



STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

To deny that a State cannot forsake her allegiance, is to deny her sovereignty as a State—a sovereignty which is limited with her own boundaries, and the obligations to the provisions of the Central Constitution under which she exists, and without which she would not be a State at all.

It is most preposterous to longer countenance the advancement of the doctrine that a State cannot commit self-destruction. States have done it, and done it in their State capacity. There could be nothing more deliberate or regular than the manner in which the Southern States absolved themselves of all allegiance to the Union.

It is evident that, as States, the so-called Confederate States have no laws which the offended Union is bound by any obligations, Constitutional or otherwise, to respect. What may have been the action of the inhabitants of the several portions of territory by which the jurisdiction of these States was circumscribed, it is not now given to us to know; and for aught we do know, or have a right legitimately to know, there may not now, in the whole area of Rebellon, according to the local and municipal laws, be a single slave in existence.

But it may be said that this suicidal act of the several Southern States was not inaugurated, nor consummated, by the loyal men of the South. These loyal men, we are told, were the victims of the angels, and for aught we know, but their sufferings cannot ignore the fact of the abrogation of all law. In very deed, their sufferings are the strongest evidence in favor of this supposition.

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the latter has the reputation of being a very anti-slavery city, she is easily influenced to act in a way hostile to the anti-slavery cause. The federal appointments have not been such as would be apt to throw the weight of influence in the right way, and it would not be very difficult, while the voting population of the city might be largely in Mr. Sumner's favor, to return a delegation to the House of Representatives decidedly hostile to him. The way things have been managed for some years back shows this plainly enough.

But it is to the heart of the Commonwealth, it is to the rural districts, untainted by the aristocracy which veils itself under the soft term of "conservatism," that we look for the correct decision of this matter. The people of Massachusetts understand well what Mr. Sumner is. They know his principles, his actions during his senatorial career, though they cannot know or appreciate perhaps, the full extent of his labors and his influence. But, from what his actions and principles are, they can judge what would be likely to be those of a hostile candidate, and decide whether they will be such as they would be likely to approve, or such as they would like to see proceeding from the Old Bay State, which has so long been devoted to liberty, and whose ideas are the watchword of the friends of freedom in the present struggle.

Let the people of the State watch carefully the plans of the old minority parties that are combining to displace Mr. Sumner, and guard especially in the election of their representatives and against the betrayal by the Jews and other hypocritical pretensions.—New Bedford Standard.

SENATOR SUMNER.

The New York Tribune intimates that there is a doubt about Mr. Sumner's re-election to the Senate. We believe it to be mistaken. Mr. Sumner's enemies are settling this point in his favor very fast. Their abuse is divesting Republicans of what disposition there was to oppose him. Here is the high compliment the Tribune pays our Senator, the chief beauty of which is, that every word of it will be admitted as true by his warmest opposers:—

"Never inattentive to or neglectful of any public duty, never even accused of sacrificing or opposing the interest of Massachusetts in any matter of legislation, Mr. Sumner is yet known to believe that her interests can never be truly promoted by sacrificing those of Humanity. In an age of venality and of uncharitable suspicion, he was never even suspected of giving a mercenary or a selfish vote; in an atmosphere where every man is supposed to have his price, and to be scheming and striving for self-aggrandizement, no man ever suggested that Charles Sumner was animated by sinister impulses, or that he would barter or stife his convictions for the Presidency. The one charge brought against him by his many bitter adversaries imports that he is a fanatic—not that it was ever imagined that he is the special devotee of any fan or sect, but that he sincerely believes in the end of civil government to hasten the coming of God's earthly Kingdom, by causing His justice to pervade every act, every relation, and thus making the earth, so far as human imperfection will permit, a vestibule of Heaven."—Norfolk County Journal.

Some journals in other States are suggesting to the people of Massachusetts that they should not reelect Mr. Sumner to the Senate. They are very kind, but it is within the limits of possibility that these Balaams would do themselves some service if they were to mind their own business.—Traveller.

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The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1862.

FOURTH OF JULY!

It has been the invariable custom of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to commemorate this National Anniversary; not, however, in the boastful spirit and inflated manner of those who rejoiced in a Union with Slaveholders, and who could see no contradiction, in such a Union, to the great principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776.

Confident that our repeated testimonies on these National Anniversaries have been as good seed, sown upon soil long indeed stubborn and unyielding, but at length fertilized, and now fall of promise of a glorious harvest,—soon, we trust, to be gathered in,—we again invite and summon the friends of Freedom, of every name and age, and whether living within or beyond the bounds of this our honored Commonwealth, to meet with us, as aforesaid, and in even greater numbers than ever before, at the beautiful and well-known FRAMMINGHAM GROVE, on this Fourth of July.

We need say nothing of the beauty and many attractions of the spot, whether for adults or for the young. The day and the occasion constitute the real claims upon our attention, and to these let the Anti-Slavery men and women of Massachusetts, and of New England, respond fitly, as they so well know how to do.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Co. will convey passengers to and from the Grove, upon their main road and its branches, on that day, at the following rates of fare:— From Boston, Worcester, and Millbury, 70 cents for adults, 35 cents for children. From Groton, adults, 60 cents, children, 30 cents. From Milford, Milford Branch, (except Holliston,) Northboro', Marlboro', Needham, Grantville, Cordaville, Spothboro', and Westboro', 60 cents for adults, 25 cents for children.

Trains will run to the Grove, as follows:— Leave Boston at 9.15, and Worcester, at 9.40, A.M., stopping at way stations; from Millbury, regular morning train; Milford, at 7.10, or 9.40; Northboro', at 7; Marlboro', at 7.24, or 10.15. RETURNING, leave the Grove at 5.15 for Boston and Worcester; at 6.15 for Milford and Northboro' branches. Admission fee to the enclosure of the Grove, for those not coming by the cars, adults 10 cents, children 5 cents. Those who come by railroad admitted free.

The House at the Grove will be open for Refreshments. In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Waverley Hall, opposite the railroad depot at South Frammingham. Addresses from well-known advocates of the cause, with songs, and such recreation as this attractive place affords, will occupy the day. Among the speakers expected are Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Andrew T. Foss, Charles C. Burleigh, E. H. Heywood, Henry C. Wright, Wm. Wells Brown, John S. Rock, Esq., Rev. Daniel Foster, of Kansas, and others.

JULY FOURTH. To-day is the Eighty-Sixth Anniversary of American Independence. It finds four millions of slaves yet to be emancipated—the Union dissolved through Southern perfidy and lust of power—the nation bleeding at every pore—the most awful civil war that the world has ever seen wasting its life and substance—and no prospect of peace. Is it a day for boasting and revelry, or for sackcloth and ashes?

MORE TROOPS CALLED FOR.

Nearly all the Governors of the loyal States, having subscribed their names, officially, to a letter to the President of the United States, urging an immediate and extensive augmentation of the national forces for the speedy suppression of the rebellion, the President responds as follows:—

RECEIVED MANISTEY, Washington, July 1, 1862. Gentlemen,—Fully concurring in the views expressed to me in so patriotic a manner by you in the communication of the 26th day of June, I have decided to call into the service an additional force of 300,000 men. I suggest and recommend that the troops should be chiefly infantry. The quota of your State would be 25,000 men. I trust that they will be enrolled without delay, so as to bring this unnecessary and injurious civil war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.

An order fixing the quotas of the respective States will be issued by the War Department to-morrow. (Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

All this might have been avoided, together with a vast amount of life and treasure already needlessly wasted, if the Government had availed itself of the strength and bravery of the colored population, bond and free, in the rebellious States. Instead of doing this, it has allowed this mighty force (equal to an army larger than has yet been gathered on the battle-field) to remain on the side and in the service of the rebellion. How long is such a suicidal policy to be pursued? It is even threatened, in certain "Democratic" quarters, that should the Government proclaim emancipation as a military necessity, there will be a formidable revolt in the army. We believe this is a libellous charge; but, if it be true, the sooner the test is applied, the better for the safety of the Government and the suppression of treason, North and South.

THE STANLEY-COLYER CONTROVERSY.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR—In accordance with the request of his Excellency Gov. Stanley, I wish to establish that I misunderstood his Excellency; that he had no intention of closing my schools for colored people at Newbern, N. C.; that he never intended to put in force the laws of North Carolina; and that until he gets explicit instructions from the Government at Washington, D. C., he will not interfere with my schools, nor return fugitive slaves to their masters; all of which I do with the most sincere and hearty pleasure.

VINCENT COLYER, Superintendent of the Poor, Newbern, June 21, 1862.

It is evident that the universal burst of moral indignation which followed the announcement, that Gov. Stanley had suppressed the negro schools in North Carolina, has had a wholesome effect upon his mind. He now desires to have it understood that Mr. Colyer entirely misapprehended him; that he will not interfere with the schools, return fugitive slaves, nor put in force any of the laws of North Carolina, unless explicitly instructed so to do by the Government. Of course, he will have no such instructions from that quarter; and, of course, the Courier, Post, and all the other satanic journals that came "with alacrity" to the defence of Gov. Stanley, supposing he had been accurately reported, must feel extremely chagrined and woefully disappointed. Will they tell us what they now think of Gov. Stanley? Their pro-slavery villany is immeasurable, and of the dirtiest kind. Here is a venomously libellous assault of the Post upon Mr. Colyer:—

"It is said that Vincent Colyer is the renowned model artist man who was badgered by the police in almost every city in the Union years ago. His present vocation of mischief-making, under pretence of negro teaching, is even more than his former one. He is a fine individual to teach the black idea to shoot."

The Post knew it was basely confounding two utterly distinct persons in making this assertion.

VISIT TO ENGLAND. Our esteemed and untiring fellow-laborer in the vineyard of Universal Humanity, HENRY C. WRIGHT, expects to leave Boston, for England, in the steamer Africa, August 6th, or in the Great Eastern, at New York, should she leave about that time. Meanwhile, letters may be addressed to that time. Meanwhile, letters may be addressed to that time. Meanwhile, letters may be addressed to that time.

THE BOSTON DIRECTORY, for the year commencing the 1st inst., has been published in good style by Adams, Sampson & Co. By the use of smaller type in some of the departments, and lighter paper, together with the decreased number of names, the work has been somewhat reduced in bulk. It is of convenient size, and taken as a whole, is a model work of its class. The decrease in the number of names reported is accounted for by the great number of men Boston has sent to the war. A canvass of the city for the State Register, a few months since, revealed the fact that four thousand volunteers for the seat of war had left Boston previous to March 1st, three hundred of whom were commissioned officers. The Directory of 1862 contained 88,000 names; that of 1863 has 66,000 names, an increase of 17,000 names during the nine years. In the former year, this city had 15,000 houses, now it has 20,000.

The Boston Directory has now been printed more than half a century, and has ever enjoyed the confidence and support of the business public. A complete set of the work would show the outward growth of the city better than anything else. A new Directory is indispensable each year, but the old one should be preserved or presented to some Society, as its value to students of our local annals will increase with its age. Its pages contain information in regard to persons and firms not to be obtained elsewhere. The office of the Directory is 91 Washington street, where copies can be obtained.

A PRIMARY COOK BOOK, by Mrs. Putnam, for New Beginners in Housekeeping. Receipts suited to the times.

This is the title of a small, neat, 12mo. volume of 84 pages, published by Mr. Loring, 319 Washington street. It gives information found in no other work. It shows how comfortable a young married couple can make themselves, who begin housekeeping in three rooms; gives a list of the articles required in each; a routine of the work for every day in the week; what to purchase in the market, and how to select it, and its quality; and then how to cook it. It gives one hundred receipts for cooking meats, soups, fish, puddings, cakes, &c., closing with directions for bachelor's meals, teaching the latter how to make their own coffee, to cook chops and eggs, to stew oysters, &c., &c. The writer is a lady every way competent to the task she has assumed, and her work should be in the hands of every young housekeeper.

CONFISCATION. Mr. Sumner delivered a very able speech in the Senate on Friday afternoon, in reply to Mr. Browning's attack upon him and his views concerning confiscation on Wednesday. He showed conclusively the utter folly of carrying on the war longer to give the rebels the rights of war, while we donated ourselves to the rights of peace.

TRAGEDY OF ERRORS. "Aux plus delabrés le plus d'amour." Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

The Provost Marshal of Richmond has issued a notice, earnestly requesting the citizens to lend the army the use of their slaves. Nobody protests!

THE PRESIDENT'S LAST POSITION.

In the reply of the President to the memorial of the Progressive Friends, as reported in last week's Liberator, occurs the following paragraph:—

"If a decree of emancipation could abolish slavery, John Brown would have done the work most effectually. Such a decree surely could not be more binding upon the South than the Constitution, and that cannot be enforced in that part of the country now. What a proclamation of freedom be any more effective?"

Since these remarks contain almost all that the President had to say in opposition to the request of his memorialists, they are worthy of examination and criticism. If we mistake not, they are childishly weak and unreasoned. And, to begin with the first sentence above-quoted, will any one show us the logical connection between the former and the latter member—between the supposition and the conclusion? The President argues as if a decree, or the palpable embodiment thereof in parchment and ink, were a self-propelling power, able *à fortiori* to go alone—or, if you please, a missile, whose effectiveness is independent of the hand which discharges it. For how, otherwise, could any sensible man compare, even by implication, an edict issuing from John Brown at Harper's Ferry and the same from Abraham Lincoln at Washington? The one, a private citizen, without commission or authority, and, above all, assuming a position hostile to laws State and National; the other, the Chief Magistrate of the whole people, the Commander-in-Chief of the whole army, and invested by the Constitution with the absolute, undisputed control of the War Power, together with ample means for the execution of any order or policy in his judgment necessary. The one might have decreed ill doom, and nothing would have come of it, without the exercise of force sufficient for the end proposed; and if John Brown had succeeded in making his avowed idea an accomplished fact, it would not have enhanced a particle the legality of his procedure. But the President and Generalissimo of the United States, unlike the Virginian martyr, has no need of the half million bayonets which attend his call. In changing the status of an enslaved people to that of freedom—a wheel, by universal experience and consent, which knows no backward turning,—in his lips words are things. The declaration, the legal, constitutional declaration once uttered, the deed is done,—the slave walks erect in a new manhood. He may still be plundered of his rights, still outraged and tortured as of old, still chained and hunted and burned, before he can touch the nation's right hand stretched out to him over the intervening army of rebellion, but his sufferings now may be requited and avenged; the law takes cognizance of him as a citizen grossly injured, and huris his judgments against his oppressor; while the right of self-defence is restored into his hands, and from a murderer he becomes a justifiable homicide. On the same grounds we hold that Generals Fremont and Hunter, by their proclamations, (which the President did not question their right to issue, but only their liberty,) did, at least until they were officially countermanded, really make free forever those who availed themselves of those instruments in the meanwhile. We say, in the meanwhile, for we are aware that some pretend that such slaves as could not immediately profit by the proclamations alluded to, lost the chance of gaining their freedom as soon these were annulled. For our own part, we do not doubt that any other than an American court would decide in favor of the freedom of every slave covered by the terms of the proclamations, since if two are necessary to make a bargain, the slave's consent to that which gives him liberty can be more certainly assumed than in any other concern of human interest. Lastly, let there be no confusion as to the War Power under which John Brown might seem to have acted, equally with the President. That here, humane and beneficent as was his purpose, could have found no legal justification for his means but in success. His jurisdiction only equalled the range of his rifles, which constituted his power; what he changed, another stronger might return to its old condition; if his failure was partial, it was complete. The President, on the contrary, is buttressed by law, duty and necessity; his jurisdiction reaches farther than his armies; his fiat is irrevocable, unless the whole nation perishes with him. The difference between abnormal and normal, between revolution and established law, is the difference between John Brown and Abraham Lincoln, and the powers of each.

Now a word as to the sophistry contained in the latter portion of the quotation. It is true, as the President avers, that a decree of emancipation "could not be more binding upon the South than the Constitution," but it would be just as binding, since it would be in perfect harmony with that instrument; and as for the possibility of its enforcement, as Mr. Johnson rightly intimated, it is no worse of than the Constitution, which can be as little enforced, while the one is as deservingly of effort as the other. But the faintness of the reasoning lies in the assumption that the claim of allegiance and the declaration of freedom would be directed to the same persons, which is quite contrary to the facts of the case. Unless, indeed, there can be found one so foolish as to propose an order to the rebels to emancipate their slaves for the speedier overthrow of the rebellion! No; why must the President trouble himself about the respect with which the traitors of the South are likely to receive a decree of emancipation? He might guess it beforehand, but no matter; he is not speaking to them. He addresses four million slaves—colored Americans—loyal from the necessities of their social position and the attitude of the combatants in the civil war. And that South will hear!—trust them, Mr. Lincoln! The decree which "could not be binding" upon the white South, will be religiously regarded by these. They will not clamor for securing armies to lift them up to freedom; your word will suffice. After that, no more rebel fortifications raised by black hands; no more arms borne by them in battle against Northern liberators; no more corn and hominy planted or gathered for rebel enslavers; but isolation of every rebellious host,—railroads torn up,—bridges burned,—wires cut,—every large city, every hamlet trembling under the never-fading fear of a general insurrection,—and universal demoralization in the army from Richmond to Mobile. All this because the slave will confide in your promise, and because he is able to overthrow the Southern Confederacy the moment he feels that he may work shoulder to shoulder with the government and the North. In spite of our pro-slavery generals and captains, "in spite of order No. 333, the slave still comes to us for protection, happy if he may impart the knowledge which will destroy the enemy. But invite him with open arms; promise him liberty not for attack, for bloodshed and revenge, but for desertion simply; and the corner-stone of that infamous league, whose existence shames the age and us, will glide from under the edifice like a glacier or a quicksand, leaving the tumbling ruins to entomb a fouler band of conspirators and a fouler conspiracy than ever claimed a Catoiline as their master-spirit.—W. F. O.

ANOTHER TURN OF THE SORE.

It has often been said, and most justly said, by abolitionists, that the President moves, in the direction of emancipation, only as the pressure of events seems to demand, and not as wishing to interfere with the "peculiar" institution; not as recognizing the fact that slavery is the root of rebellion, and that both must be destroyed if we would avoid future catastrophes like that which is now in operation. The Phelps and Butler correspondence, or rather the requests of those officers for specific instructions from the Government, (which may be found in another column,) that they may pursue a uniform course towards those colored refugees who wish to leave the rebels and join the Union party, is a new specimen of the pressure above alluded to, requiring the reluctant Government to explain itself. If the President now relents or evades this pressure, if he either repels these slaves from the cooperation which they offer him against the rebels, or gives an indecisive answer, allowing his subordinates each to pursue such policy upon this great subject as shall seem good to himself, then upon him will rest the heavy responsibility of the permanent transfer of four million souls from loyalty to rebellion. For, considering the constantly increasing failures and losses of the Confederate States, and the spirit of superlative malignity which they now feel toward the North, and the impossibility of their making slaveholding profitable in the old way while the war lasts, and the fact that emancipation on their part would be the most effective means of securing that foreign intervention without which they are utterly ruined—considering all these things, I say, it cannot be doubted that they will bind the negroes to their side by emancipation, unless we make this movement in advance of them. It rests with President Lincoln now to say—and his time is short, and every day's delay involves a fearful hazard—whether he will have these blacks for friends or enemies. They have the casting vote in this great struggle.

"While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand! When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall!"

In General Butler's letter, above alluded to, he declares himself to be a soldier, recognizing the right of his Government to command, and ready to obey orders, any orders that may be given him. He intimates his preference for orders which shall exclude the negroes, and reject their offered help. But it is to be remembered that, on a former occasion, when the same question came up for his decision at Fortress Monroe, in asking instructions from the Government he strongly intimated his preference for orders which would combine favor to the oppressed blacks with justice against their rebel masters. It is to the shame of President Lincoln, and history will record it as at once a crime and a blunder on his part, that this intimation was disregarded. Nobody suspected the veteran partisan Democrat of being especially soft-hearted, or of caring very much for the rights or the welfare of negroes. It was plain that the sagacious old politician saw that that was the right card for the Government to play, and that the Administration would doubly strengthen itself and weaken the rebels, by taking part with the slaves against their former masters. The President then disregarded his subordinate's wise suggestion, and went on with the policy which his birth in slaveholding Kentucky, and his life in negro-hating Illinois, and his very moderate Republicanism, had prepared him for. He held himself aloof from interference with slavery. What wonder that when (owing to the President's continued absence from the publication of a settled policy or principle on this subject) the case comes up again for decision, General Butler should try the other tack! What wonder that, having failed to enlist his commander in the prosecution of a course which his own judgment dictated, he should try next the road for which that commander had already shown his decided preference!

The entire responsibility of this decision rests with the President. Let us mark which way he decides, and mark, too, whether he shrinks from positive decision. When further defeats shall have added to the desperation of the rebels, every day's delay of our Government to enlist the slaves on its side will add fearfully to the risk of a permanent loss, both of them and the country in which they live. Oh that President Lincoln may have already decided to make this Fourth of July the day of Freedom and Independence to the slave!—C. K. W.

THE BATTLE AT FAIR OAKS, VA.

BOSTON, June 28, 1862.

FRIEND GARRISON: I send you herewith some extracts from a letter received from a friend of mine who is a non-commissioned officer in one of the regiments of Massachusetts Volunteers, together with a reply to the same. Make such disposition of them as you please. Perhaps they may be of some interest to the public, both as a clever description of one of the bloodiest scenes in the battle to which they refer, and as indicating a state of feeling in the Federal army, which, if it be as general as he intimates, is likely to place the success of the Government in the present struggle absolutely beyond the reach of possibility. My own view I have endeavored to state in such a way that at least there should be no misapprehension about it.

I have suppressed the name of the writer, as the letter was a private one, and as he is only the representative of a class, more or less numerous, both in the army and out of it. I think the publication may arrest attention, and be a means of learning in what direction we are drifting in this wild hurricane. Yours for liberty in any event. N. H. WHITING.

CAMP AT FAIR OAKS, (near Richmond,) Va., June 17, 1862.

The excitement of the late battle, fought here on Saturday and Sunday, the last day of May and the first of June, has nearly subsided. The dead have all been buried, and the wounded, such of them as were able to be removed, sent home, or to the hospitals in the different Northern States. It was a most horrid looking scene around here on Monday, the day after the battle. Everything in the vicinity in the shape of a building was filled to overflowing with the wounded of both friend and foe; yet not one-half of them could obtain shelter of any description. Consequently, many with their limbs amputated were compelled to be exposed to the sun during the day, and a drenching rain which fell during the following night.

Our Division (Couch's) was in the thickest of the fight, and was at one time in a most critical situation, being entirely cut off from the main body; and had it not been for the timely arrival of Gen. Sumner, with a large reinforcement, we must have been all cut to pieces or taken prisoners.

Our regiment was detached from the brigade to support a battery of four guns, and we had been in our position not over twenty minutes when the enemy advanced with a force fifteen thousand strong. At this critical moment, Gen. Sumner arrived with Sedgwick's Division and Bickett's Battery, consisting of six twelve-pound guns. They had barely time to place the guns in position and form line of battle, when the enemy made his appearance out of the woods into the clearing directly in front of us, and not more than sixty yards distant. They fired one volley, and one only. Our two batteries, numbering in all ten guns, now opened upon them, and being all spotted with grape and canister, and the distance just right for the shot to spread from gun to ground actually cut them down by companies. After the battle, I saw two companies that were cut down to a man, apparently, and no vacancy could be seen in their ranks. Officers and men fell in the order in which they advanced upon the batteries. This might truly be called mowing men down. Three times did they charge upon our batteries, and no troops in the world, however veteran, could do it better. But Bickett's Battery, which is perhaps the best in the service, together with the destructive fire of our infantry, proved too much for them. This battery of Bickett's is the same that

MAGRADER ONCE COMMANDED, AND I LEARN BY THE WAY OF PRISONERS THAT HE TOLD HIS MEN HE MUST HAVE IT IF IT COST TEN THOUSAND LIVES.

You can judge something of the fact that eight hundred of their dead lay upon a space of less than an acre of ground, besides double this number of wounded. This affair took place about half an hour before sunset, Saturday evening.

What do you think of the progress of the war? How or when do you think it will terminate? You stated in a former letter that the war could never end in the restoration or reconstruction of the Union upon its old basis. Have you altered that opinion any of late? For my part, I have never been able to see how it could end otherwise, although it may be the indirect cause of doing away with slavery in some of the border States. It will never do for Congress to pass the Emancipation Bill. It would be equivalent to disbanding the army; for I do not think there are one hundred men in it who would willingly remain, after the passage of such a bill. I have yet to see the first man. This army volunteered to put down the rebellion and restore the Union, not to free negroes. For this, and this alone, we are ready to fight.

But perhaps Congress could raise an army of this class, sufficient to take the place of the one already in the field. If so, all very well; but, with the exception of one or two generals, there are none to be found in the present army. I should be glad to hear from you in reply. Yours, respectfully, BOSTON, June 24, 1862.

DEAR FRIEND,—I thank you for the letter you sent me under date of the 17th inst. It is no ordinary privilege and satisfaction to receive news direct from an actor on the stage where is being performed the great drama of the nation's life or death. Your description of one of the bloodiest scenes is graphic and thrilling in a high degree.

The dread arena seems spread out before me. I hear the turmoil and shock of battle,—the rattle of musketry, the shout of charging squadrons, the deep, sullen boom of cannon, the curse of murderous hate, the shriek of despair, and the yell of mortal agony. I see in my mind's eye the ghastly spectacle of the dead and dying thousands who are strown so thick on that prolific field of death, which turned out in human swaths at the rate of two thousand five hundred sheaves to the acre! An awful harvest truly; leading one to exclaim with Fortinbras in the play:—

"O God, bleed this! What feast is toward in this eternal cell, That thus do many brooders as a host? So bloodily hast struck!"

Not often does the Great Reaper carry death and woe to so many heart-throbs with one sweep of his remorseless scythe! We might bear bravely, triumphantly, the untimely loss of kindred and friends, could we know that these young men had died and died for, and that the sacrifice would advance the cause of liberty and justice. We could sing psalms of thanksgiving, even while our hearts were aching for the fallen and stricken ones of the land. We would canonize those heroes of ours as among the most precious martyrs of all the ages.

But, alas! when I read your letter, and witness the desperate and unscrupulous efforts which are being made to blind the people as to the cause of this war, and exasperate them against those who are alone the friends of good government,—because they are the champions of civil and religious liberty, in this vast array of mortal strife, it is not to establish and conserve human liberty, but to extend and perpetuate human slavery.

"Some guard through love his ghastly throes, And some through fear to reverence grow."

If we could believe the "conservatives" of our land, these immense armies are engaged in deadly conflict, each under some strange hallucination, some unaccountable misapprehension in regard to the other's character and purposes. They would seem to be warring bodies of friends, like our troops at Big Bethel, jangling along in the dark in pursuit of a common foe, engaging in wholesale slaughter under the mistaken idea that they are enemies. Were it not for its fatal effects upon the lives and happiness of our citizens, we might look upon the whole thing as one of the most absurd and ludicrous exhibitions of human blindness and folly that history gives us any record of.

Here are two parties madly seeking each other's ruin, the one to save slavery, pure and simple, from destruction, and the other to save slavery and the Union from a like catastrophe,—these last looking upon slavery and the Union as the Constitutional "Sinner Twins," not to be separated without inevitable disaster and death to both. What a spectacle this presents to spirits, both infernal and celestial!—of joy to the former, of sorrow and shame to the latter!

You ask me when I think this war will end. Was the cause of it removed. You may cry peace! peace! but there will be no peace until slavery is torn up by the roots, and cast into the fire of a free people's consuming wrath.

I know we are told continually that the Abolitionists are the cause of this convulsion, and should be held accountable therefor. There are many who seem fondly to imagine that if they could only hear Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, and a few others of a similar cast, the gaping sutures of the Union would speedily close up; trade would revive, the thirty pieces of silver obtained for the betrayal and crucifixion of the divine principle of liberty would be multiplied a hundred fold, the crack of the driver's whip and the sound of the auctioneer's hammer in his market for human souls would again be heard in the capital of the nation, and, at the roll-call of Toombs' slaves at the foot of the monument on Bunker Hill, the millionth of the sham democracy would darken the horizon, and speedily run and be glorified over the whole land.

These are bright anticipations to be indulged in by avarice and cupidity, but they can never be realized. No doubt in the same sense that truth is accountable for the corruption and ravages of falsehood, virtue for vice, love for hate, are those men and their organs responsible for the murderous attack of slavery upon the nation's life. Like the devils in the olden times, it has cried out, "We know thee who thou art. But thou comest to torment us before the time!"—*Ps. cxv. 8.* It has cried out to its Northern pillars and vassals. But, notwithstanding the "alacrity" with which they have



Poetry.

From the N. Y. Independent. THE DAY OF GOD. BY GEO. S. HURLBURN.

All blessings walk with onward feet; No day dawns twice, no night comes back; The car of doom, or slow or fleet, Boils down an unreturning track.

THE LOYAL DEMOCRAT.

Mouth not to my Union yearn, Nor glow mine ears with loyal cant! Who stands this day in Freedom's van, He only is my Union Man!

"ANOTHER VICTORY"—WHO IS BEREAVED?

Who are widows, who are orphans? Victory again is won; Who will bear the news of sadness To the lonely, stricken one?

The Liberator.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS MESSAGES.

From the first, the aim and purpose of the President have been to restore the Union as it was. To this end, he has done his best to assure the people of the South, slaveholders or otherwise, that under his administration, the pro-slavery guarantees of the Constitution, and the laws for carrying them out, should be executed to the fullest extent.

THE NEGRO IN DEMAND.

The Danish Government has made a singular proposition to the Administration at Washington. It is no less than to take the control of the Danish West Indies, there to be placed under apprenticeship for three years, and after that time to receive wages and to become entirely free.

They know there can be no cordial union with us while slavery endures. They perceive the onward march of freedom's host; the ground trembles at their approach.

LETTER FROM MRS. OUTLER.

JACKSONVILLE, (Ill.) June 10, 1852. DEAR LIBERATOR: Since my last letter, I have been doing a large amount of kind work—hard enough to suit my most estimable friend Mrs. Partridge.

OUT OF JAIL.

THE BLACK MAN WHO WAS IMPRISONED FOR READING UNCLE TOM'S CABIN. I am asked to make an appeal for a poor man—a criminal, just out of jail. He is convicted for three offences—first, because a black skin covered his face; second, because the English alphabet came and sat upon his tongue; and third, because he had read the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

It is also designated, by the especial favor of the State, as the location of all the public charities, save the penitentiaries, reserved for towns more in the commercial line.

DEATH OF MR. BUCKLE.

Intelligence has been received from Europe of the death of Henry Thomas Buckle, author of the "History of Civilization in England." Mr. Buckle was born at Lisle, England, on November 24, 1812.

BOOK NOTICE.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW: by Mrs. C. H. DALL, Author of "Woman's Right to Labor," "Historical Pictures Retouched," etc. Notwithstanding the terrible war sweeping with a besom of destruction over this nation, and the clouds still darkening the horizon of our future—harmonizing with the immutable law of progress, the civilization of the nineteenth century must be in advance of all which has preceded it.

ably disposed to our institutions, and well prepared to judge dispassionately of their practical workings. He says the subject is too vast to be discussed except after careful personal examination.

A MODERN AMAZON.

We copy from a private letter, from Clarkburg, Va., the following account of a recent capture there— "About a dozen deserters from the rebel army came in yesterday, very much frightened, wanting transportation to Ohio. We also captured a very desperate woman, by the name of Jenny Green, and sent her under guard to Wheeling.

A WELL KEPT LOG.

THE PORT ROLLOFF correspondent of the New York Tribune has prepared a copy of the log of the steamer Planter, kept by Robert Sall on that famous trip, when he so skillfully escaped from Charleston harbor to the blockading fleet. It is given as follows— "Last—Robt. Small, Pilot; Alfred Grading, Engineer; Abram Jackson, Jell Turner, W. C. Thompson, Sam Chisholm, Abram Alberton, Hannah Sam, Susan Small, Clara Jones, Anna White, Levia Wilson, David McCulloch, 3 small children.

Some monstrous jaw bones have been dug up in Oregon supposed to be human, but measuring seven inches across from point to point. They may have belonged to some huge human gorilla, which our race are glad to know is extinct.

SIX RAINBOWS AT ONCE.

The editor of the Memphis News says that just as the force of a recent shower that place was spent, a brilliant rainbow appeared between the clouds, when a second, then a third, a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, and at once a seventh rainbow appeared from the inner, which was a mere line, to the outer, which was of great breadth and magnitude.

THE SECESSION CONGRESSMAN.

The Secession Congressman, Vallandigham, has received a sharp rebuff from home. A petition has been forwarded to the House, from 1000 loyal citizens of Cincinnati, asking for his expulsion from Congress as a traitor to his country and a disgrace to the State of Ohio.