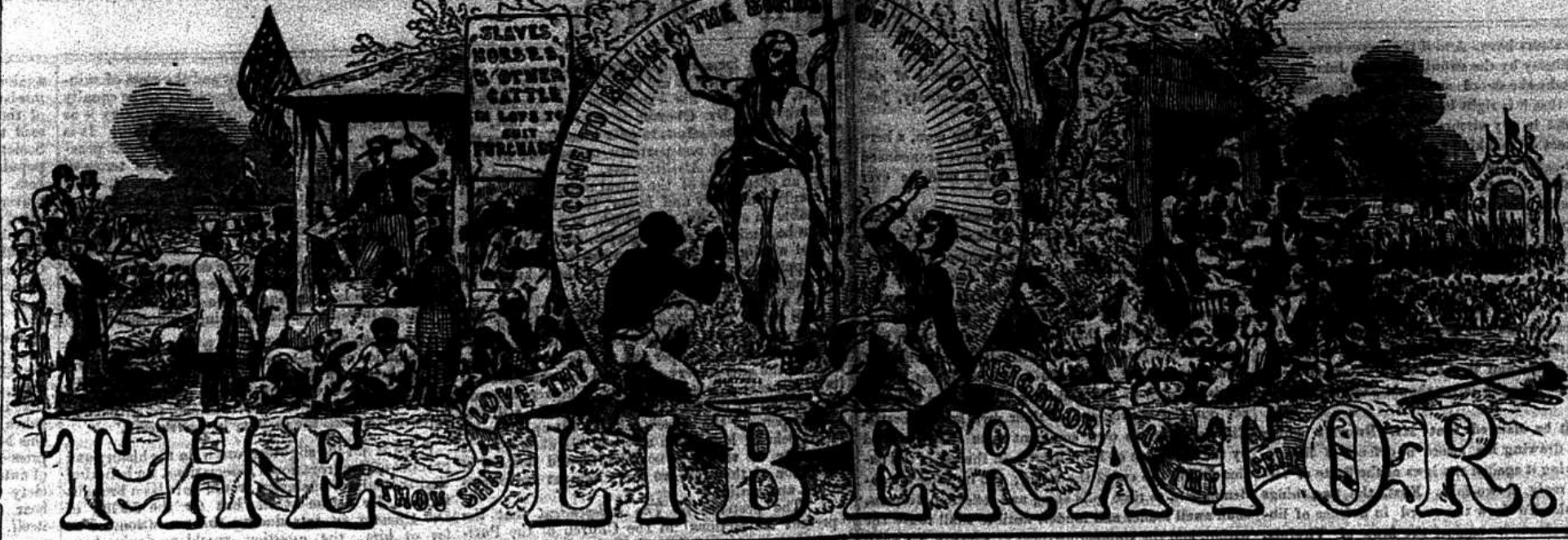


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The following gentlemen constitute the Finance Committee, but are not responsible for any of the contents of the paper, viz: — FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., General, EDWARD JACKSON, and WASHINGTON WALLACE.



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 moral supporters of slavery. We are the pillars and corner-stones of the institution. There is some excuse for the community, when, under a generous impulse, they suppose the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are not excused in selling their States as a market for the slave-trade. On this subject, our fathers, in the Declaration of Independence, expressed their sentiments. 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 Deity can be a compensation for taking part in the maintenance 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 BRADY CHAMBERS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.
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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SPEECH OF A DOUGLAS MAN.

Mr. Garrison, of Georgia, who assisted to place in nomination Stephen A. Douglas, made the following interesting speech in the Baltimore Convention, which we commend to the consideration of the Douglas men in Bucks County. He is a 'nigger baiter,' and goes in for 'niggers'.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I come here from the State of Georgia, endorsed by that State Convention and by the Convention at Charleston. This ought to give me a right to be heard before you; and though I have not the honor to have been elected to the Convention, I have a right here to speak to the great Democratic party of the United States. I have been elected, as a citizen of these United States, to the elements of disruption and disorganization which seem to prevail in the midst of this most important assembly. I have felt that the experiment of the capability of man for self-government was about to be made, and that the genius of Liberty was about to be tried. I have felt that the day, and that from those elements of disruption, the representatives of the intelligent American people here assembled may be able to devise a plan which the great Democratic party of the United States may unite, and that we will yet all return to our country to the many we have already abandoned.

I am an advocate for maintaining the integrity of the National Democratic Party. I belong to the extreme South; I am a Free-Soil man in every sense of the word, and an African slave-trade man. (Applause and laughter.) The institution of Slavery, as I have said elsewhere, has done more to advance the prosperity and intelligence of the white race, and of the human race, than all else together. I believe it to be founded upon the law of Nature, and upon the law of God; I believe it to be a blessing to all races. I believe that liberty would not exist in this Western Hemisphere, if it were not for the integrity of the great National Democratic Party. (Applause.) As for this 'Irrepressible Conflict' party, with their settled ranks now ready to march upon us, I have no faith in it, because it is founded in anarchy, in everything antipathetic, in everything that is opposed to human progress; while I understand the idea of the great National Democratic party to be non-intervention in its broad sense. (Applause.) Now, my Northern friends, I do not know that I can do anything to reconcile those matters; but whatever I will do. (Applause.)

I see that our friends in Georgia, who are crying out in protection to Slavery in the Territories, are advocating a mere theory, a mere abstraction, a thing that is not and cannot be. They would do much better if they would demand protection from the Federal Government, and have a line of police established along the border of the Slave States, to catch and hang the thieving Abolitionists who are stealing our niggers. (Laughter and applause.) This is a means of protection. Why? Because it is a practical one. (Renewed laughter and applause.) Here in my old State of Virginia, the slave-breeding and slave-breeding State of Virginia. (Laughter.)

I delegate from Virginia. I call the gentleman to order. He casts an imputation upon Virginia, by calling her the 'slave-breeding State of Virginia.'

Mr. Garrison. Well, I will say the slave-breeding State of Georgia, then. I glory in being a slave-breeder myself. (Loud laughter.) I will face the name myself, and I have got as many negroes as any man in the State of Virginia. And as I intend to visit my plantation, I will say again that, if they will come to me, I will show them as fine a lot of negroes, and the pure African, too, as they can find anywhere. And I will show them as handsome a set of little children there as can be seen, (laughter) and any quantity of them, too. (Renewed laughter.) And I wish that Virginia may be as good a slave-trading and slave-breeding State as any State in saying that I do not mean to be faithful to Virginia, but I do not mean to do the question of the slave-trade or protection.

And now, while I am up, I want to put my veto upon one thing. I know that I am not going to be applauded in what I say; but seed sown in good time will bring forth fruit; and though you may say now that I am wrong, yet I think I shall live to see the day when the doctrine which I advocate will be the doctrine of Massachusetts and of the North; for,

Truth crushed to earth will rise again;
The eternal years of God are ours;
While error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers.

I say I go for non-intervention in the broadest sense of the term. I say that this whole thing would be taken out of the hands of the General Government. I say it is all wrong to be spending two or three millions of dollars annually from our pockets, and sacrificing our lives upon the coast of Africa, in that terrible effort, to prevent our going there to get a few negroes. If it is right for us to go to Virginia and buy a negro and pay \$2000 for him, it is legally right for us to go to Africa, where it can get them for \$50. (Applause and laughter.) Here is the condition we are placed in, and you may as well come to your senses and face the music.

There are 2000 of our negroes now down at Key West begging and pleading not to be sent back. If they should be sent back, what would be the result? One-half of them would die before they got there, and the other half would be turned upon the coast of Liberia, among strangers, to be eaten up by cannibals, or to be caught and sold again, or die of starvation, and this you call humanity. I say it is right and reason in this matter. And if the Southern men had the spirit to come right up and face the North, to have the Northern Congress, at least, would come to the true doctrine of popular sovereignty and non-intervention. (Applause and laughter.)

Think of it, too! Two thousand of those poor barbarians from Africa, caught within the last four weeks, and kept upon that miserable island of Key West, dying there from disease and starvation, and who do not die or be sent back by our Government are an expense of one or two millions, though they are sending and begging not to be sent back and taken upon the coast of Africa. It is cruel, inhuman, wrong, and it appeals to the good sense of the American people, as it appeals to the good sense of the Ball. He has bound us to catch all we can and send them back at an expense of \$25 per head. When he goes there, he appreciates them out again and makes slaves out of them. This is the hypocritical treaty that you are bound by. And yet I hear no Southern voice or Northern voice raised against this aggression upon the law of nature and

SELECTIONS.

From the Principia.

IS WISCONSIN A SOVEREIGN STATE?

The law is likely to get ample evidence that a people who cannot demand a National Abolition of Slavery fear of infringing the State Rights of slaveholders to enslave their fellow-citizens, will not have the manhood to maintain their own 'State Rights,' to protect freedom. The dread of 'consolidation' for freedom breeds 'consolidation' for despotism. Read and see:—

From the Wisconsin Free Democrat.

Letter of Mr. Booth—Despotism over the Soul.

To the Editors of the Free Democrat:

I learn that it is reported, that it is my own fault that I am now in prison, and that I could be released, at any time, for the asking; and that there are not wanting Republicans who say that if I am now willing to ask for pardon, I ought not to be released. Let me state the matter fully.

The Supreme Court of this State has decided that the Act under which I was convicted was unconstitutional, was no law—not voidable, but void—and discharged me from the sentence of the United States District Court. By this decision, it pledged the power, authority and sovereignty of the State for the protection of my liberty against any attempted enforcement of the original sentence. That decision of our Supreme Court stands unrevoked and the law of this State, if it refused obedience to the mandate of the United States Supreme Court, requiring it to reverse its decision, and denied its appellate jurisdiction.

The State, then, by its highest tribunal, has declared me innocent, and fully entitled to its protection from arrest and imprisonment. Its Executive, Gov. Randall, in his Annual Message, referring approvingly to the decision of the Supreme Court, declared it to be the law of Wisconsin, and voluntarily pledged all the power of the State to see it enforced.

I have, then, the judicial decree, and the Executive pledge—the word and oath of the State—guaranteeing my liberty. I have also the declaration of every Republican paper in the State, at the time of my discharge, and the resolutions of more than a hundred public meetings, in favor of the decision of the Supreme Court, and of sustaining me in the position I had taken.

I have also the Legislative action of the State in my favor, declaring the judgments void, and punishing with fine and imprisonment, all who refuse to discharge and re-imprison for the same cause, one who has been discharged on a writ of *habeas corpus*. I have, then, the Judicial, the Executive, and the Legislative authority of the State for saying that I am now illegally imprisoned, that I was kidnapped, and those who now hold me a prisoner have no more right to hold me than they have to imprison Judge Cole or Gov. Randall, without the pretense of authority of law.

Now, what am I asked to do, to entitle me to a release?

1. To deny the faith of Wisconsin, by acknowledging that the writ of *Habeas Corpus* and the Right of Trial by Jury may be constitutionally abolished, and that an unconstitutional Act—a nullity—may be a valid law, strong enough to override the rights and sovereignty of the State, its Courts, its Executive, its Legislature, and the liberties of the people.
2. To become a hypocrite. For every one knows that if I should ask pardon for violating the Fugitive Act, and promise to obey it hereafter, I would be lying.
3. To do not recognize it as a law. It is a bold usurpation, striking directly at the liberties of the people, and the sacred rights of Jehovah. What God forbids, it forbids! What He forbids, it commands! It is cruel, bloody, wicked, despotic, damnable! Those who uphold it, if they profess Republicanism, deserve the scorn of despoise; if they profess Christianity, deserve the scorn of infidels and atheists, and richly merit the damnation they assign to unbelievers. And I am asked to swear fealty to such a law, before I can be released—before the question of my release can even be considered. The positions of leading Democrats in this city, asking for my release, could not even be considered, still I asked for pardon, under oath, wrote Attorney General Black in answer to the prayer of these petitioners.
4. A. F. Pratt, on his way to the Charleston Convention, called on the President, as did other delegates who felt a deep interest in my case, and after his interview with that 'old public functionary,' wrote back to the *News*, speaking by authority, with great apparent satisfaction:—'You may say that Mr. Booth that the President will be taken care of, and that he did nothing in breaking the laws, and promise to do better hereafter, and not still then.'
5. And the *News*, immediately after its editor's return from Washington, declared:—'S. M. Booth will continue to suffer the penalties of violated laws, unless he asks down on his knees and begs for his release. Let him do this, and we doubt not his prison hours would open.'

This is the substance of what I am asked to do, as the condition precedent of my release. Not to give any certainty of my release, should I thus humiliate myself. Does any honorable man—any Republican—say I ought to comply with such a requisition?—If so, I would like to know his name.

This whole proceeding shows, in a striking light, the despotic character of slavery, and of our Federal Government under its present administration. Here is a statute which the moral sense of the people of the Free States regard as a usurpation in violation of the Constitution, and dangerous to liberty. And of those who hold it to be constitutional, moral regard it as inhuman and oppressive, and when put to the practical test, would themselves disregard it by giving aid and comfort to the fugitive. This statute, so offensive to the moral sense, and so opposed to the sober judgment of the people, is to be enforced, in my case, with a peremptory rigor, and a vindictive character, solely on the basis of the despotism of slavery.

For the maintenance of my release, I am asked only to be satisfied by my acknowledging the justice of the Fugitive Act, and getting down on my knees before the President, and begging for mercy!

I have now been four months in prison. My business has been interrupted and broken up, my plans all frustrated, my pecuniary interests injured, and how much damage this imprisonment has done, and how much it is likely to do, no man would

readily perceive, if he had been suddenly arrested and confined as I have been. I have a family needing my care and efforts to provide for them. There is every inducement to lead me to wish to be as free as I am, and it is no light sacrifice I am compelled to make, in remaining here. But I have no other alternative. I cannot go where I am required for my release, without dishonor, without sacrificing the most precious possession of my life, and without a complete surrender, on my part, of the glorious position in behalf of Freedom assumed and maintained for five years by the State of Wisconsin. I hold her honor now in my keeping, and if her courts and authorities and people all deny the faith which they have professed, and succumb like trembling slaves, to the one-man power, and permit Judge Miller to ride rough-shod over the constitution and laws, to override the sovereignty and rights, and liberties of the people of Wisconsin, and to take defiance and contempt before courts, that he may imprison her citizens and work his despotic will for the establishment of slavery on our soil, and play the part of blood-hound for the slave-owners of the South, I trust that while life and reason remain to me, I shall not be found among the recalcitrants to liberty, and that I shall be able to oppose to the despotism of the Slave Power that now holds me, as well as strong, a patience as enduring, a faith as firm, a courage as unflinching, and a hope as cheerful in the service of Freedom, as any kidnappers and jailers show in the service of Slavery.

If liberty is a crime, and the love of it a felony, then am I justly imprisoned. But if it be the foundation and corner-stone of our Republican edifice, and the permanent spirit of all our Republican institutions, then is my continued imprisonment, a monstrous anomaly and wrong, and a disgrace to the State of Wisconsin, which should redound with the blush of shame the cheeks of every honest liberty-loving citizen.

In a postscript to a business letter, written me not long ago, Senator Duran says: 'How strange it is that you have to lie in jail, contrary to the law of our State! Is there not virtue enough in the people to maintain their own honor and vindicate the decision of their own Courts?'

I leave this question for the people to answer.

S. M. BOOTH.

U. S. Custom House, June 28, 1860.

But Republicans have no such course. Mr. Booth is imprisoned in violation of the laws, judicial decisions, executive declarations, authority, rights and sovereignty of the State.

He is kept in prison now, solely because the State has failed to vindicate its authority and honor, and redeem the pledges it has made to protect his liberty. That he is held in prison now, is as much the fault of the Republican party, as it is the fault of the slaveholding government in committing him to prison. And it is as justly blameable in doing nothing for his release, as the U. S. government is in not opening his prison doors. And in one respect far more so. For the U. S. government, in holding him in prison, while Republicans are seeking up to its concessions, while Republicans are holding their breath, and every hour that he remains in prison, while no steps are taken for his release, is a reproach to the Republican party of Wisconsin.

Mr. Booth, we understand, has given up all expectation of relief, till the inauguration of a new President. Four months imprisonment may well have taught him not to put trust in the Republican party of this State for help. Wisconsin, the first State in the Union to reject the Fugitive Slave Act, and pledge her authority and sovereignty to protect her citizens against the invasion of slave-patchers, and hailed by the liberty-loving in her sister States as the first-born of Freedom, as the only practically free State, as the pioneer in a legal vindication of the Constitution from slaveholding pervasions and interpretations, which made the Declaration of Independence a reality, and gave assurance that liberty dwelt in the organic law and inspired her judges to do justice—Wisconsin, brave and honored and glorious for her faith to Freedom, up to the first day of March, 1860, when she yielded to the U. S. Supreme Court, and it is enrolled. He orders a citizen imprisoned whom the State has released, the State yields and acknowledges his despotism. No self-ordained master, no slave ever submitted to his owner, with more quietness, docility and readiness, than the great State of Wisconsin has submitted to the attorney of Judge Miller. Its courts, its authority, its sovereignty, its liberties have all been whistled down the wind, as the playthings of a despot, and if this usurpation is permitted to stand, the Slave Power is established, the supreme authority, and the seat of Judge Miller's Executive, and the seat of Judge Miller's Executive, is here given. With this is stily closed the account of the North Elba celebration, certainly, when the circumstances are considered, one of the most remarkable gatherings that this day has ever seen.—[.]

I have now vindicated the Declaration of our fathers, which has rendered this day glorious among the days of the world, rallying the people, kindling liberty fires, waking the booming cannon, and filling a nation's heart with joy at its annual return. What now remains to finish my discourse is to make an application of the principles that have been established to current events, and present and prospective duties. I will proceed to announce certain deductions which certainly and irresistibly follow from the premises.

1. All governments that suppress liberty and rob men of their rights are without binding force, having no sanction from God, no foundation in the law of nature, and no claim upon the people for reverence, obedience, or support. If such a government be permitted to exist, it does not exist in right, but by mere sufferance. Whether or not men will submit to such a government for any time, and how long they will submit, if at all, is a matter of expediency and policy, to be decided by their own judgments, in the light of certain fundamental principles, which must not be infringed, and in view of all the circumstances that affect the case. There is the magnitude of the evil to be borne, and the prospect of effecting a reform without blood and violent revolution.
2. Men are bound to maintain their liberty at all hazards, but they are bound to do it in the cheapest manner, as the least expense of human suffering, life and blood. Our fathers, for a time, bore the wrong, and petitioned for a redress of the wrong they suffered; but when, in their judgment, all hope of obtaining redress by the use of such peaceable means was lost, they kindled the fires of the Revolution, and waked the booming cannon—they petitioned in the voice of war-thunder. Could our fathers have seen that by enduring one or two years, they would secure all their rights without blood, they would not have been justified in kindling the fires of a seven years' war.
3. The same principle holds good now in regard to the great question of human rights in this land. The government of these United States has proved destructive to the rights with which our fathers deified all men to be endowed by their Creator, and which they supported with their fortunes, their lives, and their more sacred honor. This government has employed all its influence and power to crush out liberty and extend human bondage, and consequently is without morally binding force, and exists by mere sufferance. No man is bound to submit to it, or obey it upon principle, and how long it shall be endured is a matter of expediency and policy, to be settled in the light of the principles of action already explained above. If there is rational ground yet left upon which to base an honest hope of being able to take the government out of the hands of oppressors and slavery propagandists, and put it into the hands of liberty-loving men, and turn it to the support of human rights and universal freedom by means legitimate to the Constitution, and without blood, there is the point to rally, and there are all bound to rally, by the highest obligation of duty to God and man. But if it cannot be done in this way, if the government has become so depraved, and the nation so devoted to slavery, that no legal, constitutional, peaceable means can redress the wrong, then the rule of oppression, revolution must come, and war and blood must be shed.
4. If force is a duty, so-day, it is not because this thieving, robbing, oppressive, slavery-propagating government has any right to exist, but because there is a better way to redress our wrongs than to take the sword; and this is an open question, about which honest men may differ, as did our fathers, some being ready for war before others. No man may glory in the benefits of government when it commands disobedience to God; but what and how much infringement of our rights we will bear, and how long we will bear it before revolution, we must decide for ourselves.
5. These views will be regarded by some as too abstract, and that the legitimate consequences of the Declaration of American Independence, which has been given to this national day all its interest and glory;

and to deny these positions, would be to brand the Revolution as a rebellion, and our fathers as traitors.

2. Another deduction is, the slaves of this land have a right, at any time, to take their liberty, in any way in which they can get it. I say, the slave has a right to take his liberty in any way, provided he does not inflict more evil upon his oppressor than is necessary to secure his freedom.
3. It has been shown that a right to liberty necessarily implies that every thing which is wrong which conflicts with that right to liberty, for rights never can conflict with each other. Every thing which stands in the way of the slave's liberty stands in its own wrong, and may be rightfully put out of the way. An inalienable right to liberty includes a right to every thing else, and to do every thing which is essential to the maintenance of that right to liberty. If money, a horse, or a boat, will enable a slave to secure his liberty, and he cannot secure it without, he has a complete right to take them, because his right to liberty is inalienable, and greater than another man's right to his property, which is not inalienable, and the smaller will be right to be lost in the greater, as rights cannot conflict. I place this on the ground of necessity, and the law of necessity knows no higher law; it is the law of the nature, of which God is the author. It is not theft for a starving man to take so much bread as will preserve his life, because his right to live is greater than a man's right to a piece of bread which is not essential to his life. But liberty is before life, and if a man may take bread, a boat or a horse to save his life, which all admit, much more can he rightfully take them to preserve his liberty. If life may be taken to save life, much more may it be taken to preserve liberty, without which life is not worth preserving. As liberty is before life in importance, and as our right to liberty is inalienable, we have a right to strike through and strike down whatever rises between us and our liberty. This was the foundation principle of the Revolution, and is emphatically the American idea. If the slaves could rise to-day, and by force and arms take and hold their liberty, the Declaration of Independence, with the practical content upon the same, would justify them in so doing. The slaves in this land are now nearly twice as many as the entire population of the country when the first of the Revolution were kindled; and if we may believe Mr. Jefferson, 'one hour of their bondage is fraught with more misery than ages of that our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose. More, he affirms that in case they strike for freedom, 'the Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a contest.' Come that comes must, and come it will, if slavery is not possibly abolished, before the crushed and groaning and heaving mass of humanity shall burst out and blaze with the fire of vengeance, which may not take long. When we consider that the slaves are now increasing at the rate of one hundred thousand per annum, and that the increase will be greater and greater as the whole number swells, no one can believe that the swelling millions can long be held in such cruel bondage.
4. It is a settled question, that we have got to go to work in earnest, and abolish slavery in the use of peaceable means, or it will abolish itself in a few years, in revolution and blood. That will be a day of terror. When those long-crushed spirits shall lift up their heads for a last struggle, and those fettered limbs shall, with the convulsive power of desperation, shake off their chains, when the long pent-up volcanic fires of wrath shall break out, and the dark, deep, accumulating reservoir of vengeance shall unboom itself, and belch forth its unrestrained billows, a scene will be presented in view of which the brave will tremble and the strong will fly or fall.
5. Another undeniable consequence of the principles established is that all honest, earnest lovers of human rights and human liberty have a part to play in the great national drama, the curtain of which is already being drawn aside for action. We cannot be neutral if we draw. There is an 'irrepressible conflict' between liberty and slavery, and the slaves must be made free, or free laboring men and women must be made slaves. But were it not so, if we could, as some foolish divines and politicians profess to do, ignore the question, and look on with cold indifference, and only whisper, 'Be still—be still—don't get excited—don't agitate the question!—God and humanity forbid that we should do so, God commands, 'Remember those in bonds as bound with them'; and our natural love of liberty, and the living spirit of Christianity, and the stirring energy of this progressive age, must and will make all but the most foolishly to the conflict. If it be right for a slave to escape from his bondage, it must be right, and a duty, to help him; in his fight, as his necessity may demand, and our opportunity may allow. If it would be right for the flying slave to strike down his pursuer as a last resort, it would be right for us to strike for him as a last resort. When the time shall come that the oppressed shall feel prepared to strike for freedom, it will be the right and duty of freedom-lovers to strike with and for them. If this is not true, why did our fathers invoke and receive the aid of France, Italy and why has the nation embraced the cause of Louis XVI. Fayette, who came at his own charges and joined in the strife, and bared his youthful bosom to the storm? So sure as the name of La Fayette is held sacred by this nation, so sure does the nation believe that it is right to help the oppressed in their struggle for liberty.
6. These views may be regarded as too radical, and too revolutionary. If they are revolutionary, they would be united to the necessities of these times, for what is the wrong we need to redress? None more prominent than that wrong, for no other reason than that they are so true. But they are the necessities of mankind, they are the necessities of this nation. Radical and revolutionary as they are, they represent the only true American idea on the subject. The American idea is to live free, or die in a glorious battle for liberty. The language of Patrick Henry represents the American idea; it represents the universal heart of humanity. Henry, when he speaks out, unparaphrased and untraced, says:—'Life or death, or pain, or poverty, or want, or nakedness, or the price of chains and slavery.' For this American idea, I know not what other words you can take; but for me, give me liberty or give me death. These words would be just as appropriate, and just as

THE LIBERATOR.

The Liberator.

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION,
Delivered from the Rock above the Grave of Capt. John Brown, at North Elba, N. Y., by the Rev. LYNN LEE, of Chagrin Falls, Cayuga Co., Ohio.

[The extreme length of Dr. Lee's address prevents the publication of it entire. It is a very eloquent statement of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and a logical deduction of those principles, applied to the crime of slavery—the heroic attempt of John Brown to let the captive go free—the subsequent execution of that noble man by the organized piracy of Virginia—the right of the slaves to obtain their liberty by the same means as did the Revolutionary Fathers; and the right and duty of those who believe in liberty for themselves to aid the enslaved by such means as conscience dictates, and the opportunities demand. The latter half of the oration, being more especially appropriate to the occasion which had caused the convening of the assembly, is here given. With this is stily closed the account of the North Elba celebration, certainly, when the circumstances are considered, one of the most remarkable gatherings that this day has ever seen.—[.]

I have now vindicated the Declaration of our fathers, which has rendered this day glorious among the days of the world, rallying the people, kindling liberty fires, waking the booming cannon, and filling a nation's heart with joy at its annual return. What now remains to finish my discourse is to make an application of the principles that have been established to current events, and present and prospective duties. I will proceed to announce certain deductions which certainly and irresistibly follow from the premises.

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2. Men are bound to maintain their liberty at all hazards, but they are bound to do it in the cheapest manner, as the least expense of human suffering, life and blood. Our fathers, for a time, bore the wrong, and petitioned for a redress of the wrong they suffered; but when, in their judgment, all hope of obtaining redress by the use of such peaceable means was lost, they kindled the fires of the Revolution, and waked the booming cannon—they petitioned in the voice of war-thunder. Could our fathers have seen that by enduring one or two years, they would secure all their rights without blood, they would not have been justified in kindling the fires of a seven years' war.
3. The same principle holds good now in regard to the great question of human rights in this land. The government of these United States has proved destructive to the rights with which our fathers deified all men to be endowed by their Creator, and which they supported with their fortunes, their lives, and their more sacred honor. This government has employed all its influence and power to crush out liberty and extend human bondage, and consequently is without morally binding force, and exists by mere sufferance. No man is bound to submit to it, or obey it upon principle, and how long it shall be endured is a matter of expediency and policy, to be settled in the light of the principles of action already explained above. If there is rational ground yet left upon which to base an honest hope of being able to take the government out of the hands of oppressors and slavery propagandists, and put it into the hands of liberty-loving men, and turn it to the support of human rights and universal freedom by means legitimate to the Constitution, and without blood, there is the point to rally, and there are all bound to rally, by the highest obligation of duty to God and man. But if it cannot be done in this way, if the government has become so depraved, and the nation so devoted to slavery, that no legal, constitutional, peaceable means can redress the wrong, then the rule of oppression, revolution must come, and war and blood must be shed.
4. If force is a duty, so-day, it is not because this thieving, robbing, oppressive, slavery-propagating government has any right to exist, but because there is a better way to redress our wrongs than to take the sword; and this is an open question, about which honest men may differ, as did our fathers, some being ready for war before others. No man may glory in the benefits of government when it commands disobedience to God; but what and how much infringement of our rights we will bear, and how long we will bear it before revolution, we must decide for ourselves.
5. These views will be regarded by some as too abstract, and that the legitimate consequences of the Declaration of American Independence, which has been given to this national day all its interest and glory;

THE LIBERATOR.

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION,
Delivered from the Rock above the Grave of Capt. John Brown, at North Elba, N. Y., by the Rev. LYNN LEE, of Chagrin Falls, Cayuga Co., Ohio.

[The extreme length of Dr. Lee's address prevents the publication of it entire. It is a very eloquent statement of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and a logical deduction of those principles, applied to the crime of slavery—the heroic attempt of John Brown to let the captive go free—the subsequent execution of that noble man by the organized piracy of Virginia—the right of the slaves to obtain their liberty by the same means as did the Revolutionary Fathers; and the right and duty of those who believe in liberty for themselves to aid the enslaved by such means as conscience dictates, and the opportunities demand. The latter half of the oration, being more especially appropriate to the occasion which had caused the convening of the assembly, is here given. With this is stily closed the account of the North Elba celebration, certainly, when the circumstances are considered, one of the most remarkable gatherings that this day has ever seen.—[.]

I have now vindicated the Declaration of our fathers, which has rendered this day glorious among the days of the world, rallying the people, kindling liberty fires, waking the booming cannon, and filling a nation's heart with joy at its annual return. What now remains to finish my discourse is to make an application of the principles that have been established to current events, and present and prospective duties. I will proceed to announce certain deductions which certainly and irresistibly follow from the premises.

1. All governments that suppress liberty and rob men of their rights are without binding force, having no sanction from God, no foundation in the law of nature, and no claim upon the people for reverence, obedience, or support. If such a government be permitted to exist, it does not exist in right, but by mere sufferance. Whether or not men will submit to such a government for any time, and how long they will submit, if at all, is a matter of expediency and policy, to be decided by their own judgments, in the light of certain fundamental principles, which must not be infringed, and in view of all the circumstances that affect the case. There is the magnitude of the evil to be borne, and the prospect of effecting a reform without blood and violent revolution.
2. Men are bound to maintain their liberty at all hazards, but they are bound to do it in the cheapest manner, as the least expense of human suffering, life and blood. Our fathers, for a time, bore the wrong, and petitioned for a redress of the wrong they suffered; but when, in their judgment, all hope of obtaining redress by the use of such peaceable means was lost, they kindled the fires of the Revolution, and waked the booming cannon—they petitioned in the voice of war-thunder. Could our fathers have seen that by enduring one or two years, they would secure all their rights without blood, they would not have been justified in kindling the fires of a seven years' war.
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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, AUGUST 3, 1860.

NATURAL FRUITS OF SLAVERY. A few months ago, twenty-two men, by the simple declaration that they had come to Virginia to help the slaves to attain their freedom...

A similar panic seems now to be prevailing in Texas, some of whose atrocious laws in support of slavery were generally seen to regard the whole story of burnings, plots and insurrections as a hoax.

When, in 1859, the Boston Society separated from the National Society, it passed this Resolution, which may be considered its Northern boundary.

Our purpose is—Not to be an Abolition Society. The Boston Society, carefully keeping itself within these boundaries, has issued nine publications making direct mention of slavery, during the fourteen months since it ceased to be auxiliary to the National Society.

The character of these publications, and all the movements, for two years past, of the Society that has issued them, show that only its course of policy is changed, while its character remains the same as from 1825 to 1855, when it was heartily and thoroughly cooperating with the openly pro-slavery National Society.

Comment on the above would be superfluous; every body will see the necessity of immediate, energetic action, and a thorough organization throughout the country, and to this end it is proposed that a meeting of the citizens of Boston be held in the courthouse at ten o'clock on Saturday next.

The Austin Intelligencer of the 18th ult. repeats the substance of the above, and adds the following:—'Since we issued our extra containing intelligence of the terrible fire at Dallas, news has been received in confirmation of it, and giving the particulars of other fires in Northern Texas which have destroyed vast amounts of property, and beggared many families.'

A letter from Philadelphia, received too late for insertion this week, (the Liberator being issued one day earlier than usual, on account of the celebration of the First of August at Abington,) informs us of the brutal and violent arrest, in that city, of James Valentine, a highly respectable colored man, born free, and resident there for more than thirty years.

Telegraphic news, in advance of the arrival of the steamer Bohemia, mention that—'The fourth session of the International Statistical Congress was opened in London on the 16th. Delegates from all parts of the world were present.'

Whether the reports in the present case have, or have not, a measure of solid foundation, one thing is certain; slaveholders, like other tyrants, are always in danger. Men who are robbed at once of liberty and all other rights, and whose families are afflicted with violence by the attacks of their oppressors, may, at any moment, find that violence; men who are constantly treated like brutes, will be likely, when rendered desperate, to show themselves brutal in revenge; and men who are constantly confined, restrained, and kept down by the exercise of brute force, without the chance of even smothering together to

inquire how their unfortunate condition may be remedied, may, at any moment, desperately seize upon the first opportunity, in the hope that the destruction of their particular tyrant may open the way for their escape. No doubt, as the name, the story and the plans of John Brown come to the ears of more and more of the slaves, and as exaggerated reports and panic terrors like the above reach their otherwise hopeless cabins—more and more of them will be led to look towards insurrection for their safety.

HOT, COOL OR LUKEWARM? In answer to the inquiry—What is the present position of the Boston Trist Society on the subject of slavery?—and—Has it published any tracts on that subject?—I reply:—When, in 1859, the Boston Society separated from the National Society, it passed this Resolution, which may be considered its Northern boundary.

Resolved, That the political aspects of slavery lie entirely without the proper sphere of this Society, and cannot be discussed in its publications; but that those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, and which are condemned in Scripture, and so much deplored by evangelical Christians, do undoubtedly fall within the province of this Society, and can and ought to be discussed in a fraternal and Christian spirit.

About the same time, it published these declarations on the other side, which may be considered its Southern boundary:—'We are not an Anti-Slavery Society. Our purpose is—Not to be an Abolition Society.'

The character of these publications, and all the movements, for two years past, of the Society that has issued them, show that only its course of policy is changed, while its character remains the same as from 1825 to 1855, when it was heartily and thoroughly cooperating with the openly pro-slavery National Society.

A letter from Mr. Garrison, dated Northumbland, July 24th, reports his arrival at that place, about forty miles beyond the White Mountains, and the good health of himself and family, all of whom except one accompanied him. They propose to remain there a week or two longer. Mr. Garrison writes:—'It is possible we may have a meeting at Lancaster on the 1st of August. I am sorry to be absent from the Abington gathering—it is such a pleasure to see such a collection of "the trust of the true" in the cause of the oppressed.'

The Principia, after quoting Wendell Phillips's original charge against Abraham Lincoln, and giving an abstract of the Tribune's reply and of Mr. Phillips's rejoinder, adds, in conclusion—'The Tribune's response to this throws no additional light on the main question, and adds nothing to the argument. We think Mr. Phillips has altogether the winning side of the controversy. In nothing essential to the main question has the Tribune furnished any correction to his statements. The Tribune would have shown its discretion by silence.'

A letter from Philadelphia, received too late for insertion this week, (the Liberator being issued one day earlier than usual, on account of the celebration of the First of August at Abington,) informs us of the brutal and violent arrest, in that city, of James Valentine, a highly respectable colored man, born free, and resident there for more than thirty years, with the purpose of carrying him off as a fugitive slave. This assault was made by U. S. Marshals Jenkins and Sharkey, assisted by three slave-hunters from the South. Inquirers, at the time, were lyingly told that the man had committed a robbery. The amount of evidence of his freedom, with the publicity of the affair, rendered it impossible to hold him, and he was discharged.

Extract of a letter from an intelligent gentleman in Illinois:—'We are having a very campaign here in Illinois. Lincoln is evidently on the "inside track," although the Douglasians are making a tremendous noise. Many Republicans in Northern Illinois had it very hard to support Lincoln, on account of his position on the Fugitive Slave Law, slavery in the District of Columbia, the admission of slave States, &c. They think he is not so good as the Chicago platform, and too much like his political professor, Henry Clay, who, every body knows, was the most successful advocate and defender of slavery; although, since Seward's speech on the 1st of February last, they are going as willing to sustain Lincoln as they would have been to support Seward. On the whole, if Lincoln cannot be elected because of his anti-slavery principles, God help the nation!'

Colored Scholars in the Boston Schools.—Since the advent of the colored children into the Boston public schools, several have had diplomas awarded them; but the honor of being the first recipient of a City Medal has been achieved this year by Miss Mary Louisa Leckley, of the Bowdoin School. Her composition, (subject—'Conventions'), remarkably diagrams, and other exercises, were highly meritorious.

Unpleasant circumstances have often occurred in connection with the highest standard of conduct. Our thoughts now recur to one boy, who was expelled for perversity and insubordination, and whose progress in studies and growing love with teachers and fellow pupils seemed to mark him not only as a candidate for a Franklin Medal, but also for a no-

INFERENCE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. Were it not that victory is by nature transient, and its death ever a new birth, the most thoughtful of our people would be inclined to regard the destruction of their particular tyrant as opening the way for their escape. No doubt, as the name, the story and the plans of John Brown come to the ears of more and more of the slaves, and as exaggerated reports and panic terrors like the above reach their otherwise hopeless cabins—more and more of them will be led to look towards insurrection for their safety.

You have undoubtedly observed of late the paralyzing influence of the Chicago platform upon the anti-slavery sentiment of the country; most and dangerous upon the young men among us, on whom are built the hopes of the future, and who have not yet learned, from their own experience and research, or from their religious teaching, that bound up within themselves are the oracles of truth, and that their highest authority for action and safer monitor of duty are found in their irrepressible sympathy and their stern sense of justice. In this plain condition, the creed of this platform appeals to the ardor and zeal of those young men, in behalf of freedom in the Territories of the United States, and of the maintenance, "inviolable," of "the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions," according to its own judgment exclusively, which "institutions" is understood to mean slavery, as essential to the balance of power, and the preservation of the Union.

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Those who labored in the cause of Abolition in 1850-54, remember how the hatred of slavery created by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the legitimate result of which would have repealed that law, was wofully perverted and compromised by the Free Soil party, for private ends and ignoble purposes. When Margaret Garner had escaped from Slavery and Democracy in Kentucky, and asked protection from the Free State of Ohio and the Free Soil party, (then the dominant power,) the spirit of our State Constitution and the sentiment of the people welcomed her upon the soil, and, with the glorious union of Samuel Adams, of Revolutionary fame, declared that no slave should cross the threshold of Ohio—Margaret Garner and her little ones were free!

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conflict career through the High School Department, but in consequence of a complicated illness, he was compelled to leave school, and to forgo, very reluctantly, all those aspirations so long and ardently cherished by himself and friends.

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RECEIPTS. Into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, July, 1860.

Contributions at Framingham, \$84 20 Wm. S. and Abbie E. Hayward, to redeem \$3 00

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. LEGACY of the late Mrs. Lucinda Hotchkiss, of New Haven, Conn., by Charles Bradley, Executor. \$35 00

NEW SERIES OF ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. The new Series now consists of Six Tracts, to which we would again call the attention of our readers, and of all friends of Anti-Slavery Reform, as just the publications which the times and the cause now require. Call for them—send for them—circulate them!

ESSEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY. The next quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at NEWBURYPORT, Sunday, August 26, day and evening.

WORCESTER SOUTH A. S. SOCIETY. The next quarterly meeting of the Worcester South A. S. Society will be held at Washburn Hall, in Worcester, Sunday, Aug. 12th, day and evening.

WORCESTER NORTH A. S. SOCIETY. The next quarterly meeting of the Worcester North Anti-Slavery Society will be held at LEOMINSTER, Sunday, August 19, day and evening.

GHENT, N. Y.—ABRAHAM M. POWELL will give a discourse in commemoration of the West India Emancipation, at Ghent, N. Y., on Sunday afternoon, Aug. 5, at 3 o'clock.

A CARD.—The subscriber, a practical Chemist and Manufacturer of Chemical Preparations, French Composites, West Perfumes, &c., for the past seventeen years, now offers (free of charge) to all who desire it, the Recipe and directions for making a simple Vegetable Balm, that will, in from two to eight days, remove Pimples, Blotches, Tan, Freckles, Saltiness, and all impurities and roughness of the Skin, leaving the same as Nature intended it should be—soft, clear, smooth and healthy. This is no humbug or catch-penny affair, and those who think it such will please not notice the advertisement. Those desiring the Recipe, with full instructions, directions and advice, will please call on or address (with return postage) JAS. S. MARSHALL, Practical Chemist, No. 32 City Buildings, New York. New York, June 8, 1860.

HOPKINS HOME SCHOOL. THE next term of this Institution will commence on WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 5, and continue FURTHER WEEKS. For Circulars, containing full information, please address either of the Principals.

A Military Catechism. QUESTION 1st.—Who among all the great Generals of the World has caused the greatest destruction of human life? ANSWER—GENERAL DEBILITY.

TENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION. JUST published, a full Report of the proceedings of the TENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION, held in the city of New York, May 10th and 11th, 1860, 100 pp., large octavo.

PERUVIAN SYRUP. THE Hosts are Marching for the Conquest. Aug. 2.

ANNOUNCEMENT EXTRA.

MIND AND BODY.

PHYSIOLOGY reveals the intimate connection between the mind and the body, and shows that without a sound and healthy body, the mind cannot properly perform its functions. Having spent fifteen years in feeding the public mind, until apparently an absolute plethora has come upon it, we now propose to administer for the malady of the body—'To cure the ill which flesh is heir to.'

Having been so largely instrumental in disseminating valuable books, which have made an indelible impress for good upon mankind, it is not without a slight feeling of regret that we abandon our calling for another, and we should hesitate in so doing, did we not believe that good can be done in another sphere, and that the body, with its manifold infirmities, needs attending to, (especially in this land of fast liveries,) as well as the mind.

A few years since, a gentleman of Boston, an invalid, was travelling in search of health, in Peru, the beautiful land of the Lincea, the country of misers and miners. During his stay, he spent seven weeks in a convent in the interior; while there, he became possessed of a recipe for a medicine which effected his own complete restoration to health. Grateful for the means which had enabled him to live a sound man again, he extended his knowledge as he was able, and in a few years it was in successful use in all the Hospitals, and by all the medical men of Peru. The effect of the medicine was so wonderful that he entered into correspondence with parties in this country, who took it up earnestly, and have labored unceasingly for its introduction, until

THE PERUVIAN SYRUP.

PROTECTED PROTOXIDE OF IRON. Has come to be considered almost a necessity in every family. Its success is extraordinary, proving its great efficacy. Notwithstanding its present popularity, it is destined yet to take a higher rank than any curative ever offered to the American People. Its elements are safe and simple, and disintegrated, have been known and recommended by physicians for centuries, but, previous to this discovery, could never be properly combined so as to be held in solution.

We purpose to devote the next ten years to a thorough and systematic dissemination of this invaluable preparation, until 'EARTH'S REMOTEST NATION' shall be reached and benefited. If our language seems extravagant, we beg the incredulous or doubting to send for a pamphlet of testimonials, from some of the most distinguished men of Peru and this country, who have tested its value, and speak from experience. JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.

The style of our new firm will be JOHN P. JEWETT & CARTER, STORE 39 SUMMER STREET, BOSTON, (Next door to the New Post Office.) The medicine will be manufactured by N. L. CLARE & CO., but exclusively for us, and, as heretofore, will be sold BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

CARPETING.

'All the Year Round.' JOHN H. PRAY, SONS & CO. IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN CARPETING, 285 WASHINGTON STREET, (NEAR WINTER STREET.)

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POETRY.

SUMMER WOODS.

By Mary Sewell. Come ye into the summer woods. Come ye into the summer woods. All greenly were the chestnut leaves. And the earth is full of joy.

THE RIVER PATH.

By John G. Whittier. [The following new and beautiful poem, from our ever-welcome contributor, will be recognized by those who have ever been near his cottage, as a Picture of a Sunset on the banks of the Merrimack.]

THE LIBERATOR.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

An Essay delivered at the Exhibition of the English High School, Boston, Monday, July 16th, 1850, by Wm. A. Horton. I know that when, in public lectures, the speaker proposes to discuss the rights of woman, many stay away in disgust.

A SIMPLE COOPERATION - A FATAL CONFESION.

Under your head, "Refuge of Oppression," (Liberator, June 29,) the Courier de Boston, speaking of Senator Sumner's speech, says: - If one could assign absolutely a political object to this stupendous distributive, the only admissible one would be, that Mr. Sumner wishes to put the South under the ban of the Union, and invite the North to cast out of the confederation all the slave States.

BURIED GRIEFS.

By Charles Mackay. Oh! let them rest, the buried griefs. Why should we drag them to the day? They lived their hour of storm and shower. They lived and died and passed away.

MISDEEDS AND EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES - AN ENGLISHMAN'S OBSERVATIONS IN JAMAICA.

A meeting of the clergy of New York and vicinity was held last week at the Bible Union Rooms, No. 245 Broome street, to hear an address from Edward Bane Underhill, Esq., of London, Foreign Secretary of the English General Anti-Slavery Society for the West Indies, on the subject of the emancipation of the West Indies, &c. who is now on his way to London.

THEODORE PARKER AND HIS ORBIT.

A large audience assembled in Lyceum Hall, on Sunday evening, to hear the Rev. Mr. Hassall discourse on "Theodore Parker - what they say of him." It being understood that Mr. Hassall would review a recent article in the Christian Freeman, written by the Rev. George Hill of this town.

THEODORE PARKER'S MORAL INFLUENCE.

A correspondent of the Watchman and Reflector writes the following scurrilous paragraph: - "Mr. Parker led a moral life; but his principles and doctrines were not in accordance with the spirit of the age."

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