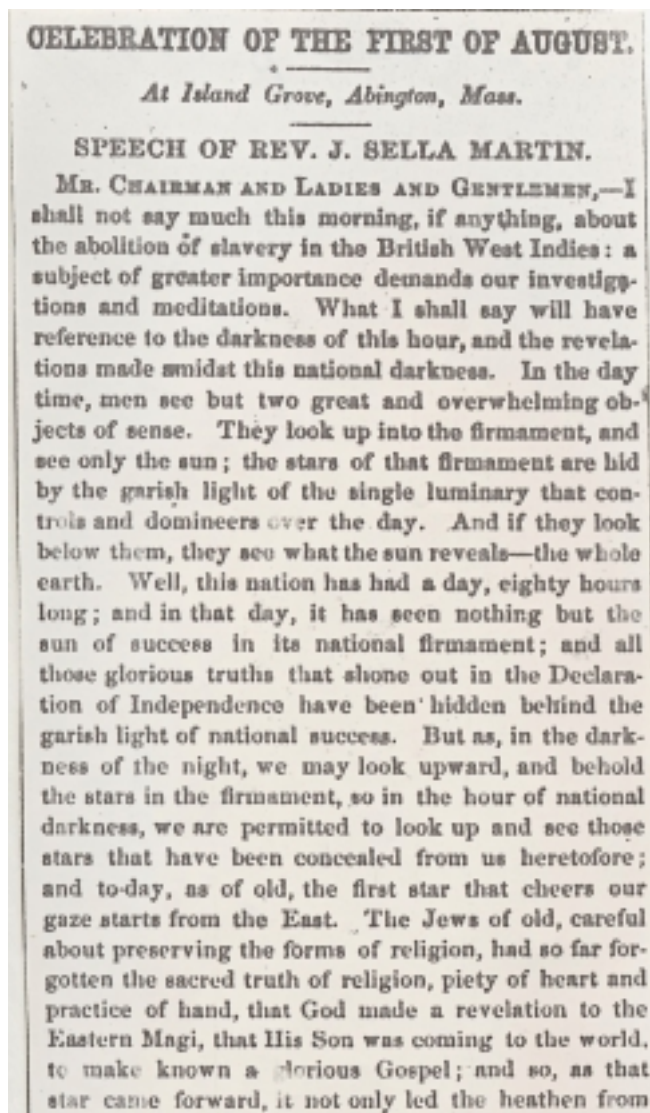


CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

*At Island Grove, Abington, Mass.*

SPEECH OF REV. J. SELLA MARTIN.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I shall not say much this morning, if anything, about the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies: a subject of greater importance demands our investigations and meditations. What I shall say will have reference to the darkness of this hour, and the revelations made amidst this national darkness. In the day time, men see but two great and overwhelming objects of sense. They look up into the firmament, and see only the sun; the stars of that firmament are hid by the garish light of the single luminary that controls and domineers over the day. And if they look below them, they see what the sun reveals—the whole earth. Well, this nation has had a day, eighty hours long; and in that day, it has seen nothing but the sun of success in its national firmament; and all those glorious truths that shone out in the Declaration of Independence have been hidden behind the garish light of national success. But as, in the darkness of the night, we may look upward, and behold the stars in the firmament, so in the hour of national darkness, we are permitted to look up and see those stars that have been concealed from us heretofore; and to-day, as of old, the first star that cheers our gaze starts from the East. The Jews of old, careful about preserving the forms of religion, had so far forgotten the sacred truth of religion, piety of heart and practice of hand, that God made a revelation to the Eastern Magi, that His Son was coming to the world, to make known a glorious Gospel; and so, as that star came forward, it not only led the heathen from



another country, but went on and stood over Jerusalem, making Herod and all Jerusalem with him afraid. So, three or four years ago, the star of Emancipation rose in the East, in St. Petersburg, and it has been coming on and on, until the day it stands over the national capital; and although our political Herod has been troubled, and all Jerusalem with him, even to the extent of sending forth and slaying all those babes of freedom, the fugitive slaves of Washington, let us hope that some of those very slaves who were driven away from that capital by that terrible edict, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the terrible persecutions of fugitive slave hounds, are strengthening their bodies and ripening their intellects in the land of Egypt, for the purpose of coming forth and redeeming God's Israel; so that it may be true nationally, as it was theologically, that God has called his son out of Egypt. Another [star] hangs over the broad prairies, lighting the free homes of their hardy children, and promising protection to all who love liberty,—giving welcome to the liberty-loving man, and threatening death to the border-ruffian. Then, looking to the horizon, we see, not another star, but a comet, the fiery tail of which will, in its sublime sweep, blast the pro-slavery part of the Constitution—I mean the rising planet of Emancipation. (Applause.)

Now, we have good reason to look back, and see why these things have been hid from us. The first reason why they have been hid from us is because we have been the makers of the States, and the destroyers of men. Promise the nation that it should have another star to dot its flag, and it would drag that flag through the mire of oppression and injustice to secure the addi-

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tional star. Out of our treasury, we took the money to buy to Louisiana, only that she might become a gigantic thief, and steal all the money there was left in the treasury. In our anxiety to preserve Florida, we plunged the nation into a war to put down a few Indians, only that that State might become the greatest and most intolerable murderer in the whole confederacy. We juggled Texas into the Union, only that she, by a trick of national political legerdemain, might juggle herself out again. We violated sacred compacts in order to bring Missouri into the Union, only that she might violate the compacts of the national Constitution to get out. It seems that all we have been anxious about has been to get States into the Union. And what has been the consequence? In this darkness, we are likely to think, perhaps, as Job did, after his afflictions, that we are the most insignificant things in the universe. But Job was mistaken; he was then the most important object in the universe, because he was a subject of controversy between God and the devil. God took away all he had, that Job might do what? Nothing but look at himself. After his camels, and his oxen, and his sons were gone, then he turned his eyes within, and learned the lesson which it was necessary for him to learn. Floyd fell upon our oxen and took them away, the fire of Fort Sumter consumed our sheep, and at last the whirlwind of battle has destroyed our children, and we begin to see and feel, perhaps, as did Job. Said one of the papers the other day, "We have not got a single nation to stand by us in all Europe." No, we have not. Job did not have a single friend to stand by him in all the land; but Job was brought to

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look at himself, and became a friend to himself, and he was the best friend he could have. So we are brought to look at ourselves, having nothing else to look at, and in order that we may be our own best friend. Let us, therefore, be careful that we make a proper account of our present condition, and look within ourselves. God has not forsaken us. He has only intended that we should get rid of the pride that has lifted us up, and cease bowing down to the idols that the nation has set up, and bow down only to the true God.

I said that we had been the makers of States and the destroyers of men. We ought not to forget that we have been the makers, not the *creators*, of States. The devil could not create man, but he could make a sinner of him. The Southerners could not create a State, but they could transform the States that were made into despotisms. One half the population of the South has been kept in ignorance and disfranchised, and seven-tenths of the remainder have been kept in ignorance, and, if not disfranchised, made the tools or the slaveholder. So we have violated every condition of national existence when we have brought those States into the Union, upon the law of injustice, crime and murder. And we have been the destroyers of men. We have not had the patience to make men, nor the honesty to sustain them if God made honest men, and gave them all ready to our hand. There has been one who promised to be a glorious man; one who had the root, the branches, and the foliage, and all he wanted was the glorious fruit of liberty; and we went right to work and hackled down the tree. Daniel Webster dared not be a man, because he felt

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that, if he was, he could never be President. If we found a man in the Southern States with principles and feelings leading him towards the North, we always told him that he need not trouble himself about our opinions, but be careful to support the ideas of the South. We have not had the justice to reward those who have advocated our professed principles. Look at that man, standing to-day an insignificant unit in the Cabinet! At one time, he was the leader of the anti-slavery party in New York; at one time, the high priest of anti-slavery feeling in political circles in the nation. Look at him!—the man who, many years ago could stand up in the face of a mob, and declare with manly feeling that he would defend the negro, though there should be no other man in New York to do it. (Applause.) When the time came to put a man forward as the leader of the anti-slavery sentiment, the people were afraid of him, and threw him overboard. Unfortunately, he has destroyed himself. It is a bad thing for society to say that a man is wicked; but if he is not, he may bear up, and, after a while prove himself the best man in the community; but if a man believes he is wicked, he is thoroughly so. That has been the trouble with our politicians.

Well, we have done the nation the most good, while it has undertaken to do us all the harm possible. I could not be realize the glory of this fact as I stood in a foreign country. I saw one night at a great meeting—larger and more enthusiastic than I ever attended anywhere else—a noble man, of commanding presence, rise on the platform, and he commenced his oration somewhat in this manner: “When Christ

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was on the earth, they brought to him a piece of money, and he said—‘Whose superscription is this?’

They said—‘Caesar’s.’ ‘Render then unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s.’ Then, “said the speaker, “here is a black man; whose superscription is this? It is God’s. Then render unto God the things which [are] God’s.” Then he went on, taking this as a text, and argued in support of the American Government and in favor of the continuance of the war, against the sentiment of the whole British people, from the highest to the very lowest, almost. That man was GEORGE THOMPSON, (loud applause,) who was ignominiously driven away from Boston and from the United States. And then I saw a tall, fine-looking black man come to the platform, and he too defended the American Government. It was WILLIAM CRAFT—the man who had found no place in the city of Boston for the sole of his foot; and yet, in that foreign clime, he was pleading the cause of the American nation, fighting against interference and the breaking of the blockade. These facts show that we are the best friends of this Government, because we have been anxious to see this Government pure. And what has been the consequence of it? Why, we have been mobbed everywhere. Having driven us off the platform, they have said, “There is an end of them”; but the first thing they knew, we turned up in the Cabinet chamber. They kept Garrison from advocating emancipation only to stumble upon Lincoln engaged in the same work. The nation has proved itself an abolitionist, whether it acknowledges the fact or not. It has proved itself in favor of the abolition doctrine, without taking from it one jot or tittle,

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because, in the first place, the slaves in the District of Columbia were set free *immediately*, and in the second place, they were set free *unconditionally*.

I have said that the nation has been the persecutor of its best friends; it has also been the dupe of its enemies. They have told us, "All you have got to do is to make a State, [and] then you will have plenty of men; therefore there is no need of making any men." But what has been the fact? Why, to-day, those States that were bought at such an expense of treasure and blood are going out of the Union. We have a small number of men, who have been made in spite of them. They have said, "Make States, no matter about men"; but God has said, "Make men, no matter about States." The States have gone, the men remain; and all the pro-slavery oligarchs in the world will never have the power to blot out from this nation's firmament those glorious stars that light it to-day. They will never have power to blot out Garrison and Smith as philanthropists, or Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass as orators; they will never be able to blot out Mrs. Child or Mrs. Stowe as reformers; they will never be able to blot Mr. Greeley from the press, Mr. Sumner from the Senate, Dr. Cheever from the pulpit, nor John C. Fremont from the field of battle. (Applause.) These people have been your extreme men. Extreme men are the only men of power in the world to-day. Who [are] the men of power in this land? Charles Sumner on the one hand, and Jeff. Davis on the other. It is an anti-slavery purpose that carries on the war on one side, and a pro-slavery purpose that carries it on on the other. Extreme men are the only men worth any-

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thing in the world; but we have been afraid of extreme men, and the Southerners have duped us into the belief that all extreme men are dangerous men. Thank God, we are going to see David Hunter on the one side, and Stonewall Jackson on the other, prove the power of extreme measures! (Applause.)

We have been careful about success in making money. That we might make money, we have permitted slaveholders to do everything they desired to do, whether it was a social wrong, a commercial cheat, or a political deception. We ought to have known that those men, who would not pay their honest laborers, would not pay their creditors. We ought to have known that the people who would rob the slave of his rights and his liberty, would rob the creditor of what was due to him. Then, we have been careful about success in getting office. We have sacrificed everything for the sake of political success; and yet we might have known that the slaveholder would never allow us to succeed, unless he was to rule over us: therefore our success has been our ruin, politically. Then, we have been anxious to get in a great number of States, not thinking that a large number are as strong to pull down as to build up. We ought to have known, that the more States, unless they were the right kind of States, the more injurious they would be when the nation came to decide upon any subject. But success has been our idol. We have cared for nothing but success. No matter what justice was trampled down, what righteousness overthrown, what murder perpetrated, what atrocities committed upon humanity, all we wanted was success in money-making, success in filling office, success in

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getting new States into the Union. We have got our money, but it is melting away; we have got our new States, but they have left us, robbing and murdering us as they went. It reminds me of that circumstance in the life of our Saviour, when he went over among the Gadarenes. Those Gadarenes had sacrificed God and conscience for the sake of raising swine, against the law of God, and against the conscience of humanity, because against the law of God. And when they had got two thousand of them, the Saviour drove the devil out of the young man, who was worthy to be saved, into the swine that ought to be destroyed, and the whole herd "ran violently down a steep place into the sea." (Applause.) Well, in this nation, we have sacrificed God and conscience and humanity for the sake of getting new States, and when we had got a large number into the Union, God has come forth to drive out from the Government, that ought to be preserved with an anti-slavery purpose, the devil of slavery, to perish in the waters of destruction. God grant we may never hear any more of those States, while they are slaveholding! (Applause.)

The negro has been designed by us as a laborer, and, what has God done? Made him the most powerful laborer against us. He is digging the trenches of the rebels and supplying them with food while they are fighting us. We have refused to acknowledge him as a man and a member of society, and to-day he has become our greatest enemy on the battle-field, as well as in the field of labor. The poor whites we have treated in the same way. What did we care about them, so long as we had the privilege of bowing down

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to 350,000 slaveholders? And to-day these poor whites are the men who are filling up the ranks of the Southern army, and they are the subjects of the conscription that makes it necessary for McClellan to hide himself in another swamp. Why is there any rebellion for us to put down? Why any war for us to engage in? Because we have been going on year after year sowing the seeds of war, and because we have sent our army down there ready to be sacrificed to the bloody purposes of those men, without any purpose of going to the root of the rebellion.

Now, let us look forward. This is the second delivery of the law of the nation. You know the circumstances attending that. Moses delivered the law the second time, and went up into the mountain and died, because he was not capable of leading the children of Israel over the river. He did not believe in anything but the law. But Joshua believed in something besides the law. He believed in leadership; he believed in the glorious principles of the gospel which shone out under the law, and Joshua was the one designed to lead the children of Israel over the river into the promised land which it was not intended Moses should enter. Well, we have come to the second delivery of the law, and our political Moses has gone just as far as he could go. He has brought every thing to submit to the law—the law of the Constitution, the law of the land, the law of Congress. He has brought us to the verge of Jordan; we cannot go over into the promised land, because our Moses is bound to the law. Well, you know what will happen. Either Moses personally will be set aside, or his spirit will be set aside, and our Joshua and Caleb—Fremont

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and Hunter—will lead the nation into the land of liberty. (Applause.) They have gone over into the promised land, as did Joshua and Caleb, and General Hunter was found a great cluster of black “grapes,” and they are the best proof in the world that it is a goodly land, and capable of doing all that we expect of it.

Let us learn the signs of the times, and be guided by them. In this second delivery of the law, we learn that a commentary is needed. And what kind of a commentary is needed? We have had a commentary at Bull Run, which makes us understand that the law is a law of punishment—it is the infliction of God’s terrible penalties for our sins. When we have seen the atrocities committed by those Southern slaveholders, we have cried out, “Horror! horror!” But why should we be astonished? Mr. Garrison has been telling us for thirty years that these slaveholders were murderers and barbarians, who, if they could not have negroes for slaves, would enslave white men. We ought to have known that the spirit of slavery is barbarous and murderous. Then Hunter and Fremont have given another commentary, and although for a time we have considered Gen. Fremont not orthodox, and to some extent have censured in our action Gen. Hunter, yet, after a while, they will be restored to their proper places in the hearts of the people.

Why has not McClellan moved? I believe it is political influence that has kept him from going on. The pro-slavery politicians said, “Let us keep him where he is awhile, and let us build up a party on his name. Andrew Jackson came out of the war of 1812, and Zachary Taylor came out of the Mexican war, popu-

and Hunter—will lead the nation into the land of liberty. (Applause.) They have gone over into the promised land, as did Joshua and Caleb, and General Hunter was found a great cluster of black “grapes,” and they are the best proof in the world that it is a goodly land, and capable of doing all that we expect of it.

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negroes for slaves, would enslave white men. We ought to have known that the spirit of slavery is barbarous and murderous. Then Hunter and Fremont have given another commentary, and although for a time we have considered Gen. Fremont not orthodox, and to some extent have censured in our action Gen. Hunter, yet, after a while, they will be restored to their proper places in the hearts of the people.

Why has not McClellan moved? I believe it is political influence that has kept him from going on. The pro-slavery politicians said, “Let us keep him where he is awhile, and let us build up a party on his name. Andrew Jackson came out of the war of 1812, and Zachary Taylor came out of the Mexican war, popu-



lar candidates for the Presidency, and so may McClellan." I believe they have communicated with him, and advised him to adopt a do-nothing policy, and wait until they could consolidate public sentiment; and McClellan, a young man, has obeyed these old, wise heads, and sat still, not because he did not want to enter Richmond, not because he did not want to defeat the rebels, but because he wants political as well as military fame. The reason why we have had these reverses is because we have had no purpose or policy to put down the rebellion. This lack of a policy on the part of the people has had its effect on the President. He has said, "Here I am, responsible to this nation; come to it in an hour of terrible trial; and if I do anything in opposition to slavery, they will say "I broke up the Union." Then, on the other hand, he says, "I want to do everything I can in favor of slavery, so that I may preserve the Union." So you see that, on the one hand, it is hope of being considered the preserver of the Union, that has kept him from going forward.

Now, we need to stop and look this matter in the face, and discover what is absolutely needed. The negro has long been a shadow to this nation—no fault of the negro! Instead of a shadow, following you like a ghost, make him your friend and companion, walking by your side, and keeping step with you to the music of a Union with no slavery in it! (Applause.) That is just what we need. Talk about sending the negro from this country! You cannot, for there is no possible way in which you can get along without him. Then there is another thing to be learned; that interests, principles and passions live, but policy never lives, a corrupt cause never lives. Get

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slavery out of the way, and the slaveholder will soon forget that slavery ever existed, in the higher and more glorious promise of freedom. You keep slavery in the way, and the Abolitionist will never forget that his brother is a slave; so that the war of words or bullets will continue in this country until slavery is put down. You hear a great deal of talk about hanging Jeff. Davis and the Abolitionists together. That is all folly! Jeff. Davis is not to blame for breaking up the Union. You might as well blame the man who, when a tree has been hackled at for months, and been nearly cut through, gives it the last few strokes, and it falls. It was not the last strokes that felled it; there were thousands of strokes before. So in this case, Jeff. Davis has not cut down this Union; we have hacked at it until it needed only a blow from Davis to bring it down. Let the men who talk about hanging Jeff. Davis and the Abolitionists together undertake it, and they will find that they are in the minority; for the people are coming to understand that this is an anti-slavery war, and that it is not to be ended until slavery is put down.

Let us follow out the policy of our enemies. We have been wonderfully polite in fighting these Southern slaveholders. We have sent our fathers, brothers, sons, to be murdered, and have said to them, "Don't hurt the rebels, if you can possibly help it!" We have sacrificed everything ourselves for the sake of putting down the rebellion, and preserving the Government, the blessings of which would rest upon pro-slavery and anti-slavery men alike; and yet we have been careful not to take any of the property of the rebels, because we did not want them to fall out with

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us! Now, if we want to fall in love with ourselves, let us seize Southern property. If colored men act in the rebel army, let us put colored men upon our side in the army. Let us put colored fighters upon our side against colored fighters on their side; and above all things, let us put away those pro-slavery generals who have been placed at the head of our forces to keep the Southerners from falling out with us!

I know it is a great cross that we are called upon to bear, but shrinking from it will not help us to bear it. There was an old woman who had a very heavy cross, and she prayed very hard that the Lord would relieve her from it. One night she dreamed that her prayer was granted, and that the Lord showed her a great number of crosses, and told her to take any one of them instead of the old cross. So she examined them, and finally came to one that was beautifully jewelled, but it was so heavy that she could not raise it. She looked round among the others, and finally she found one that suited her; but on examining it, it turned out to be the very old cross that she had thought so heavy and grievous to be borne. So if we undertake to get rid of our cross, God may give us a yet heavier one. The best way is, to keep it until we get rid of slavery, when it will drop from our shoulders, and the nation will go forward prospering and to prosper.

One other thing. An old man once said to his boy, "When you do a wrong act, drive a nail into that board." By and by the board was full, and then the old man said, "When you do a wrong act, draw one out, but when it was done, the old man said, "You have committed a great many sins, and have destroy-

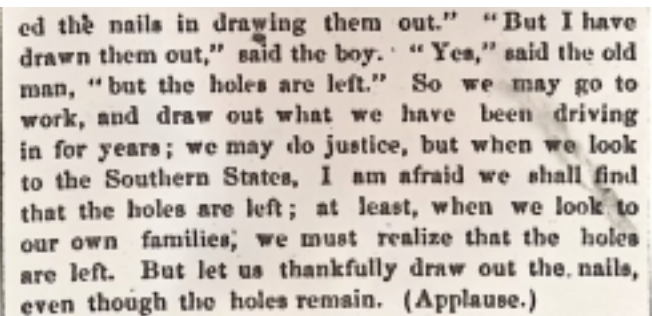
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One other thing. An old man once said to his boy, "When you do a wrong act, drive a nail into that board." By and by the board was full, and then the old man said, "When you do a wrong act, draw one out." Well, it took a long time to draw them all out, but when it was done, the old man said, "You have committed a great many sins, and have destroy-



ed the nails in drawing them out." "But I have drawn them out," said the boy. "Yes," said the old man, "but the holes are left." So we may go to work, and draw out what we have been driving in for years; we may do justice, but when we look to the Southern States, I am afraid we shall find that the holes are left; at least, when we look to our own families, we must realize that the holes are left. But let us thankfully draw out the nails, even though the holes remain. (Applause.)



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