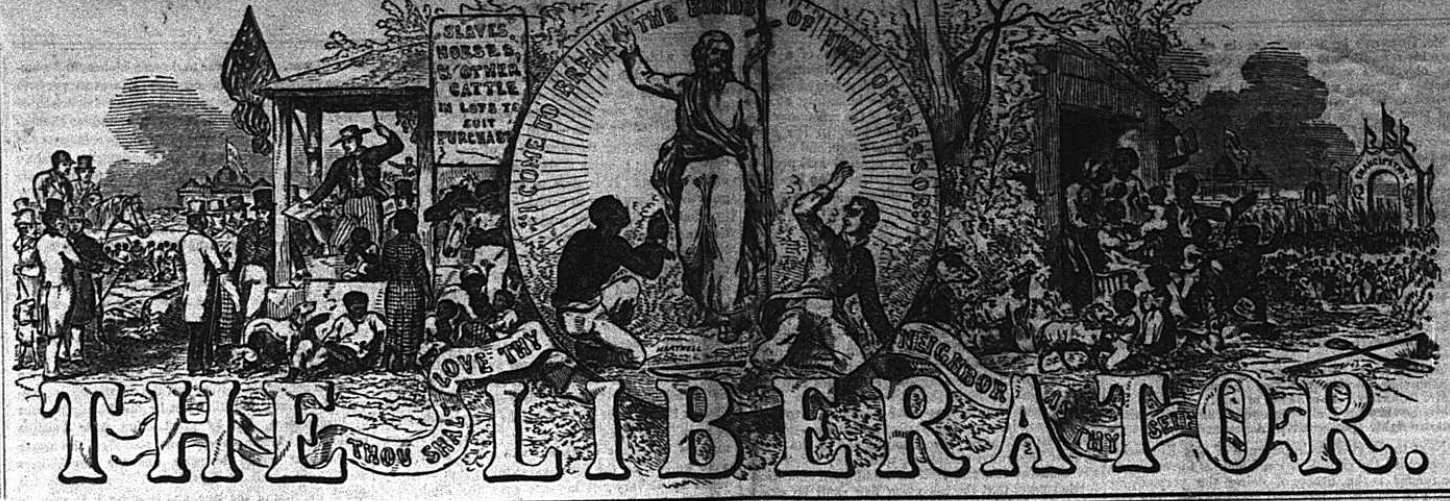


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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Refuge of Oppression.

TO ALL LAW-ABIDING AND PEACE-LOVING CITIZENS. A FOURTH OF JULY UNION MEETING.

Having convened at Sharon Centre, Medina Co., Ohio, on the Anniversary of the Freedom and Independence of this Confederacy, we wish to improve the occasion by mutual consultation, and an unrestrained and respectful expression of our sentiments upon the measures and policy which have blighted the interests and blasted the expectations of our once happy country.

The inauguration of this war has alienated those who were friends—precipitated the border States to dissolve their connection with the general government—depreciated the value of real estate—ruined our commerce, and rendered bankrupt many of the most enterprising commercial men; and it has also produced a perfect stagnation in every business department throughout our country; and this fastening upon our government an enormous debt which will require the action of the sovereign power to liquidate; effectually crippling all our operations for internal improvements; destroying all mutual confidence at home, and producing distrust and dishonor abroad.

These things could and ought to have been avoided by the adoption of honorable compromise measures. But Congress, composed of those who were hostile to the South, refused to do anything conflicting with the sectional Chicago platform, and even refused submitting the question to the voice of the sovereign people.

Whereas, some of the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of this country have been grossly outraged by threats of personal violence, for the exercise of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Ohio, and that said outrages are known to the citizens of our country seat, and in all probability to the officers of the law, who connive at the indignities to peaceful citizens of the country, and make no efforts to suppress the violations of the law by a rampant mob—therefore,

Resolved, That we solemnly enter our protest against all such outrages and violations of law and order, and that we will hold the officers of the law responsible for their dereliction of duty, and for not making every legal and possible effort to suppress the insubordination of mobocracy.

- Wm. Roseberry, Jacob Kuder, Jefferson Crane, Abel Briggs, John Bennett, Justus Curtis, Isaac Wall, Joshua Hartman, R. Orton, W. H. Connel, W. S. Pimlot, Metcalf Bell, Joseph Dressler, Samuel Jones, Adam Bremer, John Coates, Charles Wall, John Wall, Edwin Willford, G. W. Andrews, David Andrews, Albert N. Griswold, Wm. A. Dage, Peter Smith,

THE WAR.

The course of events within the last few weeks has opened the eyes of many of our people, especially in the country, to the greatness of the task the North has undertaken, in endeavoring to conquer the South; for this is the practical definition of coercion, or, if preferred, of "Enforce the Laws" throughout the (late) Union.

Let us hear, from day to day, from the Herald, those editorial remarks that will stimulate the Democrats and fall like a bomb-shell in the camp of the enemy. The Herald will be sought for in Walpole with that eagerness that it was through the late Presidential campaign.

THE DEMOCRACY OF WALPOLE.—Boston Herald. SUMNER, WILSON AND ANDREW. The secessionists point to the election of such men as Sumner, Wilson and Andrew, as evidence of unfriendliness on the part of the people of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That we advise and encourage the formation of similar Union societies in every township in the county, for the purpose herein set forth.

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What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the least aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the shape of Senators, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the hands of a few species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a political order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

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MARKED BATTERIES.

This new mode of carrying on war by means of masked batteries, is a little more inhuman than any mode to which resort has as yet in the world's history...

Of course there can be no complaint, if it is admitted that all means of attack and defence are allowable and justifiable in the prosecution of war. We enter no complaint. We would only have our readers look at the chivalrous Southern army as they appear in connection with these masked batteries.

How they boasted and bragged before the war began their superior prowess! One gallant Southern knight could whip a dozen mean-spirited Yankee militia-men! A whole regiment of paunching puritans would be put to flight by a single-troop of blooded Southerners on their blooded horses!

A LOOK INTO A SECESSION MAIL-BAG.

The most curious and yet saddening sight I have seen is the contents of a Secession mail-bag, taken at Centreville, and filled with Southern letters from all parts of the South, but mostly from South Carolina.

But the most striking parts of all those letters was the intensified hate of most of the writers for the Northerners, and especially for "the Yankees," as most of the writers were called at the South.

In some of the letters there was a tone of piety mingled with bountiful reflections upon Yankee hypocrisy and rascality. Now and then there was a prayer for peace, and an honest wish that the war was over!

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

We find the following passage in the proceedings of the House of Representatives: Mr. BURNETT (Dem., Ky.) asked leave to offer a resolution calling on the Secretary of War to inform the House whether there be negroes in the Army of the United States who have been armed, and whether there be negroes the property of any of the revolted States, who have been used as soldiers, or as throwing up breastworks or impediments; and if so, at what places, and the number of slaves employed.

Mr. BURNETT ineffectually again sought to introduce his resolution, to which at an early period of the day objections were made. He wished to know whether negroes were employed in the army. He desired to be informed from an official source. He had seen them in uniform, with rifles, bayonets, revolvers and daggers at their side.

Mr. CURTIS asked whether the gentleman had seen any negroes except as servants? Had he seen them in squads or companies? Mr. BURNETT replied that one of the best fighters he had ever known was a Kentucky negro who went to the Valley of Mexico armed by the Federal Government.

Next to the sublime impudence of this Kentucky secessionist, the consideration which is forced upon the reader is the fitness of doing the very thing which he evidently intended to deprecate and denounce. For six weeks past, negro slaves have been employed to the number of twelve to fifteen thousand in throwing up fortifications and digging pits for the Federal army at Manassas Junction.

What is the case before us? A pro-slavery rebellion of vast proportions—a rebellion instituted for the double purpose of overthrowing the Constitution and making slavery perpetual. For this purpose loyal slaves are employed in vast numbers and in various ways under the lash.

REBEL LETTERS.

The following letters came into the possession of Lieut. Hubbard, of this city, and were by him forwarded here, and handed to us by Dr. Tabetts. They are rich and racy in ideas and orthography:

"Fairfax Court house July the 14. Dear Sur take this opportunity of riting few lines hoping that the will find you and your wife in good health as i am at present tank god there was no youse of riting any Sonner to you i would have riting to you Sonner if i had anything of enportans to rite to you i suppose that you heird all from the RIcherson Garls about this plase but there is one thing i have to say that the was thought noting hire there was put down as roudly set of men in Richmond all the way hire the hav acted the bazarid i have hird one of them one man say that a man wit a Green shirt wot Get noting to by any where i am very gad god did not Com wit them or any one i new we are in Camp hire and we hav hard duty to Bulding Batteries and trinche and drill and pickets and sermgen and gard moun but noting if we win the day wich i tink will please godwe have 8 rih hire and more Coming every day from Richmond i wot not the our that i wot i file but we are ready at any time for there is 5 Splendide girls our hire and very good nature to us i have have more to say For a few day rito to me and one let me now how you and your wife is

"Head Quarters Camp Beauregard Fairfax Court house yankee county. I call it Jim the 29 61 Dear friend I now seat my self in order to let you no that I am as well as I could expect we have left bulrun and marched to fairfax Court house we left bulrun on the 21 about sundown and marched 12 miles that night we landed there about three o'clock the next morning we were all broke down nerly we fellers that had the measles broke in the law office and slept in there for it was raining the rest of them fell down on the ground and slept in the rain we had very heavy load to toat we had our hamper packed with provision our knapsacks with our cloths and blankets our ridsge boxes full of cartridge which was very heavy our canteens full of water and our muskets and almost stifled with the dust we took one prisoner last night he was acaptin them we put him in Jail we are going to march on them in a few days there are 5000 troops in five miles of our pickets are in one mile of each other we are going to drive them away and then go on to claxandor and storm it rite away we want to give them 2 or 3 good whippings before the fourth of July and they will make peace then I hear some of the men talking that old abe is begining for peace now you have to Quit writing I shall have to come down on you about it

"I Rainen you umbel and throe friend P F CONWAY" "I have about of sick men when we started to march we thought we would have abtatte about day the next morning but nothing of it will come though the blood is thick here where they had that battle in the street the yankee holowed dont shoot do pray dont shoot and run like blazes they did not think there was any tropes here the dread the South Carolinas tel Joel Nat is well and is doing well and him stool gard last night off this morning tel him he had better stay at home and not come here for it wont do till his to stay with his master for the company knows he is not able to stand the camp they know it is not cowardice nor do they think any such bim if he was to come the doctor would send him back give my respects to all the friends Wilson Houg" [Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

IMMINENT PERIL OF A SLAVE INSURRECTION.

JONESBOROUGH, TENN., July 28, 1861. I take the stage hence for Morgantown, N. C., to-morrow, but will meantime drop you a few lines from this point. My journey thus far has not been altogether without adventure, especially that part of it from Lexington, Kentucky, but of this I reserve details till my return.

The intelligence from North Carolina is of a rather exciting nature. In addition to the general and growing popular discontent at the miserable mismanagement of affairs since the State was plunged into Secession, the most alarming apprehensions are indulged, of a fearful and bloody outbreak of the slaves. For months, this class of the population have been betraying great uneasiness, occasioned doubtless, by the unusual, and to them rather inexplicable military movements about them, and which they not very strangely suppose in some way to concern themselves. There are numerous rumors afloat to the effect that in some of the middle counties, servants have risen on their masters, and that many families have been attacked at midnight. To these reports, however, I am slow to give credence; I believe they are mostly the creations of imaginations always lively to the latent perils of slaveholding society, and now especially distempered by the aggravated dangers of the times. But "where there is so much smoke there must be some fire" and it may turn out that the facts have not been exaggerated, and that North Carolina, and

perhaps the whole South, is on the eve of a most sanguinary and depolating servile insurrection. That such a calamity is intelligently feared is certain, and its horrors may startle humanity at any moment. It is stated that such is the refractory disposition of the colored people of late, in the more largely slaveholding section of the State, and somewhat are the symptoms of contemplated and concerted mischief, that an earnest requisition has been made upon the Western Carolinians, for the immediate moving to the disaffected quarter of Home Guards, (who, by the way, are nearly all strong Union men,) to the amount of two or three regiments, for the prompt suppression of the anticipated uprising.

The white men of the endangered region, capable of bearing arms, with hardly an exception, are absent from their homes in the rebel service in Virginia, taking most of the available arms with them, and the women and children are thus left, by this infuriated desertion on the part of their natural protectors, utterly defenceless against brutalities and outrages, which the heart shudders to imagine. It is a fact of great significance—and I believe it to be a fact, for my informant is perfectly reliable—that the Home Guards have refused to proceed to the relief of their imperilled neighbors, under any other banner than the Stars and Stripes, and upon condition, furthermore, that the Secession flag shall be everywhere hauled down at their approach. Should an insurrection in North Carolina or any other Southern State, assume the formidable proportions which appear to be threatened in this instance, it would be the manifest duty of the Federal Government to promptly intervene to put it down. We regard the Secession States as still in the Union, in spite of the pretension of withdrawal made by the demagogues who now bear away there, and their people are evidently entitled to the protection promised in the National Constitution.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1861.

INDICATIONS OF PROGRESS.

As time advances—as the rebellion and the war instituted by the slaveholders are proceeding to bring forth their appropriate fruits—as Northern men come nearer to a full understanding of what dispositions and what principles are formed by the practice of slaveholding, and of the readiness and thoroughness with which the Southern despots extend their tyranny, when occasion serves, from blacks to whites—more and more indications appear that the free States are learning their appropriate lesson for the hour; more and more plainly it is manifested that the doom of slavery is sealed.

The letter of General Butler (which was given in last week's Liberator) is the most signal specimen of this advancing change. His keen observation sees that the people are changing, and that the causes of this change must necessarily lead them much further in the same direction, and he seizes the occasion to make himself conspicuous in the advance. His "contraband" theory was an ingenious trick for an existing emergency, but its consequences showed him that the subject must be considered, approached, and acted upon, with seriousness and with energy. However little his good-will may have gone with this movement, he must have the credit of actively and openly entering upon it first of all the people in authority; of preceding the President and the Cabinet in the discharge of a most important duty which they should have fulfilled months before, but which they have been ignoring and evading in a manner as discreditable to their character as to their office. General Butler accepts this duty from which his employers shrink. He speaks plainly of the new ground needful to be assumed, of the reasons which make it needful, and of his personal readiness to act in the premises; and, by demanding explicit instructions upon the very matters which those employers had been evading and ignoring, he obliges them to make some open movement towards a solution of the great problem.

The reply to this letter, sent by Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, instructs General Butler (or seems to instruct him, for the language is circuitous and involved) to receive "into the service of the United States" all negroes who seek refuge with him, and to employ them "under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require," for the benefit of that service, whether their flight be from loyal or disloyal masters. General Butler is required also to keep a record showing the names and descriptions of the fugitives, and the names and characters (as loyal or disloyal) of the masters, and to report to the War Department, at least twice in each month, his action in the premises.

There is in this order from the Secretary of War—just as there has been in all the messages and proclamations of our "Republican" administration—a parade of faithfulness to the pro-slavery provisions of the Constitution. The Secretary volunteers his opinion that "a just compensation" will be paid by Congress for the services of fugitives from loyal masters, and that this will be paid to the masters, instead of the laborers who perform the service. Nevertheless, the expressions quoted in the paragraph preceding this plainly authorize General Butler to enrol in the army so many of these fugitives as he shall find or make fit for military service. If he shall do this, giving a prompt and practical illustration of the effectiveness of men selected from these fugitives in a war against those who have hitherto held them in slavery, he will have done more than the whole government have yet done towards bringing this contest to a successful termination. Whether he will do this remains to be seen; but his antecedents authorize the supposition that he will not shrink from vigorously pursuing any course of policy which he has judged it fit openly to commence.

A further sign of encouraging progress is seen in many of those members of the periodical press which have hitherto been adverse to anti-slavery. In them we must recognize vacillation—an occasional mention of slavery as the source of the whole trouble, and needing to be treated as such, alternating with their customary nonsense about carrying on the war solely to maintain the Union and the Government—as real progress. As the war advances, as the burdens of it fall more and more heavily upon the people, as the rebels display more and more of those base and cruel and dishonorable traits of character which have become familiar and customary to them, as slaveholders, the change above-mentioned in our Northern editors will increase. They will talk less and less about respecting and guarding the "institutions" of highway robbers. They will hesitate less and less about denigrating that which is at once the enemy's weakness and wickedness as the chief point to be attacked in this war. Their praise and advocacy of Union will be directed more towards a prospective union of those who prize freedom for all, and who wish to found their government on that idea, than to that past, merely nominal union, which absurdly attempted to combine

slavery with freedom, and which has cherished the former well-nigh to the ruin of the latter. Every new instance of a flag of truce fired upon by the rebels—every new battle after which our wounded are bayoneted by them—will cause more and more largely slaveholding sections of the State, and somewhat are the symptoms of contemplated and concerted mischief, that an earnest requisition has been made upon the Western Carolinians, for the immediate moving to the disaffected quarter of Home Guards, (who, by the way, are nearly all strong Union men,) to the amount of two or three regiments, for the prompt suppression of the anticipated uprising.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST AT BRINGTON.—[CONCLUDED.]

AFTERNOON SESSION. At 2 o'clock, the meeting was called to order at the Town Hall, when it was stated that there was a very large gathering of people at the Grove, and a motion to adjourn to that place was put, and carried. Shortly after, the President (Mr. Garrison) took his position on the platform at the Grove, when the exercises of the afternoon were commenced by the singing of a hymn, "The Slave," to the air of "Scots wha hae," of which we give the opening stanza:—

"Lo! in Southern skies afar, Mounted on Oppression's car, Rides a pale and sickly star— God of Slavery! Miser, with ghastly train, Dealing horror, woe and pain, Sweeps along his hell domain, Like the troubled sea."

The names of the Finance Committee were then read, and they proceeded to the discharge of their important duties, while the President addressed the meeting. He said the impression seemed to prevail in some minds, that there was a disposition in the ranks of the Abolitionists to consider their work so well-nigh accomplished, that they had nothing to do but to stand still and suspend all action; but he was not aware of the existence of any such feeling. There was no design, on the part of those who had the management of this cause, to abate one jot or tittle of their purpose to see that slavery is utterly abolished. He thought they had need of increased vigilance. They were in the midst of a great and solemn crisis; and if the nation was to be saved, it would be, under God, by the Abolitionists—by those who are resolved to make no compromise with the Slave Power, but to demand, in the name of the living God, that every slave shall be set free; proclaiming in His name, and by His authority, that, for this people, there is neither peace nor prosperity, so long as a single slave is left in his fetters on our soil. He hoped they would do all that they could, at the present time, by way of contributions, to aid the efforts that would be made by those to whose hands the management of the cause had been entrusted.

Mr. Garrison then proceeded to speak in reference to the war. We had vain-gloriously imagined, he said, hitherto, that, as a nation, we were invulnerable and immortal. All the warnings of the friends of the slave had been laughed to scorn, and it had been supposed that by no possibility could any harm come to us, as a nation. But now, the most tremendous civil war that the world had ever seen was raging between the North and the South—the pillars of the government were trembling—and men's hearts were failing them for fear. What was the cause of this state of things? Evidently intelligent and honest men knew it was SLAVERY. If, therefore, they hoped to have peace, prosperity and safety, the war must not be terminated until "liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Freedom was loyal to righteous law and just government. The conspirators were slaveholders and slave-breeders, and slave-hunters, and only these. They were the party who were seeking to establish a reign of despotism which should blot out all our free institutions, as well as perpetuate slavery on Southern soil. They hate, and proclaim that they hate, all that pertains to freedom; and when the black banner of slavery should be hoisted triumphantly here, as it was in Carolina and Georgia, all our democratic institutions would be overthrown. What, then, was the obvious duty of the government? Evidently this—to declare that, inasmuch as it is slavery that has committed this treason, the government, under the war power, and as a matter of self-preservation, must abolish slavery. Until that was done, in his judgment, nothing was due; nothing but the shedding of blood in vain; nothing but the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars in vain. He held the South to be perfectly invincible so long as we protected or respected her slave system. The South felt that she was unconquerable, and would be in the end triumphant, because she saw that we were still bewitched by the sorcery of slavery, declaring, even in the midst of our sufferings, losses, bereavements, and enormous expenditures of money, that we have no wish or intention to interfere with her accursed "institution." But let this government write the motto on her banner, "Freedom for all who shall rally under the Stars and Stripes!" and in that hour the death-blow is given to treason and secession. "Where there is no fuel, the fire goes out." The South dreaded nothing so much as the liberation of her slave population; she dreaded it more than she did the armies of the North, because a retributive Providence has so ordered it, that the knees of the oppressor shall smite together in the presence of his slave standing erect as a man. The slaves must be called upon to save us, themselves and the country; for they alone could do it. This would be a noble and glorious return for all the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon them.

What infatuation, as well as wickedness, in our government, still seeking to maintain and perpetuate slavery, by compromise, under the old "covenant with death," when that covenant is trodden under foot by the Slavery, and discarded forever by them! Let emancipation be proclaimed! He held it to be not only a wise stroke of policy in war, but the imperative and Christian duty of the Government to do this. God had commanded us to "execute judgment in the morning,"—that is, without delay,—and to "deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, that His fury might not go out like fire, and burn because of the evil of our doings." In the altered state of affairs, a solemn obligation rested upon the people and the Government to emancipate those who are pining in bondage; and not to do this was to be guilty in the highest degree. They had a right to do it. The South was in hot rebellion, endeavoring to subjugate the whole country to her diabolical will. Under the war power, the Government had a right to consult its safety and the general welfare by removing the source of danger and division. Even if it were a destructive work to be consummated,—like burning their towns and cities, or confiscating legitimate property,—it might be done to any extent, under the

rules of war. But it was to do no violence, and commit no outrage. On the contrary, it was to perform a work of inestimable beneficence and imperishable glory. It was to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free;" and thus to do the greatest possible benefit to the South, to return blessing for cursing, good for evil, and to bring salvation to the whole country. This great act of justice would certainly disarm and suppress the rebellious slave oligarchy, and bring the war speedily to a close. He held, therefore, that the only thing the friends of freedom had to do, there and every where, was to cry aloud, in thunder tones, to the Government, to lose no time in proclaiming to the millions in bondage in the South, that, as soon as they can place themselves under the national flag, they shall find their freedom, and be protected in it. Otherwise, he did not see a ray of hope for the North, or any part of the country, so far as the war was concerned. None but the slaves could conquer the South, and that, not by the bloody process of insurrection, but by proclaiming their freedom under law. When slavery was abolished, the cause of the war would be gone, and the slaveholders would have nothing to fight for. This was to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and to bring it at once to the ground.

The nation, said Mr. Garrison, in conclusion, is just as near destruction as it can be, and yet be saved. God knows whether its salvation is possible or not. But I say again, deliverance to us all must come, if at all, through those who are in bondage. We have outraged them in every possible manner; we have made them marketable commodities; we have herded them with four-footed beasts; and now, in the extremity of our suffering, we must look to them to save the republic by restoring to them their treated rights. Joining their forces with those of the Government, they will strike terror to the hearts of the tyrant, and peace will soon be restored to our bleeding and dissevered country. My friends, our work must be—Emancipation for all in bondage! Emancipation under the national flag! Emancipation under the war power! Emancipation, because it is a matter of necessity, because it is right, and because it is our imperative duty before God. (Applause.)

HENRY C. WRIGHT said he had a short speech to make, which he would put in the form of a resolution, as follows:— Resolved, That slavery is the cause, and abolition the only cure, for the evils that now overwhelm the nation; and that sooner the people of the North accept that as the issue which they are called to meet, the better for all the people throughout the nation and the continent.

THE PRESIDENT. As many as are in favor of adopting Mr. Wright's speech will say "Aye." (A loud shout of "Aye.") It is an unanimous vote. We are all ready for emancipation, thank God!

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, was then introduced. He said he had often appeared before an anti-slavery audience, and he believed never with a lengthened visage. He had always been hopeful of the success of this cause, and never could doubt that it would have even an early triumph. But never had his hopes been so strong or his feelings so exuberant as they were now. He believed that their work was about culminating, and that they were to see in their time, what does not often fall to the lot of those who commence a great reform, the fulfillment of all their prophecies and the realization of all their hopes. He believed that in their day, they were to see every slave in the land a free man.

He was full of hope and expectation, because he saw the North and the South arrayed against each other in battle array. He knew it was not an anti-slavery war, and that the government had declared their determination to preserve their "covenant with death and agreement with hell." But there was a power in the world other than the Constitution of this land. The American people and church did not believe in a "Higher Law"; they believed that the Constitution of the United States was the highest authority in the universe. He believed that there was a "Higher Law," and that that "covenant with death and agreement with hell" was annulled. He did not believe there was virtue enough in the American people to abolish slavery. The voice of God, calling upon them to let the oppressed go free, had been unheeded. But they had passions, if they had not a love for truth and justice. This war had made a great many converts to anti-slavery, and among them, many of the clergy. Now, Dr. Adams was an abolitionist—gone to bed with Mr. Garrison (laughter and applause)—and Dr. Kirk, even, was praising his (Mr. G.) principles. He felt about them very much as the good old mother in Israel felt about one of her grandsons, who had been a very bad boy, and made a great deal of sport of religion, but who went to hear Mr. Mast, and was converted. She went over to him, just as he was saying "Glory!" "Glory!" and exclaimed—"Don't you come out yet; you have been too great a sinner. You ought to eat more of the bitter yarb of repentance!" (Great merriment.) So I say, they ought to "eat more of the bitter yarb of repentance;"—but out they come! (Renewed laughter.)

He believed that all this stir and commotion meant freedom to the slave. But he felt that it was a very solemn thing to be surrounded by circumstances such as those in the midst of which they stood to-day. He did not feel light-hearted in view of the fact that thousands of his fellow-men, in the South as well as the North—for they, too, were men; even those who bayoneted the wounded on the battle-field were his fellow-men—must be slain in this war. It was sad and terrible to think of it. But what was the cause? The cause was slavery. Yet the people did not understand it. Stephen A. Douglas had said that this was not a "nigger" question, but a question of the life of the government. But how came the life of the government in danger? Not from any cause under heaven but slavery. It was the slaveholders of this land who were the rebels, and in arms to-day against the government, and if all the slaveholders should lay down their arms, there would be no contest whatever. If, thirty years ago, the American people would have heeded the word of Mr. Garrison, this question might have had a peaceful solution. If, when the Constitution was formed, our fathers had believed in right and justice, and made the Constitution for freedom, excluding slavery, we should not have been where we are to-day. It was too late now—the time had gone by.

Something had been said in regard to whether they should go on with their operations. By all means. Every avenger that had been made by the Abolitionists in regard to slavery for thirty years was now proved and demonstrated before the eyes of all men. This was the time to keep the eyes and ears of men open. Nothing but the anti-slavery sentiment could save the government from compromise. He did not feel very much concerned in his mind in regard to what the government intended or what measures they pursued in this matter. It was not for the government to say what shall be the issue of the war. They might decree that not a slave should be freed;—they could not help it. He did not believe that Abraham Lincoln or Gen. Scott, so far as the issue of this war was concerned, had much more influence upon it than a cab-driver in the city of Washington. They were determined to re-instate the old Union, but it was not in their power to do it. Events ruled, not men. President Lincoln said he would not invade the soil of the Southern States; but now he had little less than a hundred thousand troops in there. He had been forced to do what he did not intend to do. The bill just passed by Congress in regard to the confiscation of rebel property was capable of being construed into an act of emancipation that should free every slave in the land. He knew the government did not mean it, but he knew also that it could not help it, and every slave should yet be free. God always took care to have us run in the right direction, take what course we would. The slave was to have his freedom; and when he had his freedom, he (Mr. F.) would have his jubilee. He should all yet rejoice in the freedom of the slaves. It was true, that clouds, heavy and

black now hung over the land, but he saw the sunbeams of liberty shining through the rifts. Those clouds would roll back, and we should see the day of would take an interest in the institutions of the country, and be like other men. But until the slave was delivered, he, for one, did not mean to be like other people. He meant to be a despised and hated Abolitionist, making all Hunkerdom mad. (Laughter and applause.)

I give you my word of cheer, said Mr. Foss, as he took his seat. "The Lord liveth; let the earth rejoice!" (Applause.)

PARKER PILLBURY was the next speaker. He commenced by reading the following resolution:— Resolved, That a "United North," to defend the present Constitution, is no evidence, or necessary indication, of hostility to slavery; but instead, while slave in surrections are to be suppressed, in the fearful words of Gen. McClellan, "with an iron arm," and "backed by hundreds at a time, to their tyrant masters by Northern generals, and so-called loyal citizens, as well in "seceded" as in "border States," are assured shall be religiously protected in their slave property, and their system constitutionally and irreversibly perpetuated by act of Congress, notwithstanding the war, we are left to fear and to believe, that should the whole adjustment of the present controversy be left to the powers that now direct and rule, the result will be all the disastrous calamities of a terrible war, with no possible gain to Humanity and Freedom.

Mr. Pillsbury said that Mr. Phillips had criticised the government, in the morning, with great force and great justice, as he thought, and he was ready to adjourn, sine die, at the end of his (Mr. Phillips') speech. He thought the people had just cause to suspect the government of treason. He had no belief that there was a man who had any idea of proceeding even to the extremes we had already reached. The North had hitherto been controlled by two classes of men: political aspirants, who sought to turn the present title of affairs to their advantage; and the army contractors, as destructive and loathsome as the "army worm" which had recently made its appearance in Massachusetts. The ten plagues of Egypt would scarcely increase the calamity when we had them both! (Laughter.)

The people, Mr. P. said, were allowing themselves to be deceived with the idea of an "united North." It was true, the North was united; but it was still a Union and still to be a Union with slavery and slaveholders. Hitherto it had meant nothing else, and we were indebted to the South for whatever progress had been made; and if the South continued to act her part as favorably towards us as she had done, whatever victory was achieved, we should at last owe it to her. But for the cannonade of Fort Sumter, there would have been no beginning of the present war. But for the mob in Baltimore, there would have been no increase of the seventy-five thousand men originally called to the field. But for the attempts to poison the troops with strychnine and Virginia whiskey, (the strychnine getting the worst of it in the compound,) and the piratical enterprise of Jefferson Davis, there never would have been that Northern uprising which we had to-day. Then the government was indebted to the Virginia Legislature for relieving the departments at Washington from traitors. They passed a law exiling them forever from the State if they remained, and there was a stampede of clerks out of Washington, just as there was of slaves to Fortress Monroe. It had been said, when the question was asked why they had been permitted to retain their offices, that the public interest absolutely required it. Now that they had gone, he supposed the "public interest" would subside. (Laughter.)

What the government had done hitherto had tended far more to sustain and defend the South than to defend the government, as a whole. He did not believe there was any intention to carry forward the struggle in the sense which Mr. Foss supposed, and he thought the public ought to be cautioned against all these fair appearances. He did not know but slavery would be abolished by this war, but he was very far from expecting any sympathy, much less countenance, from the government in such a measure. He should as soon have thought of fraternizing with Pilate and Herod because out of the crucifixion of the Son of God might come the salvation of the world. It seemed to him that, in view of the action of the government in regard to the slaves, that they had something else to do besides assuring themselves that ultimately, in the administration of the Divine government, the slave system of the country will be overthrown. He saw no sign of the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, he saw every sign of all the horrors and calamities of the most frightful civil war known in history, with no good whatever to result from it at the end.

Mr. P. thought that, since the battle of Ball Blm, the public sentiment of the North had retrograded, and in confirmation of his opinion, read an extract from a letter in the Boston Herald, in which the writer says, among other things, that the abolition party must be killed in Massachusetts, and that that would "do more to show our Southern friends that we are really friends to them, than all other things combined." He also read from an editorial in the Herald, in which it is declared—"The Herald will oppose all attempts to make this an Abolition war, or to foist upon the country the dogmas of Sumner, Wilson and Andrew." These men have done mischief enough. The war should be brought to an speedy termination as possible, having a due regard to our national honor." While the distress and suffering and poverty created by the war were increasing, it became them to attend to this undercurrent of feeling which finds voice in such organs as the Herald and the Journal of Commerce in New York, and the Boston Herald.

Our government was a failure! There was no man in it. The hour had come, and there was no man equal to the emergency. We had at the North nineteen or twenty millions, and yet Diogenes, with his lighted lantern at noon-day, would search as hopelessly for a man among these millions as when he searched the streets of Athens for the same purpose, two thousand years ago. The politicians who controlled public events had no anti-slavery feeling, would rather abolish slavery than see it continue, and believed that the majority of Northern Democrats would be glad to get rid of that which had been the ruin of their party and of so many other parties; but then, they were without a controlling element at the centre. There was no direction, no capability, and what was far worse, no honesty and no integrity. Politicians and parties had been tried before. The Whig party had been tried; and the cause of humanity owed more to the Whig party, in the day of its departure, than it owes to the Republican party. There was no Republican party now. The only issue that separated them from the Douglas Democracy had been abandoned, and their action in regard to the organization of the Territories showed that they cared no more than Douglas whether slavery was "voted up or voted down."

We had had, so far, the most convincing proof that the politicians had deceived us, intentionally, from the beginning. They had said that the South could not begin. They had said that she would not if she could. When she began the secession movement, they had declared that she was not sincere. He thought she was sincere; and warned the people to be ready for her sincere action on her part. He told the Republican party that though they had succeeded at the ballot-box, there was yet another issue to be met, for their ballots were not the paper currency that was to be redeemed hereafter by a specie payment in gold, bomb-shells and bullets; and they mobbed him for his declaration and the warning. The mob spirit prevailed. For the whole of this letter, dated "Newburyport, July 29," see Refuge of Oppression.

valled throughout the North, until Abraham Lincoln had to avail himself of the underground railroad to escape a mob; and a mob had ruled him and his administration to the present hour, and proposed to rule still.

Mr. P. said he knew these might be called discouraging words, but they were not discouraging to him. The truth was they were true, and it was time that they knew it.

When Mr. Phillips told you that State street and Wall street demand now the abolition of slavery, for the salvation of trade, he might have added that Market street and Third street, in Philadelphia, join in that cry.

Now, where stand we, after nearly thirty years of labor and of battle? We said, in the outset, to this proud nation, "God gives you your choice between the peaceful abolition of slavery and the dissolution of your Union; between doing justice to the slave and dismemberment."

But wherefore do we rejoice? It was said here just now, that they who are fighting our battles, or the battles of the nation, are not fighting for the freedom of the slave, and do not care to abolish slavery.

But they were asking the government to abolish slavery. It was a very easy thing for them to say, "Mr. Lincoln, why don't you proclaim emancipation to the slaves in the South, and thus conclude the war?"

Mr. Phillips was loudly called for, (many being present who did not have an opportunity to hear him in the morning,) who came to the platform, and made a short speech, following the same general train of thought as in his previous remarks.

The President then said, that whether the audience were prepared to endorse all the views expressed by Mr. Pillsbury or not, he had no doubt they would heartily endorse the resolution presented by him.

The resolution was again read, and adopted, with only two dissenting votes.

Mrs. Mary Grew, of Philadelphia, was then introduced by the President, as one who had long been a noble advocate of the glorious cause.

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By what authority do the officers of the United States army assume to send back fugitive slaves, and to compel, under the fearful penalty of disobedience of orders, the brave and high-minded men under their command to become slave-catchers and the keepers of the slave-pens, to which they every now and then convert their camps at the bidding of some fragment of the old slave-oligarchy?

The Fugitive Slave Act has ceased to exist for traitors and rebels. They have renounced the Constitution and the laws, are leaving war against them, and against the nation which ordained, and its government which administers them.

It is a principle of all municipal laws that any party may refuse and renounce a law passed for their special benefit. The South has renounced and disavowed the fugitive enactment with all the rest, and only asks that which is the first desire and greatest need of all criminals, "to be let alone."

To cap the climax of absurdity and iniquity, there is in our camps, forts and ships of war, no tribunal, as provided by the Act, to try a man for his liberty; no proofs prescribed by it are added; in a word, none of its forms for the arrest, detention, trial or surrender of the person claimed, is, or can be, in those places, observed; nor does any authority, created by this act, grant a certificate for "his taking off."

Under these circumstances, it seems quite clear that the substantial rights of local masters are still best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest.

The foundation of the summary and terrible code of arms, is the unavoidable necessity and duty of prosecuting a just war with success, of executing justice upon wicked and bloody tyrants and aggressors; extinguishing the cause or causes, which excite their hostility, and procuring the speediest return of peace, compatible with the accomplishment of these objects.

Resolved, That the necessity for such a measure is not only becoming more and more apparent every hour for the successful prosecution of the present conflict, but is obviously the demand of a vast majority of the reflecting people of the North.

On motion of C. L. Remond, it was voted to adjourn to half-past 6 o'clock, P. M.

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The Union triumph in Kentucky. The Louisville papers bring accounts of the Union triumph at the recent election in Kentucky.

Never did a party make greater and more determined efforts to carry an election than the secessionists of Louisville made to carry this.

Of course our returns for the rest of Kentucky are very limited, but we have no doubt that the friends of the Union, the opponents of secession, have achieved a victory over their enemies throughout the State.

The Richmond Examiner, of the 8th, says the rebel Congress, Tuesday, considered the bill for public defence.

The intimations which have been flying through the leading journals for two weeks past, to the effect that Garibaldi had tendered his services to the Federal Government, at last prove correct.

Contributions. At the Abington Celebration, August 1, 1861.

Table of contributions from various individuals and groups, including C. K. Whipple, Daniel Hookbrook, Russell Marston, and others.

Table of pledges from various individuals, including Wendell Phillips, Sarah Caroline R. Putnam, and others.

Whole contribution, \$106 25

ST. MARY'S LAKE WATER-CURE. OPENED BY H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

The Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthy and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Battle Creek.

The buildings are new, commodious, and furnished for the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-rooms are large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, chemical, and electricity baths.

The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as those of a spring from the granite mountains, is well supplied with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any part of the West.

The ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to her sex, renders her treatment unsurpassed by that of any physician now practicing in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance, to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, to such as may wish to take music lessons, and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be found a most desirable location, where the mental and physical systems may both be developed.

When we intend, with the aid of competent help in every department, to make this Cure the invalid's Home, as well as a place for medical resort for those who are afflicted with chronic diseases.

WEST NEWTON English and Classical School. THE next term will begin Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS. THE subscriber has just opened No. 77 Myrtle St.

Poetry.

For the Liberator. WAITING. She is waiting, wearily waiting, With eyelids heavy and dim;

The Liberator.

The Highway of American Civilization. A DISCOURSE. Preached at Music Hall, Boston, July 14th, 1861. BY REV. A. D. MATO, OF ALBANY, N. Y.

As far as I am able to see, the administration has decidedly prepared to make this use of our army; to employ it as an instrument for regenerating the South.

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- NEW SERIES OF TRACTS. PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. AND TO BE OBTAINED AT THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 5 BROADWAY, N. Y.

The Herald of Progress, ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, EDITOR. ASSISTED BY AN ASSOCIATION OF ABLE WRITERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

\$40 PARKER \$40 Sewing Machines, PRICE FORTY DOLLARS. THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the name of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson.