

of us when their hearts are far from us. True friends are few, or, as Shakespeare has it,
"Words are easy as the wind,
Faithful friends are hard to find."

This, I think, is the experience of most men. Many of us have learned to appreciate the Spanish proverb of "He's my friend who grinds at my mill." In New England, colored mechanics get but little patronage. A trade is of but little use to any of us, unless we can, like the tailor of Campillo, afford to work for nothing, and find thread.

Friends, I ask you to look into this matter. You can assist the colored man, but you cannot elevate him; this must be done by his own exertions. Every colored man who succeeds is an unanswerable argument in favor of emancipation. The encouragement of one colored man stimulates others. Now, we have of nothing to stimulate our youth. They see many of us struggling against fearful odds, without friends or even kind words, and they become discouraged. The excess of such a man as Frederick Douglass is worth more to the race than a pile of resolutions and speeches as high as Bunker Hill monument. Had it not been for the Abolitionists, the brilliant genius of Mr. Douglass would probably have died with him. All honor to those noble men and women, who had the courage to do what they did! His success is our success, is the success of a great cause. (Applause.)

It is in this way that we ask our friends to help open to us those thoroughfares, through which all others are encouraged to pass, and in this manner breathe into the anti-slavery movement the breath of life. Then we will become educated and wealthy; and then the roughest looking colored man that you ever saw, or ever will see, will be pleasanter than the harmonies of color (purple; and black will be a very pretty color. (Laughter and applause.) It will make our jargon, our words, oracles; flattery will then take the place of slander, and you will find no prejudice in the Yankee whatever. (Laughter.)

We desire to take part in this contest, and when our Government shall see the necessity of using the blacks of the free States, I hope it will have the courage to recognize their manhood. It certainly will not be mean enough to force us to fight for your liberty, (after having spurned our offers)—and then leave us that we cannot ride in the cars, that our children cannot go to the public schools, that we cannot vote; and if we don't like that state of things, there is an appropriation to colonize us. We ask for our rights. Hardships and dangers are household words with us. We are not afraid to dig or to fight. A few black acclimated regiments would shake the Old Dominion. When will there be light enough in the Cabinet to see this! (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

"Give me liberty, or give me death!" This has been the battle-cry of my anti-slavery life for thirty years; and while I exist, in or out of the body, this sentiment must instigate and guide my plans, my words and actions, in all my efforts to elevate and perfect the nature I bear. If this nation ever emerges from its present peril, intact and glorious, it must come out of the bloody conflict instigated and guided by this sentiment. The man who would not rather die a man than live a slave is not worthy to live at all. A nation that had rather live the cowering, abject tool and bloodhound of slavery, than die in a struggle for liberty, is fit only to be wiped out. Annihilation is its "own place," and the quicker it goes to it, the better for mankind. "Cease to talk of liberty and slavery," said one—"talk of cotton, commerce, the Constitution and the Union." "Talk not of liberty and slavery," said another, "but talk of the Church, the Sabbath, the Creed, the Bible." No; talk of liberty for ourselves and all of human kind, and of nothing else. Sacredly reverence, cherish and protect liberty and life, and mere incidents will take care of themselves. Social, political, religious, commercial and literary institutions and regulations are of no account whatever, except as they conduce to the liberty, life, elevation and happiness of man.

Liberty before Property.—Talk not of liberty and slavery, but of cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice, shoes, merchandise, banks and commerce. Such has been the nation's cry for seventy years. Yield up liberty and sustain slavery, rather than invade the dominion of the almighty dollar. Postpone liberty to property! give up reason, conscience, God, self-respect, liberty and manhood for gain. Such have been the nation's spirit and watchword. Verily, the nation, stripped of its manhood, is now having its reward.

Liberty before the Constitution and Union!—Do the Union and Constitution no harm. No matter how much you harm liberty and life. Be tender of the constitutional rights and privileges of kidnappers, who are seeking to make the Constitution a nullity, and the Union a by-word, no matter what becomes of the liberty and lives of the loyal States and citizens who seek to sustain it. Constitutions and Unions are cheats and shams, are but injustice and villany, are but "covenants with death and agreements with hell," when they exist at the expense of liberty and life.

Liberty before Government!—The Federal Government is null and void, wholly without authority, and unworthy any respect, except as the deadly foe of slavery, and the active, energetic, fearless friend of liberty. It is our sacred duty, owed to God and man, to seek the overthrow—by such means as each thinks right—of all governments that exist by enslaving the humblest and poorest of their subjects.

Liberty before Churches, Creeds, Bibles and Religions!—Away with all religions that sustain, even by silence, the enslavement of a single human being! Man before religion! Justice before churches and creeds! Liberty before the Bible! Let all perish and pass away that cannot exist without turning man into a chattel and a brute!

Liberty before Life! Death before Slavery!—Inscribe these words on every banner of Freedom! Bear them aloft over every battle-field! Give us liberty, though property, constitutions, governments, Bibles, and all religions perish! Down with slavery, up with liberty, though country and government be blotted from the map of the world! Talk no more of bayonets, bullets, bombs and battles, to defend the Constitution and Union; but let this be our animating cry as we muster to meet the tyrant, whether in a battle of ideas or a battle of bullets—"Resistance to slaveholders is obedience to God!" "Give me liberty, or give me death!"

The Slogan of the slaveholder is, "Down with every thing and every person that opposes slavery and sustains liberty!" Be this ours: "Down with every thing and every person that opposes liberty and sustains slavery!" Down with the Constitution, the Union, the Government, the Church, the Sabbath, the Bible, and all religions that cannot exist without enslaving men. Let slavery be damned, and liberty saved, whatever becomes of institutions. Let man be sacred, though constitutions and governments, Bibles and religions, all go down to death.

The four million slaves must be animated by this spirit, and guided by this motto, before the nation can be saved. There is no name given under heaven among men whereby, as a nation, we can be saved, but the Negro. The despised and outraged Negro is a savor of life unto life or of death unto death to the nation. The poor, lashed, abused Negro slave is on the judgment-seat. The God of the oppressed and of justice is now summoning the nation before the Negro to be judged. Are you for liberty or for slavery? Are you pro-slavery or anti-slavery? As is your answer, so will be your doom—for the slave will render a righteous judgment. The crushed and crucified Negro has become the sole arbiter of the nation's destiny.

So far as the North is waging war to restore the Union as it was, with its slave compromises, four millions of slaves are your adversaries; and in this war for a slaveholding Union, "there is not an attribute of the Almighty that can take sides with us." "Agree, then, with thine adversary (the Negro) quickly, while

thou art in the way with him," lest he cast thee into hell, as a nation, and thou shalt not escape till the utmost farthing is paid! Call the Negro slave to your side. Teach him to make this his watchword: *Liberty or Death!* Breathe this breath of life into him. Make him a living soul, and he will speedily deliver into your hands your bloody and barbarous enemies, and say to the distracted nation, "Peace! be still!"—and there will be a calm.

This war will never end till we avow before heaven and earth that we fight for liberty, and not for mere institutions. All for liberty—nothing for institutions. Property and life for freedom, and for the abolition of slavery. Not a dollar, not a drop of blood merely for the Constitution and Government, except as that Constitution and Government can be proved to be essential to the support and perpetuity of liberty, and to the abolition of slavery.

SPEECH OF REV. MR. AMES, OF ILLINOIS.

I think the great lesson of the events of our time at last comes to this—faith in the perfect God, whose love is over us, in spite of us all, and whose way is always good, in spite of our bad ways. It is a pleasant thing to come to that conclusion by afternoon. In the morning, it was cloudy, and my spirits were cloudy, and the speakers talked despondingly; but now the sun has come out, and I feel cheered, comforted, hopeful and trustful; and I find an interpretation this afternoon for my friend Conway's old fable of the world and the tortoise, which hardly occurred to him, perhaps. It seems to me that the slowest being is not Abe Lincoln, but the great and perfect Being, who is never in a hurry, and whose way is so very slow that He does not begin to keep up with our haste and impatience. The "Golden Hour" with God is not kept by Mr. Conway's watch! The "Golden Hour" lasts a long time with Him, to whom the ages are but as yesterday, when it is past. The processes which we call destructive, we find at last to have been creative. As there were stages in the old geological periods, of which we find the record by digging up the stones of the valley, so there must be stages in the periods of humanity, and we are now in the lizard period, and we are the lizards. Let us not expect too much of the lizards! I am content—or at least, I rest—under the slow progress of events of which I have spoken. We see lizards all around. Great theological lizards, great military lizards, (or snails, shall I call them?) and great philanthropic lizards, who are here to-day. (Laughter.) It is very imperfect work that must come from such imperfect creatures as we are. I think God is leading us forward to a better age. I trust not only in the government of the universe, but I trust that the government of the universe does represent itself in the government of the United States. That is to say, I trust in the government of the United States because it is part of the agency of Providence. Ditto the government at Richmond. I have no fear but that at last all wrong will die.

I am ashamed of my State. I have to confess the sins of my people and bewail them, and to ask myself if I am to any extent responsible for them. It is cold comfort to think you would do just the same in Massachusetts, if the naked question were presented to you to-day by your politicians. Am I wrong? [Voices—"Yes"—"No."] I am sorry to hear you say "No." I was born in Massachusetts, and I declare to you that I am ashamed of it for the first time in my life. Well, just such political material as you have to deal with here in Massachusetts, we have to deal with in the West—only more so. (Laughter.) Our population is largely made up of emigrants from Kentucky, Virginia, and the Border States generally, and from Indiana, and the consequence is, we are continually exposed to be played upon by a variety of class feelings and sentiments, and that malignant prejudice of which you have, to a much greater extent, got the better here. Republicanism has never risen so high in Illinois as to dare to repeal, when it had the power, the law on the statute-book excluding negroes, which was just like the clause in the new Constitution. It must be remembered that this clause, although it received a great many votes, has not been adopted, because the whole Constitution was rejected, and this clause fell with it. I am glad to say that we are a good deal better than our laws. Negroes do come to Illinois, and stay for years. There has been one instance, I believe, in which that law has been carried out, and a man's labor sold as a punishment for coming into the State. What can you expect of Abe Lincoln, who was born where all these prejudices were active? I have more confidence in him than some of the speakers who have addressed us; more confidence in his persistent earnestness in putting slavery on the down-hill road. It is very easy to criticise a policy which it is not easy to comprehend. He is perfectly honest, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot—if I may take such a large scale of measure. (Laughter.) Let us frankly recognize the difficulties with which he is called to deal. Doubtless he reasoned in this way: "If I avow an anti-slavery policy, I can get Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips into the army, perhaps; if I dodge that question, I can get regiments. I must have the regiments."

I think that what we desire is coming—the "Golden Hour" by God's own watch; that complete triumph of freedom on this continent for which we have so long prayed, and for which some of you have given the bloom of your lives, which is more than martyrdom. Let us rejoice that we may hail it at a distance, and that we may celebrate here, by anticipation, the triumph that liberates, not only four million of black men, but the millions of white men also. I do not think we shall see a clear sky for many years, perhaps; but behind the stormy waves of war, I see the promised land of peace, bathed and glorified in the light of liberty. To us is given a great work, and we shall prove ourselves greater than our fathers, if we take counsel of the better spirit within us, and trust the consequences to Heaven. (Applause.)

I have a resolution here which I desire to read, as expressing my own feelings, not intending to ask a vote upon it:—

Whereas, the triumph of the Government over the present rebellion makes the ultimate extinction of slavery certain; and, whereas, the failure of the Government involves the probable perpetuity of slavery, and the overthrow of our whole American civilization—therefore,

Resolved, That our first duty, as patriots and friends of the slave, is to strengthen the hands of the Government by every proper means in our power, even though we may not wholly approve the details of its policy.

I have adopted that resolution, *unanimously.* (Laughter and applause.)

SPEECH OF REV. JAMES N. GLOUCESTER, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I am the last person in the world to be called upon to make an impromptu speech, although, on an occasion like this, my heart beats in unison with all who are patriotic and right on the great question of humanity. This is the first time that I have had the pleasure of standing upon the soil of your State on this jubilee day, and I have heard much that has interested me in regard to the cause that I love, and have loved all my life. I have been wedded to true anti-slaveryism; I have loved, it and have watched its progress with interest, and love it to-day more ardently than ever before in all my life. I love to see strong men, and hear their burning speeches, and I have had that great pleasure to-day. Sir, we live in glorious times—times when the great question must be settled, whether God or man shall be obeyed. In the good old times of our revolutionary fathers, when men carried their rifles to the house of God, and when the dear old farmer in Massachusetts prayed, "Lord, do thou bless those thy servants, my brethren in arms, and do thou, in blessing them, help them to keep their powder dry," they settled it, very speedily, whether God or man should be obeyed. But that happy time has passed away, and now we behold the servility of both priests and people. But, thank God, these days will pass away. We are now, with our

history as a nation, upon the broad ocean of the world; and if we would only cast overboard from our ship of State this relentless and bloody tyrant, slavery, we should find peace and safety, and our flag become the emblem of one mighty and undivided people. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL GREEN.

My friends, I esteem it a distinguished privilege and blessing to be here to-day. I have been truly gratified in hearing what has been said in regard to the evil of slavery, and the terrible consequences thereof, which now convulse the nation. I have realized much of the evil and suffering of which you have heard. Five years ago, I was arrested in Maryland, and imprisoned in the Penitentiary. The circumstances were these. My son had worked for a hard task-master seven years, and one day he asked him for some money, and he gave him ten cents. He came to me, and said, "Father, I must fly for freedom"; and he found his way to Canada. I was suspected of helping him off, and other slaves, who ran away about the same time, and my house was searched, and a copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a map of the county, and a picture of a hotel at Niagara Falls were found. I was convicted and sent to the Penitentiary for ten years. A strong petition was got up, and sent to Governor Hicks, praying for my pardon. The question was asked what he was going to do about it. He replied, "I know Green. So far as moral character goes, he is an honest man; but if I pardon him, I shall be called an abolitionist and mobbed." Governor Bradford released me, after I had been in prison five years.

Mr. Green then referred to the state of feeling which existed in Maryland in regard to the colored people, which was illustrated by the remark of one individual, that he would rather go to hell and be damned, than go to heaven with a "nigger." He said he did not believe that the efforts of the abolitionists had been an injury to the colored people, bond or free, but rather a benefit; and he attributed his own release to their exertions. It had pleased God, he said, to reveal Himself more powerfully to him in his affliction than at any other time. He realized that it was good to be afflicted; and he would say, that whatever might be our position, so long as we trusted in God, He would support and finally deliver us.

At the conclusion of Mr. Green's remarks, a handsome collection was taken up for his benefit, he having been despoiled of all his goods by the Egyptians down in Maryland.

SPEECH OF GEORGE W. STACY.

How slow our nation has ever been to appreciate the great event of which this day is the anniversary! But, pleasant as it may be to dwell upon the grandeur of that event, hardly a moment has been devoted to it to-day, because we have all been looking to the momentous struggle which is now convulsing our own country. We have been told here to-day that Abraham Lincoln is an honest man. The poet says, "Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great." I think, if Mr. Lincoln is an honest man, he has a very singular way of manifesting that honesty. It would seem that if Mr. Lincoln had a particle of honesty, slow though he may be, he would now speak that magic word that would at once give peace and freedom to the country, and declare universal, unconditional emancipation. I can hardly conceive, then, that it is right to apply that epithet to him.

I feel impressed to say that this is a dark hour for our country, and in order to make it brighter, we should work upon the individual conscience. I tell you there is a latent feeling of intense hatred among the people toward the Abolitionist and the negro—

"For whom we injure, him we also hate."

I was reading yesterday a passage in Theodore Parker's "Experience as a Minister," which I will read to you. They were, when written, words of prediction; they are now words of history:—

"In this age, I think the people do not make war against the peaceful people of another land; nay, in New England, the most democratic country, we have too much neglected the military art, I fear,—a mistake we may bitterly regret in that strife between the Southern Habit of Despotism and the Northern Principle of Democracy, which any day may take the form of civil war, and one day must. For America will not always attempt to carry a pitcher of poison on her left shoulder, and one of pure water on her right; one or the other must soon go to the ground."

Is it not time, beyond a doubt, that either slavery or liberty must prevail? It is chains for all, or liberty for all; or, in the beautiful language of Lamartine, "No sooner do we put the chain around the ankle of our brother, than the other end reaches our own neck." We are in danger; and it is because we have been mean and craven, because we have trampled on all the rights dear to the colored race, that God has unsheathed the sword of his eternal justice, and calls us to this hour of sad retribution. Let us not, then, ask that this cup may pass from us, unless we are ready to say, also, "Nevertheless, not our will, but thine, O Lord, be done." It is true that God's will must be accomplished, and that will bring the issue we desire. Before we separate from this pleasant meeting, let us solemnly promise, before God, that we will not give sleep to our eyes nor slumber to our eyelids, but work day by day in this cause of universal emancipation. It will bring hatred and persecution, I know, it may bring even death; but, my friends, what is life or property worth, what are any of the endearments of domestic life worth to you or me, if we cannot look upon a country that is free from this accursed system of slavery? There is work to be done, and we must carry on that work so faithfully that Abraham Lincoln shall feel he does not desire to be called "honest," if he does not come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty host of slavery.

Friends, we shall soon separate. The pleasant sun that hangs over us, in its last rays, we shall leave. And where are we going? To our happy homes. One to the right, and the other to the left. But let us remember that, wherever we go, God demands of us, that we must serve well our brother, or all our professions will be vain. We may build churches, we may make our loud professions of love to God, but in our last trying day, the question will be asked, "Where is your brother?" And if we have been unfaithful in this, we shall find ourselves wanting in all else.

"Who shall avenge the slave?" I stood and cried; "The earth! the earth!" the echoing sea replied. I turned me to the ocean, but each wave Declined to be the avenger of the slave. "Who shall avenge the slave?" my species cry; "The winds, the flood, the lightning of the sky." I turned to these, from these one echo ran— "The right avenger of the slave is man." Man was my fellow; in his sight I stood, Wept and besought him by the voice of blood; Sternly he looked, as proud on earth he trod, Then said, "The avenger of the slave is God!" I looked in prayer toward heaven—awhile 'twas still— And then no thought God's voice replied—I WILL!"

SPEECH OF WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

During the last Presidential canvass, the Democrats got up, among other caricatures, a picture of a boat full of Americans, and among them a black man. The boat was sinking, and the picture represented the black man on top, and these words were put into his mouth—"No matter where the boat goes, this nigger is on top." Little did they dream, at that time, that they had been coöperating with and encouraging the South to such an extent, that those words would become literally true—that no matter how they might flounder, or what became of their political boat, the colored man would come out on top. Everything, Mr. President, looks bright for us, while everything is dark for the Republic. I think there has never been an hour when the prospect for saving the Republic looked so dark as now. Everything seems to have been done just as the South would desire to have it, to crush the Republic. But the prospects of the black man are bright to-day. If the rebellion had been crushed, as was intended by the President and his Cabinet, and the Union as it was restored, the black man would have been left just where he was ten, fifteen or twenty years ago; but the war has gone on until there seems

not to be a possibility of putting down the rebellion without giving the black man his freedom. I do not think the Government possesses the power to put down the rebellion, without proclaiming universal emancipation. I asked a slave from the South, a few days ago, how the black men were feeling, and I said, "We wonder you have not had an insurrection." He replied—"We have no need of it. The white people are killing each other off; we have nothing to do but sit still, and wait until the good time comes. The Jeff. Davis men and the Lincoln men are killing each other off, and the time will be for us by and by; and when that time comes, the black man will be all right. If either party will give us our freedom, we will take it; if they will not, we will wait until they have done all they can to injure each other, and then will come the time for the black man to strike for his liberty." I feel that the future looks bright for the negro, although it looks dark for the nation; and if the Republic is saved at all, it will be only by means of emancipation.

Now, a single word as regards the day. I know that those who have spoken of West India Emancipation have always looked at it as it regarded dollars and cents. They looked at the black man's liberty as a matter involving so many hogsheads of sugar and so many bales of cotton. If there were not so many bales of cotton produced, they felt that liberty had been proclaimed to no purpose; if the amount of sugar produced fell short of their calculations, emancipation was, in their view, a failure. They have never taken into account the moral, social and intellectual condition of the former slaves of the West Indies. They have never regarded the minds and immortal souls of those slaves as worth anything at all. Now, in a report made to the British Parliament, three years ago, it was distinctly stated, that since emancipation in the West Indies, the condition of both the whites and blacks had been improved, and that the islands exported and imported a great deal more than at any time during the existence of slavery; and in that report, a very significant fact was stated, which I wish every opponent of emancipation in this country might know. Speaking of the condition of the freedmen in an educational and religious point of view, it was said that the former slaves in the island of Jamaica had built 220 churches since emancipation; that there were 63,000 communicants connected with those churches; that the average attendance was 91,000—about one-third of the population; that one-third of the children—namely, 22,000—were in schools; that the blacks voluntarily contributed annually, in Jamaica, \$110,000 towards the support of religious institutions; that they annually contributed \$80,000 towards the support of their schools; that their landed property amounts to something over five millions; and that these people were never in a better condition, never in a better spirit, and that there was never a better state of feeling between the blacks and the whites than there is in Jamaica at the present time. Although the same prejudice existed in Jamaica that exists here, growing out of the institution of slavery, and although it was said that the blacks and whites could not live together on terms of equality, and that a war of extermination would spring up as soon as slavery was done away with, the report says that the blacks and whites in Jamaica do live upon terms of perfect equality; that in the Assembly, white men and black men sit together and make the laws; that in the religious societies, white and black unite in worshipping God; that in the schools, where blacks were never permitted in the days of slavery, white and black sit together, and there is perfect impartiality in that island, as regards the whites and the blacks. And what is true in that island is true in them all.

Now, I say, let us hope that Emancipation will be the word written upon the banner of those contending with the South. Among no class of people is a greater interest felt in regard to the termination of this year than among the colored people of the North; but they are all looking and hoping for freedom; and I believe that, if Emancipation is proclaimed as the policy of the Government, there will be no further need of offering bounties of \$100, \$150, or \$200, but that the ranks will be filled up at once; and if the Government will only discard the idea of having only white men to fight its battles, proclaim freedom, and declare that it will receive any who shall come forward and offer to do battle for liberty, I believe that black men will rush from the North, and black men, formerly slaves, will rush from Canada, and, more numerous than all these, there will rise up in the Southern States black men with strong arms, who will be far better to garrison the forts of the South, and do more to cause the slaveholders to leave the Southern army, and go back to their plantations to look after their wives and children, and attend to their own affairs, than any set of men who can be sent from the North. There are thousands and tens of thousands of black men at the South, with strong arms and willing hearts, ready to strike for freedom, and lay down their lives, if need be, for freedom, if you will give them the opportunity. From the time you do so, I believe success will attend your arms. (Applause.)