

CHAS. LENOX REMOND, of Salem, then took the platform, and after a few preliminary remarks, in the course of which he said that the time allotted to him was too short to enable him to refer to all the points raised by Mr. Davis, further than to say that he agreed with the minority of them, but disagreed with the majority, he continued as follows:—

I know, sir, that I not only stand in the presence of negro-haters this afternoon, in old Plymouth county, but I stand before slaveholders; and if you were not mean, and base, and cowardly, the slaveholder does not breathe who would dare to come into your presence. And this is the reason why we are here today; not to pride ourselves on emancipation in the West India Islands, not to speak of the intellect and the genius of the black man there, but to speak of that retrogression which may be seen in the sons of New England, as compared with those who did battle for American liberty and independence. And I wish to state here, also, in the outset, in reference to the fact, that a man originating in this community, goes down to the State of South Carolina, and there becomes a slaveholder, and then returns to the place of his nativity, and to the hearthstones of his associates, and is recognized as a gentleman in their midst, —I wish to state, in view of this fact, that I have praises to bestow upon the South Carolina slaveholder, while I look with loathing upon those men of Abington who can recognize the renegade from their own community who becomes a slaveholder. (Applause and hissing.) Sir, I hear a hiss, and I suppose it comes from some friend of the slaveholder to whom I have referred. If he sympathizes with him,

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and thinks he would like to become a slaveholder in South Carolina, would to God that he could purchase the humble individual who is speaking upon this platform, and I would give him to understand that I believed the American Revolution meant something; (applause;) and if he was not a better man than I was, I would, in the language of Andrew T. Foss, 'see daylight through his cowardly body.' (Loud cheers, and cries of 'Good.')

I have to say one word in reply to our friend, Mr. Davis, who calls upon those who occupy this platform to exercise their charity towards those who, with an anti-slavery name, differ from us in our measures. Sir, I can only know an anti-slavery man by his acts, at the present moment, by the demonstration of his moral heroism; and I find people in this very audience who feel that Mr. Dallas was just and manly in his feelings when he felt himself to be insulted by the announcement of Lord Brougham that there was a negro present, and an equal, in the convention in which he was sitting. Yes, American negrocrats and slaveocrats can sympathize with Mr. Dallas, but they saw no insult in the fact that George M. Dallas had the impudence and hardihood to introduce Mr. Wilkes, a New York editor, to the Queen, who crossed the Atlantic for no other purpose than to report the recent bull-fight, in human form, between [Beeman] and Sayers. There was no insult to the Queen when Mr. Dallas introduced that character, but a great insult was offered to the American nation, in the person of its representative, when Lord Brougham announced the presence of Martin R. De-

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lany in the Statistical Congress! Now, Mr. President, I have no pride in my complexion, but I sometimes think that I ought to pride myself in my complexion, in view of the baseness of the pale faces of this country. (Laughter and applause.) For what do we see? Dr. Delany, although a black man, is an intelligent gentleman, as has been recognized throughout the West and the East; and, sir, he was in England upon an errand that ought to have put to shame George M. Dallas. The fact that his rights are not recognized in full in this country, that his children cannot be educated here, is the reason why he was there. I recognize the Hon. Wm. H. Seward as a gentleman and a statesman, after American parlance; and that he is so, is his condemnation, in the sentiment of the black man. What does Mr. Seward say? That he 'owes his first obligation to the Constitution and to the American Union.' What does he say further? That John Brown 'deserved his fate.' What do you, true Abolitionists, say in regard to that matter? And yet, we must exercise charity towards, him! There was a time when no man was more eloquent in defence of a supposed culprit than Mr. Seward, and he showed his manhood on that occasion. His effort in behalf of James Freeman was very well; I am willing to respect him for that act. But when I see him getting down upon his knees, and allowing himself to be ridden goose-back by the slaveholders, that he may receive the nomination for the Presidency, I must, with every other black man, condemn him notwithstanding his past virtuous acts. For how do we stand? If I go to Washington, where shall I

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find the Northern Senators and Representatives in that city standing? I am glad, in view of the approaching election; I am glad of the crisis to which reference has been made; and this is why I am glad. If the slaveholders shall carry out their threats, I shall say, God speed the triumph of the Republican party; but if they shall not, then I am among that number to whom my friend Davis referred when he said that we believed the Republican to be the worst of the three parties, or more, and yet glory in their success. It was a misrepresentation;—I do not say it was intentional. Stephen S. Foster and two or three others have made the declaration to which he has referred, but he has never heard Mr. Foster triumphing over Republican successes. This was a misrepresentation, and I wished to correct it here.

But to return to Washington, Mr. Davis tells us that we are doing nothing, and yet he says he would to God that our influence could be spread far and wide. Now, in Washington, the Garrisonians are recognized, not as he would recognize them, but as slaveholders almost always recognize them. I want that same work to be done all over our common country; for while I do not shrink from the thought of an imitation, on the part of the slaves, of revolutionists, I know the influence that can be exerted by the opposite opinion. I differ from Mr. Quincy and James Freeman Clarke, who look upon every effort of the black man to secure his freedom by force as a great mistake. I believe that every such effort made by the black man has done more than words can express; but be that as it may, I long for the time when our

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friend Davis, and those who feel like him, shall be spared the trouble of coming to this platform to make such speeches, and humiliate every would-be freeman among the black men by the positions they assume.

If there is one thing more than another that requires to be considered among us, it is, what constitutes an Abolitionist. My friend Heywood expressed it this morning—not that I care the snap of my finger about amalgamation; but, in the light of principle, if you would be free yourselves, you must recognize the doctrine at which some of your hissed to-day.

Now, I recognize my friend Davis as a very good Abolitionist, as the world goes—what Mr. Garrison calls, ‘a certain kind of Abolitionist.’ That is a very ambiguous term. Is he ready to take his stand upon this platform and say, that that which is law and constitution for me, that which is Union for me, shall be law and constitution and Union for him?—that that which is government for me shall be government for him? If he is not prepared to take that ground, then I am here to criticize him, and criticize him ‘uncharitably.’ I say, before God and the world, that my rights are as good as his, here or anywhere else; and so long as I shall live, I will insist upon exercising the same rights that he shall assert and exercise, though I be black as murky night, and he be white as alabaster. (Loud applause.)

[Mr. Davis. I think I deserve a vote of thanks, for the best anti-slavery speech that has been made here today. (Laughter and applause.) In response to the questions Mr. Remond has put me, I say, heartily, ‘Yes, always yes,’ to every one of them. And this I

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will say, in addition: we have no Union now; I want a Union; and there is where I think we Republicans differ from the Abolitionists.

Mr. Davis' voice here failed him, and after one or two ineffectual efforts to speak, he found it impossible to proceed, and took his seat.]

Mr. Remond. I have only one further remark to make. Reference was made by my friend Davis to the criticisms upon the letter of Mr. Andrew. I am sorry that any thing should come to my ears to-day, in reference to that gentleman, so well calculated to affect the regard which I have all along entertained for him; but I wish to say here, that if Mr. Andrew represented himself in the letter which has been read here, I can no longer recognize him as an Abolitionist, not any other man who shall apologize, directly or indirectly, for this Government and Union, and for slavery, by talking about the large sensibility of the Anglo-Saxon, and the small sensibility of the colored man,—implying that yokes, and whips, and chains, and thumb-screws, and gags, disturb us but little, while they might keenly afflict a white man. In God's name, I ask, does not that water drown a black man as readily as a white man? Does not fire consume him just as quickly? May he not be frozen by the same degree of coldness? And yet a man as enlightened as Mr. Andrew talks about want of sensibility on the part of the colored man, and declares that he cannot realize his condition in slavery as the white man would! What mean, then, these affectional demonstrations on the part of the slave? Will he tell me that the young man who came from the

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South on the shaft of a steamboat, in dead winter, for his freedom, was wanting in sensibility? Was Madison Washington wanting in sensibility, when, upon the deck of the Creole, he said to his few comrades that the moment had come for them to act, and at the cost of their lives they did it? Was Margaret Garner wanting in sensibility, as a mother, when, rather than see her own daughter violated, she preferred to take her life? Colored men wanting in sensibility! Gracious God! The black man of this country, unlike that philosopher who was made to drink hemlock on instant, and died the next, is drinking hemlock from his cradle to his grave; and yet you talk about his being wanting in sensibility! I had supposed that John A. Andrew's interviews with colored men and colored women in Boston, had done a better work than this for him; but if these are the fruits of anti-slavery labor in Massachusetts, if these are the fruits of the preaching of the Garrisonians, then God hasten on the day when another class of men shall be raised up, who may be better calculated to convert such men! If John A. Andrew is a true representative of the anti-slavery of Massachusetts, I am not of him, and do not wish to be of him; and God knows that we may , as well one time as another, make up our minds to receive our freedom this century as the next, or three centuries to come, as our friend Davis has implied it may be necessary to wait. I do not believe it. Never, while I look at men and things as I am now at liberty to view them, will I believe that slavery will be seen in this country twenty-five year from to-day. I do not say that it

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will go down as we may wish it to go down, but *it will go down*; and if *anti-slavery* does not destroy it, sure I am that *pro-slavery* will. In the language of Byron I say, may all the curses of life be on the infernal monster, slavery, to-day, and not wait until to-morrow; and I hope that the time is not far distant when a vice shall be compelled to go out from New England that shall put a stop to it; but never will it be while such men as Stephen A. Douglas are recognized and honored in Cambridge and Boston, and such men as our friend Henry Ford Douglass are disfranchised in Ohio.

I will not say more, but simply express the hope, that those who are present here to-day, who wish to do something 'practical,' in which friend Davis seems to think this Society has been deficient, though it seems to me that every petition and resolution we have ever offered meant something 'practical.'—I say, I hope those who desire to do something 'practical,' will sign the petitions for the adoption of a Personal Liberty Bill by the next Legislature of our State, that shall make the soil of Massachusetts as free, at least, as the soil of Canada. Not until we do this shall we deserve the name of Republicans or Democrats, certainly not of Christians. We shall deserve no other name but that of a nation of oppressors, liars and hypocrites, so long as a slave can be taken from our borders, or a slaveholder can walk upon our soil. (Loud applause.)

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