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PIONEERS IN PROTEST—PART IV

BY LERONE BENNETT JR.

THE UP-TO-DATE FREDERICK DOUGLASS

FREDERICK Douglass was the noblest of all American Negroes and one of the noblest of all Americans. Born a slave on Maryland's Eastern Shore in 1817, he emancipated himself and became one of the great names of an age that abounds in greatness. For 50 years, from 1845 to 1895, he was the most eloquent apostle of the Negro protest. During this period, he laid the foundations for the modern Freedom Movement. Although Douglass died 69 years ago, he speaks of our contemporary situation with a brilliance that can hardly be imagined by anyone who is unfamiliar with his works. One hundred and ten years ago, Douglass was staging sit-ins in Massachusetts. One hundred and seven years ago, he was boycotting a Rochester, N.Y. school. One hundred years ago, he was denouncing hypocrisy and fraud with pre-Baldwin fury. Douglass' profile was published in the September issue of EBONY Magazine. But his own words, presented here in an unusual contemporary profile, are a living testament that no profile or autobiography could fully capture.

Great abolishionist's civil rights views are as valid today as they were century ago

"THE TERM, Negro, is at this hour the most pregnant word in the English language. The destiny of the nation has the Negro for its pivot, and turns upon the question as to what shall be done with him. Peace and war, union and disunion, salvation and ruin, glory and shame all crowd upon our thoughts the moment this vital word is pronounced."

—*Douglass' Monthly, 1863*

"The Negro is now discussed on every hand. The platform, the pulpit, the press, and the legislative hall regard him, and struggle with him, as a great and difficult problem, one that requires almost divine wisdom to solve. Men are praying over it. It is always a dangerous symptom when men pray to know what is their duty."

—*Speech, Washington, D. C., 1889*

"In whatever else the Negro may have been a failure, he has, in one respect, been a marked and brilliant success. He has managed by one means or another to make himself one of the most prominent and interesting figures that now attract and hold the attention of the world.

Go where you will, you will meet with him. He is alike present in the study of the learned and thoughtful, and in the play house of the gay and thoughtless. We see him pictured at our street corners, and hear him in the songs of our market places. The low and the vulgar curse him, the snob and the flunky affect to despise him; the mean and the cowardly assault him, because they know that his friends are few, and that they can abuse him with impunity, and with the applause of the coarse and brutal crowd. But, despite it all, the Negro remains like iron or granite, cool, strong, imperturbable and cheerful."

—*Speech, Washington, 1883*

"It seems to me that the colored man has now almost as much need of a faithful advocate as in the time of slavery. Though no longer bought and sold in the market we are still a proscribed, oppressed and maltreated race at nearly all points."

—*Letter to Francis J. Grimké, 1884*

"My friends, the present is a critical moment for the colored people of this country; our fate for weal or for woe . . . trembles now in the bal-

March on Washington on August 28, 1963—the most gigantic civil rights protest rally staged in the history of the U. S.—had its roots in the forceful pronouncements of Frederick Douglass. Revered as the father of the Negro Protest Movement, Douglass realized early that the nation's fate is inseparably linked

Young students, arrested in six days of anti-segregation demonstrations in front of Jim Crow movie theater, line up at discharge point in Baltimore City jail after theater agreed to admit Negroes. Douglass applied action techniques 100 years ago.

ance. No man can tell which way the scale will turn. There is not a breeze that sweeps to us from the South, but comes laden with the wail of our suffering people. [This is an hour] when the American people are once more being urged to do from necessity what they should have done from a sense of right, and of sound statesmanship. It is the same old posture of affairs, wherein our rulers do wrong from choice and right from necessity."

—Speech, Washington, 1862

"If [federal officials] can protect the rights of white men they can protect the rights of black men; if they can defend the rights of American citizens abroad, they can defend them at home; if they can use the army to protect the rights of Chinamen, they can use the army to protect the rights of colored men. The only trouble is the will! the will! the will! Here, as elsewhere, 'Where there is a will there is a way.'"

—Speech, Washington, 1869

"This government will not have done its duty until a school-house is placed at every cross-road of the South and a bayonet between every ballot-box."

—New National Era, 1871

"At a time like this, scorning irony, not convincing argument, is needed. O! had I the ability, and could reach the nation's ear, I would, to-day, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced."

—Fourth of July Speech, Rochester, July 5, 1852

Birmingham church bombing fatal to four girls recalls Douglass' words, ". . . the mean and the cowardly assault him (the Negro) because they know that his friends are few."

Little victims of bombing are carried through throng of mourners attending mass funeral. Incident bore out Douglass' view that nation's conscience "must be roused."

Like Douglass before him, firebrand writer James Baldwin is stirring conscience of nation with his vociferous and eloquent attacks on U. S. racism. But unlike great abolitionist, Baldwin shuns politics, does not consider himself a rights leader.

Current forms of protest, from school boycotts (l.) to stall-ins (c.), to freedom rides (r.) have full endorsement from Douglass, who insisted that all concessions made to civil rights "have been born of earnest struggle. If there is no struggle, there is no progress." Douglass himself instigated school boycott and staged one-man freedom rides.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS Continued

"Let me give you a word of the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. . . . If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, or it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. . . . Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they must certainly pay for all they get. If we ever get free from the oppressions and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if needs be, by our lives and the lives of others."

—Speech, Canandaigua, New York, 1857

"It is more than a mere figure of speech to say, that [Negroes] are as a people, chained together. We are one people—one in general complexion, one in common degradation, one in popular estimation. As one rises, all must rise, and as one falls all must fall. . . . Every one of us should be ashamed to consider himself free, while his brother is a slave. —The wrongs of our brethren, should be our constant theme. There should be no time too precious, no calling too holy, no place too sacred, to make room for the cause."

—*Address to Colored People, 1848*

"Experience proves that those are oftenest abused who can be abused with the greatest impunity. Men are whipped oftenest who are whipped easiest."

—Reply to President Andrew Johnson, 1866

"(My children) were not allowed in the public school in the district in which I lived, owned property, and paid taxes, but were compelled, if they went to a public school, to go over to the other side of the city to an inferior colored school. I hardly need say that I was not prepared to submit tamely to this proscription . . . so I had them taught at home for a while. . . . Meanwhile I went to the people with the question, and created a considerable agitation. I sought and obtained a hearing before the Board of Education, and after repeated efforts with voice and pen the doors of the public schools were opened and colored children were permitted to attend them in common with others."

—*Report of 1850 School Boycott in Rochester, N. Y. Life and Times, 1892*

"My treatment in the use of public conveyances about these times was extremely rough, especially on the 'Eastern Railroad, from Boston to Portland.' On that road, as on many others, there was a mean, dirty and uncomfortable car set apart for colored travelers called the 'Jim Crow' car. Regarding this as the fruit of slaveholding prejudice and being determined to fight the spirit of slavery wherever I might find it, I resolved to avoid this car, though it sometimes required some courage to do so. The colored people generally accepted the situation and complained of me as making matters worse rather than better by refusing to submit to this proscription. I, however, persisted, and sometimes was soundly beaten by conductor and brakemen. On one occasion six of these 'fellows of the baser sort,' under the direction of the conductor, set out to eject me from my seat. . . . They, however, found me much attached *to my seat, and in removing me I tore away two or three of the surrounding ones, on which I held with a firm grasp, and did the car no service in some other respects. . . . In a very few years this barbarous practice was put away. . . ."*

—Report of 1840 Ride-ins Life and Times, 1885

"At the ringing of the morning bell for breakfast, I made my way to the table, supposing myself included in the call; but I was scarcely seated, when there stepped up to me a young man, apparently much agitated, saying:

'Sir, you must leave this table.'

'And why,' said I, 'must I leave this table?'

'I want no controversy with you. You must leave this table.'

I replied, that I had regularly enrolled myself as a boarder in that house; I expected to pay the same charges imposed upon others; and I came to the table in obedience to the call of the bell; and if I left the table I must know the reason.

'We will serve you in your room. It is against our rules.'

'You should have informed me of *your rules* earlier. Where are your rules? Let me see them.'

'I don't want any altercation with you. You must leave this table.'

'But have I not deported myself as a gentleman? What have I done? Is there any gentleman who objects to my being seated here?'

(There was silence around the table.)

'Come, sir, come, sir, you must leave this table at once.'

'Well, sir, I cannot leave it unless you will give me a better reason than you have done for my removal.'

'Well, I'll give you a reason if you'll leave the table and go to another room.'

'That, sir, I will not do. You have invidiously selected me out of all this company, to be dragged from this table, and have thereby reflected upon me as a man and a gentleman; and the reason for this treatment shall be as public as the insult you have offered.'

At these remarks, my carrot-headed assailant left me, *as he said,* to get help to remove me from the table. Meanwhile I called upon one of the servants (who appeared to wait upon me with alacrity) to help me to a cup of coffee, and assisting myself to some of the good things before me, I quietly and thankfully partook of my morning meal without further annoyance."

—*Report of sit-in, Frederick Douglass' Paper, 1852*

"It has ever been the policy of our enemies to divide us, and to create jealousies among us, and thus to render union as difficult as possible. They well understand that we are more easily managed and victimized, while disunited, than we could be if protected by a bond of union."

—North Star, 1849

"If we are ever elevated, our elevation will have been accomplished through our own instrumentality. The history of other oppressed nations will confirm us in this assertion. No People that has solely depended upon foreign aid, or rather, upon the efforts of those, in any way identified with the oppressor, to undo the heavy burdens, ever stood forth in the attitude of Freedom. Some one, imbued with the spirit of human freedom, from among themselves, has arisen to lead them on to victory. *They* have dashed their fetters to the ground."

—*Frederick Douglass' Paper, 1852*

Continued on Page 74

"It is all nonsense to talk about the removal of eight millions of the American people from their homes in America to Africa. The expense and hardships, to say nothing of the cruelty attending such a measure, would make success impossible. The American people are wicked, but they are not fools; they will hardly be disposed to incur the expenses, to say nothing of the injustice which the measure demands. . . . The bad thing about it is, that it has, of late, owing to persecution, begun to be advocated by coloured men of acknowledged ability and learning, and every little while some white statesman becomes its advocate. These gentlemen will doubtless have their opinion of me; I certainly have mine of them. My opinion is, that if they are sensible, they are insincere; and if they are sincere, they are not sensible. They know, or they ought to know that it would take more money than the cost of the late war, to transport even one half of the coloured people of the United States to Africa. Whether intentionally or not, they are, as I think, simply trifling with an afflicted people. They urge them to look for relief where they ought to know that relief is impossible."

—Pamphlet, 1894

"My friends, the destiny of the colored American . . . is the destiny of America. We shall never leave you. The allotments of Providence seem to make the black man of America the open book out of which the American people are to learn lessons of wisdom, power and goodness—more sublime and glorious than any yet attained by the nations of the old or the new world. Over the bleeding back of the American bondsman we shall learn mercy. In the very extreme difference of color and features of the Negro and the Anglo-Saxon, shall be learned the highest ideas of the sacredness of man and the fullness and perfection of human brotherhood."

—*Douglass' Monthly*, 1862

"In surveying our possible future, so full of interest at this moment, since it may bring to us all the blessings of equal liberty, or all the woes of . . . continued social degradation, you will not blame us if we manifest anxiety in regard to the position of our recognized friends, as well as that of our open and declared enemies; for our cause may suffer even more from the injudicious concessions and weakness of our friends, than from the machinations and power of our enemies. . . . The weakness and hesitation of our friends, where promptness and vigor were required, have invited the contempt and rigor of our enemies."

—Address to nation, Washington, D. C., 1864

"The relation subsisting between the white and black people of this country is the vital question of the age. . . . Here, a man must be hot, or be accounted cold, or perchance, something worse than hot or cold. The lukewarm and the cowardly, will be rejected by earnest men on either side of the controversy. The cunning man who avoids it, to gain the favor of both parties, will be rewarded with scorn; and the timid man who shrinks from it, for fear of offending either party, will be despised. To the lawyer, the preacher, the politician, and to the man of letters, there is no neutral ground. He that is not for us, is against us."

—*Speech, Western Reserve College*, 1854

"It is something [for Northern philanthropists and missionaries] to give the Negro religion. It is more to give him justice. It is something to give him the Bible, it is more to give him the ballot. It is something to tell him that there is a place for him in the Christian's heaven, it is more to let him have a place in this Christian country to live upon in peace."

—Letter to Amelia Douglass, 1887

"It is neither a reflection on the fidelity, nor a disparagement of the ability of our friends and fellow-laborers, to assert what 'common sense affirms and only folly denies, that the man who has suffered the wrong is the man to demand redress,—that the man STRUCK is the man to CRY OUT—and that he who has endured the cruel pangs of Slavery is the man to advocate Liberty. It is evident that we must be our own representatives and advocates, not exclusively, but peculiarly —not distinct from, but in connection with our white friends."

—The North Star, 1847

". . . Having despised us, it is not strange that Americans should seek to render us despicable; having enslaved us, it is natural that they should strive to prove us unfit for freedom; having denounced us as indolent, it is not strange that they should cripple our enterprise; having assumed our inferiority, it would be extraordinary if they sought to surround us with circumstances which would serve to make us direct contradictions to their assumptions."

—*Address to nation*, 1853

Views of Malcolm X, who advocated separate Negro state within U. S., would have been opposed by abolitionist, a staunch supporter of full integration of his race. Likewise, he opposed Marcus Garvey-type schemes of "returning" Negro to Africa.

"You degrade us and then ask why are we degraded—you shut our mouths, and then ask why we dont speak—you close your colleges and seminaries against us, and then ask why we don't know more."

—Letter to Liberator, 1841

"What Abraham Lincoln said in respect of the United States is as true of the colored people as of the relations of those States. They can not remain half slave and half free. You must give them all or take from them all. Until this half-and-half condition is ended, there will be just ground of complaint. You will have an aggrieved class, and this discussion will go on. Until the public schools shall cease to be caste schools in every part of our country, this discussion will go on. Until the colored man's pathway to the American ballot box, North and South, shall be as smooth and as safe as the same is for the white citizen, this discussion will go on. Until the colored man's right to practice at the bar of our courts, and sit upon juries, shall be the universal law and practice of the land, this discussion will go on. Until the courts of the country shall grant the colored man a fair trial and a just verdict, this discussion will go on. Until color shall cease to be a bar to equal participation in the offices and honors of the country, this discussion will go on. Until the trades-unions and the workshops of the country shall cease to proscribe the colored man and prevent his children from learning useful trades, this discussion will go on. Until the American people shall make character, and not color, the criterion of respectability, this discussion will go on. . . . In a word, until truth and humanity shall cease to be living ideas, and mankind shall sink back into moral darkness, and the world shall put evil for good, bitter for sweet, and darkness for light, this discussion will go on. Until all humane ideas and civilization shall be banished from the world, this discussion will go on."

—*Speech, Washington*, 1883

"What stone has been left unturned to degrade us? What hand has refused to fan the flame of popular prejudice against us? What American artist has not caricatured us? What wit has not laughed at us in our wretchedness? What songster has not made merry over our depressed spirits? What press has not ridiculed and condemned us? What pulpit has withheld from our devoted heads its angry lightning, or its sanctimonious hate? Few, few, very few. . . ."

—Address to Nation, 1853

"They dance and sing, and make all manner of joyful noises—so they do; but it is a great mistake to suppose them happy because they sing. The songs of the slave present the sorrows, rather than the joys, of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears. Such is the constitution of the human mind, that, when pressed to extremes, it often avails itself of the most opposite method. . . . Sorrow and desolation have their songs, as well as joy and peace. Slaves sing more to *make* themselves happy, than to express their happiness.

—*My Bondage and My Freedom*, 1856

Continued on Page 76

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS Continued

"In thinking of America, I sometimes find myself admiring her bright blue sky—her grand old woods—her fertile fields—her beautiful rivers—her mighty lakes, and star-crowned mountains. But my rapture is soon checked, my joy is soon turned to mourning. When I remember that all is cursed with the infernal spirit of slaveholding, robbery and wrong, —when I remember that with the waters of her noblest rivers, the tears of my brethren are borne to the ocean, disregarded and forgotten, and that her most fertile fields drink daily of the warm blood of my outraged sisters, I am filled with unutterable loathing, and led to reproach myself that any thing could fall from my lips in praise of such a land. America will not allow her children to love her. She seems bent on compelling those who would be her warmest friends, to be her worst enemies. May God give her repentance before it is too late, is the ardent prayer of my heart. I will continue to pray, labor and wait, believing that she cannot always be insensible to the dictates of justice, or deaf to the voice of humanity."

—Letter from Ireland, 1846

"Alas! fellow-citizens, there is no right so neglected as the Negro's right. There is no flesh so despised as the Negro's flesh. There is no blood so cheap as the Negro's blood."

—Speech, Washington, 1854

We warn the American people, and the American government to be wise in their day and generation. The time may come that those whom they now despise and hate, may be needed. Those compelled foes may, by and by be wanted as friends. America cannot always sit, as a queen, in peace and repose. Prouder and stronger governments than hers have been shattered by the bolts of the wrath of a just God. We beseech her to have a care how she goads the sable oppressed in the land. We warn her in the name of retribution, to look to her ways. . . ."

—The North Star, 1849

"The American people have this lesson to learn: That where justice is denied, where poverty is enforced, where ignorance prevails, and where any one class is made to feel that society is an organized conspiracy to oppress, rob, and degrade them, neither persons nor property will be safe.

. . . Hungry men will eat. Desperate men will commit crime. Outraged men will seek revenge."

—Speech, Washington, 1888

"The presence of (deprived citizens) in any section of this country, constituting an aggrieved class, smarting under terrible wrongs, denied the exercise of the commonest rights of humanity, and regarded by the ruling class of that section as outside of the government, outside of the law, outside of society, having nothing in common with the people with whom they live, the sport of mob violence and murder, is not only a disgrace and scandal to that particular section, but a menace to the peace and security of the whole country."

—Pamphlet, 1894

Scenic beauty of United States stirred mixed emotions in Douglass, who felt deep love for country of his birth, yet realized that "with the waters of her noblest rivers, the tears of my brethren are borne to the ocean, disregarded and forgotten." Peaceful scene above is site where murdered Emmitt Till's body was found in Mississippi.

Disproportionate unemployment, which plagues Negroes today as it did during Douglass' days, was considered among key problems by abolitionist. Although automation was not a problem of his day, he urged Negroes to find new ways to earn a living. He protested fact that white workers were even taking menial jobs away from Negroes.

"*Fellow-citizens! We want no black Ireland in America. We want no aggrieved class in America. Strong as we are without the Negro, we are stronger with him than without him. The power and friendship of seven millions of people scattered all over the country, however humble, are not to be despised. . . .*

Our legislators, our Presidents, and our judges should have a care, lest, by forcing these people outside of law, they destroy that love of country which is needful to the Nation's defense in the day of trouble."

—Speech, Washington, 1883

"The old avocations, by which colored men obtained a livelihood, are rapidly, unceasingly and inevitably passing into other hands; every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment. . . .

White men are becoming house-servants, cooks, and stewards on vessels—at hotels. They are becoming porters, stevedores, wood-sawyers, hod-carriers, brick-makers, white-washers and barbers, so that the blacks can scarcely find the means of subsistence—a few years ago, and a *white* barber would have been a curiosity—now their poles stand on every street. Formerly blacks were almost the exclusive coachmen in wealthy families: this is so no longer, white men are now employed, and for aught we see, they fill their servile station with an obsequiousness as profound as that of the blacks.The readiness and ease with which they adapt themselves to these conditions ought not to be lost sight of by the colored people. The meaning is very important, and we should learn it. We are taught our insecurity by it. Without the means of living, life is a curse, and leaves us at the mercy of the oppressor to become his debased slave. Now, colored men, what do you mean to do, for you must do something? . . . *One thing is certain: we must find new methods of obtaining a livelihood, for the old ones are failing us very fast.*"

—*Frederick Douglass' Paper, 1853*

"*Every blow of the sledge hammer, wielded by a sable arm, is a powerful blow in support of our cause. Every colored mechanic, is by virtue of circumstances, an elevator of his race. Every house built by black men, is a strong tower against the allied hosts of prejudice. It is impossible for us to attach too much importance to this aspect of the subject. . . . Understand this, that independence is an essential condition of respectability. To be dependent, is to be degraded. Men may indeed pity us, but they cannot respect us.*"

—Address to Colored People, 1848

"Pride and selfishness, combined with mental power, never want for a theory to justify them—and when men oppress their fellow-men, the oppressor ever finds, in the character of the oppressed, a full justification for his oppression. Ignorance and depravity, and the inability to rise from degradation to civilization and respectability, are the most usual allegations against the oppressed. The evils most fostered by the slavery and oppression, are precisely those which slaveholders and oppressors would transfer from their system to the inherent character of their victims. Thus the very crimes of slavery become slavery's best defence. By making the enslaved a character fit only for slavery, they excuse themselves for refusing to make the slave a freeman."

—Speech, Western Reserve College, 1854

"*As those who believe in the visibility of ghosts can easily see them, so it is always easy to see repulsive qualities in those we despise and hate.*"

—The North American Review, 1851

Continued on Next Page

LET'S GO!

Let's face it — the broom-pushing, crate-toting jobs are disappearing like puddles in the noon-day sun. Mechanization and automation are taking the place of muscle-power. Today, even the low paying jobs require brain-power . . . and for the big-pay jobs — office or shop — a high school diploma is a must. But . . . skilled-job opportunities are there for those with the education, training and determination to qualify for them. The time is now! So . . .

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Official excesses against Negroes, like electric cattle prod attack by mounted Louisiana state troopers, were vehemently denounced by Douglass. Racial hate, he warned whites, is "the only thing that seriously disturbs and endangers your Union."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS *Continued*

"Weeds do not more naturally spring out of a manure pile than crime out of enforced destitution."

—Address to Nation, 1853

"Americans! your republican politics, not less than your republican religion, are flagrantly inconsistent. . . . You hurl your anathemas at the crowned headed tyrants of Russia and Austria and pride yourselves on your Democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere tools and bodyguards of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina. You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot, and kill. You glory in your refinement and your universal education; yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful as ever stained the character of a nation—a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty. You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her wrongs the theme of your poets, statesmen, and orators, till your gallant sons are ready to fly to arms to vindicate her cause against the oppressor; but, in regard to the ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence, and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares to make those wrongs the subject of public discourse! You are all on fire at the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland; but are as cold as an iceberg at the thought of liberty for the enslaved of America. . . . You profess to believe that, of one blood, God made all nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth,' and hath commanded all men, everywhere, to love one another; yet you notoriously hate (and glory in your hatred) all men whose skins are not colored like your own. . . .

"Oh! be warned! be warned! a horrible reptile is coiled up in your nation's bosom; the venomous creature is nursing at the tender breast of your youthful republic; *for the love of God, tear away,* fling from you the hideous monster, and *let the weight of twenty millions crush and destroy it forever!"*

—*Fourth of July Speech, Rochester, 1852*

". . . let us have peace, but let us have liberty, law and justice first. Let us have the Constitution, with its thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, fairly interpreted, faithfully executed and cheerfully obeyed in the fullness of their spirit and the completeness of their letter. . . . When the supreme law of the land is practically set at naught, when humanity is insulted and the rights of the weak are trampled in the dust by a lawless power; when society is divided into two classes, as oppressed and oppressor, there is no power and there can be no power, while the instincts of humanity remain as they are, which can provide solid peace."

—Speech, New York City, 1878