him to take a little longer stride and be a little quicker in his motions; yet, God bless Uncle Abe!—I believe he is sound in the heart. (Loud applause.) He has done a good many things for which I thank him; and, as far as I can see, there has been but one sad, almost irreparable mistake in his war. There has been just one fact, sir, that has given me trouble, and has inclined me to sit down alone, and shut my mouth, and keep my tongue still, until I see what God is going to do in this affair, and how it is coming out. I refer to that strange and unfortunate interference with Fremont's proclamation in Missouri. (Applause.)

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

Very much in the history of every individual and of every nation depends upon the right improvement of those salient points in their history; and it has seemed to me, almost as distinctly as if God's voice had spoken to us from heaven, that that proclamation of the "Pathfinder" was the right thing, and at the right time. (Prolonged applause.) And, sir, if anything were wanting to confirm me in this opinion, it would be found in the fact, that, strangely, unaccountably, the people of this country, of almost all classes, responded to that proclamation. I refer to the papers, as the exponents of the popular sentiment. I do not read them all, but some of them I do read. Some of them I can hardly stand. I do not read the New York Observer, and I don't know what The Observer may have said of Fremont's proclamation. The Herald, too, is rather hard meat for me, but The Herald, I believe, did endorse Fremont's proclamation. There were no party lines, no party distinctions, in the commendation of that proclamation. The Democratic and Republican, the anti-slavery and pro-slavery presses, with strange and almost unaccountable unanimity, said of that proclamation—"It is timely; it is the voice of God to the nation"; and, sir, if it could have been allowed to work its way and bring forth its legitimate results, I cannot resist the conviction that, to-day, the whole aspect of our national affairs would have been changed. The bud was nipped as it was about unfolding. The stream that was gushing out of the fountain was dammed up, turned back, and turned aside. God forgive the men who made that mistake! I believe the President was conscientious in what he did, but it seems to me the one almost irreparable blunder of the war, and I shall be devoutly thankful to God when anything occurs by which that mistake can be corrected.

I say, I do not know about the result of this war. It seems to me that there is a Higher Power who has it under control and under direction. I believe that we are approaching the end of American slavery. I believe that the time hastens, that it draws on apace, when liberty shall be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of this land; and I know that, if we have the wisdom to accept it, to accept it thankfully, and to be workers together with God, beneficent results alone can come to the nation. But, sir, there are things which make a man sad when he hears or reads them. The discussion of the question, "What shall be done with the emancipated slaves?" and the declaration made again and again by men in high position at Washington and elsewhere, that they will have nothing to do with any scheme for emancipation that does not provide for the expatriation of the liberated slaves, is enough to sadden any man. I ask, not in the name of the black man, but in the name of the white man, I ask in the name of a God of justice, what business have you to banish four millions of people from this country? (Applause.) What, I ask, have the slaves of the South or the free colored men of the North ever done, that we should sit down even to the consideration of this question? Where shall we send them, or what shall we do with them? We might as well sit down and consider this question—What shall we do with all the Methodists or Congregationalists in this country? Or, what shall we do with all the men who dye their whiskers in this country? Or, what shall we do with all the men who have sandy hair in this country, or who wear false teeth? At the very commencement of this matter, at its very inception, we are stopped by the fact, that it is an abominable, a God-insulting and Heaven-defying question of injustice which we are proposing to consider. (Applause.)

Mr. President, there are a great many things about which I am in doubt, but I thank God that among the uncertainties and fluctuations of this world, there are a few things that are sure. I am not so certain about a good many things as I was twenty years ago. I could speak with a great deal more emphasis upon some subjects twenty years ago than I can now. I could preach then with great satisfaction to myself upon some matters that, upon the whole, I do not care about discussing now. But there are a few things that come to be more and more verified to a man the longer he lives, and one of those convictions, to my mind, is, that it is always safe to do right. (Applause.) Sir, it is the right of every colored father, of every colored mother, to own their own children; it is the right of every man, without regard to his color, to have a fair chance in this world, to use the hands, and tongue, and head that God has given him, and make the most of them. It is right that these people who have been trodden under foot and ground under the iron heel of oppression should have that heel taken off, and that they should give to their brother's hand and a brother's welcome—that we should do what we can toward removing the burden that has been heaped upon them—that they be permitted to go out with us into the same broad field, to labor under the eye of the Great Master, and receive a reward from Him, even as we do, if we are faithful. And, sir, if the nation would come to that conclusion, and would do right, God in His providence will attend to these other matters. What! shall we banish four million of people, needed in the country—needed in every view of the subject—most important to the whole nation, every quarter and corner of it! Why, sir, if we seriously undertake to do that, as the Lord God liveth, what we suffer now is but a drop before the pelting storm that is to come down upon this people. As the Lord lives and reigns, if, in addition to all our other sins, this nation shall deliberately proclaim this hard alternative to the bondman, to clank his chains and lie down and snarl and bleed under the lash of the task-master, and tear himself away from the land of his birth and consent to be carried to a strange land—if, I say, we shall proclaim this alternative, God will adjust this matter between us and our colored friends; and I say again, the fact that such a question can be debated, that it can be considered in the high councils of the nation, gives me serious apprehension.

But I am keeping you from a treat from which you ought not to be detained, and I am going to stop. I have one thought to which I cling—it is an anchor to me—whether we get news of success or defeat, whether things go prosperously or adversely with us. It is this. Frederick Douglass was once making a speech—and such a speech as few men in this country could make—in which he said, "Friends, there is nothing left for us, there is no hope for us, but in our own good right arms, and we must grasp the sword and wield it, and be free, because we determine that we will be. We must show that we deserve liberty by achieving it. There is no other power in heaven or on earth to give it to us." There was an old colored woman sitting somewhere in the audience—a quiet old woman, Sojourner Truth, I have no doubt many of you know her—and when he said that, she lifted up her thin, queening voice, and said, "Frederick! is God dead?" (Applause.) God is not dead; and because He is not, because His wisdom is higher

than ours, I have faith and hope in Him. (Loud applause.)

THE PRESIDENT—I wish to express the gratification with which I have listened to the speech of our friend who has just sat down—a gratification that has been shared, I am sure, by the entire audience. It is true, as he said, that he was invited to address this meeting, and wrote us a respectful letter declining to do so, on the ground that he did not feel exactly in the right mood, in view of the present state of things in the country. But, being here, he has given us a spontaneous speech, and having done so admirably well without premeditation, I shall bargain for his coming again, thoroughly prepared; and I know you will particularly desire to hear him on that occasion; for "if such things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?" (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON then gave notice of the other meetings of the Society, for the afternoon and evening, after which he said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Our friend, Mr. PHILLIPS, has recently been to Washington, as you generally know. He there met with a very honorable and flattering reception; but I hold that the reception he met afterwards, at Cincinnati, was still more honorable and more flattering as a testimony to his fidelity to the cause of human liberty (applause); for he may suspect some slight error of judgment, some degree of partiality, on the part of those who are his friends; but when cut-throats, and ruffians, and all the myriads of slavery conspire against one man, and come out in mobocratic array, with brickbats and rotten eggs, to put him down and prevent free speech, they give him a crown of glory—no man can desire a brighter one. (Applause.) Wendell Phillips will now address you.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

Mr. PHILLIPS was received with loud and prolonged applause. When quiet was restored, he spoke as follows:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I was delighted to hear the remarks of our friend from Brooklyn. I sympathize, to a great extent, with some of his views. But, at the same time, I have not sympathized for the last twelve months, and I cannot now, with his anxiety as to the fate of slavery itself. My faith is firm—no lack on the part of men, no seeming change in the nature of events, can alter it—that the events of the last twelve months have, in the essential sense of the word, abolished the system of slavery in this country. I do not believe that it can survive many years. I do not believe that it is dead to-day, or that it will die to-morrow. I do not mean that it may not give us great trouble yet. What I mean is, that, in a national point of view, five years or ten are nothing. When you stand at the source of the Mississippi, you can anticipate the Gulf. What I believe is, that we have opened in our national history the chapter which is to record the freedom of every man under the stars and stripes. Abraham Lincoln may not wish it; he cannot prevent it; the nation may not will it; but the nation can never prevent it. God has launched us upon an ocean in which the great laws of gravity which govern human affairs must govern our course, no pilot of our own selection. I believe, therefore, that we are not here to discuss to-day, specifically, the abolition of slavery; that is a settled, foregone conclusion. I do not care what men want or wish; the negro is the pebble in the cog-wheel, and the machine cannot go on until you get him out. The problem which God forces on this nation is to eliminate slavery out of its institutions, and, after that, to deal with the dregs which such a system inevitably leaves. My reason for this faith is based upon three or four facts. In the first place, I take note of events from the influence which I see they have on the institutions of the country. For the first time in our history for seventy years, the government, as a corporation, has spoken anti-slavery words and done anti-slavery deeds. It is a momentous alteration in the heart that governs the government. I allude to that fact, not because I care for the state of mind of Mr. Lincoln or the Cabinet specifically; I view them as mile-stones, showing how far the great nation's opinion has travelled. For instance, ever since 1791, we have had a Fugitive Slave bill; we have had the civil arm of the government pledged to the restoration of fugitives. Daniel Webster said, "It is the cement of the Union; it is the test of the loyalty of the North." To-day the government at Washington, by an article of war, forbids the army to execute the Fugitive Slave bill. "The army, for the present, is the government of the United States. Civil law is suspended. The government acts militarily, soldier-wise, no other, for the present; and the government, so acting, exclusively in that function, suspends the Fugitive Slave bill. Is not that a significant proof of the state of the public mind? When could that have been achieved before? Then, again, Mr. Lincoln turns to the Border States, and says, "Gentlemen, I am ready to buy; I know the state of the country; if you want to sell your slaves, now is the time to trade; if you wait a year, and the swift current of our political Niagara sweeps the system from beneath you, without compensation, never say I did not give you fair warning." He then goes on to say: "Gentlemen, I am trying cannon to put down this rebellion; it may not succeed. There are other efficient means; one is the abolition of slavery. If I find cannon do not succeed, I shall use other efficient means." In other words, "If you are ready to sell, I am ready to buy; but if you won't sell, I have the right to take." (Applause.) When, since '89, has patriot or statesman ventured such a position? In both Houses of Congress, the Republican party, holding the majority, profess the creed that government has the right to abolish slavery by confiscation, and they have spent many weeks in deciding—what? Not whether they have the right, but whether they will exercise the right—whether they will use the power. If, ten years ago, if one year ago, the American people, or the Abolitionists, could have promised this, that in twelve months the majority, or its leading men, should be converted to the doctrine of John Quincy Adams on the war power, would you not have called that progress enough?

Again, look into the Border States. In Missouri and Maryland, the question is opened—sides are beginning to be taken—great parties to be marshalled—whether the State shall abolish the institution or not. What is the significance of that act? You have located the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in the street through which passed the Fifth Regiment of Massachusetts, and consecrated with its blood on the 10th day of April. (Applause.) You have projected New England, with its anti-slavery discussion, fully into Missouri and Maryland. Is not that progress? Does it not show that the "beginning of the end" is come?

But you go a little further, and, for the first time, the dome of the Capitol rests on Liberty, without a chain. (Loud applause.) Certainly, when these things happen, men are beginning to recognize the manhood of the negro. But, as if this was not enough to encourage the sublime devotion of nineteen million of people, the two departments of war and the navy say to the slave, of whom the question has hitherto been whether he would work, whether America could afford to recognize him as a drudge, whether we could give him a spade, and let him own it—to him, the departments of war and the navy say to-day—"Take a musket, and own it!" (Applause.) The nation which enrols and arms a black man, touches the point of liberty for every man that shares his color.

My friend (Rev. Mr. HATFIELD) regrets, as I do, the great mistake, I think, made by the government when it neutralized the proclamation of John C. Fremont. Could it have permitted that proclamation to stand, unpledged to it as the Cabinet was, public opinion would have crystallized round it. Mr. Lincoln would have been able to rely confidently on the manifested public opinion which we witnessed and endorsed that act of the Major-General, and on the sure ground of such a conclusion, the government could have advanced, in ninety days, directly to universal emancipation. I think it was a great point lost. There have been several points lost. If, when

Mr. Jefferson Davis first issued his letters of marque, and endeavored to cover the ocean with privateers, the President had said, "If you touch our property, we take yours," the great commercial metropolises of the nation would have said "Amen!" and the country would have followed. The government might then have inaugurated emancipation. But notwithstanding these mistakes, there is very little loss. This question is so much deeper and higher than men, that our mistakes only but scratches on the surface. My friend mistakes only too much. Abraham Lincoln simply rules; John C. Fremont governs. (Loud applause.) Judged by the pulses and opinions of the people, the real President of the American mind does not live in the White House; he leads the Mountain Department of Virginia, and history will regard the realities, and not appearances, of the present day. The reality is, that although the votes of '60 omitted Fremont, and although the caucuses of '60 omitted him, the people buried him in their hearts, and reproduced him, when the emergencies of the nation required it, on the prairies of Missouri, and elected him President of the crisis. (Loud applause.) That proclamation was not lost. Oh, no; that is the wrong word. The beautiful rivulet which disappeared in Greece, according to the classic legend, reappeared in Sicily. The proclamation that went down in Missouri, comes up again in the Carolinas, with Hunter's name at the end. (Prolonged applause.) Over the President or through him, the great national purpose, the blind instinct of the American Samson gropes its way to the upholdings of the foul temple of slavery, and, in the end, it will drag it down to ruin, no matter who says nay. (Applause.)

I believe that the heart of the American people is set on the abolition of slavery; and I believe the heart of the American people will accomplish its purpose—if not through the Administration, then over it, and in due time. I wish it could be hastened; I wish it could be more intelligently led; but we must take the nation as we find it. It is wonderful that we find it so well prepared as it is. Why, only look! What has produced this effect? What gave us that sublime uprising of the year 1861? Certainly not the Church. As THEODORE PARKER said, six years ago, to-day, at the Anniversary of this very Society: "If the American Church had dropped through the continent to the other side, forty years ago, the anti-slavery enterprise would have been further ahead than it is now." He spoke the truth. And what was true of the Church was true of the State. The same indifference, the same hostility, the same contempt, informed the mind of the State as of the Church. I can remember, sixteen years ago, when FRANCIS JACKSON, representing the anti-slavery of Massachusetts, asked Abbott Lawrence, the representative of the Eastern section of the State (he was then a candidate for Representative to Congress from that section), "Sir, are you in favor of abolition in the District?" and the haughty millionaire did not even condescend to answer the question—so thoroughly contemptible was the anti-slavery enterprise. There is where the State stood towards us; there is where the Church put us. Prejudice against race had locked every heart and mind against the argument of the Abolitionists. They had no appeal but to the simple conscience, the instinctive sense of right of the masses of the people. We have been blamed, again and again, as agitators, because we did no reverence to the established institutions of the country—its wealth, learning, parties, churches—but laid the reins of this momentous enterprise on the necks of the uneducated masses. We had nowhere else to lay them; and God gave us the instrument by which the heart of the masses could be reached. There is an old play called "The Devil is an Ass." It is a good motto. He always is. When he framed the United States Constitution, he put the Fugitive Slave clause into it; and that Fugitive Slave clause, in my apprehension, has been the weightiest and strongest weapon which the Abolitionists had to produce this uprising of 1861, on the part of the people. Let me tell you a story: A girl of seventeen, flying from her own father, who, by American law, was her master, reached a village in Wisconsin. Standing in its broad street, she said to the first comers, "I appeal to all Christian men—save me!" They were two young men. They listened to her story, dared not keep her in the village, and hurried her to Milwaukee. The father, in pursuit, was so near that he hid the child beneath one of those hogheads in which we move china. The pursuers passed by her covering half a dozen times, upon the public highway. In an interval, unobserved, the young men conveyed her to the next town; from thence she went to Detroit, and soon sat foot on English soil, and received the protection of Queen Victoria. She sent back a letter to the young men, telling her story. They read it, and went with it to a clergyman, and got him to draw up a pledge that they would not vote again, except an abolition ticket. That year, there were two anti-slavery votes cast in that town—the first two ever cast in the State on the anti-slavery issue. The next year, there were fifteen. To-day, Republicanism holds that State in both its hands, and gives its weight in the Republican balance in the Senate and House of Representatives. (Applause.) Four years ago, the Supreme Court of that State—the child of that little drop of rain—flung itself against Taney, and the Supreme Court, on the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the first act of Edward M. Stanton, when he was made Attorney-General under Buchanan, was to take Booth, its victim, out of an United States prison in the State of Wisconsin. That is one drop of the sainted influence of the Fugitive Slave bill. (Laughter.) All over the country, it has been the same. Unheeded, unnoticed, this sympathy with man has made its way down into the obscure places of the nation; and when statesmen doubted, when Seward wrote to Dayton, and told him to tell Europe, that this was a political quarrel and not a war, and that it would be over in ninety days, and no man find his position changed by it, the nation felt its way with its right hand to the neck of the slave system, and has not unclasped its fingers yet, and never will, until it strangles the monster. (Loud applause.)

That is my faith as to slavery. Fellow-citizens, I do not think that the lesson of this hour is what to do with the negro. It is a different question—one that holds the slave question in it, but is broader. The question is, with this slave question to decide, in the next fifteen years, is there virtue, intelligence, enough in the North to absorb the barbarism of fifteen States, neutralize it, and survive a united, free, Christian Republic? To-day, those fifteen States are barbarous. I have a letter at home—I meant to read it to-night or to-morrow—from a Bell-zealot voter in Massachusetts, written ten days ago, to a Unitarian minister correspondent in Boston, in which he says, "Your armies have driven out the armies of secession from Missouri. You think you have done the work. You have not begun it. Two of my friends were shot a fortnight ago, outside of this town; three of my acquaintances badly wounded. A man entered my store last week, and shot my own clerk, at my desk. I myself, a Union man, dare not leave the streets of the city, for fear of assassination. That is the law of the country." And he says, "The question is, Can you save the unity of these States?" He means, Can you, Northerners, supply so much virtue, purpose, intelligence, as will absorb this element of barbarism, neutralize it, and leave us a nation? That is the question. The dregs of slavery, the state of society which it will leave, can we deal with it, and save the nation? If the news of this morning is all correct—if we have got New Orleans, and McClellan has really scattered the secession army—I think the South has ceased to fight for slavery in the old sense; she has ceased to fight for conquest, she now fights for terms. She will keep her army of 200,000 men—she has got so many men in arms, and I do not believe she ever has had over 800,000—she will keep them in arms until the fever months, if possible, and will keep them in arms as long as there is any hope of dictating terms to the Cabinet. While the war goes on, we must keep the whole army we now have, in order to preserve the position of the government; and when the contest is over, when the question is ostensibly settled (of which

I will speak in a moment), we must have an army half as large as we have now, as an army, not of conquest but of occupation. There are six million of men at the South who have hated us for thirty years, and hate us as much now, because we have whipped them. Men are asking the question, Can the South fight? I do not think it a question. The question, Can the South fight? answers itself. A State as large as the South, with six million of people, with the yellow fever and typhus for its right and left hand, can fight if she will. The single question is, Will she fight? I answer that question in the light of the experience of thirty years. Every Southern pulpit, every Southern political officer, has been the champion of slavery for thirty years. No Northern man could visit the smallest village of the South, and repeat the Declaration of Independence, without being lynched. No book could be sent there that was not expurgated. No clergyman could preach the most dilated anti-slavery gospel, that he was not shown the steamer on Monday morning, bound for the North. When Brooks struck Sumner upon the floor of the Senate, the foulest blow known to Christendom for a century, the whole North, the whole world, except the South, cried "Shame!" The whole South said "Amen!" Now, that is the country which has marshalled itself in war against us, and we have whipped it. We have beaten it in pitched battle; we have barred it from communication with the world; we have made it so infamous in the manifestation of its purpose, that Europe, more than half willing, could not stretch out its right of recognition to it; and the hate of thirty years is embittered by the double-distilled hate of the conquered victim. What are we to do with six million of such people? There are certain lunatics in the city of New York, and certain other lunatics in Congress, at Washington, who are proposing to the American people to cut their own throats, only they express themselves thus: They say that we should export four million of Unionists from these very States; that the only race which loves us, the only race which we can bind to us with hooks of steel, by only doing them—not justice; I would not deprecate the word. Justice! Justice to the negro would be to lay the wealth of the nation at his feet. Justice to the negro would be for the white race to put on sackcloth and ashes, and sit down at his feet, and beg pardon for the sins of six generations. Justice! It is that every white man should yield up every printed page, every college, every mansion, every convenience of civilization, bought by the blood and toil of the negro, and give them to the four million of slaves, using only what they leave. Justice! We do not begin to give the negro justice when we only give him his own right hand. My explanation of compensation is—I compensate the master, because he is helpless, and cannot take care of himself; I let the slave go free, because he can. But the insane proposition is, that we should export the very future of the lever by which the nation is to be restored—the four million of people who are the only hope that this country ever can be one and indivisible again. My friend, Mr. Brown, said that the negro had come to us, bringing important information. Yes; he has shown in every way that he recognizes the Union as indefensibly on his side. He has countervailed the blunders and ignorance and insanity of our commanders. Sherman went to South Carolina, the Northern bred, filled with the folly that the slave loves his master to death, that he could not be drawn to liberty with cart-ropes, that he would shoot any man who offered it to him; and he bolted his doors with ten locks against the black man, and cried out to the whites: "Dear, beloved brethren!" (Laughter.) Not a white man came near, and twelve thousand negroes burst in his doors. (Applause.) The negro race has shown, from the very commencement of this quarrel, that they saw, with the instinctive sagacity of self-interest—their all at stake—that this quarrel on our part could mean nothing but liberty to them, and that the stars and stripes, although we might not know it, were written all over, by God's own hand, with emancipation, and that the fire of this convulsion would bring the letters out in living light to the conscious knowledge of this generation. (Loud applause.) They saw them, with the eye of faith, on the banner, when it seemed to us to be written only with "Union."

Now, I say, I want these four million of people. I want them as a breakwater, an anchorage, a fulcrum, against the barbarism of the South. I want them as the ballast of the effort to make this one nation. The lesson of the past has been the success of agitation; the success of appealing to the common people to save their own institutions when their statesmen had not faith enough to believe in them. When the members of Buchanan's Cabinet stood face to face with Committees of the House of Representatives, before the 4th of March, 1861, and the Chairman of those Committees threatened them with arrest as traitors; if they had executed their threats and hung them, the slave would have cursed their vigilance, for they would have put off this rebellion fifty years. The blood of Toucy could have saved us this rebellion. Thank God, it was not shed! For South Carolina flung down the gauntlet, and when she did it, she swept fifty years from the life of the slave system. That very cannon, fired at Sumter, God's own hand forged into a thunder-bolt, and gave it to Abraham Lincoln, saying—"Hurl it against the system! It shall be victory to-day, and peace forever!" (Loud applause.) But, I say, when those Cabinet officers stood face to face with the Investigating Committee, why did not the Committees publish the secrets that had been revealed to them to nineteen million of people? They had not faith to believe that there were virtue and intelligence enough in the American people to stand up against fifteen slave States; and to-day, that same statesmanlike loyalty to the Democratic idea, that same statesmanlike want of faith in the masses, keeps them from proclaiming the righteousness of abolishing slavery. Washington is full of only one flavor—you must get rid of slavery as a necessity, to save the Union. Do you want to stir up the north? Carry in a pilgrimage the bones that have been insulted at Manassas. Do you want to concentrate the North? Publish throughout its borders that the South thinks its soldiers "mud-sills." But that is nothing but temper; nothing but the bitterness of sections; nothing but sectional hate, which is not to be relied upon. When that tax-bill comes down like an avalanche on the heads of the American people, there will be two questions about it. The Democrats will say, "Put an end to the war, anyhow! Compromise to any extent! Send Davis Minister to St. James, give Wigfall a principality on the prairies, put Beauregard in McClellan's place (laughter)—anything to save the taxes." That is what the Democrats will say; and if the basis of Northern feeling is only hatred, I do not know how long it will prevail against the pocket. When that tax-bill comes down upon the people, the virtue and anti-slavery purpose of the North will say, "Get rid of this weight and burden of blood and money by a radical cure of the war—by making the South like the North; that is, by ridding it of slavery, and giving to it thrift, education, labor." Which way shall that hand turn? That is the question for this Society next summer. How will it use the instrument which God gives us? That is the question. Shall the virtue of the people recognize the right and wrong, or shall the people, filled with hate, merely consider whether they will not surrender to Democratic intrigue? It is a dangerous hour that we are approaching. I do not think we are in danger from that. We are none of us, as a nation, fit for the lunatic asylum, and until we are, we never shall colonize four million of workers. We shall much sooner colonize the mouths than the lands. Three hundred and forty-seven thousand slaveholders are the mouths; the four million of blacks are the lands; and it would be much cheaper to colonize the mouths than the hands. I believe in Yankee common sense, and therefore I do not fear colonization. Another thing: If the races cannot live together, it will only cost one or two million to colonize the three hundred and forty-seven thousand whites—it will cost a great deal more to colonize four million of blacks.

Then there comes the question: Where are they to go? If we cannot bear them, where is the nation mountains, somewhere, in a State by themselves, are they to have the right to travel? Will Mr. Garrett Davis build a wall round their State, and never let them look over into Kentucky? I do not believe in that method. My friend Brown mentioned that telling fact, which ought to close every Democratic mouth, that Stephen A. Douglas died twelve thousand dollars in debt to a negro of the District; but he did not mention the best feature of the fact—that colored man knew so well how to take care of himself, that he did not lend it to Douglas until he got a mortgage. (Laughter and applause.) The very white men who edit the papers of the District of Columbia, the very white men who are discussing the question whether the colored people can take care of themselves, are not yet so far able to take care of themselves as to pay the expenses of their own children's education; they flee, they steal, in the shape of taxes, six hundred dollars a year from the pockets of the negroes of the District, in order to pay the expenses of their own schools, and when they have done it, they bar the doors of those very schools against the black men's children, and make him sustain at his own expense the dependent schools for his children. ("Oh Shame!") And then they sit down and write articles, and print them, declaring that the colored men of the District are able to take care of themselves, when there are very able to take care of themselves, when there are very able to write the articles, if the colored men had not educated them with their money. (Applause.)

The devil ought to have a good memory—all things ought to. The Democratic Young Men's Committee of this city say they are opposed to emancipation, unless the blacks are expatriated, because, otherwise, they will kill out Northern labor! How comes that, if they will not work? Garrett Davis says, that if you emancipate the slaves of the District, you will have to build a poor-house as large as the Capitol to hold the paupers. Well, if they are all to be kept in a District poor-house, as big as the Capitol, how are they going to compete with Northern labor? (Applause.)—Lars should have good memories. I do not believe that nineteen millions of Northerners, their brains kindled to a white heat on a great financial problem, can be misled by such chaff as that. Why, it is nine hundred years behind the times. Can you give the blacks! The man that should propose to give up railroads because a man was killed on one last year, would be a snno man in comparison with a colonizationist. We have drifted infinitely beyond that problem. We are now engaged in a momentous struggle, whether this nation can save its own institutions. God is demanding an atonement of this generation. We have had two systems in the midst of us. One is the North—taking every child in the cradle, and giving him intellectual education; putting at the side of baby footsteps virtue and knowledge; recognizing the fact that every man's life is more sacred, and every man's house more valuable, the more intelligent and industrious his neighbor is. That is the North; its right hand is industry, its left hand is knowledge. Now, the South has some four millions of slaves, held by some hundred thousand accursed men. The slaves are mere machines: the more intelligent, the less valuable; the less intelligent, the more valuable. On the other hand, the South has five millions of poor whites. They must not be allowed to labor, for if they did, as our friend Brown explained to us, it would make the slave proud; they must not be taught, for if they were, it would make the aristocracy insecure. A friend from Alabama once said to me—"The men of our Northern Counties are on your side, if you could get at them. They labor themselves; if they hold slaves, it is but a single one. They have but one room in their houses; the slave sits at the table with them, sleeps with them, works with them. They are Free Soil Counties. If you could only get at them, they would be on your side. We don't mean you're shall. They never hear a speech but what we make; they would not know a newspaper from a meadow-trick; their wives cannot read; their children are growing up in ignorance. The poor white trash! The right hand of the aristocracy of slaveholders is four millions of slaves; the left hand is ignorance. These institutions have attempted to cohere; they have had seventy years of trial, and the attempt has failed. Now, the question comes to us in the shape of God's own demand for atonement. This generation which thought it had laid up so much money—it was but to emancipate that race, to educate the obtuse. The railroad had been going sixty miles an hour; it thought all was safe; but the axles are hot, and God stops us in this generation.

As an Abolitionist, I know that events are going out from the freedom of the negro; but the question that troubles me is—into that grave into which is very is entering, are freedom and free institutions to drop with it? That question is answered when you tell me how you are to get rid of it. That holds its circumference the fate of you and me, of our nation, and free institutions. I want you, therefore, to wake up this people to two questions: First, the right that rebellion has given us to crush out slavery, and (I am not going to stop with the question whether the negro will work or not) what we shall do with the negro. What shall we do without him? I am a great question. What shall we do with him? I am a graduate of Harvard; my friend here (Mr. TITUS) is a graduate of some other college, I suppose; on that platform, the graduates of colleges will be making speeches this week. Shall any one of us protest that those colleges graduate men able to take care of themselves one whit better than the speech of the graduates of the plantation (Wm. WELLS BROWN) proves that his fellow-laborers are able to take care of themselves? (Loud applause.) If any blue-eyed Saxon doubter, graduate of a New England college, still cherishes a doubt, I commend to him the task of answering that speech. (Renewed applause.) But, beyond that question, the American people are to wake up to an understanding of the right which they now hold in their hands to abolish slavery. It is a constitutional right. People are greatly afraid—the New York Herald is greatly afraid—that we are not going according to the Constitution. Well, what is the Constitution? It says "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." That is, in exact words, hung without a grand jury, a petit jury, and a sheriff. I am in prison, and my lawyer, my attorney, is to Breck Sigel, "Hans McCulloch!" There is grand jury, petit jury, and sheriff, all in one. (Laughter.) To-day, Congress says to Gen. Grant, "Take ten thousand lives at Petersburg!" That due process of war; that is the war power; the other was the peace power. It is equally constitutional, because it is necessary. Congress says to the government, "You shall put your hand into every man's pocket by making certain pieces of paper legal tender; and if this war continues ten years, you shall take one dollar out of every ten, from every man's pocket." It is constitutional, because it is necessary. The government says, "Go down to Charleston, and fill that harbor with stones, and make the city a desert—so it with salt if you please"—and sometimes they would—(applause)—and that is constitutional, because it is the war power. But the New York Herald says, if Congress, having shot McCulloch, by due process of war, executed by a Minnie rifle, having suspended the habeas corpus—having taken fifty thousand dollar out of every man's pocket—having filled that Charleston harbor with stones, goes on shooting, and with the sword cuts the supposed cobweb—it is only a supposed cobweb—that binds the negro to his master, that is unconstitutional! In other words, there is no right now, except the right of a man to his negro (Laughter and applause.)

...she and Virginia—that what the nation
...and does is law, no matter whether it is in the
...Fellow-citizens, in 1801, Jefferson
...Louisiana—the mouth of the Mississippi.
...You cannot have it—it is uncon-
...I know it," said Jefferson, "but I want
...You cannot get it," said Adams; "it is un-
...I know that, but I want it"—and
...and Wisconsin are going
...of Pittsburg, and Boston joins them
...by the way of Ship Island, to see whether we shall
...keep it or not. (Applause.) Some years after, we
...and we bought it; Hunter is seeing
...Florida, and stole it, by joint
...we mean to keep it. (Applause.)
...and we mean to keep it. (Applause.)
...That principle of law which the South established,
...we not use it for freedom, as she used it for slavery,
...Again, do you remember the Embargo times,
...Congress declared, in time of peace, that no
...should leave New York or Boston—when bank-
...covered your city—when grass grew in Wall
...street—when we turned our cows into State street—
...New England was beggared, and nobody
...said a word about paying her a dollar of compensa-
...to Washington—when she sent her first lawyer up to Wash-
...to ask the Supreme Court, "Is this constitution-
...and the Supreme Court said, "Yes; anything
...and New England sat down and
...to save the Union?" and she
...She comments a drop of the same comfort
...to-day. (Applause.) She says, "This des-
...in 1807, in order to save the Union,
...and never talked of compensation, can
...and pay you for them, in 1802?"
...take your slaves, and pay you for them, in
...Why, somebody asked Gen. Cass, the other day, in
...General, what may we do to save the
...Anything." "May we abolish slavery?"
...Abolish anything on the surface of the earth to
...save the nation." (Applause.) I think, when Cass
...and Adams agree, we have got the "happy medium,"
...and may sail fearlessly on in that constitu-
...line. I want the American people to recognize
...I do not care
...I would like to go directly up to the
...but if you do not like that issue, it does not
...I do not care about words. "Confis-
...I observe that the cau-
...and careful, and amiable, and good-natured
...President, in his message to the Border States, did
...of slavery—that is Gar-
...he talked of "abolishment." Well,
...it is no matter, if he likes that way of spelling it bet-
...So, if you like a Confiscation bill,
...But my programme is this: We have
...under the heel of the North; they
...—that is, if the news of to-day proves
...if the summer answers the winter—if McClel-
...if we have got a
...then we have subjugated the
...South. Now, what are we going to do with six mil-
...of people, hating us terribly? We have got to
...keep an army of occupation there. We must con-
...—how much? People talk of making the South
...pay the expenses of the war. You might as well call
...upon the poor-house to pay the expenses of the town.
...Take away their slaves, and they have
...not enough left to pay the expenses of the war. The
...question of confiscation, as a mere question of contri-
...toward paying the expenses of the war, is not
...worth talking about. One month's expense of this
...is more than you could get from the whole South,
...until the blacks, the guardians of civilization, make
...the land worth something. (Applause.) But I want
...for all that. We have a right to it, on all
...and national grounds. We want it, in order
...to tempt the army to remain in the South as colonists.
...I want them there to aid the blacks, as the guard and
...nucleus of free institutions. I do not believe in
...the whites of the South for the next ten years. I believe
...that the blacks of the South do not need an appren-
...half as much as the whites do. (Laughter
...and applause.) Honestly—I am not saying an epi-
...grammatic thing—the slave is much more fit to be a
...free laborer than Jefferson Davis is to be the master
...of free laborers. The four million of blacks are fit
...to fit them to live where liberty is granted. That
...Jamaica has proved, in the history of twenty years.
...If you are to have a law of apprenticeship, apprentice
...the whites, not the blacks. Now, I go a shade beyond
...my friend, Mr. Brown; I shirk no difficulty; I ask
...nothing more for the negro than I ask for the Irish-
...man or the German who comes to our shores. I think
...the benevolent men who are laboring at Port Royal—all
...right—but the blacks at the South do not need
...them. They are not objects of charity. They only
...ask this nation—"Take your yoke off our necks."
...They do not ask mercy; they do not ask justice—or
...only a homeopathic dose—the mere flavor of justice;
...they ask their hands—nothing more; they will ac-
...complish books, and education, and work. They have
...done so in the West Indies. The white planters of
...Jamaica set all the wits they had (it was not much)
...to work to outwit the black men. They offered them
...a shilling a day. The blacks said, "We are worth
...one and sixpence." Then the whites passed three
...laws; one was, that they should have liberty to turn
...any man out of a shanty built on their land; the sec-
...ond was, that any man without a house was a vagabond;
...and the third was, that any legal vagabond
...might be apprenticed by any magistrate to his next
...neighbor, at any price he pleased. Then they thought
...they had got them. They turned them out of their
...houses, made them ragged, and the man, and
...had them apprenticed as such. But the blacks set
...the laws over to the Privy Council, and in ten months
...they came back with the Queen's disallowance. Then
...the black men said, "Gentlemen, you tried to cheat
...us," and they went into the mountains; fifty thousand
...of them bought an acre apiece, supported themselves,
...and left the white man to go to his own ruin. When
...the New York Herald records the bankruptcy of Jam-
...aica, and attempts to prove from it that the blacks
...are not capable of taking care of themselves, it only
...turns the fact inside out. It proves that the negro
...knew so well how to take care of himself, that, hav-
...ing been first outraged and then cheated, he would
...not be treated so again; and thirty years have not
...improved the white man's behavior sufficiently to win
...the negro's confidence; and until he does win it, he
...will be left to his fate.

and note that; come home, and write to the Herald.
"Illinois is bankrupt—relapsing into barbarism!"
"Would not an Illinois man, like Lovejoy, say to me,
"Did you see the millions of bushels of wheat at
Chicago? Do you know that we export twice as
much bread-stuffs as any other State in the Union?
If you don't, go home!" So I am going to judge
the West Indies. We have got twenty million of
thrifty, industrious, educated Yankees—more brains in
our hands than other men have in their heads. Con-
necticut vexes every drop of water four times over
before she lets it fall into the ocean; and when all is
done, how much do we export—we thrifty, pains-tak-
ing, industrious Yankees? Just seven dollars a head.
Now Jamaica, with 80,000 whites and 300,000 blacks,
exports thirteen dollars a head; and if you take all
the British West Indies—800,000 blacks and 150,000
whites—the blacks "lying on their backs, basking in
the sun,"—they export twice as much now as they
did before emancipation. I think, if the New York
Observer calls that failure—if the negro, lying on his
back and basking in the sun, exports twice as much as
the Yankee, standing on his feet, and that is failure,
what will it say of us? I shall be glad to know by
next week's Observer, what New England is, if the
West Indies are a failure.

Then, again, how much do they buy? That is
another test of the success or failure of a nation.
You go to one of your Fifth Avenue houses, watch it
for twenty years, and if the owner brings to it pic-
tures and plate, velvet and damask, year after year,
you say, "He is rich." How much do the West
Indies buy? The negro, "basking on his back in the
sun," according to the Herald, pays for twice as many
manufactured goods from England and three times as
many manufactured goods from America, as he did
when he was a slave, driven to unpaid toil by the
white man's hand, led by the white man's brain. That
is in favor of "basking." (Laughter and applause.)

Is there any man left dull enough to doubt whether
the negro, with the great motive power of civilization
acting upon him, will work? Pardon me if I quote
William Cobbett—somewhat coarse, but eminently
Saxon, and terribly earnest, and remarkably full of
common sense. In analyzing the civilization of Eng-
land, Cobbett said, "The basis of all civilization is the
stomach." God gave to man the necessity of eating;
out of that come clothes, out of that come books,
out of that come colleges. Now, the negro has the
same necessity to eat that all other races have; and to-
day he holds out his hands to the North, and says,
"Use me to save your liberty." Those six million
of infuriated foes to the Union and to free institutions,
we want to hold them long enough to convert them.
I want those four million of blacks to help me. I
want a compensation—one hundred or three hundred
millions—which shall go to the loyal slaveholders, to
establish manufactures, the mechanic arts, and mines,
in the Southern States. I want the loyal slaveholder,
if such a man can be found, to look into his hand, and
see United States bond, and say to himself, "That
represents forty slaves. If I am a good citizen, if I
am above par. If McClellan is allowed to take York
town, and Butler to take New Orleans, it is above
par. If I fight, or am factious, it is eighty." He will
be a good citizen. (Applause.)

What is the bond of Union? Suppose McClellan
succeeds, and chains Massachusetts to South Carolina
—two angry dogs—that is not a Union. I want a
General who loads his cannon with something besides
balls. McClellan uses nothing else; Fremont rams
them down with ideas. (Applause.) That is the dif-
ference between the two Generals: one conquers, the
other converts. One puts South Carolina under the
heel of Massachusetts; the other puts her in her arms.
The one makes one half the nation conquered terri-
tory; the other makes it sister States; and all we
have got to do is to wait until God takes to himself,
or lets down, some fifty thousand infuriated slave-
holders. (Laughter.) Moses left a generation in the
desert, and we shall leave one generation in our
desert. We shall never get over this difficulty in less
than fifteen or twenty years. The war may be over
next fall; the first of January, we may celebrate
peace; but the difficulty of making fifteen States sis-
ter States will last your day and mine. In order to
do it, we have got to keep the negro race as the basis
of civilization in that half of the nation. We have
got to put, side by side with it, the poor whites, edu-
cated by the millions that compensation will pour into
the South. We have got to proclaim that this Union
means nothing but liberty from end to end; that every
race under it is to be protected, and every man free.
(Applause.) Whether we proclaim it to-day or a
dozen years hence does not matter. We are in for
the war, and this society's present object is, so to
manage the settlement of the slave question, that
when the negro rises into liberty, the nation may sur-
vive to receive him; otherwise, the remark of your
Secretary of the Treasury, when he entered office,
was the wisest advice ever given to a nation. He is
said to have remarked, "Better far let them go, keep
the homogeneous North by itself, and leave them to
work out their problem of civilization before we re-
ceive them again." That is statesmanship. The
only thing that supersedes it is, nineteen million of
people proclaiming that they can easier work out that
problem, and that, laying the foundation in the liberty
of all races, they guarantee to South Carolina a Re-
publican form of government to-day. Until that time,
never let there be a government in South Carolina at
all! (Applause.) This is the message which Con-
gress owes to the people—"There is never to be a
government south of the Border States, unless dic-
tated by the Union, until that government is the re-
sult and the expression of free institutions." Until
then, Mr. Sumner's and Mr. Conway's theory is the
only safe one—Territory, until Freedom creates a
government in the Carolinas! (Applause.)

Now, let me say one word as a citizen, before I sit
down as an Abolitionist. That is the only method.
It is a terrible method; it is a momentarily perilous
method; whether you or I are to live to see that
method tried, and free institutions survive it, is a
doubtful question. I am by no means certain, as our
friend (Rev. Mr. HAYFIELD) expressed himself, that
freedom and the Union will outlive this struggle.
The habeas corpus suspended; a despotic government
for the next fifteen years; an army of seven hundred
thousand men disbanded; ten thousand officers enter-
ing the political arena—the professions, law, medicine
and the counting-house, filled—where are they to go
but into politics? If Hamilton and Aaron Burr had
come back, after the Revolution, and found no space
for them in the courts of Albany, where would they
have gone? Could this Government have borne the
ambition, and popularity, and ability of those men,
and survived it? I doubt it. We just survived. If
Burr had been landless, and without business, with
the army behind him, the Constitution of '89 might
never have seen our day. Ten thousand officers are
to come from this army in just that state; a debt of
from one to two thousand million of dollars is to rest
upon the people. The three great elements that make
the curse of republics—military spirit, debt, and des-
potism—the medicine of States—we have got to en-
dure them for ten or fifteen years, in order to civilize
the South. I trust in God we can do it, and yet sur-
vive. I trust we have got intelligence and virtue
enough in the North to absorb the barbarism of fifteen
States, and not be poisoned. But I am not certain;
and every man who can shorten the time of peril is a
public benefactor. If you lessen it one year, it is ex-
cellent; if you lessen it five years, it is salvation.
Everybody in Washington looks forward to ten years
of military despotism. It is medicine; I am anxious
to go back to common diet. I am anxiously waiting.
"Every hour," as Napoleon said, "is an opportunity
for misfortune." Every year educates us in despot-
ism. Shorten the time! Summon the slave of the
Carolinas to the contest! Give your army emancipa-
tion! Announce Liberty as the normal law of the
Republic at once! (Applause.) I do not say it for the
negro's sake; his fate is settled. I am now speaking
as a citizen. I consider that the negro may fold his
arms on the safe land, and watch us, as we struggle

in the ocean of difficulty. Slavery is not the question
to-day; but the question is, how to get rid of slavery
in such a way that we can save the nation. Go out,
therefore, every one of you, into your circles! Hold
up the arms of the Government! Say to Lincoln,
"Amien to your Message to the Border States! Go
an arrow's flight beyond it, and we shall have a more
devout Amen!" Say to the Secretary of War, "God
bless you, that you have armed the black at last!
Now add to it this proclamation—that to every negro
who takes up arms on the side of the Republic, we
pledge liberty!" (Applause.) Hasten the Govern-
ment, in order to save it. There is no doubt of events.
The fate of the man half-way down Niagara is certain
—he must go down. We shall annihilate slavery; I
am not questioning that. What I want is that the
Government shall so act, and act so speedily, as to rid
us, as soon as possible, of the dangers that threaten
the triumph and unity of the nation. For that pur-
pose, send up delegations to Washington to urge the
Government forward. Why, I found delegations in
every committee room at Washington; Willard's was
crowded with delegations; the streets swarmed with
delegations, anxious to know whether patent medi-
cines, scented soaps, silver spoons, were to be taxed
(laughter); anxious to know whether printing paper
was to be taxed; but there was not a man—not one—
who had gone up to Washington to hurry the Cabinet,
to uphold and strengthen it, on the great question of
the liberty of a race, which holds within its circum-
ference the perpetuation of the nation. Montgomery
Blair says, the Post-Office follows the flag. Secretary
Chase says, Trade follows the flag. The nation lis-
tens to hear Lincoln add, Liberty follows the flag!
(Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Doxology was then sung, "From all that dwell
below the skies," and the meeting adjourned.