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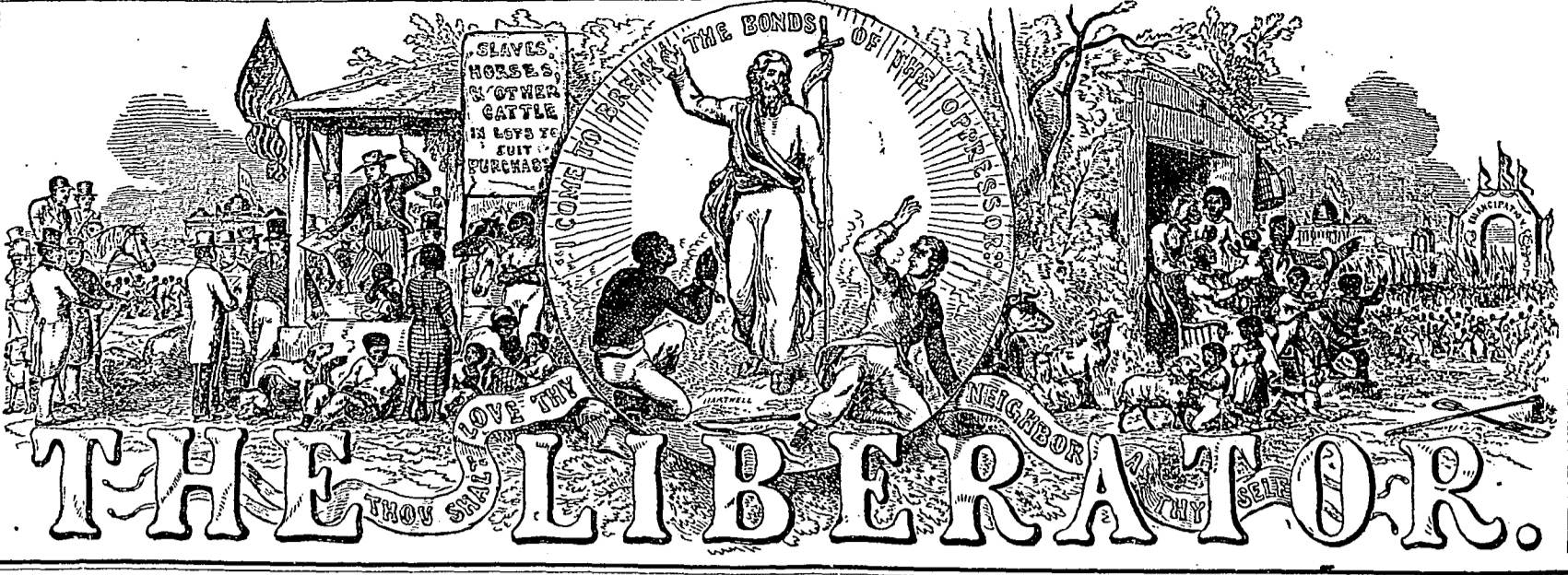
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
VOL. XXX. NO. 28.

REFUGEE OF OPPRESSION.

From the New Orleans Pleigune.
SUNNER'S VENGEANCE.
Mr. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, has made, in the Senate of the United States, the grand demon-
stration on the subject of slavery which it has ever
seen. It is the work of his life to prepare in the
most effective manner, since the case of Preston Brooks
has been put in his hands for the malignity of
his conduct, the most powerful and manly of the
southern States.
We have never spoken of that chastisement, well
merited as it undoubtedly was by the coarseness of
the insult it undertook to punish, except as ex-
tremely rash and thoughtless, the impulse of an im-
pulsive indignation, which forgot in its heat the
principles of time and place, and gave to the ene-
my of the South an advantage in the plea before the
Northern people, that the liberty of speech had
been slightly assailed by Southern slaveholders on
the floor of the Senate itself. The act was deeply
regretted for the mischievous use that could be
made-out of it, more than he deserved.
It has been for years brooding over his disgrace,
and preparing his revenge. His wounded vanity
craved of him that he should seek his reparation
in wrong in repeating the offence in the most
aggravating form which a thorough search of the vo-
cabulary of abuse for some weary years of self-
denial could supply to a reckless tongue. Sup-
posed, as it seems, by a sort of body-guard under
the direction of the fighting Mr. Burlingame, as a
society against interruption by another case, he
went into the Senate to deliver the most furiously
and malignant tirade against slavery and slave-
holding, against the slave States of this Union,
and the slaveholders of these States, which has
been uttered in this country by a man above the
standard of Fred Douglass or Garrison. For hours
he continued to pour out all the hoarded resent-
ment of his heart, in a strain of insult to which
the slanders which stung Mr. Brooks into the im-
pulsive chastisement of him into notoriety was du-
bious. He raised up ancient and modern
history to find offensive comparisons, and to stig-
matize the society of the South as 'barbarous'
beyond anything known among nations which pre-
tend to civilization. He assumed that the free
States of the Union are types of civilized society,
and the slave States the most odious relics of the worst
barbarism. He drew a comparison between the
Barbarians of the Mediterranean and the Barba-
rarians of America, and awarded to those nests
of practical Africans a superiority in morals and
progress over the slaveholding States of the Union.
He took up and eulogized and endorsed the whole
spirit and substance of Helder's book; and held
up slaveholding communities to utter abhorrence,
as essentially wicked by their nature, and slave-
holders as villains by the law of their existence.
He set up a series of philippic after this class with
the assertion that slavery was 'barbarous in its
origin, barbarous in its law, and barbarous in all
its pretensions; barbarous in the instruments it em-
ploys, barbarous in its consequences, barbarous in
spirit, and barbarous wherever it shows itself,' it
must 'breed barbarians, while it develops every-
where, alike in the individual and in the society of
which he forms a part, the essential elements of
barbarism.'
With this text, he declares for the extirpation of
the monstrous evil, and repudiates with scorn the
plea that it is only to be met as a political question,
and declares that it is to be met on every ground as
a manly battle between good and evil.
There are two whole sides of a large newspaper
covered with the speech, of which the sentence we
quote is key-thing, amplified, illustrated, and
endorsed in every possible form of insult, derision
and defiance.
This black tirade went on without interruption,
and with no other reply than some brief words from
Senator Chesnut, of South Carolina, in which he
expressed, in words much more emphatic than com-
plimentary, his opinion of this scandalous exhibi-
tion of malignant and repulsive passions. The
Senator declared that this ranting abolitionist un-
packed his heart of his full passions, and that the un-
wholesome load of revengeful thoughts
Senator Chesnut would have done quite as well in
sifting the harangue to pass without a word of
comment. If we are to take Mr. Sumner as the
type of a class in the North—the irrepressible con-
flict—there are worthier antagonists with
whom the contest for our existence can be waged;
— men whom success will be a substantial victory,
and that mounting Sumner is a ranter whom no
party will consent to receive as a leader. He may
stand and their sentiments, but they shrink from the
solidity with which he declares them, and the im-
pudence of making issue of them too soon. They
disregarded Seward mainly because he is too di-
rectly committed to theories of the same kind with
Sumner, to be available as a candidate yet.
The impudence of Sumner will not permit these
men to wait that consummation which Mr. Seward
has promised, when Republicanism can go as fast
as it wishes, and has preferred to go with
him, now, as far as it can. Mr. Sumner will,
Republican as he probably is, be disclaimed by
himself as an impudent and inconvenient ally,
and before long he will be taken out of the Senate.
Republicanism has demonstrated such a strength
of the Republican idea that it may be advanced and
supported more boldly than it is the policy just now
to have.

Such a speech more calculated to drive the
South out of the Union, or to stir up insurrection;
slaves be justified in taking up arms, but only add-
ing to their assistance. The speech was equally
distinguished for its vehemence and falsehood. What
was more untrue than that the slaves receive no
benefit from their labor? They are clad, housed
and fed, and allowed certain privileges by
which they are added to their personal comforts, and
both of the South, in and out of Europe,
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earnings, as white laborers in the free States are by

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THE LIBERATOR.
Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1860.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1542.

THE LIBERATOR.

'INDEPENDENCE DAY.'
ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION AT FRAMINGHAM.

Photographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YEABROOK.
A Mass Meeting of the friends of the enslaved was held at the Grove in Framingham, on the Fourth, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, to celebrate the day, and, (in the words of the call) 'to consider the solemn and pregnant issues of the hour—how best to preserve the principles of the Revolution, and carry them forward to a speedy and enduring triumph.' Notwithstanding the heavy rain of the night previous, and the inauspicious aspect of the morning, a large number of persons took the special train for the Grove, at 9 o'clock, who were joined, on their arrival, by a delegation from Milford, and neighboring places, several hundred strong. In Milford alone, we understand, nearly four hundred tickets were sold. By noon, the company on the ground had swelled to thousands, and we doubt if ever a larger, more intelligent and orderly gathering was ever congregated in that beautiful grove, even on such an occasion, remarkable, as they always are, for the intelligence and high character of those who answer the call.
The meeting was called to order shortly before 11 o'clock, by E. H. Heywood, who read the following list of officers for its organization:—
President—EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.
Vice Presidents—Francis Jackson, Boston; Charles L. Remond, Salem; P. B. Sanborn, Col. Wm. Whiting, Concord; Caroline M. Severance, West Newton; Elizabeth B. Chase, Valley Falls, R. I.; William S. Haywood, Hopedale; Henry O. Stone, Framingham; Abby Kelley Foster, Worcester; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; J. T. Everett, Princeton; J. H. Stephenson, Newton; O. W. Albee, Marlboro'.
Secretaries—J. M. W. Yerrinton, Chas. K. Whipple. Finance Committee—E. H. Heywood, Boston; Angeline J. Knox, Boston; Sallie Holley, Sarah E. Hall, Worcester; E. D. Draper, Hopedale; T. C. Severance, West Newton.
After thanking the audience for the honor they had conferred upon him, the President said he was always glad to attend an anti-slavery meeting on the Fourth of July, because it was the only place where one could get away from the noise and dust and turbulence of American patriotism, and the only place, too, where the truth could be heard. Thousands of meetings were being held all over the country, in which the people were congregated to listen to 'glorifications of themselves, and smell the incense burned to their own vanity, by priests appointed, under the name of orators, for that purpose. Mr. Everett to-day, in Boston, would endeavor to encourage the modest citizen of that metropolis by telling them what admirable fellows they are, and what heroes and patriots and sages their ancestors were, with an exhortation, to be sure, that they should prove themselves worthy of their sires, but with a very strong inference that they must go to an anti-slavery meeting, for there they would hear the truth about the Revolution and the government, and the nature of the institutions which the Revolution and the government gave to the country, and true exhortations as to the duties which belong to the inhabitants of the country. To such a meeting as that he welcomed the audience on that occasion.
'Freedom's Battle Song,' by R. Thayer, was then sung, to 'Auld Lang Syne,' after which Mr. Garrison came forward, and stated that he had received a note from the excellent General Agent of the Society, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., which he would read:—
LEICESTER, July 2, 1860.
DEAR MR. GARRISON:—
The 'Fourth' draws nigh, and that crowd of bright, intelligent, and earnest faces—the flower of Massachusetts' best moral and religious culture,—upon which I have looked with delight so many a year, will once more gather in the beautiful Framingham grove, to redeem their share of the day from its prevailing false and shallow uses, and to congregate it to the noble ends of Liberty, Justice, and the Right. May the skies be far above them! I am sure that useful and soul-stirring truth will be uttered, and I know the occasion will, as it has so many times before, make its impress deep and strong on the thought and feeling of the community. I have never before missed one of these occasions. Now I must be absent. The state of my health forbids my participating in the pleasures and duties of your meeting. But in thought I shall be with you, and every word and strain you utter, that the most uncompromising anti-slavery spirit can inspire, will have my heartiest God-speed. And thus offering to you my warmest congratulations, that you are permitted to enlist in the services of this noblest, best, and most Christian cause of our age, and with the prayer that we may all be faithful to it unto death, I remain,
Sincerely your friend,
SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

SELECTIONS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.
A NEW MISREPRESENTATION.
A late number of the Liberator, Mr. Garrison's paper, contains an article under the well-known initials of Mr. Wendell Phillips, in which Abraham Lincoln is designated as 'the slave-hound of Illinois.' The charge is based upon the alleged fact that, on the 10th of January, 1849, Mr. Lincoln, being then a member of Congress, moved to reconsider the vote instructing the Committee on the District of Columbia to report a bill for abolishing the slave-trade therein, and to insert into the bill, from which 'W. P.' makes this extract:—
'Section 5. That the municipal authorities of Washington and Georgetown, within their respective jurisdictional limits, are hereby empowered and authorized to provide active and efficient means to arrest and deliver up to their owners, all fugitive slaves escaping into said District.'
The Tribune is especially called upon to meet this charge, and the writer writes to know 'where to draw that line which shall allow us all our indignation against Mason, and yet save the fame of the orator, for that purpose. Mr. Everett to-day, in Boston, would endeavor to encourage the modest citizen of that metropolis by telling them what admirable fellows they are, and what heroes and patriots and sages their ancestors were, with an exhortation, to be sure, that they should prove themselves worthy of their sires, but with a very strong inference that they must go to an anti-slavery meeting, for there they would hear the truth about the Revolution and the government, and the nature of the institutions which the Revolution and the government gave to the country, and true exhortations as to the duties which belong to the inhabitants of the country. To such a meeting as that he welcomed the audience on that occasion.
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What, then, was the course of Mr. Lincoln on which such a charge is based? To reply to this a motion was made to lay the motion to reconsider the resolution on the table. Mr. Lincoln, at this stage, appealed to the mover—not to the House—to withdraw his motion. He urged him to withdraw his motion, not permanently, but merely to enable him to read an amendment which he should attempt to introduce, if the vote on the original resolution—this amendment was the bill which 'W. P.' refers to, of which he gives a section, and because of which he says: 'We gibbet a Northern hound to-day, side by side with the infamous Mason of Virginia.' The reader is left to infer that Mr. Lincoln attempted to get the virtual prohibition of the slave-trade in the District, just passed, rescinded, that he might the more effectively and emphatically provide it with a more stringent law against fugitive slaves. Let us see.
Mr. Lincoln, let it be remembered, asked his colleague to withdraw his motion, simply that he might read the proposition which he intended to urge as an amendment, if the resolution prohibiting the slave-trade was reconsidered. Now, this proposition is a bill of eight sections, of which 'W. P.' quotes one. The purpose of this bill was the abolition not merely of the slave-trade, but of slavery itself in the District of Columbia, provided a majority of the people should cast their votes in favor of such a measure. The fifth section, so far from showing the general purport of the bill, is precisely that portion of it from which the character of the rest would never be guessed. It was merely intended to put the District on a footing with all the States in regard to 'fugitives from service,' when slavery should no longer exist there, and nothing more. If Virginia may have the right to take her runaway slaves in Boston, there is no good reason *carrius paribus*, why she should not in Washington. But this was the exceptional point of Mr. Lincoln's proposed amendment, and not its general purpose, for that was to sweep the system of slavery out of the District, after a fixed time, by consent of the people, giving compensation to the master, and providing for the due education and care of the emancipated.
This proposition, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to say, he had submitted to fifteen leading citizens of the District, who all approved of it. 'W. P.' refers to this fact, and applying it to the exceptional provision of section five, adds, 'No wonder Mr. Lincoln is unwilling to make any opposition to the Fugitive Slave bill! No wonder the Chicago Convention omitted that point in their resolutions!'
Such misrepresentation as this is to be accounted for only on the supposition that some malignant and unscrupulous person has imposed upon 'W. P.' and prevailed upon him to give the sanction of his name to a statement which he had never examined, but which, unfortunately, he was too ready to believe.

SPEECH OF H. FORD DOUGLASS.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:
I hope that my friends will not do me the injustice to suppose, for a single moment, that I have any connection, either by blood or politically, with Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Chicago. I am somewhat proud of the name of Douglass. It was once, in the history of dear old Scotia, a tower of strength on the side of free principles; and so firmly did they oppose the usurpations of royal power, that, on one of the kings of Scotland coming to the throne, he issued an edict, expelling from his realm every man who bore that hated name; and I cannot account for the signal departure from the ancient and hereditary principles by one who bears that name, upon any other theory than that of bastard blood. (Applause.)
There are a great many people in this country who seem to be in love with Stephen A. Douglas, and to regard him as a great statesman. It seems to me that there are certain elements necessary to true statesmanship. In the first place, a statesman must have a heart—that is one of the essential elements of statesmanship. Now, who supposes that Stephen A. Douglas has a heart? I cannot account for the existence of so mean a man as Douglas on any other theory than that of the transmigration of souls. It was held by one of the old philosophers of Greece, that when a man died, somebody was born, and that the soul of the dead entered the body of the newborn; but, when Douglas was born, nobody happened to die! (Laughter and applause.)
But, ladies and gentlemen, I had no intention of making these remarks. We are here for the purpose of celebrating the Fourth of July. Eighty-four years ago to-day, this nation had its birth. We stand, to-day, a governmental prodigy, surpassing, in our extraordinary growth, any of the States of ancient or modern times. But nations who seek success amid the possibilities of the future are not measured by the accumulation of wealth, nor by breadth of territorial domain. Far down beneath the glittering splendor which the jeweled hand of Cæsar has lifted up to intoxicate the gaze of the unthinking multitude, there will be found a silent and restless influence, working its way beneath the surface of society, and shaping the destiny of men.
When John Adams wrote that this would always be a day of bonfires and rejoicing, he did not foresee the evils which half a century would bring, when his own son, standing in his place amid the legislators of the Republic, would shame posterity into a brave indifference to its empty ceremonies. John Quincy Adams said, twenty years ago, that 'the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery is the vital and animating spirit of the national government,' and this truth is no less apparent to-day. Every department of our national life—the President's chair, the Senate of the United States, the Supreme Court, and the American pulpit—is occupied and controlled by the dark spirit of American slavery. We have four parties in this country that have marshalled themselves on the highway of American politics, asking for the votes of the American people to place them in possession of the government. We have what is called the Union party, led by Mr. Bell, of Tennessee; we have what is called the Democratic party, led by Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois; we have the party called the Seceders, or the Slave-Code Democrats, led by John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and then we have the Republican party, led by Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. All of these parties ask for your support, because they profess to represent some principle. So far as the principles of freedom and the hopes of the black man are concerned, all these parties are barren and unfruitful; neither of them seeks to lift the negro out of his fetters, and rescue this day from odium and disgrace.
Take Abraham Lincoln. I want to know if any man can tell me the difference between the anti-slavery of Abraham Lincoln, and the anti-slavery of the old Whig party, or the anti-slavery of Henry Clay? Why, there is no difference between them. Abraham Lincoln is simply a Henry Clay Whig, and he believes just as Henry Clay believed in regard to this question. And Henry Clay was just as odious to the anti-slavery cause and anti-slavery men as ever was John C. Calhoun. In fact, he did as much to perpetuate negro slavery in this country as any other man who has ever lived. Henry Clay once said, 'That is property which the law declares to be property,' and that 'two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified property in slaves!' Wherever Henry Clay is to-day in the universe of God, that atheistic lie is with him, with all its tormenting memories. (Applause.)
I know Abraham Lincoln, and I know something about his anti-slavery. I know the Republicans do not like this kind of talk, because, while they are willing to steal our thunder, they are unwilling to submit to the conditions imposed upon that party that assume to be anti-slavery. They say that they cannot go as fast as you anti-slavery men go in this matter; that they cannot afford to be uncompromisingly honest, nor so radical as you Garrisonians; that they want to take time; that they want to do the work gradually. They say, 'We must not be in too great a hurry to overthrow slavery; at least, we must take half a loaf, if we cannot get the whole.' Now, my friends, I believe that the very best way to overthrow slavery in this country is to occupy the highest possible anti-slavery ground. Washington Irving tells a story of a Dutchman, who wanted to jump over a ditch, and he went back three miles in order to get a good start, and when he got up to the ditch, he had to sit down on the wrong side to get his breath. So it is with these political parties; they are compelled, they say, when they get up to the ditch of slavery, to stop and take breath.
I do not believe in the anti-slavery of Abraham Lincoln, because he is on the side of the Slave Power of which I am speaking, that has possession of the Federal Government. What does he propose to do? Simply to let the people and the Territories regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. In the great debate between Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois, when he was interrogated as to whether he was in favor of the admission of more slave States into the Union, he said, so long as we owned the territories, he did not see any other way of doing than to

admit those States when they made application, with or without slavery. Now, that is Douglas's doctrine; it is stealing the thunder of Stephen A. Douglas.
In regard to the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, Abraham Lincoln occupies the same position that the old Whig party occupied in 1852. They asserted then, in their platform, that they were not in favor of the repeal of that law, and that they would do nothing to lessen its efficiency. What did he say at Prepost? Why, that the South was entitled to a Fugitive Slave Law; and although he thought the law could be modified a little, yet, he said, if he was in Congress, he would have it done in such a way as not to lessen its efficiency! Here, then, is Abraham Lincoln in favor of carrying out that infamous Fugitive Slave Law, that not only strikes down the liberty of every black man in the United States, but virtually the liberty of every white man as well; for, under that law, there is not a man in this presence who might not be arrested to-day upon the simple testimony of one man, and, after an *ex parte* trial, hurried off to slavery and to chains. *Hæc res corpus*, trial by jury,—those great bulwarks of freedom, reared by the blood and unspeakable woe of your English ancestors, amidst the conflicts of a thousand years,—are struck down by this law; and the man whose name is inscribed upon the Presidential banner of the Republican party is in favor of keeping it upon the statute-book!
Not only would I arraign Mr. Lincoln, in regard to that law, for his pro-slavery character and principles, but when he was a member of the House of Representatives, in 1849, on the 10th day of January, he went through the District of Columbia, and consulted the prominent pro-slavery men and slaveholders of the District, and then went into the House of Representatives, and introduced, on his own responsibility, a fugitive slave law for the District of Columbia. It is well known that the law of 1793 did not apply to the District, and it was necessary, in order that slaveholders might catch their slaves who sought safety under the shadow of the capitol, that a special law should be passed for the District of Columbia; and so Mr. Lincoln went down deeper into the pro-slavery pool than even Mr. Mason of Virginia did in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Here, then, is the man who asks for your votes, and for the votes of the anti-slavery people of New England, who, on his own responsibility, without any temptation whatever, introduced into the District of Columbia a fugitive slave law! That is a fact for the consideration of anti-slavery men.
Then, there is another item which I want to bring out in this connection. I am a colored man; I am an American citizen; and I think that I am entitled to exercise the elective franchise. I am about twenty-eight years old, and I would like to vote very much. I think I am old enough to vote, and I think that, if I had a vote to give, I should know enough to place it on the side of freedom. (Applause.) No party, it seems to me, is entitled to the sympathy of anti-slavery men, unless that party is willing to extend to the black man all the rights of a citizen. I care nothing about that anti-slavery which wants to make the Territories free, while it is unwilling to extend to me, as a man, in the free States, all the rights of a man. (Applause.) I have been laboring to make it a place fit for a decent man to live in. In that State, we have a code of black laws that would disgrace any Barbary State, or any uncivilized people in the far-off islands of the sea. Men of my complexion are not allowed to testify in a court of justice, where a white man is a party. If a white man happens to owe me anything, unless I can prove it by the testimony of a white man, I cannot collect the debt. Now, two years ago, I went through the State of Illinois for the purpose of getting signatures to a petition, asking the Legislature to repeal the 'Testimony Law,' so as to permit colored men to testify against white men. I went to prominent Republicans, and among others, to Abraham Lincoln and Lyman Trumbull, and neither of them dared to sign that petition, to give me the right to testify in a court of justice! ('Hear, hear.') In the State of Illinois, they tax the colored people for every conceivable purpose. They tax the negro's property to support schools for the education of the white man's children, but the colored people are not permitted to enjoy any of the benefits resulting from that taxation. We are compelled to impose upon ourselves additional taxes, in order to educate our children. The State lays its iron hand upon the negro, holds him down, and puts the other hand into his pocket and steals his hard earnings, to educate the children of white men; and if we sent our children to school, Abraham Lincoln would kick them out, in the name of Republicanism and anti-slavery!
I have, then, something to say against the anti-slavery character of the Republican party. Not only are the Republicans of Illinois on the side of slavery, and against the rights of the negro, but even some of the prominent Republicans of Massachusetts are not acceptable anti-slavery men in that regard. In the Senate of the United States, some of your Senators from the New England States take special pains to make concessions to the Slave Power, by saying that they are not in favor of bringing about negro equality; just as Abraham Lincoln did down in Ohio two years ago. When he went there to stump that State, the colored people were agitating the question of suffrage in that State. The *Ohio Statesman*, a paper published in Columbus, asserted, on the morning of the day that Mr. Lincoln made his speech, that he was in favor of negro equality; and Mr. Lincoln took pains at that time to deny the allegation, by saying that he was not in favor of bringing about the equality of the negro race; that he did not believe in making an inferior and superior position, and that he was, as much as anybody else, in favor of assigning to white men the superior position. There is a great deal of talk in this country about the superiority of the white race. We often hear, from this very platform, praise of the Saxon race. Now, I want to put this question to those who deny the equal manhood of the negro: What peculiar trait of character do the white men of

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'
'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORED FROM THE MOUTH. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.'
—WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

'THIS COUNTRY POSSESSES, AS A MARK OF SUPERIORITY, EITHER MORALLY OR MENTALLY, THAT IS NOT ALSO MANIFESTED BY THE BLACK MAN, UNDER SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES' ('HEAR, HEAR.')

You may take down the white and black part of the social and political structure, stone by stone, and in all the relations of life, where the exercise of his moral and intellectual functions is not restricted by positive law, or by the arbitrary restraints of society, you will find the negro the equal of the white man, in all the elements of head and heart. Of course, no one pretends that all men are mentally equal, or morally equal, any more than we do that all men are of the same weight, or equal in physical endowments. Here in this country, under the most favorable circumstances, we have idiots and fools, some in the lunatic asylum, and others, in the high places of government, who essay to be statesmen, who ought to be there. (Laughter.) You say to the German, the Hungarian, the Irishman, as soon as he lands here, 'Go out on the highway of the world's progress, and compete with me, if you can, in the race for empire and dominion.' You throw no fetters upon that ever-restless sea of energies that chafes our shores, saying, 'Thus far shalt thou go, but no further.' No, with all that magnanimity which must be ever-present in the true soul, you say to the foreigner, whose liberty has been cloven down upon some disastrous European battle-field, whose fortune has been wrecked and lost amid the storms of adversity abroad, 'Come here and better your condition, if you can!' I remember, that, a few years ago, when a Hungarian refugee—not an American citizen—he had only declared his intention to become one—was arrested in the harbor of Smyrna, for an offence against the Austrian government, Capt. Ingraham, of the American war-ship *St. Louis*, demanded, in the name of the Federal Government, his instant release, and, under the cover of her guns, the shackles of Austrian bondage melted from his limbs, and Martin Koza walked the deck of that vessel a free man, as proud of his adopted country as we were of the gallant deed. (That poor Hungarian, in the hour of his misfortune, could look at the American flag, as he gazed in the sunlight of the Austrian sky, and as he looked at its stars, that symbolized a constellation of Republican States, he could feel all the poetic inspiration of Halleck, when he sang,—
'Flag of the seas! on Ocean's wave
Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave!
When death, cowering on the gale,
Sweeps darkly 'round the belted sail,
And frighted waves rush wildly back
Before the broadside's heaving rack,
The dying wanderer of the sea,
Shall look at once to heaven and thee,
And smile to see thy splendors fly,
In triumph o'er his closing eye.'
But no colored man can feel any of this inspiration. We are denied all participation in the government; we remember that that flag only covers us as slaves, and that our liberties are only respected and our rights only secured to us, when, escaping from the back of the American eagle, we can nestle in the shaggy mane of the British lion; and, feeling this, we can feel no inspiration when we look at the American flag.
But I was speaking in reference to the gratuitous concessions of some of our Republican leaders. Some three or four months ago, a bill was under consideration in the Senate of the United States for the purpose of establishing a school for the education of free colored children in the District of Columbia. The matter created some discussion in the Senate, and, under the lash of Senator Mason, and other slave-drivers of the South, your own Senator, Mr. Wilson, 'caved in' on this question, and admitted, in the presence of the Senate, and with all Massachusetts to read his words, that the negro was inferior. ('Hear, hear.') Now, I do not believe that the negro is inferior. Man's ability wholly depends upon surrounding circumstances. You may take all of those races that have risen from the lowest estate of degradation to the highest eminence of intellectual and moral splendor, and you will discover that no race has ever yet been able, by any internal power and will of its own, to lift itself into respectability, without contact with other civilized tribes. Rome served as the scaffolding for the erection of the tribes of Western Europe into that huge political constellation whose drum-beats follow the sun round the world. When Julius Cæsar landed in Britain, he found the ancestors of this boasted English race a miserable set of barbarians, bowing down to stocks and stones, and painting their bodies in fantastic colors. They were carried to Rome by the soldiers of Cæsar, and sold in the streets for five dollars; and so thoroughly brutalized were they, that Cæsar, the great Roman orator, said that the meanest slaves in Rome came from Great Britain; and, with his friend Atticus, he advised him not to buy the worthless wretches. (Applause.) Emerson says that it took many generations to trim and comb and perfume the first boat-load of Norse pirates into royal highnesses and most noble knights of the garter; and yet, every spark and ornament of regal splendor dates back to the twenty thousand thieves that landed at Hastings. You will find, after that, I think, that there is no truth in the assertion that the negro is inferior.
The men who justify slavery upon the assumed inferiority of the negro race, are very slow to admit these facts. They are just as tardy in admitting that the remains of ancient grandeur, which have been exhumed from beneath the accumulated dust of forty centuries, were wrought by the ingenuity and skill of the negro race, ere the Saxon was known in history. We are informed that the sceptre of the world passed from the colored to the white race at the fall of Babylon. I know ethnological writers tell us we do not look like the Egyptians. They dig up an Egyptian mummy, that has been dead and buried three thousand years, that once tripped 'the light fantastic toe' amid the gilded halls of the Pharaohs, over whose grave the storms of thirty or forty centuries have swept, and because it don't look just like a Mississippi negro of to-day, set it down that there is a difference of species between them! (Laughter.) I admit that centuries of oppression, under a vertical sun, may have worked marvellous changes, not only in the physical, but in the intellectual characteristics of the race—I know it has. All other races are permitted to travel over the wide field of history, and pick the flowers that blossom there,—to glean up the heroes,

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