

slavery will come down, and I take this great occasion as a proof of the incoming of that day when there shall be no slave, no chain to clank in our ears. (Applause.)

Lord calls being made for Mr. DOUGLASS, he came upon the platform and spoke as follows:—

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I will detain this audience but a very few moments with any remarks at this stage of these proceedings. I experience great pleasure, indeed, in again appearing before an audience in the city of New York, at the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I rejoice that this Society has again taken its place in this city among the anniversaries of the month. I regard it as an earnest of the future triumph of our cause. There has been much said as to the hopeful and the fearful side of this great controversy with slavery. For my own part, I feel a little of both. I feel hopeful, and I feel fearful. It seems to me that the Slave Power of this country has determined upon a fixed and definite policy, with respect to the colored people of this country. They have determined, in the first place, by all the powers they possess, to suppress the freedom of speech. They have determined, in the next place, upon the expatriation of every colored man and woman from the United States. They have determined also upon the perpetuation of slavery forever in the Southern States. They have determined also upon making slavery respected in every State of the Union. The history of the past few years is not altogether unfavorable to the accomplishment of some of these designs. It seems to me that Mr. Phillips is right when he tells you that the Fugitive Slave Law has succeeded. He is right in so far as he pictures the ruin that has followed in the track of that inhuman, hell-black law; for there is ruin in its track. Hundreds and thousands of free men and women, comfortably situated in these Free States, have virtually had their property confiscated and been themselves driven forth as wanderers in the earth, in consequence of the passage of that law.

But as to having slavery respected in this country, in the Northern States, that thing cannot be done by law. The relation of master and slave is so inhuman, so monstrous and so shocking, that man cannot, uninfluenced by direct interest in that relation, look upon the slave as he looks upon other species of property. He cannot forget that the slave is a man. No laws, no compacts, no covenants, no enactments, of any description, can ever blot out from the moral sense of these Northern States a consciousness of the manhood of the slave, and no man can feel, when he sees a slave escape, as he would do if he saw a stray horse. The Slave Power, however, desire and intend to try to put the slaves on a footing with the beasts of the field. They intend to bring you and me and all of us to look upon the slave as a horse or an ox; but it cannot be done.

Then in regard to the freedom of speech—that cannot be suppressed, because it involves a proposition to padlock the lips of the whites, in order that the fetters on the limbs of the slave may be secure. It is done to give peace to the slave. That cannot be done. Peace to the slaveholder! He can have to peace. ‘No peace to the wicked, saith my God.’ The Slave Power might silence the voice of Wendell Phillips, or the pen of Wm. Lloyd Garrison. They might blot out our Anti-Slavery organization, in order to give peace to the slaveholder. They might cut out my tongue, and all our tongues. They might gather together all the anti-slavery literature, ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin’ included, touch a match to it, send its flames towards the sky, and scatter its ashes to the four winds of heaven, and yet the slaveholder would be ill at ease, (applause); for deep down in his own conscience would come an accusing voice—‘Thou art verily guilty concerning thy brother.’ (Applause.) Slavery cannot stand. Its character is like that of Lord Granby: ‘It can only pass without censure as it passes without observation.’ I am fearful; I am hopeful. I am distressed, and yet I have faith. I believe