OELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST down and worship this despotism that has runed our

At Island Grove, Abington, Mass.

[CONCLUDED FROM THE FOURTH PAGE.]

SPEECH OF REV. DANIEL FOSTER.

I stand before the last Massachusetts audience, perhaps, that I shall have the pleasure of addressing for a good while to come. I expect next Sunday to commence my duties as chaplain of the thirtythird Regiment, and to address some fifteen hundred soldiers in camp at Lynnfield, and to go with that Regiment to the seat of war; and, God helping me, as a son of New England, whether in obedience orders of the General or the President, or in disobedience to those orders, to fight as far as I have opportunity against slavery. If that leads me to prison or to death, so be it. May my right hand wither, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I ever strike a blow to return a fugitive slave, or fail to strike a blow to give him his freedom! (Applause.)

The Governor of Iowa has just had an interview

with the President, in which he has informed Abraham Lincoln that some of the officers of the Iowa regiments are at this moment under arrest, for disobeying that infamous order, issued by Gen. Halleck, shutting out from our lines every loyal man at the South; for the blacks are loyal to the North, so far as the North represents the idea of freedom; and so far as the Union represents that idea, it is perfect folly to talk about a loyal slaveholder. There is no name given under heaven by which this Union can be saved, except the name of Universal Emancipation. The man who does not see this is stone blind. You might as well talk sbout a Christian devil as to talk about a loyal slaveholder. What a spectacle do we see now! The "golden

hour" came, when Abraham Lincoln had only to say the word, and four million men, set free, became our allies and friends all over the South, and this rebellion fell powerless to the ground. That hour is passing away. The President of the United States has come forward, and exercised his individual responsibility and his personal authority only against the men who have put forth an anti-slavery policy. First, against General Fremont—the noblest man that ever fore shoulder-straps in this country, (applause,) and, in my humble opinion, the ablest man we have had in the field; the only man who has a real genius for war, as Napoleon had, and who would cut red tape anywhere, and finish this war by striking down the slave system, as Napeleon struck down Austrian supremacy upon the field of Marengo. Then the orders of Gen. Hunter and Gen. Phelps, and of every body else who has proclaimed an anti-slavery policy, have been revoked; but Gen. Hallock, who issued that infamous Order No. 3, has not been interfered with. The President of the United States has, in this particular, prostituted his power and his office to the service of the rebellion, by the adoption of a policy which prolongs the war, wastes the lives of the people and the treasure of the North, and must bring upon it, at no distant day, the most fearful struggle in which any nation was ever called to engage. In view of such circumstances as these, in view of

the exigencies of the hour in which we are called upon to act, I feel bound to do all I can against American slavery. I make opposition to that the one thing which animates my heart, that nerves my arm, that directs every blow that I strike. Now, ladies and gentlemen, you have all heard something about the struggle in Kansas. Let me tell you that the one thing which made as invincible upon those broad prairies against the forces of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, and the border-ruffian hordes that were poured in upon us, was the fact, that the leaders in that struggle, at least, were animated by radical abolition ideas. Gen. Lane himself, who came to Kansas from Indiana a proslavery Democrat, was converted to the anti-slavery faith there; and whatever may be said about that man, I will testify, that since he proclaimed the fact that he had adopted the anti-slavery doctrines, he has been consistent with that profession, and there is no doubt that he would be glad to have permission to raise a brigade of colored men in Kansas, and lead them against the Southern foe. So Mr. Conway, the member of Congress, a native of the South, and others whom I could name, have been actuated by an undying devotion to liberty, by an unquenchable hatred of American slavery, and by a determination that that institution should not be planted on the soil of Kansas.

Something has been said here to-day about General Fremont; and everywhere I go, I hear criticisms made

of his military capacity. It is said that he has not ac-complished anything, that he has not shown himself an able commander. Every man who, in the history of our world, has worked out great results as a military commander, has done it, in the first place, by cutting tape, and throwing himself upon the genius that existed in his own soul, and by the exercise of that genius kindling in the hearts of his coldiers an undying devotion to himself, and to the ideas which he represented. It was thus with Napoleon. There were abler tactitians in Europe than Napoleon; but he had what they did not have—foresight, a magnetic power over men, the ability to grasp some great central idea, by which he could inspire the men under him, so that they would go to the death at his command. The whole history of Fremont shows that he possesses that power. He led his men across the deserts of the West and over the Rocky Mountains, and won for our nation the golden State of California, by inspiring in his men an enthusiasm and devotion such as no other man in this country has shown himself capable of calling forth. I know that he found the State of Missouri in confusion, and was organizing victory. I know that the measures which he inaugurated, those wife succeeded him have been obliged to adopt, though they scouted them at first. I know that, after the fall of Fort Donalson, Commodore Foote wrote him, thanking him for the foresight that gave us that victory, and brought the first gleam of light on the cause of the nation; and when the story of that campaign in the Shenandoah valley is written out, it will be found that Gen. Fremont, with his small army, badly armed and poorly furnished-purposely neglected by the Government, because they did not want him to accomplish anything-in crossing the mountains, and in the battle of Cross-Keys, carried on the most glorious campaign, considering his disadvantage and the numbers pitted against him, that this war has re But, passing that point, there is no man who has such firm hold of the hearts of the people, there is no

man who could so soon call to the battle-field a million of young men, as John Charles Fremont. If word could be given to-day, that Fremont had been ap-pointed Commander-in-Chief, instead of Halleck, there is not a man living on the American continent who would not know that that appointment heralded the overthrow of slavery, and the reconstruction of a free Union. (Applause.) The reason why the effort is made to throw doubt on his military ability is, first, that he is anti-slavery; and, second, that he is able to command and wield large bodies of men, and gain a victory that shall cover the whole continent with freedom and renown. I want to impress upon you this one thought: This,

after all, is the people's question. Abraham Lincoln has in reality no more to do with this war than you and I have. It belongs to us, as citizens of Massa. chusetts, as men who love freedom, as men who entered into this warfare years ago, and have continued it at the sacrifice of popularity and position in the world; and it is our duty to stand firm by the everlasting truth, and to let the Cabinet and the Generals all understand that the people are fighting this war, and that they are determined to fight it for the overthrow of slavery. We will not consent that the Union shall be reconstructed—supposing it to be pos-

sible, which it is not - as it was under Franklin

Pierce and James Buchanan; a Union that takes such

men as Daniel Webster, and offers them up to the

Moloch of slavery; that makes it the condition of all

promotion and all political honor that they shall bow | leal justly by the oppressed.

A good deal has been said to day about the dark aspects of the hour. In many respects, the hour is dark, and yet, there is much that is hopeful. In the first place, we must hope, and I do hope, because that Infinite Providence, that has watched over humanity from the earliest moment down to this time, that has called these noble apostles and prophets into the field, and sustained them against a nation combined to put them down during the last thirty years—that Infinite Providence is still over all, and is on our side, and has promised that the seed of truth, scattered over the soil of the world, shall never fail. Therefore, if we do our duty, keep our faith in God, and keep our hands free from all complicity with slavery, we may bid defiance to all the powers of darkness, set aside every law that commands us to help enslave our fellow-men, and go forward, firmly, calmly, confi-dently, in the hope that God will bless these labors, and, in his own time and way, if we do our duty, re construct this Union, and give us, or our children after us, at least, a united and a free fatherland, upon which the blessing of God may be invoked by all loyal and loving and believing hearts, with the assurance that the prayer of patriotism and hope will be answered. (Loud applause.) SPEECH OF JOHN S. ROCK, ESQ.

DIr. President, Ludies and Gentlemen,

we have assembled here to celebrate has been made sacred in the world's calendar. Twenty-four years ago, the friends of freedom in Great Britain and in her Colonies held grand jubilees, and thanked God and their rulers that 800,000 human chattels were that day transformed into men, and that the slave could never again clank his chains on British soil.

The British Government has, by this act, set us an example which I think hundreds within the sound of

my voice would rejoice to see imitated by the United States. (Applause.) What our President means to do in this direction, God only knows. I do not pretend to be able to discern the probable results of this war better than he can, but I think I can see as far into the millstone as the man who picks it; and if I do not know all about the white man, I have learned something of the black,-enough at least to say that you made a mistake by spurning valuable friends, who have stood ready to help you. I have never doubted but that the President was on the side of freedom and humanity, but I confess I do not understand how it is, that when the national life has been assailed, he has not availed himself of all the powers given him; and, more especially, why he has not broken every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. There may be many reasons why he should do as he has done; but I am puzzled to know why he, as a constitutional man and a patriot, has delayed enforcing laws recently enacted for the overthrow of rebellion. We all know that emancipation, if early proclaimed, would not only have saved many precious lives, but the nation itself. Why then delay, when delays are dangerous, and may prove fatal? I believe the only salvation to be obtained for this country must be through the hearty cooperation of the

oppressed, bond and free. It is indeed humiliating to the civilization and Christianity of the nineteenth century that to-day, in

one of the most, if not the most enlightened nation on the globe, there exists a "peculiar" and popular "institution," which robs men not only of their earnings, but of themselves and their families; abolishes the marriage relation, ignores chastity, and makes woman the hapless victim of the most depraved wretches, and inflicts upon all who resist its progress tortures which the most barbarous savages of the most barbarous age would have scorned to have inflicted upon their bitterest enemies. Our enemies argue that West India Emancipation has failed. So have the despots of Europle always

said that democratical institutions are a failure. (Hear.) We know that Democracy is now undergoing a terrible trial; but who is there who has lost confidence in the people, and is willing to yield to the "divine right of kings"? If this Government fails now, it will not be because we have reposed too much confidence in the people, but because we have relied too much on the few, who will have proved themselves unworthy of our confidence. (Applause.) What are the facts about British Emancipation? Did the freed men become idle, disorderly, or bad

citizens, after they were emancipated? Not at all. They have been good citizens, and industrious to a remarkable degree, considering the climate and its resources, and the low wages paid for labor. It is true that many of the poor planters were left to suffer. Poor things, they had taken no thought for the morrow, but depended solely upon having their pockets filled by gold wrung from the sweat and life-blood of the unpaid laborer. There was no chance for them to steal: they were too proud to beg, and too lazy to work. (Applause.) How could they help suffering? Many who were wealthy were ruined. I will tell you how this was done. They attempted to crush freed men by refusing to employ them. Many of lose who did emplov em. gave hem so little they were unable to provide for their necessities. This aroused the freed men, and many of those who had saved up something during the four years' apprenticeship immediately preceding emancipation, bought small parcels of land, and, instead of working for the planters, they became small proprietors and worked This effort on the part of the planters to crush out free laborers was not without its good effects. It taught the blacks the necessity of selfreliance, and the planter that the laborer was worthy of his hire. The exports, as a matter of course, were less, because, instead of cultivating cotton and sugar, the freed men were obliged to turn their attention to cultivating the necessaries of life. bled them to throw away the coarse and unhealthy food that they were formerly obliged to eat, and five on better diet. Their new relation created new wants. Many things which had been denied them in slavery they were able to get when free, and the surplus of their gardens or fields, instead of being exported, were exchanged in many instances for the luxuries of a higher state, and by this means their labor was turned into a new channel. The reason why it was impossible for Jamaica to export so much as formerly was because the planters failed to encourage labor, and the people consumed more than before of that which was produced. You will please bear in mind that a large proportion of the exports from the British West Indies is now produced upon the estates of men once eld as slaves. (Applause.)

The English Government, instead of setting the held as slaves.

planters to work to compensate the slaves for what they had plundered from them, paid the planters with British gold, the price of their blood to which they had not the shadow of a right, neither by the laws of God nor of nature. (Applause.) Robbed of everything but their liberty, and without any assistance, the new creatures sprang into a new life, and have nobly vindicated their capacity to enjoy and appreciate their freedom. Why talk about compensating masters? Compensate them for what? What do you owe What does the slaves owe them? What doe society owe them? Compensate the master? No, never. (Applause.) It is the slave who ought to be compensated. The property of the South is by right the property of the slave. You talk of compensating the master who has stolen enough to sink ten generations, and yet you do not propose to restore even a part of that which has been plundered. This is re-Have you forgotten that the warding the thief. wealth of the South is the property of the slave? Will you keep back the price of his blood, which is upon you and upon your children? Restore to him he wealth of the South, and he will engage to coninue to take care of the master well, as he has always been obliged to do, and make a good speculation

Freedom in the West Indies is a success. It is a Freedom in the received peaceably of hy learn by the lear the sword. (Applause.) We learn by the last etra that there is in the Island of Jamaica one house, that there is in the Island of Jamaica one house, and eighty-two churches, exclusive of the Church of England, and that the average attendance on the dy England, and that the average accountry on the dy schools is 88,521; that crime has diminished, and the schools is 00,022, the whole people is greatly in proved. Jamaica-has at present some colored Eq. proved. Januares and well afford to be proved that any country could well afford to be proved to comprising artists, mechanics, manufacturers, nacomprising actions, incomments, incomes, independent, incomes, pulgered, the chants, physicians, professors, advocates, judgered legislators, each honorably filling his station, and juslegistators, each nonlocation is capable of the highest finement and culture. Many of these men, 162 to member, were once slaves. What has been done member, were once staves. In that has been done in the United States. (4) Our Government has recognized the Government

Our Government has recognized the Gottreen of Liberia and Hayti. What sort of logic is it to regards the blacks in America as creatures having rights, but the moment they emigrate to Physics Liberia, they are entitled to consideration? Wire we now standing still? Why is it that emarcials is not declared? Can it be possible that we fartet Davis will "bag us" all, (laughter,) and wish to our conduct so that we can say to him, "Have wett been good and faithful servants? Are we not coited to your favors?" Why such pandering to be pro-slavery, or rather secession, element in our mile Why this Northern servility? I have been toll the it is the natural repugnance of the races; that the whites will always have their prejudices, and cart account it would not do to emancipate the back, in it would be impossible for the two races to exits You may believe this, but I do kg gether as equals. believe it. That there are many ignoran white page who believe all they have heard against us, I the pretend to deny; but I do deny that the must d the intelligent whites are prejudiced against us. To most bitter pro slavery man in this State, who will send me to the mountains of the moon to morn would insult my daughter, if I had one, the mean my back was turned. This is the character of & negro-haters of this country. (Laughter.) 1 2/12 saw a pro-slavery man or a colonizationist who ra not, when he had a chance, an amalgamatick (Laughter and applause.) Though often main high position, they are generally men with lever ideas, who seek by words to conceal their rela-They are opposed to emancipation have that will carry certain legal rights with it, and a elevate the moral standard. The design is to be the race ignorant and degraded, and without kell; moral rights, that it may be at the mercy of the praved. I do not think the whites have muching dice, when I see them preferring the society dismost degraded blacks to that of cultivated vis (hear, hear); and in this I am confirmed by the & that there is no prejudice against black mer women, so long as they remain slaves. This page dice is not natural. The white child cries after a black wet-nurse, and refuses to be comforted by mother (laughter and applause); and the mris child is dandled on the knee of its white father mi he gets "hard up," then he sells it. (Applause) Emancipation will entirely revolutionize social

has been brought to the saving knowledge of email pation, then the anti-slavery work will have but an I hope our friends will not stop to commenced. and think their work is done. The slaves have to: for you for more than two centuries. It is but rethat you should do something for them. (Affice They have a heavy claim against you-akeen logue of outrage and oppression. You must not keep them now. The slaves are to be educated for the civilization, they need your friendship, and week to cooperate with us, and help clear the way. Alle for the black man is an unobstructed road enity chance. (Applause.) The present position of the colored meniate: one; trying because the whole nation seems pin entered into a conspiracy to crush nim. Buttered to comprehend our position in the free Bate L

This system of free love must be abolished. This re-

be no child's play. (Laughter.) When the government

masses seem to think that we are oppressed that the South. This is a mistake; we are 675. everywhere in this slavery-cursed land. Music setts has a great name, and deserves much call what she has done, but the position of the colordie ple in Massachusetts is far from being an entiller. While colored men have many rights, they large few privileges here. To be sure, we are selled sulted by the vulgar passers by, we have the next suffrage, the free schools and colleges are operate our children, and from them have come forth 1944 men capable of filling any post of profit or but But there is no field for these young men. The education aggravates their suffering. The more by ly educated the colored man is, the more keenly 2 suffers. The educated colored man meets, on thes hand, the embittered prejudices of the whites, and the other the jealousies of his own race. The war man who educates his son, educates him to the the more ignorant the colored man, the he must be. If we are never to derive the lentist an education, it would be a misfortune for us to Ket side of a school-house. You can hardly imagin ? humiliation and contempt a colored lad must fei? graduating the first in his class, and then being nice everywhere else because of his color. of the nineteenth century, be it said, the [:= States is the only civilized country mean energy make this invidious distinction. No where in the [2] ted States is the colored man of talent space. Even in Boston, which has a great reputation fax ing anti-slavery, he has no field for his takent. 😂 persons think that, because we have the right of right frage, and enjoy the privilege of riding in the there is less prejudice here than there is farther In some respects this is true, and in others it is 15 We are colonized in Boston. It is fire that difficult to get a house in a good location is by ton as it is in Philadelphia, and it is ten times and difficult for a colored mechanic to get employed than in Charleston. Colored men in business it ye sachusetts receive more respect, and less patters than in any place that I know of. In Bostes with proscribed in some of the eating-houses, many dis hotels, and all the theatres but one. Boston, the anti-slavery and progressive, supports, in salities these places, two places of amusement, the safe of which is to caricature us, and to perpetuate the isting prejudices against us. I now ask yea, is a ton anti-slavery? Are not the very places the?" scribe us sustained by anti-slavery patrensed in not our diberal anti-slavery politicians dine at the vere House, sup at the Parker House, and take the cream and jellies at Copeland's? The friends of slavery are everywhere whale

THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T

their patronage from us, and trying to starre the by refusing to employ us even as menials. With laboring men go to them for work, as heretolest, 25 reply, "Go to the Abolitionists and Republicate, the have turned the country upside down"! The last ing men who could once be found all along the what of Boston, can now be found only about Central with scarcely encouragement enough to keep scales body together. You know that the colored man proscribed in some of the churches, and that the scription is carried even to the grave yards. Boston—by far the best, or at least the most fire large city in the United Siates.

Now, while our enemies are endeavoring to find us, and are closing the avenues from which we had wrung out our humble subsistence, is there applied higher opened to us? Who is taking our long in the subsistence with the subsistence their stores at a low salary, and giving them added to rise? Who is admitting them into their sale shops, or into their counting-room? Or who is couraging those who are engaged in trade or builds. With the exception of a handful of Abelitionians, Republicans, there are none. This is the kind friendship that we need. It is not unpopular not be anti slavery, and there are many who speak how

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y the transaction. (Applause.) This you owe to the

lave; and if you do your duty, posterity will give to

ou the honor of being the first nation that dared to

of us when their hearts are far from us. True friends re 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 This, I cannot be appreciate the Spanish proverher my friend who grinds at my mill." In New England, colored mechanics get but little patronage. Ingrand, a trade is of but little use to any of us, unless pageon, a like the tailor of Campillo, afford to work for nothing, and find thread.

Friends, I ask you to look into this matter. You em assist the colored man, but you cannot elevate can asset that be done by his own exertions. Every colored man who succeeds is an unanswerable argucolored man and acceptation. The encouragement of one colored man stimulates others. Now, we have of one control and to stimulate our youth. They see many of us struggling against fearful odds, without friends or us strugging against the strugged and they become discouraged. The even sum when, man as Frederick Douglass is worth success of such a man a pile of resolutions and speechmore to the last Bunker Hill monument. Had it not been es high as Dunker that the brilliant genius of Mr. Dougfor the Austrophysics, and 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 erer will see, will be pleasanter than the harmonies of Orpheus; and black will be a very pretty color. (Laughter and applause.) It will make our jargon, (Lauguaci and Privates) 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 loyal blacks of the free States, I hope it will have the courage to recognize their manhood. It certainly will not le mean enough to force us to fight for your liberty, (after having spurned our offers)—and then leave us when we go home to our respective States to be told 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.

"Gire 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 senti-ment 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 slaveter ior manking. Cease to link of metry and sacrey," 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 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 sla very, 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 kidnap pers, 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 rillany, are but "covenants with death and agreements with hell," when they exist at the expense of liberty and life.

Liberty before Government !- The Federal Govern ment is null and void, wholly without authority, and unworthy any respect, except as the deadly foe of sla very, and the active, energetic, fearless friend of liberty. It is our sacred duty, owed to God and man, 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, 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 obe-dience 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 sus-tains 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 religious, 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 des-

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,

hell, as a nation, and thou shalt not escape till the ut-world, and if we would only cast overboard from our most farthing is paid! Call the Negro slave to your ship of State this relentless and bloody tyrant, sla-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, for smalls, 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. 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 sny "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 anticipa tion, the triumph that liberites, 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 in. terested me in regard to the cause that I love, and have loved all my life. I have been wedded to true anti-slavervism: 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 way, and now we behold the

servility of both priests and people. But, thank God,

thou art in the way with him," lest he east thee into history as a nation, upon the broad ocean of the very, 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." Gorernor Bradford released me, after I had been in prison

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 handome 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 writen, 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, It is true that God's will must be ecomplished, 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. will bring hatred and persecution, I know, it may bring even death; but, my friends, what is life or operty 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.

his, we shall find ourselves wanting in all else.

'Who shall avenge the slave?' I stood and cried;

'The earth! the earth! the cetoing 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 ceho 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 tred,

Then said, 'The avenger of the slave is God!'

I looked in prayer toward heaven—awhile 'twas still
And then me thought God's voice replied—I will!

SPEECH OF WILLIAM WELLS BROWN

During the last Presidential canvas, 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 cooperating 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 erush 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

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 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 taker 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 repor made to the British Parliament, three years ago, it was distinctly stated, that since emancipation in the Wes 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 oppo nent of emancipation in this country might know. Speaking of the condition of the freedmen in an edu-cational 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 53.000 communicants connected with those churches; that the average attendance was 91,000-about onethird 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 to gether 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 war 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.)