

founded. He knew the American people better than they knew themselves, and his truth was based upon this knowledge.

Had Abraham Lincoln died from any of the numerous ills to which flesh is heir; had he reached that good old age to which his vigorous constitution and his temperate habits gave promise; had he been permitted to see the end of his great work; had the solemn curtain of death come down but gradually, we should still have been smitten with a heavy grief and treasured his name lovingly. But dying as he did die, by the red hand of violence; killed, assassinated, taken off without warning, not because of personal hate, for no man who knew Abraham Lincoln could hate him, but because of his fidelity to Union and liberty, he is doubly dear to us and will be precious forever.

Fellow citizens, I end as I began, with congratulations. We have done a good work for our race to-day. In doing honor to the memory of our friend and liberator we have been doing highest honor to ourselves and those who come after us. We have been fastening ourselves to a name and fame imperishable and immortal. We have also been defending ourselves from a blighting slander. When now it shall be said that a colored man is soulless; that he has no appreciation of benefits or benefactors; when the foul reproach of ingratitude is hurled at us, and it is attempted to scourge us beyond the range of human brotherhood, we may calmly point to the monument we have this day erected to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

JOHN JAY



JOHN JAY, American diplomat and publicist, son of William Jay of anti-slavery fame, was born at New York, June 23, 1817, and died there May 5, 1894. He graduated at Columbia College in 1836, and was admitted to the Bar three years later, immediately becoming prominent in his antagonism to slavery. In 1847, he became secretary of the Irish Relief Committee, and was counsel for a number of fugitive slaves. He was active in the formation of the Republican party, at Syracuse, in September, 1855; and in 1866 and again in 1877 was president of the Union League. In 1869, he was appointed Minister to Austria, and was a resident of Vienna till 1875. Two years later, Secretary Sherman nominated him chairman of the so-called Jay Commission to overhaul the system of conducting business at the New York customhouse. In 1883, Governor Cleveland named him Republican member of the State civil service commission. He was interested in the American Geographical and Statistical Society, and was for many years manager and secretary of the New York Historical Society, as well as president of the Huguenot Society. Mr. Jay delivered a large number of speeches on emancipation and other public questions, and took an intelligent interest in church affairs as a member of the Protestant Episcopal body.

AMERICA FREE—OR AMERICA SLAVE

DELIVERED AT BEDFORD, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW YORK,
OCTOBER 8, 1856

LET US see, gentlemen, what this slave power is, which, trampling upon compacts and defying the constitution, controls the federal government and employs its army and its treasury to force slavery upon an unwilling people. . . .

Discarding for the present all those considerations of right and justice which instinctively occur to every right-minded person when slavery is mentioned—foregoing on this occasion all expression of sympathy for the millions of beating hearts that in the arithmetic of slavery count but as units under the sign of dollars—dispensing with aught that might

seem to savor of philanthropy, or, as some style it, fanaticism, and leaving the entire question of slavery in the States to the people of those States who, in the language of Mr. Faulkner of Virginia, "have a right to demand its extermination," let me direct your attention to the bearing of the question upon yourselves, to the direct, permanent, practical, and pecuniary interest which you and your children have in the rescue of Kansas from the grasp of slavery.

I need not remind you that slave labor and free labor are antagonistic. They cannot flourish, they hardly co-exist together. This fact was declared in the strongest terms by the ablest statesman of Virginia in the constitutional convention of 1830.

The hon. C. J. Faulkner said:

"Slavery is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the State. It banishes free white labor, it exterminates the mechanic, the artisan, the manufacturer; it deprives them of occupation, it deprives them of bread; it converts the energy of a community into indolence, its power into imbecility, its efficiency into weakness. Sir, being thus injurious, have we not a right to demand its extermination? Shall society suffer that the slaveholder may continue to gather his crop of human flesh? Must the country languish, droop, and die that the slaveholder may flourish?"

Shall all interests be subservient to one, all right subordinate to those of the slaveholder? Has not the mechanic, have not the middle classes their rights—rights incompatible with the interests of slavery?

The hon. T. J. Randolph:

"Slavery has the effect of lessening the free population of a country . . . Those who remain, relying upon the support of casual employment, often become more degraded in their condition than the slaves themselves."

The hon. James Marshall said:

"Wherefore, then, object to slavery? Because it is ruinous to the whites, retards improvement, roots out an industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country, deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter of employment and support. The evil admits of no remedy; it is increasing, and will increase, until the whole country will be inundated by one black wave with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is invested in human flesh; the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupation, no incentive to enterprise. Labor of every species is disreputable, because performed by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages everywhere declining and the general aspect of the country marks the course of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil and care not how much it is impoverished."

We may assume therefore that if Kansas is given up to slavery, it will be thereby closed to the better class of free-laborers not only of our own country, but of Europe. The great body of emigration westward-bound from our Atlantic States, never seeks and never will seek slave soil where not labor but the laborers themselves are bought and sold, and where labor is stripped of the dignity that belongs to it, and is treated with contempt.

Now look on the map blackened by slavery and you will see that Kansas is the key to the large territory lying to the west of it, the boundless regions of Utah and New Mexico, extending hundreds of miles till they meet the eastern boundary of California. Is it not clear that if we lose Kansas we shall in all probability lose not only the Indian Territory lying to the south of it, but those vast Territories stretching to the westward and large enough to make more than six States of the size of Pennsylvania? Governor Reeder, in a

speech at New York, put this grave question in the clearest light. He said:

“With Kansas a slave State—and you will remember that Kansas is 900 miles long—I will thank any one to tell me how he is going to save the second, the third, or the fourth, each one further and further out of reach—each one with more slave States intervening.”

If Kansas is lost to freedom, those Territories are all lost. We are fighting the battle once for all. Now or never—now and forever.

Secure Kansas and all the blessings of freedom—free labor, free schools, free speech, a free press, enlightened legislation, humane institutions, and that priceless heritage, the common law, are secured for our children.

Lose Kansas and what will be the result? Not only will the curse of slavery fasten like a cancer upon that beautiful Territory—spreading desolation physical and moral in its extending course, but the vast emigration from abroad that is now poured into our midst and overflows westward, stopped suddenly by a line of slave States, will fall back upon our free States, giving us a surplus population that we do not want and which will necessarily interfere with the employment and the wages of our own citizens. This is a practical view of the case which every farmer, every mechanic, and every laborer in the free States should carefully consider.

Compare again the relative addition made to the commercial prosperity of the Atlantic States, and particularly of the city of New York, by Ohio and Kentucky, and then glancing forward to the future, if but for fifty or an hundred years hence, endeavor to estimate the superior benefits to accrue to the Atlantic States from these western Territories if organized as free States over those to accrue from their establish-

ment as slave communities. Think too of the difference it will make to your children and grandchildren if they wish to emigrate to those Territories whether they are to enter a State on an equal footing with the highest citizen or as one whose condition is regarded as inferior to that of the southern slave.

Of its hatred to free society the Democratic party at the South do not pretend to make a secret. “Free society,” says the “Muscogee (Ala.) Herald,” a Buchanan organ—“we sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists? All the northern and especially the New England States are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel and small farmers who do their own drudgery, and yet who are hardly fit for association with a southern gentleman’s body servant.”

Contrast, gentlemen, with that sentiment, now reiterated by the Buchanan organs at the South, the sentiment expressed by the leader of the Republican party: “Free labor—the natural capital which constitutes the real wealth of this great country and creates that intelligent power in the masses alone to be relied on as the bulwark of free institutions.”

You have in these rival sentiments the gist of the issue now submitted to the American people. It is a struggle between slavery and freedom—between the small oligarchy of slave masters with its capital of \$2,000,000,000 invested in human flesh and the great body of free laborers who constitute the bulk of the nation for the possession of the unorganized Territories of the United States.

These Territories exceed in extent by some thirty-three thousand square miles all of the United States both free and slave States; and whose area is more than twice as large as

that of the free States now admitted to the Union. The slave States have already secured for slavery an area of 857,508 square miles, while the free States embrace only 612,596 square miles, and with this immense preponderance in their favor, with millions of acres yet unoccupied, they seek to defraud us of Kansas and Nebraska Territories, doubly ours by divine right and by human compact, and to force slavery into every part of the continent where the flag of our Union waves and federal authority has sway.

It is idle to talk of pacification or compromise; it is idle to speak of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a thing to be regretted but at the same time to be acquiesced in. That repeal has not yet made Kansas a slave State, and if we are true to ourselves it never will make Kansas a slave State. It was but the commencement, not the end of the battle. Its passage shows not that we have lost Kansas, but only that slaveholders have lost their honor. It shows that henceforth against the slave power which mocks at faith and tramples on compacts, which glories in the brutality that struck down a defenceless senator and insulted at one blow the sovereignty of Massachusetts, and the right of the people and which now holds Kansas by the throat—that against this power our only safety is in the rescue of the government from its control, and its absolute restriction of slavery to the States where it now exists. With a foe that treaties cannot bind, and that glories alike in national perfidy and social treachery, eternal vigilance must be the price of liberty—vigilance to protect the people from the betrayal of their dearest rights; vigilance to shield their representatives in Congress in unsuspecting moments from the stealthy blow of the assassin. . . .

Of Cuba, the design to annex it is intimated in the last resolution of the Cincinnati platform, where it is declared

that "the Democratic party will expect of the next administration, that every proper effort be made to ensure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico." And Mr. Keitt recently declared in public that Cuba would be taken and that "the Democratic party would take it."

"The proper efforts" to this end, which are expected of Mr. Buchanan, should he be elected to the presidency, were disclosed by him in advance in the Ostend manifesto. A price is to be offered to Spain for Cuba far beyond its present value; when that has been refused, as it has been, and as in all probability it will be again, then the question is to be considered, "Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our peace and the existence of our cherished Union?" "Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we have the power!"

This is the "proper method," approved by Mr. Keitt, and which in a certain contingency he proposes to apply not only to the gem of Spain, but to the treasury of the United States,—

— "the good old plan,
That they shall take who have the power,
And they shall keep who can."

It was to the credit of Mr. Marcy that this proposal was repudiated and its morality denied. But if Mr. Buchanan shall become the President of the Republic, and his piratical doctrines avowed at Ostend become, as Mr. Keitt expects, a leading principle of his administration, we may live to see our once gallant navy manned with lawless buccaneers, setting forth to seize Cuba—"if they have the power"—with the black flag of slavery and the death's head and cross-bones of the pirate flaunting defiance to the world, above the star-spangled banner of our country.

On the question of disunion, as on that of the Missouri Compromise, the fact that the candidate of the Democratic party is "no longer James Buchanan," is evident when we recall his former sentiments on the subject and compare them with that of the platform which he has now adopted as "his guide, philosopher, and friend." "Disunion," said Mr. James Buchanan, "is a word which ought not to be breathed even in a whisper. The word ought to be considered one of direful omen, and our children taught that it is sacrilege to pronounce it."

Mr. A. G. Brown, one of the committee who announced the Cincinnati nomination to Mr. Buchanan, in anticipating the possible success of the Republican party, said in a recent speech:

"If indeed it has come to this that the Union is to be used for these accursed purposes, then, sir, by the God of my fathers, I am against the Union; and, so help me heaven, I will dedicate the remainder of my life to its dissolution."

Mr. Keitt frankly avows that he "has been a disunionist since he began to think."

The "Richmond Enquirer" declares, after enumerating the preparations of Virginia for war:

"Virginia makes no boast of these preparations, but, sure as the sun shines over her beautiful fields, she will treat the election of an Abolitionist candidate as a breach of the treaty of 1789 and a release of every sovereign State in the South from all part and lot in its stipulations."

The Southern Democracy are aware, in the language of the "Nashville Banner," that if the Republican party succeeds, they "can have no more fortunate wars—no more judicious purchases of territory—no more annexing of independent States on the southern border."

They are using every effort to secure Kansas and our other Territories; with Cuba, Nicaragua, and a part or the whole of Mexico, as also Southern California, with the view of forming an independent Southern Empire. The thought of disunion to some of them is an ever-present thought. The "South Carolinian" declares that "the success of Buchanan might stave off the dissolution of the Union for a time, but that the event is inevitable."

Another South Carolina paper exultingly declares that "the southern skies are looking bright, and all the auguries foretell southern union, southern independence, and the coming greatness of a southern republic."

"Disunion," a word that Mr. Buchanan would not have spoken in a whisper, the candidate of the Democratic party hears shouted exultingly in crowds; and he has added fuel to the treasonable flames that his partisans are kindling in the South, by unjustly intimating that the people of the North are "intermeddling" with the domestic concerns of the South when they resist pro-slavery aggression upon rights secured to them by compact. . . .

The platform of the American (sometimes called the Know-Nothing) party practically ignores the one great issue now agitating the country; and, as regards the rights of Kansas on the one hand and the schemes for pro-slavery extension on the other, preserves so significant a silence and so positive a neutrality that those entertaining the most opposite opinions on these points are expected to meet in harmony and elect a President upon the ground of proposed reforms in the naturalization of aliens, with neither pledges nor principles on the one question of the day. The Northern members of the national convention at which the platform was adopted, offered a resolution to the effect "that we will