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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

Refuge of Oppression.

ABOLITIONISM OVERTREASON.

The best minds of the country have decided that the doctrine of State Sovereignty is not more pestilential to the perpetuity of the Republic than Abolitionism. The former is the parent of secession...

Selections.

GENERAL McCLELLAN.

The campaign of Western Virginia in the summer of 1861 brought Gen. Geo. B. McClellan prominently before the people of the United States. His despatches were written in modest, terse English...

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

It cannot be treasonable to repeat information given publicly by a United States Senator, Mr. Chandler, who sat in his place in Congress...

CALLING ALL HANDS.

Unless we strangely misread the signs of the times, a great change in the manner of prosecuting the war for the Union is about to be inaugurated.

NATIONAL POLICY.

Mr. Editor.—Much is said about the Union and Constitution—to restore the one and establish the other is said to be the only object of the war.

THE EMANCIPOPATION ELEMENT.

It is unhappy for our country, that such an atrocious error as that of the vulgar Chandler, of Michigan, or of the radicals in general, should be tolerated...

CONSUMMATE POLLY.

In the prosecution of the war, there have been, as we might have expected there would be, many mistakes.

GEN. WALLACE ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

On Wednesday night, 8th inst., about 11 o'clock, a number of Indians tendered Maj.-Gen. Lew. Wallace a serenade at his quarters at the National Hotel in Washington.

THE ABOLITION FANATICS.

Every well directed stroke at this abolition party is a double blow—a blow at Northern infidelity to the Constitution and at Southern treason...

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all civil institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST...

Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to the inhabitants thereof. I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all civil institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST...

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SPEECH OF SENATOR CHANDLER.

In his late able speech in the U. S. Senate—

Mr. Chandler referred to the fact that the Committee on the Conduct of the War had been engaged in investigation, and had collected a mass of evidence. Referring to the battle of Bull Run, he said, there was a column of 20,000 under Patterson, ordered either to attack the enemy, or else keep him engaged so he could not reinforce at Manassas. Patterson telegraphed that Johnston had a superior force, and had received large reinforcements, when the fact was that Johnston received no reinforcements, and had less force than Patterson. The reason of the loss of the battle of Bull Run was the delay from Thursday till Sunday by reason of the quartermaster's supplies not coming; the delay of Sunday morning in consequence of Keyes' brigade not getting in position; the arrival of Johnston's reinforcements; the disaster of placing a battery of thousand yards in advance, and mistaking a rebel regiment for a battery support; and the failure to bring up the reserve at the critical time. But the losses of Bull Run were small, and the people rallied, till on the 10th of December the roll was 195,485 men, with thirteen regiments not reported, and mostly intended for General Burnside, all under command of General McClellan. He then referred to the battle of Ball's Bluff, showing the orders to Devens and Colonel Baker, showing that Baker supposed there were 40,000 men within twelve miles of him; and that there was no evidence that the orders of Baker were obeyed. He then referred to the battle of Edwards Ferry, though the distance was short. General Stone swears there were never any mounted guns between Edwards Ferry and Ball's Bluff. The man who issued the order must answer to God for the slaughter of the brave men in that fight. After this wholesale murder, the whole army of the Potomac retired, leaving a large force at Washington. He then read further testimony showing that the Navy Department applied to the War Department for 4000 men to hold Matthias Point, and keep open the Potomac, commencing such application as early as June, till in October it was agreed to send men, and vessels were gathered there by the Navy Department, but the troops were not sent by the appointed time, and the Navy Department could not find out the reason. The evidence further stated that the President assisted the Navy Department, as much as he could with this plan. Gen. McClellan has been ordered to forward the arrangements for landing, could not be made. Thus, he said, the nation was disgraced for months by the blockade of the Potomac, and the Capital besieged by a force at no time half that of the United States. In December, the nation began to clamor for a movement, and the Committee on the Conduct of the War urged the necessity of some movement, and the President and Cabinet were in favor of some forward movement, and they were assured by Gen. McClellan that a move would be made very soon; that he never intended to go into winter quarters, and that he did not. On the 12th of January, the brave men spent the winter in camp, till at last, in January, the President gave an order to go forward, and that glorious event took place at Fort Donelson, Fort Henry, Newbern, &c., and no-doing strategy seemed to give way to work, and the day of spades, pickaxes and shovels was over. On the 22d of February, the army of the Potomac was ordered to move, but it was not ready. At last on the 16th of March it did move under the protest of the commander. On the 10th of March that army numbered 230,000 men by musket roll. They marched on Manassas, and the wooden guns of Centerville, and the enemy less than 40,000 quickly moved away. At a council of war, eight generals voted not to advance on Manassas, but leave the enemy there, and sneak around by Annapolis. Seven out of eight of these generals were appointed by the advice of Gen. McClellan. But the Secretary of War overruled this, and made the army move on Manassas. Why the magnificent army of 230,000 did not march on Richmond, no one knows, but at last McClellan divided the army, and sailed for Fortress Monroe. The Committee on the Conduct of the War summed up the Campaign of Washington, and said they had only 19,022 men left to defend Washington, and not a single gun mounted on wheels, and part of this force was new and undisciplined, and some nearly disorganized. He (Chandler) then read from the testimony of John Tucker, Assistant Secretary of War, who testified that prior to the 5th of April, 120,000 men were sent down to McClellan, then Franklin's division was sent, 12,000 more; the 1st of June, McClellan's division, 10,000 more, and about that time 11,000 from Baltimore and Fortress Monroe; and last June, Shields' division, about 5,000, were sent, making a total of 148,000 men sent to Gen. McClellan prior to the engagements before Richmond. Mr. Tucker further testified that he did not know of any other force which could have been sent to Gen. McClellan. Thus, Mr. Chandler said it is shown that 158,000 of the best troops that ever stood on God's footstool have been sent to Gen. McClellan, and yet the treasonable press of the country have been howling against the Secretary of War because he had not sent reinforcements to Gen. McClellan. He read further from the testimony of Gen. Meigs, corroborating Mr. Tucker, and saying that he believed every man that Gen. McClellan had asked for had been promptly sent to him by the Government. Mr. Chandler continued, saying that McClellan lost more men in the trenches, five to one, than ever fell before the enemy since the army went to Yorktown. At last, when a small fraction of the army whipped the enemy at Williamsburg, McClellan, at a long distance from the field of battle, wrote a dispatch to the Secretary of War, that they should try to hold the enemy in check, but they were too fast. The road to Richmond was open, and all he had to do was to march out of the swamps and into Richmond; but he found the most swampy ground, and went to dig trenches, and tens of thousands of brave men were lost there by sickness. Then, after waiting the battle of Fair Oaks was fought, and instead of following the enemy into Richmond, they found another swamp, and commenced digging trenches, and waited till the enemy got all the reinforcements they could raise by impressment, and for the army from Corinth to come, and then the rebels attacked us, throwing their whole force on our right wing; but instead of reinforcing there, they ordered a retreat, and a general strategy. We lost ten thousand men there digging trenches, and then left those trenches without firing a gun, and the army was ordered to advance on the gunboats instead of Richmond. He said he knew he should be denounced for making these disclosures, but he thought the country ought to know the facts, and only traitors and fools would denounce him.

LETTER FROM CHARLES SUMNER.

The following letter from Charles Sumner was read at the great meeting in New York city last week:—

WASHINGTON, July 14.—

DEAR SIR:—I welcome and honor your patriotic efforts to arouse the country to a generous, determined, irresistible unity in support of our government; but the Senate is still in session, and my present post of duty is here. A Senator cannot leave his post, more than a soldier.

But absent or present, the cause in which the people are to assemble has my God-speed, earnest, devoted, affectionate, from the heart. What I can do, let me do. There is no work which I will not undertake, there is nothing which I will not renounce, if so I may serve my country.

most country,—most beloved now that it is most imperiled,—to a compactness and bigness of virtue in proportion to its extended dominion, so that it should be as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, instinct with all the singleness of unity. Thus inspired, the gates of hell cannot prevail against us.

To this end, the cries of faction must be silenced, and the wickedness of secession, whether in print or public speech, must be suppressed. These are the Northern allies of the rebellion. An aroused and indignant people, with iron heels, ought to tread out the serpent, so that he can neither hiss nor sting.

With such a concord, God will be pleased, and He will fight for us. He will give quickness to our armies, so that the hosts of the rebellion will be broken and scattered as by the thunderbolt, and He will give to our beneficent government that blessed inspiration, better than any newly raised levies, which the rebellion shall be struck in its single vulnerable part; by which that colossal abomination which was its original mainstay, and is its present motive-power, shall be overthrown, and by which the cause of the Union shall be linked with that divine justice whose weapons are of celestial temper.

God bless our country! and God bless all who now serve it with singleness of heart!

I have the honor to be, dear Sir, Your faithful servant,

CHARLES SUMNER, Charles Gould, Esq., Sec'y of Select Committee.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1862.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

The Anniversary of British West India Emancipation will be celebrated in the usual manner at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON, on FRIDAY, August 1, in MASS MEETING, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

No event in history is more deserving of special commemoration than this—transforming, as it did, nearly a million of chattel slaves into free British subjects, by act of Parliament, in obedience to a regenerated public sentiment, through long years of Anti-Slavery agitation—and demonstrating, as it has done, the safety and beneficence of immediate emancipation on the largest scale, even under the most adverse circumstances,—to the confusion and ignominious exposure of all the prophecies of evil consequences, and to the triumphant vindication of the atrociously calumniated negro race.

The friends of liberty, who desire to witness a still nobler jubilee in our own Slavery-cursed land, will, we doubt not, make their arrangements to be present, as far as practicable, in order to make the occasion instrumental to the furtherance of the sacred cause of human rights, without regard to the accidental distinctions arising from complexion or race.

guards of liberty and the rights of human nature, in order to subserve their hellish ambition. All the principles of genuine democracy are shamelessly discarded by the party. It goes for the perpetual enslavement of the four millions now in bondage in this country, and of their posterity, and brutally resists every effort even to meliorate their terrible condition. Its language is uniformly that of blackguardism and ruffianism, whenever the cause of these millions is urged upon their compassionate consideration. It threatens violence—it demands silence—it froths at the mouth—it shrieks, "Nigger! Nigger! Nigger! Nigger!" Its organs, while pretending to be prematurely loyal, are sedulously devoted to the success of the rebels, by fiercely denouncing every proposition for the confiscation of their slave property; and where they publish one syllable against Southern treason, they print whole columns of lying abuse and misrepresentation of Northern abolitionism. They shower their dirty compliments upon the President (to his discredit) as governed by a truly conservative spirit, and in all respects faithful to the Constitution; and at the same time they boldly declare that no reconciliation with the South can be effected until the Democratic party again holds the reins of government—when, of course, "order will reign in Warsaw," whatever terms the traitors choose to dictate will be submissively accepted to, and the most stringent measures adopted, through penal legislation and mob violence, to give absolute supremacy to the Slave Power.

IS GOV. STANLEY ABETTING TREASON?

So it would seem by the following startling letter, just received from a reliable correspondent at Newbern, N. C. Read, and be astounded, friends of your country and of free institutions! When is the rebellion to be put down, if such men as Halleck and Stanley are to be placed at the head of affairs?

"NEWBERN, (N. C.) July 11, 1862.

"From what I have seen and heard of Governor Stanley, I am well satisfied that his whole heart, if he has any, is with the rebels, and it is a burning disgrace that he should be allowed to remain as Governor of this State one moment longer. I will give you a few facts as to his course since I have been here.

If such a course is continued, it will only tend to fasten closer the fetters of the poor slave, and make slavery supreme. Gov. Stanley allows the officers of the rebel army to come into Newbern under a flag of truce, with their families, whom they leave here, under the protection of the Governor, while they are absent leading the armies of the rebellion against us. These rebel officers are blindfolded when they cross our lines, but at the same time are taken to some of our Generals' quarters, and feasted with wines and food.

"These are facts; and how long are we to live under such a milk-and-water rule? I think God that we were whipped at Richmond; and my prayer is, that we may be defeated in every engagement, till we are ready to do justice to the whole human family; and if we must lose our capital (Washington) before justice can be done, I for one say, in God's name, let it come, and come quickly!"

DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE ARMY.

Three hundred thousand men are now assembling, at the call of the President, to place their lives in his hands, and to be sacrificed, if he shall think the good of the country requires it. What is to become of this vast number of men? What are the probabilities in regard to their destiny during the coming year?

"They go with the understanding that many of their number are to perish miserably on the battle-field, many in the camp, many in the hospitals. They are aware of great privations and sufferings to be encountered, in daily life, for the term of their enlistment, if their lives shall last so long; and they take the risk of the further (and probably greater) unanticipated privations and sufferings which the war may have in store for them. They leave their private affairs, their business, their families, and give themselves entirely up to the President, for the good of the country. Surely they do their part. Surely they have a right to expect that the President shall do his part, making some effort and some sacrifice for their sakes, using his legitimate power to protect them, helping them to victory (where that is possible) by the exercise of his high function, instead of by the exposure of their lives.

corresponding with that which the soldiers and the people have made! Will he relinquish his pride of persistency in a course of policy which, tried for more than a year, has proved abortive!

The course of Abraham Lincoln's administration, thus far, has shown two phases, each marked by a frightful expenditure of treasure and of blood. A third is urgently needed, and there is a third which promises thorough and (comparatively) speedy success. The question is, shall this third one be tried fairly, and be tried now, when it will be so effective in saving the lives of our soldiers before Richmond?

During the first six months of his administration, the President tried the experiment of absolute non-interference with slavery. He wished to conciliate both the rebel States and the Border States. He signally failed in both cases.

Since then, he has so far yielded to the necessities of the case, and the urgent requests that have been made him from many quarters, as to make a few moderate, intermittent and fragmentary movements, looking towards the discouragement of slavery. Moreover, these have not only been few and inefficient, but they have alternated with occasional movements in the opposite direction. And the last specimen of the President's action in regard to slavery has been an unworthy evasion of the just and manly request of Gen. Butler, that some uniform rule be dictated from head-quarters, by which both he and Gen. Phelps may guide themselves, thus avoiding the folly and harm of two diverse courses of policy in the same department.

The question is, will the President now try a third course, namely, active opposition to slavery, uniformly exercised wherever his civil or military power is operating, all over the country, with the intent of utterly exterminating that accursed institution, as far as the United States are concerned?

The question is, will he use the power which clearly, in time of war, belongs to his function, both as President and as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, to abolish slavery? Will he make Proclamation, in either or both of these capacities, that SLAVERY IS ABOLISHED THROUGHOUT THIS NATION? Will he send explicit direction to each station where his naval and military forces are now carrying on the war, announcing this Proclamation, directing that it be there published as extensively as possible, and directing also that the services of black as well as white loyalists shall be accepted and used in every practicable manner towards overthrowing the rebellion? And will he publish in Washington, simultaneously with the Proclamation above-mentioned, the fact that such instructions have been sent, and will at once be acted on, wherever our army or navy are operating?

Action like this would be powerfully efficient in many ways; but I suppose the following would be its first, its immediate operation:—

As soon as the army in Richmond should hear of these two acts, the issuing of such a Proclamation by the President, and the order to employ blacks as well as whites in all the operations of the army and navy, both the rebel leaders and the rebel soldiers would see that the danger to their cause was far more threatening at their respective homes than at Richmond. And the same thing would be seen by the authorities of the rebel States on the Atlantic border, on the Gulf, and on the Mississippi, as soon as the intelligence reached them. The Governors of these States would at once demand the return of all, or a large part, of the troops they had sent to Richmond; and the regiments at Richmond would see that such an order must speedily be given, and that no time was to be lost in obeying it. The very first effect of the movement in question by President Lincoln would be a scattering of at least half the army that now defends Richmond, and the result must be our speedy possession of that place, either by capitulation or by a comparatively short and bloodless struggle.

Does not the President's duty to the Three Hundred Thousand imperatively require this policy? Without this, or something equivalent to this, are not these brave men marching to sacrifice, and to a sacrifice comparatively useless?

I am not now to speak of the many and great advantages of other kinds, and to both races, which would follow the abolition of slavery, but only of the manifold aid which such abolition would give in quelling the rebellion. The first result of such action (probably an immediate result) would be the scattering of the Richmond army.

The second result in order of time would be an organization of negro regiments under our commanders at the various stations in the Southern country, not only strengthening these stations for all purposes of present action, but enabling us to hold them after the coming sickness shall have prostrated our Northern soldiers. It will be remembered that Gen. Hunter proposed to organize fifty such regiments in his military department, and that his success in this direction was perfectly satisfactory and encouraging, until the President interfered with him. However superior our soldiers may be to the negroes in other respects, the latter are superior in power of withstanding the climate. Why should not this superiority be enlisted on our side, and taken away from the enemy's side?

There is neither reason nor plausibility in the objection. It is idle to issue a formal Proclamation that the slaves are free, when such a document can reach but few of the slaves, and can have little power to liberate them.

Answer.—Granting this in no other sense of argument, (and I would grant it in no manner, such a Proclamation would reach, and would mightily influence, the slaveholding rebels. Let it be remembered that I am urging this movement as powerfully auxiliary to the action of our armies against the armies of the Confederacy. We know very well the superlative power and the contagious character of panic in a slaveholding community. We know that slaveholders are always fearful of a rising of their slaves, and that they especially dread interposition of any kind from without, in favor of those slaves. We know that our present troubles have sprung from the determination of the rebels that slavery shall grow and strengthen, instead of dwindling or even remaining stationary. Direct movement against this institution, especially movement proposing its entire eradication, would at once concentrate their energies upon its defence. And they can defend it only by sending their forces to occupy the many and widely separated points where it would be assailed. And this immediate recall of a large portion of the Richmond army, to defend every Southern point now occupied or threatened by our troops, is just what we need for the capture of Richmond.

6. The negroes would be useless to us. They are lazy, and will not work; they are cowardly, and will not fight.

Answer.—These conclusions also are made from insufficient premises. In the particulars of disliking hard work when they are to have no pay, and disliking to fight when the odds are overwhelmingly against them, negroes are exactly like white men. My opinion is, that they would show a further resemblance to white men, both in working and fighting, if sufficient inducements were offered them. This is the experiment yet to be tried. Let us try it.

If a small proportion of the negroes at Port Royal and Fortress Monroe have shown some indisposition both for working and fighting, it is but fair to remember that they have had very insufficient assurances of benefit from either. Even the very moderate promises made them of a small reward for their labor have been only partially fulfilled; and they really do not know, to this day, whether they are to be given up to their former masters, or to be held in some sort of bondage by the Government, or to have freedom and recognition as human beings, when the war is over. Until sufficient assurance can be given them, from some quarter, that they are no longer slaves, and no longer exposed to enslavement, they cannot be expected to show any special zeal for the Government, or its army, or its flag. Let that Government issue its edict in their behalf, let that army welcome them as allies, and pledge itself to their deliverance, let that flag be the assurance of liberty to all beneath its folds, and we shall see a very different demeanor on their part. Let the experiment be tried. It is for the President to decide whether it shall or shall not be tried.

6. Shall we excite the horrors of insurrection, of servile war, of wholesale massacre? Shall we set the blacks to cutting the throats of white men, women and children, throughout the South?

Answer.—The lies insinuated in this objection are like the slaveholding fables who begat them, "gross as a mountain, open palpable." The action proposed involves the very opposite of all these things, namely, a calling of such blacks as can escape from their rebel masters into our camps, to be placed under the orders of our officers, and used by them in conformity with the rules, and under the restrictions, of civilized warfare. Just so much seizure of property and just so much destruction of life as our soldiers now practise under the orders of their officers, will be practised by the black regiments, when they shall come under the orders of the same officers, and no more.

As to revengeful retaliation on the part of the blacks at the moment of seizing their liberty, the facts that have been observed and recorded so far in the history of this struggle, the known experience of the tens of thousands who have thus far escaped from slavery to our army lines, and the new light that has been thrown by this crisis upon the peculiar traits of negro character, all show the falsehood and groundlessness of the objection above stated. In the records of Port Royal experience there are ten well-authenticated instances of cruel and brutal acts committed by fugitive masters upon slaves who refused to follow them, for every one committed by the slave against the master. And it is safe to say that such interference with slavery as I have proposed would prevent ten outrages of white against black, for every one which it caused of black against white.

Thus insufficient are the objections to such action against slavery by the President as would give direct and efficient aid towards the overthrow of the rebellion. Thus strong are the reasons for commencing such action at the present moment. If the President shall still shrink from this duty, will not the people, by strong, importunate and repeated petitions, suggest it to him, and urge it upon him? Will not, at least, every man and woman who has a friend in the present army, or among the three hundred thousand recruits now to be raised, join in sending such petitions? Join, at once, before more slaughter shall yet further reduce their number.—C. K. W.

THE PRESIDENT INSULTS THE PEOPLE.

The Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in Chester County, Pa., having sent a delegation to Washington recently, praying the President to proclaim emancipation, the President, in reply, is reported, by the New York Tribune, as having said:—

"If a decree of emancipation could abolish slavery, John Brown would have done the work 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. Would a proclamation of freedom be more effective?"

tradition criminate him. His pretext is too shallow. He insults the people.

Who is so blind as not to see his insincerity and his unfaithfulness to his own knowledge of the truth in the case, when he would make the people believe that he has no more power to enforce a decree of emancipation than John Brown had? He would make the people believe what he knows to be the reverse of the truth. He knows that John Brown was hindered by the very power which he, as the Executive of the nation, possesses for the purpose in question. I say again, then, he insults the intelligence of the people, and shamefully degrades himself, and ignominiously degrades as many of the people as submit to the scandalous insult.

If the same had been said by Abraham Lincoln at home in Illinois, it would have been of small consequence. Coming from the President of Washington, it is a thousand fold more mischievous, and therefore a thousand fold more deserves rebuke. Or if the President had been settling small matters between rival petitioners for place, there would be no impropriety in our passing by without his trifling with truth and honesty. But he has in hand the gravest, the most momentous matter that can occupy a ruler standing in the highest place among the rulers of men, in a more vital and opportune crisis than has fallen to the fortune of any predecessor of his among human rulers. Is the situation too high for him? Is his head giddy on that peerless eminence? Is it added by the annoyance of place-hunters? Then he is not qualified for his business—is not equal to the situation—is not fit for the place and the trust—should retire.

Stopping here, and reading over the report again in the Tribune, I find him reported as having said— "It was a relief to be assured that the department were not applicants for office, for his chief trouble was from that class of persons." The next most troublesome subject was slavery."

Is this the key to his conduct? Has he not, during these fifteen months of interregnum war, been above allowing himself to be "chiefly troubled" by gratifying and satisfying hungry politicians? Is "slavery"—the cause of all this convulsion of the continents—two hemispheres—involving bloodshed and starvation not yet computable—to say nothing of its own intrinsic atrociousness and matchless inhumanity—only found place in his attention "next," after he has occupied himself "chiefly" at least allowed himself to be "chiefly troubled"—with his hungry hordes? Verily, President-making and making compensation for it are great matters! For reasons then and there rendered, I have said, on another occasion, that our Commander-in-Chief is conducting our war *politically*—not patriotically—not righteously—not morally—manfully. Here is additional evidence of it, out of his own mouth.

The President not only insults the people—he betrays them—he sacrifices their interests to the interests of his personal flatterers—he perfidiously attacks to the demands of the politicians first—the interests of the people, if they get any attention at all, come in afterward. "How long?"

ORSON S. MURRAY, Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., O., June 27, 1862.

MAYOR WIGHTMAN vs. GOV. ANDREW.

ANDOVER, Mass., June 29th, 1862.

Hon. JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN, Mayor of the City of Boston:

Sir,—I am induced to write you this from a sense of duty, for the purpose of repudiating in a most emphatic manner your gratuitous and unqualified advice to President Lincoln, that the Government of Massachusetts is not authorized to speak for the loyal citizens of the State in proposing any conditions in regard to slavery, as affecting a further requisition by him for volunteers. Now, sir, as one of those loyal citizens, I think the Government of Massachusetts is well qualified, and that it is quite as much his prerogative to speak for the loyal citizens of the State as is the Mayor of the city of Boston, which city is not, in my humble opinion, echo the sentiment of the State with regard to emancipation.

Boston could, some fifteen months ago, roll up a petition with twenty thousand signatures, to support the notorious and contemptible Crittenden resolutions; and perhaps I may even now (if we are to credit your statement in your letter to the President) do the same against emancipation and humanity; for I would ask if there is any humanity in sacrificing thousands, tens of thousands, scores of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of our young men on the battle-field to crush this inhuman rebellion, and let the rebels retain their slaves to do their work, to build their forts, and thus continue to be the strong arm of their defence, or rather aggression? Sir, I believe it is the avowal of sentiments such as yours, openly expressed or silently admitted, that gives essential aid to this rebellion. Let the watchword go forth, and be reiterated by every man, woman and child that can lip the wind Liberty throughout the free States, that we will lay down our arms, or make peace on any terms but a reunion of all the Federal States on the principles of freedom and liberty for all the people, of all colors and conditions, (who by crime have not forfeited their privileges), and I think, with Governor Andrew, that Massachusetts would respond at once to any reasonable call upon her for men or money.

You say that you believe the mingling of questions in relation to slavery, with the crushing out of the present rebellion, is viewed with the strongest feelings of disapprobation. This is an opinion of yours which I think wants more confirmation than can be obtained. What, I would ask, but Slavery caused this rebellion, and what will subdue this rebellion but the death of Slavery?—not only negro chattel slavery, but white slavery; for we of the North have been the willing servants of the Slave Power, and on us they depend, in a great degree, for aid to carry their rebellion to a successful issue. What, I would ask, are we fighting for? Is it to establish slavery on the soil, and to bring back the rebel States with their slaves, and all the evil influence and miseries, corruption and wickedness, of the vilest system of oppression and degradation, both to master and slave, and all others who advocate or apologize for its existence or continuance, as you appear to me to do? or are we fighting for equal rights, and liberty for all? Let the Federal Government say, "Give us men to fight the battles of Freedom and Union," and not Union and Slavery, and I believe the Government may soon have an army sufficiently strong and powerful to cut the bonds and break the cruel chains of slavery, by the strong arm of the war power, which I believe, in the present state of affairs, we have a constitutional right to do. If we are to ignore the question of slavery, I believe a majority of the people of Massachusetts have but little sympathy for furnishing more men for the prosecution of the war; for while the rebel States are fighting for slavery and unqualified rule out of the Union, the Federal Government is fighting for slavery in the Union.

Sir, I think the Federal States of America, if united on the principles of freedom and justice, would stand among the nations of the earth like the lion among the beasts of the forest; but we, like the lion in the stable, have been caught in a net, the subtle net of slavery, which has paralyzed our strength, and whose complicated meshes cannot be untied, but must be cut with the sword of justice, wielded by the strong arm of the war power.

It is said nothing but a military necessity will warrant the Government in doing it. If that necessity is not already upon us, as well as a moral necessity, I think it very soon will be, in all the magnitude of its importance. DAVID GREAT.

The foregoing letter was sent to the Boston Journal for publication, but the editor returned it to the author, saying, "It is quite impossible for me to find room for it." Of course, where there is no room, there is no way. The Journal is lacking in all the characteristics of a manly sheet.—Ed. Lib.

ESSEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AND PICO-NIC.

By invitation of Elam Barnham, a meeting was held at his large and commodious barn in Hamilton, July 6th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The meeting was opened by choosing Thomas Haskell, of West Gloucester, President, and Margaret E. Bennett, Secretary.

Whereas, a Government or Church that cannot exist without the enslaving of man should be destroyed; and, in the duty of all to seek the overthrow of such institutions; therefore,

Resolved, That the American Union and Constitution, if they cannot exist and be perpetuated without slavery, should be destroyed.

Resolved, That the great object at which we aim, is the abolition of the spirit, principle and practice of slavery, can never be accomplished by a war of bullets and bayonets.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention be signed by the President and Secretary, and forwarded to the Liberator, with a respectful request for their publication.

Resolved, That the sin and guilt of slavery, the terrible cause of our present most terrible war, must rest heavily on the North as well as the South; and though the guilty parties may shed each other's blood on a thousand battle-fields, it can be no atonement to the God of justice, nor to the millions of slaves, whose wrongs His mighty arm is now stretched out to redress; and though peace should be restored by conciliation at last, instead of by repentance, and the Union restored by a compromise, instead of doing justice, still, while a slave is left to lift on high his manacled hands, he shall be a swift witness against us, and a sure precursor of our final if not sudden destruction as a nation.

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Phillips to go home, and manufacture all the anti-slavery sentiment he could, for we should need it all soon.

Mr. Pillsbury begged to correct the speaker. It was Park Godwin and not Mr. Phillips to whom the President had made that remark.

Charles L. Remond thought Mr. Lincoln's course had been against the black men. He had ignored their rights. In his policy, they are either contrabands or vagrants.

Joseph Merrill said this war was a question of power; it was a contest between slaveholders and their friends—a house divided against itself.

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knowing the great importance which the President attached to the policy in question, while it was equally due to the country, to the President and to themselves, that the Representatives of the Border Slaveholding States should be publicly announced the motives under which they were called to act, and the considerations of public policy urged upon them and their constituents by the President.

With a view to such a statement of their position, the members addressed the President in a constitutional deliberation on the reply they should make to the President, and, as the result of a comparison of opinions among themselves, they determined upon the adoption of a majority and a minority answer.

The following paper was sent to the President on Thursday, August 1st, by the Representatives of the Border Slaveholding States:—

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1862.

To the President: The undersigned, representatives of Kentucky, Virginia, Missouri and Maryland, in the two Houses of Congress, have listened to your address with the profound feeling naturally inspired by the high source from which it emanates, the earnestness which marked its delivery, and the overwhelming importance of the subject upon which it was addressed.

We have listened to you with the most respectful consideration, and now lay before you our response. We regret that want of time has not permitted us to make it more perfect.

We have not been wanting, Mr. President, in respect to you, and in devotion to the Constitution of the United States. We have not been indifferent to the great difficulties surrounding you, compared with which all former national troubles have been but as the summer cloud; and we have freely given you our sympathy and support.

Repeating the dangerous heresies of the secessionists, who, by their aggressive and wicked, and the objects for which it was to be prosecuted on our side, defined by your Message at the opening of the present Congress, to be such as all good men should approve, we have not hesitated to vote all supplies necessary to carry it on vigorously. We have voted the money, and we have imposed onerous taxes on our people, and they are paying them with cheerfulness and alacrity; we have encouraged enlistments, and sent to the field many of our best men; and some of our number have been in the ranks of the army, and have seen the fruits of their sincerity and devotion to the country.

We have done all this under the most discouraging circumstances, and in the face of measures most distasteful to us, and injurious to the interests we represent, and in the hearing of the secessionists, who, by their aggressive and wicked, and the objects for which it was to be prosecuted on our side, defined by your Message at the opening of the present Congress, to be such as all good men should approve, we have not hesitated to vote all supplies necessary to carry it on vigorously.

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we had voted the one way or the other, they are in the same condition of freedom to accept or reject its provisions. No, sir, the war has not been declared by the President, and it is not his duty to declare it. We think there is not much difficulty, not much uncertainty, in pointing out others far more probable and potent in their agency to that end.

The rebellion derives its strength from the union of all classes in the insurgent States; and while that union lasts, the war will never end until they are utterly exhausted. We know that at the inception of these troubles Southern society was divided, and that a large portion, perhaps a majority, were opposed to secession. To discover why they are so, we must glance at Southern society, and notice the classes into which it has been divided, and which still distinguish it. They are in arms, but not for the same objects; they are united in a common end, but by different and dissimilar reasons.

Twice from the two Houses of Congress, adopting the spirit of your message, then and recently sent in, declared with singular unanimity the objects of the war, and the country instantly bounded to your side to assist you in carrying it on. In the spirit of that resolution, we are confident that we should be before you have seen the end of this deplorable conflict. But what have we seen? In both Houses of Congress we have heard doctrines subversive of the principles of the Constitution, and seen measure after measure founded in substance on those doctrines proposed and enacted, which have no other effect than to distract and divide loyal men, and exasperate and drive still further from us and their duty the people of the rebellious States.

These measures, Mr. President, and not our omission to vote for the resolution recommended by you, we solemnly believe we are to attribute the terrible carnage which is now being perpetrated in the South, and the continuance of the war. Nor do we permit us to say, Mr. President, with all respect for you, agree that the institution of slavery is "the lever of their power," but we are of opinion that "the lever of their power" is the apprehension that the powers of a common government would be common to all.

There is one other idea in your address we feel called upon to notice. After stating the fact of your repudiation of General Hunter's proclamation, you add:—"Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence, to many whose support the country requires. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and it is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country in this important point."

We have anxiously looked into this passage to discover its true import, but we are yet in painful uncertainty. How can we, by conceding what you now ask, relieve you and the country? We will not allow ourselves to think that the proposition is, that we consent to give up slavery, to the end that the Hunter proclamation may be let loose on the Southern people, for it is too well known that we would not be parties to any such measure, and that we would not consent to any such proposition. Can it mean that we are to sacrifice our interest in slavery, we appease the spirit that controls that pressure, cause it to be withdrawn, and rid the country of the pestilent agitation of the slavery question? We are forbidden so to think, and we are forbidden to think that we are to give up slavery, to the end that the Hunter proclamation may be let loose on the Southern people, for it is too well known that we would not be parties to any such measure, and that we would not consent to any such proposition.

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The meeting appointed a committee to report a response to your address. That report was made on yesterday, and the action of the meeting is indicated clearly that the response reported, or one in substance the same, would be adopted, and presented to you.

Inasmuch as we cannot, consistently with our own sense of duty to the country, under the existing perils which surround it, consent to that response, we feel it to be our duty to you, and to ourselves to make to you a brief and candid answer over our own signatures.

We believe that the whole power of the Government, upheld and sustained by all the influences and means of the North, and the action of the section, if directed, is essentially necessary to put down the rebellion, and preserve the Union and the Constitution. We understand your appeal to us to have been made for the purpose of securing this result. A very large portion of the people in the Northern States believe that slavery is the "ever-power" of the rebellion. It matters not whether this belief be well-founded or not. The belief does exist, and we have to deal with things as they are, and not as we would have them be.

In consequence of the existence of this belief, we understand that an immense pressure is brought to bear for the purpose of striking down this institution through the exercise of military authority. The Government cannot maintain this great struggle, if the support and influence of the men who entertain these opinions be withdrawn. Neither can the Government hope for early success of that element called "conservative" be withdrawn.

Such being the condition of things, the President appeals to the Border States men to step forward, and prove their patriotism by making the first sacrifice. No doubt, his appeals have been made to extraordinary men in the North, and in this way, in order that the whole moral, political, pecuniary, and physical force of the nation may be firmly and earnestly united in one grand effort to save the Union and the Constitution.

Believing that such were the motives which impelled your address, and the result to which it looked, we cannot reconcile it to our sense of duty, in this trying hour, to respond in a spirit of fault-finding or querulousness over the things that are past. We are not disposed to seek for the cause of present misfortunes, or to attribute blame to any individual, but we unite with you in a common purpose. But, on the other hand, we meet your address in the spirit in which it was made, and, as loyal Americans, declare to you and to the world that there is no sacrifice that we are not ready to make to save the Government and the Union, and to preserve the rights of the people.

That we, few of us though there may be, will permit no men from the North or the South, to go further than we in the accomplishment of the great work before us. That, in order to carry out these views, we will, so far as may be in our power, ask the people of the Border States to act calmly, deliberately, and fairly, to consider your recommendations. We are the more emboldened to assume this position from the fact, now become history, that the leaders of the Southern rebellion have offered to abolish slavery among them as a condition to foreign intervention in favor of their secession as a nation.

If they can give up slavery to destroy the Union, we can surely ask our people to consider the question of emancipation to save the Union.

With great respect, your obedient servants, JOHN W. NOWELL, WILLIAM G. BROWN, SAM'L S. CAREY, JACOB B. BLAIR, GEORGE P. FISHER, W. F. WILLEY, A. J. CLEMENTS.

REPLY OF MR. MAYNARD. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, July 16, 1862. SIR.—The magnitude and gravity of the proposition submitted by you to Representatives from the Slave States would naturally occasion diversity, if not contrariety, of opinion. You will not, therefore, be surprised that I have not been able to concur in view with the majority of them. This is attributable, possibly, to the peculiar position of the Border States, properly so called, and that my immediate constituents are not yet disenthralled from the hostile arms of the Rebellion. This fact is a physical obstacle in the way of my now submitting to their consideration this or any other proposition looking to political action, especially such as in this case would require a change in the organic law of the State.

But do not infer that I am insensible to your appeal. I am not. You are surrounded with difficulties far greater than have embarrassed any of your predecessors. You need the support of every American citizen, and of every loyal man, in this hour of our history. The union of every Union man to aid you in preserving the Union is the duty of the time. Differences as to policy and methods must be subordinated to the common purpose.

In looking for the causes of this Rebellion, it is natural that each party should ascribe as little blame as possible to itself, and as much as possible to its opponent section and party. Possibly you and I might not agree on a comparison of our views. That there should be differences of opinion as to the right mode of conducting the war, and as to the best men to lead our armies, is equally natural. Contests on such questions weaken ourselves and strengthen our enemies. They are unprofitable, and possibly unpatriotic. Somebody must yield, or we waste our strength in a contemptible struggle among ourselves.

You appeal to the loyal men of the Slave States to sacrifice something of feeling and a great deal of interest. The sacrifices they have already made and the sufferings they have endured give the best assurance that the appeal will not have been made in vain. We will do all in our power to sustain you, and to forego his most cherished sentiments and opinions for the preservation of his country, although he may have perilled his life on the battle-field in her defence, is but half a patriot. Among the loyal people that I represent, there are no half patriots.

Already the Rebellion has cost, but to prevent freedom to your country, lift it from dependency to a future of glory, and to secure to the future generations a more perfect Union, and to the people a more perfect government.

Mr. President, we have stated with frankness and candor the reasons on which we forbore to vote for the resolution you have mentioned; but you have since presented a proposition, an appeal, an appeal to our business and eloquence which have not failed to impress us, to "consider it, and at the least to commend it to the consideration of our States and people." Thus appealed to by the Chief Magistrate of our beloved country in the hour of its greatest peril, we cannot be indifferent to the appeal, and we cannot refuse to consider it in relation to the interest and happiness of our country.

While differing from you as to the necessity of emancipating the slaves of our States as a means of putting down the rebellion, and while protesting against the proposition, we do not dissent from the proposition, and we

