SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS At the Annual Meeting of the Massachu setts Anti-Slavery Society at Boston.

position on the part of some of my friends to call me out upon the platform, even when they knew that there was some difform and myself; and for fear of being been deprived of that educating influis of the highest order, descending from this platform. I have felt, since I have ted from a great deal that was valuable; meetings, that I have lost a great deal by country there is to be found the highest sense of justice, or the truest demands for my race, I look for it in the East, I look for it here. The ablest discussions of the whole question of our rights occur here, and to be deprived of the privilege of listening to those discussions is a great deprivation.

I do not know, from what has been said that there is any difference of opinion as to the duty of abolitionists, at the present How can we get up any difserence at this point, or at any point, where we are so united, so agreed? I went especially, however, with that word Gen. Banks, and Gen. Banks's policy .-I hold that that policy is our chief dan ger at the present moment; that it practically enslaves the negro, and makes the Proclamation of 1863 a meckery and de-What is freedom? It is the right to choose one's own employment .-Certainly it means that, if it means any thing; and when any individual or com bination of individuals, undertakes to decide for any man when he shall work, where he shall work, at what he shall work and for what he shall work, he or they practically reduce him to slavery. (Applause.) He is a slave. That I understand Gen. Banks to do-to determine for the so called freedman, when, and where, and what, and for how much he shall work, when he shall be punished, and by whom punished. It is absolute It defeats the beneficent intentions of the Government, if it has beneficent intentions, in regard to the treedom of our people.

I have had but one idea for the last three years, to present to the American people, and the phrasology in which I clothe it is the old abolition phraseology. I am for the "immediate, unconditional and universal" enfranchisement of the black man, in every State in the Union. (Loud applause.) Without this, his liberty is a mockery; without this, you might as well almost retain the old name of slavery for his condition; for, in fact, if he is not the slave of the individual master, he is the slave of sociery, and holds his liberty as a privilege, not as a right. He is at the mersy of the mob,

and has no means of protecting himself. It may be objected, however, that this pressing of the negro's right to suffrage is premature. Let us have slavery abolished, it may be said, let us have labor of your sons, your brothers existance of this Rebellion, that judg-ments terrible, wide-spread, far-reaching. overwhelming, are abroad in the land;

it? Some men have got along very well without it. Women have not this right." been more frequently to the meetsngs of this society, has been because of the dis-lege? I hold that women, as well as men, have the right to vote (applause), and my heart and my voice go with the movement to extend suffrage to woman ; ference of opinion and of feeling between but that question rests upon another basis those who rightfully belong to this plat- than that on which our right rests. We may be asked, I say, why we want it. I misconstrued, as desiring to interrupt or will tell you why we want it. We want disturb the proceedings of these meetings it because it is our right, first of all.-I have usually kept away, and have thus (Applause.) No class of men can, with out insulting their own nature, be conence, which I am always free to confess tent with any deprivation of their rights We want it, again, as a means for educating our race. Men are so constituted lived out West, that in going there I par- that they deprive their conviction of their ted from a great deal that was valuable; own possibilities largely from the esti-and I feel, every time I come to these mate formed of them by others. If nothing is expected of a people, that people making my home west of Boston' west of will find it difficult to contradict that ex-Massachusetts; for, if anywhere in the pectation. By depriving us of suffrage, you affirm our incapacity to form an intelligent judgment respecting public men and public measures; you declare before the world that we are unfit to exercise the elective franchise, and by this means lead us to undervalue ourselves, to put a low estimate upon ourselves, and to feel that we have no possibilities like other men. Again, I want the elective franchise, for one, as a colored man, because ours is a peculiar government, based upon a peculiar idea, and that idea is universal suffrage. If I were in a monarchical govarnment, or an autocratic or aristocratic government where the few hore rule and of Mr. Phillips, which is the criticism of the many were subject, there would be no special stigma resting upon me, because I did not exercise the elective franchise -It would do me no creat violence Mingling with the mass, 1 should partake of the strength of the mass; I should be supported by the mass, and I should have the same incentives to endeavor with the mass of my fellow-men; it would be no particular burden, no particular depriva tion: but here, where universal suffrage is the rule, where that is the fundamental idea of the Government, to rule us out is to make us an exception, to brand us

with the stigma of inferiority, and to in-

vite to our heads the missiles of those

about us; therefore, I want the frauchise

There are, however, other reasons, not

derived from any consideration merely of

for the black man.

our rights, but arising out of the condition of the South, and of the countryconsiderations which have already been referred to by Mr. Phillips-considerations which must arrest the attention of statesmen. I believe that when the tall heads of this Rebellion shall have been swept down, as they will be swept down, when the Davises and Toombses and Stephenses, and others who are leading in this Rebellion shall have been blotted out, there will by this rank undergrowth of treason, to which reference has been made, growing up there, and interfering with, sire to son, the same malignant spirit We said that it was necessary to its sal-which they have manifested, and which vation, and a part of the "manifest destithey are now exhibiting, with malicious ny" of this Republic, to extend our arm hearts, broad blades, and bloody hands in the field, against our sons and brothers. too, when Russia wanted to take posses-That spirit will still remain; and whoever sion of a part of the Ottoman Empire, sees the Federal Government extended the Turks were "an inferior race." extended to the negro, I do not agree land. A post-master of the United States revelation of truth, it requires the exer- a hostile spirit; a United States marshal cise of a higher power to produce the same or a United States judge will be surround-know enough to vote. If the negro conviction afterwards. The American ed there by a hostile element. That en-knows enough to pay taxes to support the mity will not die out in a year, will not ah has run blood-the best blood of the die out in an age. The Federal Govern-North. All around Richmond, the blood of New England and of the North has precisely as the Governments of Austria the present moment. They will endeavor to circumvent, they will endayor to destroy, the peaceful operation of this Government. Now, where will you find the

It may be asked, "Why do you want interest of slavery on both sides The or of a nation is an important thing. spising the negro, both insulting the ne-Yet, the negro, apparently endowed cost little-that this war shall not cease with wisdom from on high, saw more clearly the end from the begginning than we did. When Seward said the status of no man in the country would be changed ed the black men of the South, the black by the war, the negro did not believe him. (Applause.) When our generals you have asked them to incur the deadly sent their underlings in shoulder-straps to hunt the flying negro back from our lines into the jaws of slavery, from which he had escaped, the negroes thought that a mistake had been made, and that the intentions of the Government had not been rightly understood by our officers in shoulder-straps, and they continued to come into our lines, threading their way through bogs and fens, over briers and thorns, fording streams, swimming rivers,

bringing us tidings as to the safe path to

march, and pointing out the dangers that

threatened us. They are our only friends

in the South and we should be true to

them in this their trial hour, and see to

ment.

it that they have the elective franchise. I know that we are inferior to you in ome things-virtually inferior. We walk about among you like dwarfs among gi ants. Our heads are scarcely seen above the great sea of humanity. The Germans are superior to us; the Irish are superior to us; the Yankees are superior to us (laughter); they can do what we can not, that is, what we have not hitherto been allowed to do. But while I make this admission, I utterly deny that we are originally, or naturally, or practically, or in any way, or in any important sense inferior to anybody on this globe. (Loud applause) This charge of inferiority is an old dodge. It has been made available for oppression on many occasions. It is only six centuries since the blue-eyed and fair-haired Anglo-Saxons were considered inferior by the haughty Normans, who once trampled upon them. If you read the history of the Norman Conquest, you will find that this proud Anglo-Saxon was once looked upon as of coarser clay than his Norman master, and might be found in the highways and byways of old England laboring with a brass collar on his neck, and the name of his master marked upon it. You were down then ! (Laughter and applause.) You are up now. am glad you are up, and I want you to be glad to help us up also. (Applause.)

The story of our inferiority is an old dodge, as I have said; for wherever men oppress their fellows, wherever they enslave them, they will endeavor to find the needed apology for such enslavement and oppression in the character of the people oppressed and enslaved. When we wanted, a few years ago, a slice of Mexico, it was hinted that the Mexicans werean inferior race, that the old Castilian blood had become so weak that it would scarcely and thwarting the quiet operation of the run down hill, and that Mexico needed Federal Government in those States. You the long, strong and beneficient arm of will see those traitors handing down, from the Anglo-Saxon care extended over it. over that dilapidated government. So, But if we know enough to be hung, we and France are looked upon in Italy at the government, he knows enough to vote. If he knows as much when he is sober as an Irishman knows when drunk, he knows enough to vote, on good American prin-

ists fail to press it now, we may not see, for centuries to come, the same disposit of Providence, that this war, which began in the interest of islavery on both sides, bids fair to end in the interest of islavery on both sides, bids fair to end in the interest of ilberty on both sides, bids fair to end in the interest of ilberty on both sides, bids fair to end in the interest of ilberty on both sides, bids fair to end in the interest of ilberty on both sides, bids fair to end in the interest of ilberty on both sides, bids fair to end in the interest of ilberty on both sides, bids fair to end in the past and open the same time the gordian knot. We put the same time the gordian knot. The hour than the same time the gordian knot. We put the same time the gordian knot. We put the same time the same time the gordian knot. The hour the same time the same time

South was fighting to take slavery out of It is said in the Scriptures. "What doth school, let him alone, -don't disturb him! the Union, and the North fighting to keep it profit a man if he gain the whole world, If you see him going to a dinner-table at MR. PRESIDENT.—I came here, as I come always to the meetings in New England, as a listner, and not as a speaker; and one of the reasons why I have not the megro of the right to vote, because fighting for new guarantees, and the North fighting for the old guarantee;—both deor let it be short, let it cost much or let it aration" is of a piece with this attempt the right to rote. (Applause.) It has bound itself to it. What have you asked the black men of the first to rote it. men of the whole country. to do? Why, enmity of their masters, in order to befriend you and to befriend this Govern-You have asked us to call down, not only upon ourselves, but upon our children's children, the deadly hate of You have ny delusions have been swept away by the entire Southern people. called upon us to turn our backs upon our masters, to abandon their cause and espouse yours; to turn against the South and in favor of the North; to shoot down the Confederacy and uphold the flag.-You have called upon us to expose ourselves to all the subtle machinations of their malignity for all time. And now, what do you propose to do when you come to make peace? To reward your ene mies, and trample in the dust your friends? Do you intend to sacrifice the very men who have come to the rescue of your banner in the South, and incurred the lasting displeasure of their masters thereby? Do you intend to sacrifice them and re and applause.) ward your enemies? Do you mean to Away With Him! mitted that its ultimate spasms are a little laughable, as it stiffens into the rigidity of a REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM. Class hatre son with concession or even compromise.-The Cherokee Indian, turning up his nos contemptuously between two high cheek bones, "objects to the incorporation of the freedmen in his tribe." The State of Con-

give your enemies the right to vote, and take it away from your friends? Is that wise policy? Is that honorable? Could American honor withstand such a blow? I do not believe you will do it. I think you will see to it that we have the right to vote. There is something too mean in look ing upon the negro, when you are in trouble, as a citizen and when you are free from trouble, as an alien. When this nation was in trouble, in its early struggles, it looked upon the negro as a citizen. In 1776 he was a citizen. But the time of the formation of the Constitution the negro had the right to vote in eleven States out of the old thirteen. In your trouble you have nsgro is a citizen again. He has been a this government, and it has always been in time of trouble. In time of trouble we are citizens. Shall we be citizens in

war, and aliens in peace? Would that be just?
I ask my friends who are apologizing I ask my friends who are apologizing and butter, the peace of society, ancient for not insisting upon this right, in this country, for the assertion of this right, if ings of the Cherokee Indians and of the he may not look to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society? Where under the whole heavens can he look for sympathy, in asserting this right, if he may not look to this platform? Have you lifted us up to a certain height to see that we are men, and then are any disposed to leave us there, without seeing that we are put in ion of our rights? We look natuurally to this platform for the assertion of all our rights, and for this one especially. I understand the anti-slavery societies of this countcy to be based on two prineiples,-first, the freedom of the blacks of country; and, second, the elevation of this them. Let me not be misunderstood here. I am not asking for sympaty at the hands of any. I think the American people are disposed often to be generous

there a man or a beast. If the former, he I had been in his service some years, he has a right to live where he pleases; if the told me the reason he choose me preference to the other boy was because of the general and no more to be tolerated upon the political than loathed and an enterest upon the physical body. We have nothing but scorn for the logic which faints at its own conclusions. We have nothing but contempts the part of my success in husiness."

I had been in his service some years, he has a right to live where he pleases; if the told me the reason he choose me preference to the other boy was because of the gener. Joe came into W.'s saloon, and rather early in the morning got very much intoxicated, and finally fell asleep in his chair. Joe was very near sighted, and salways wore spects. After he had slept and the probably bean owing the great practical joker. On one occasion told me the reason he choose me preference to the other boy was because of the gener.

Joe came into W.'s saloon, and rather early in the morning got very much intoxicated, and finally fell asleep in his stance has probably bean owing the greater always wore spects. After he had slept as a great practical joker. On one occasion told me the reason he choose me preference to the other boy was because of the gener.

Joe came into W.'s saloon, and rather early in the morning got very much intoxicated, and finally fell asleep in his stance has probably bean owing the greater provided that he may be contented to the other boy was because of the gener.

Joe came into W.'s saloon, and rather to the other boy was because of the gener.

Joe came into W.'s saloon, and rather to the other boy was because of the gener. ished, it may be said, let us have labor over those Southern States will see that organized, and then, in the natural course of events, the right of suffrage will be only in a strange land, but in an enemy's ing heart of old Ireland, the Celts are an people are disposed often to be generous. "inferior race." So, too, the negro, when rather than just. I look over this coun- holders shrink from reducing to practice. with this. The constitution of the human mind is such, that if it once disreby a hostile spirit; a collector in a Southgards the conviction forced upon it by a ern port will find himself surrounded by said that we are ignorant; I admit it.— Freedmen's Associations, and the like, But if we know enough to be hung, we know enough to vote. If the negro knows enough to pay taxes to support the government, he knows enough to vote; fested towards us, What I ask for the negro is not benevolent, I perceive, than just, manigovernment, he knows enough to vote; fested towards us, What I ask for the negro is not benevolence not pay to the collection of these distances that we protest practically and and removed lessly. Now, though the farknows enough to pay taxes to support the government, he knows enough to vote; taxation and representation should go together. If he knows enough to shoulder a musket and fight for the flag, fight for the government, he knows enough to vote. benevolence, not pity, not sympathy, but simply justice. (Applause.) The wolves in Minnessota, and the householder in New York, nothing for the roaches in New York, nothing for the roaches in New York, nothing for the roaches in New York, nothing in New York, nothing for the roaches are not him to know what they shall do with us. Gen. Banks was distressed with solicitude as to what he should do with the nestion, with these horrible Blacks! If Brownlow with these horrible Blacks! If Brownlow gro. Everybody has asked the question, and they learned to ask it early of the

tration used by Mr. Phillips, the fault will not be yours, it will be his who made the negro, and established that line for his government. (Applause.) Let him live or die by that. If you will only untie his hands, and give him a chance, I think he will live. He will work as readily for himself as the white man. A great mathis war. One was, that the negro would not work; he has proved his ability to work. Another was, that he would not fight; that he possessed only the most sheepish attributes of humanity; was a sheepish attributes of humanity; was a simply a slice of bread, seasoned by the seasoned by quired, fold his hands, and be whipped by anybody who wanted to whip him .-But the war has proved that there is deal of human nature in the negro, and that "he will fight," as Mr. Quiney, our President, said, in earlier days than these when there is a reasonable probability of his whipping anybody." (Laughter

neticut, still enamored of blue legislation thinks the Black good enough for battles, bu not good enough for the ballot-box. The Rev. Governor Brownlow is for instantly kicking every emancipated man, women and child out of Tannessee So it seems that wherever these dark foot-balls may land to us that the readiest way of solving this nsgro is a citizen again. He has been a impertinent problem is to put all these incitizen just three times in the history of truders upon the face of God's earth to the sword. Does any chicken-bearted humani tarian protest that this expedient would be wanting to some extent in benevolence?— Bah! who is talking of benevolence at all? We are considering something better-bread inhabitants of Conneticut, the sacred diginnantants of consensus, the sacred dig-nity of the Caucasian demi-gods, the puri-ty of the pews and theater boxes and of railway carriages, and of schools and col-leges, the nice nobility of the well born belicans, the susceptibility of the whole tribe of the Holier than-Thou's! None of these are the men to find fault with our proposi-tion upon the score of cruelty. Why should they be tender of lives which they are so as a partner until his dash. ready to make wretched? The Black is cither a man or a beast. If the former, he wage a war of extermination upon rats at had a purse plethoric enough, and power adequate to transport all these troublesome creatures somewhere, it is certain that he could not carry them beyond the ultimate transport and the could not carry them beyond the ultimate transport and the could not carry them beyond the ultimate transport and the could not carry them beyond the ultimate. overwhelming, are abroad in the land; and we feel, in view of these judgments, just now, a disposition to learn rightsours. This is the honor. Our streets are in mourning, tears are falling at every fireside, and under the chastisement of the point of conceding this great, this rabellion we have almost come up to the point of conceding this great, this rall-important right of suffrage. I fear all-important right of suffrage. I fear that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that if we fail to do it now, if abbition-that is now and in the persons of the slaves to the tennity that would exist at the beginning. Do nothing with us. Do nothing with us. Do nothing with us. If the apples will not remain on the it to posterity. He merely relieves one locality at the expense of another. Our plan is more consistently humane. If we cut the throats of all the Blacks, we rever at the tent of the rideal' you may easily skim, then the power of counter. Our plan is not consistently humane. If we cut the throats of all

prolonged torture, "the happy dispatch" tenderer than deliberate worrying. If this poor Black creature is to be hunted from town to town, from county to county, and from State to State, finding nowhere a resting place, nowhere compassion and succor, nowhere a home, nowhere escape from ingenuous and unceasing enmity, the sooner he is released from an existence so execuble the more fortunate will he be. Even if it should turn out to be all a mistake, he can hardly be worse off in the worst condition of the future life than he has been in this. With no feeling but that of pity, and moved by the sincereat commiseration, we submit our plan to the notice of the kind-hearted and charitable, and recommend a public meeting at Cooper Institute to insugurate the movement. - N. Y TRIBUNE.

Be Clean and Tidy. "When I was six years old," says a well known merchant, "my father died, leaving nothing to my mother but the charge of my self and two young sisters. After sellin the greater part of the household furniture she owned, she took two small rooms in W-street, and there, by her needle, con-trived in some way-how I cannot tell, when ner in which our meal was served, car ta-ble always being spread with a cloth, which, preserve a snow white purity.

Wiping his eyes the merchant continued " mpeaking of those days reminds me of the time we sat down to the table one evening, and my mother having asked the blessing of our heavenly Father on ber little defenless once, in tones of tenderness that I remember yet, she divided the remnant of her only loaf into three pieces, placing one in each of our plates, but reserving none or herself. I stple round to her and was about to tell her that I was not hungry when a flood of tears burst from her eyes, and she clasped me to her besom. meal was left untouched; we sat up late that night and what we said I cannot tell. I know that my mother talked to me more as a companion than a child. When we knelt down to pray I gave up myself to

the Lord's, and to serve my mother.
"But," said he, "this is not telling you ow neatness made my fortune. It was some time after this that my mother found an advertisement in the newspaper for an errand boy in a commission house in B-street. Without being needful to wait t have my clothes mended, for my mother always kept them in good order, and althoon close inspection, they bore traces of more than one patch, yet on the whole, they look ed very neat; without waiting to arrang my hair, or clean my shoes, for I was ob liged to observe, from my earliest youth the most perfect neatness in every respect my mother sent me to see if I could obtain the situation. With a light step I started me to do something to assist her"My heart beat fast I assure you, as

turned out of W --- into B -- - streets, and made my way along to the number my mother had given me. I summoned all the courage I could muster, and stepped briskly into the warehouse, and found my way into the counting house, and made known the object of my calling. The merchant smiled, and told me there was another boy who had come a little before me, who he thought be should engage. However, he asked me some question, and went out an I talked with the other boy, who stool in the back part of the office. The result was that the lad had been dismissed, and I they are so as a partner until his death, when he left e Black is ci- me the whole of the stock in trade. After I had been in his service some years, he

- A Nashville dispatch of the 9th says :- At Bowling Green yesterday the Sheriff of that county had in custody two negroes, cenvicted in the County Court, of the murder of another negro, and who were then in custody and on their way to the penitentiary, at Nashville. their arrival at Bowling Green, Ky., and when in the act of changing cars the Sheriff was surrounded by & detachment of colored guards, who demanded the re lease of the prisoners, which being refused they took them by force, removed their

Anecdote of Mr. Lincoln. In his speech at the Merchant's Ban-quet to the Odd Fellows, in Baltimore, Mr. John W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, related the following incident: 5 % A 63

By his request I accompanied President Lincoln, immediately after the battle of Antietam, to the scene of that san-guinary conflict. After passing over the Baltimore and Ohio Road from Washington to Harper's Ferry, I continued with him, by his desire, during the memorable period he spent with the officers and soldiers of the Federal army, and among the hospitals and the wounded upon that bloody field. As in accord with the spirit of your

fraternity, I will mention a scene which occurred in one of those hospitals which bedewed many eyes. The President examined, kindly and tenderly, into the condition and care of the Federal wounded, He also passed through the hospitals where were placed the Confederate woun ded. Many of these hospitals, in view of the large number of the wounded were improvised from the barns upon and in the vicinity of the field of battle .-Passing through one of these, the middle space of an extensive Switzer barn, where a large number of Confederate wounded lay, the President stopped about the centre of the apartment, opposite a youth of striking appearance, probably of eighteen or twenty years of age. He lay looking very feeble and pallid. He had three straws in his hand, and was feebly moving them to keep the insects from his face. The President asked "if he had received all necessary attention?" replied that "he had-that his right leg had been amputated." The President responded: "I trust you will get well." The youth-great tears rolling from his eyes, said: "No; I am sinking; I shall die." The President leaned tenderly over him and said: "Will you shake handa with me? I remarked: "This is President Lincoln." He attempted to raise his hand, and give it to the President -The President asked him: Where are you from? "From Georgia." Again the President expressed the hope, still holding his hand, that he would recover.-'No," said the youth, "I shall never see my mother again-I shall die.

The President still held his hand, and fervently ejaculated, while he wept, and his tears mingled with those of the sufferer, " may God bless you, and restore. you to your mother and your home."carnage, coming forth from that sancti-fied spot, I said, "Mr President, such kindness will make missionaries of good will of the soldiers who return South to their homes." The President then ex-pressed his wishes generally to those acompanying him, that all the wounded and all the sufferers should be kindly treated, and in the course of converse tion thereafter, expressed sanguine hopes that at an early day, instead of such scenes of suffering, scenes of concord and good feeling, and a restored Uunion, would be speedily realized.

In A Fog.-A few days ago there lived in the town of \_\_\_\_\_, a son of Judge B., whom we will call Jos, who frequent ly imbibed more than than he could comfortably carry. There also resided in the neighborhood a painter named W., was a great practical joker. On one occasion toxicated, and finally fell asleep in his chair. Joe was very near sighted, and ened the glasses, put them back again, lighted the lamp, and awoke Joe, telling him that it was about twelve o'clock at night, and he wanted to shut up. started and remarked that he had slept some time.

"Joe, it is very dark, and if you will bring it back again, I will lend you a lan-

and helped him up stairs. Joe went off towards home, up the main business street, in the middle of the day, with his lantern, everybody looking at him and wondering what was the matter.

A friend has a dog so serious, that a even his tail has not, the least bit of

wag about it.

—"Once more unto the breech,"
the schoolmaster said when he whipp

the dunce.

—An Irishman sent to trim a young orchard, was asked at night if he had finished. "No," said he; "I have cut the trees all down, and will trim them tomorrow.

row.

Eighty-five pardon warrants were signed by the President yesterday mes — "I'll make a man of you." as the sculptor said to the markle.