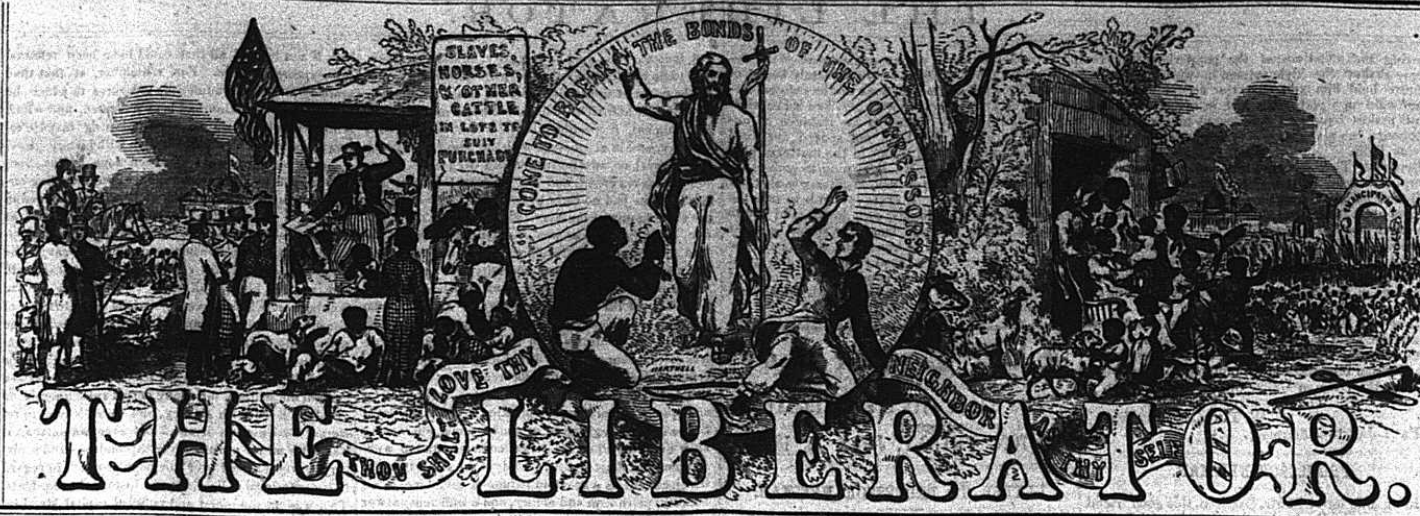


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W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

Refuge of Oppression.

THE POSITION OF THE FREMONTERS.

The Westliche Post, of St. Louis, has the following article—

In order to explain to our friends the position which we have occupied since we made Fremont our candidate, we consider the following remarks...

subservient defence of the Administration on that occasion. It was a regular partisan effort, in the best Custom House style, full of sophistries and evasions...

platform does. The Government arrests Vallandigham in Ohio, Marshal Kane in Baltimore, a secession spy in New York, and I called such despotism "necessary, inevitable, and (therefore) not to be found fault with."

faultless your policy! Please go on, and be heretofore just what you have been. Heaven will not hold such guiltless of the evils unnecessarily brought on this bleeding land.

eloquence at the idea of casting blame upon the Constitution by such an amendment as would imply that the Constitution ever favored slavery?

OPPERHEADS.

It is truly remarkable that a party, distinguished for its teachery, impudence, and entire want of aptness in all branches of service, and which, thanks to the most audacious displays of incapacity and want of faith, has succeeded in bringing to two thirds of its accomplishment, what every one supposed impossible, namely, the triumph of the South over the North...

Curiously enough, the Lincoln movement has fallen into the hands of tyros and neophytes, like Mr. Garrison, Mr. Tilton, and Mr. Geo. W. Curtis, and of a lot of Old Bowler Whigs, who seem to have agreed together to conduct the canvass on the plan which made the Taylor campaign of 1848 so ruinous to the Whig party...

The Baltimore platform has but one article of any meaning or value, that relating to a Constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery. That article would never, in my opinion, have been inserted but for the pressure of that Movement which culminated in the Cleveland Convention.

As to arbitrary arrests, we have never vindicated them so fully as Mr. Phillips himself has done. Mr. Seward's bell has always had a dismal sound in our ears—and, since we are not among his favorites, it may some day ring for us.

As we mentioned last week, Mr. Foster also made a similar emphatic protest. But Mr. Phillips has made none. We have twice urged him to make one, and by-and-by he will do it—for will he willingly stand committed to a lie?

SELECTIONS.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS. To the Editor of the N. Y. Independent: I have no wish to answer your extended criticism on my letter. If you are content with your position, I am more than satisfied with mine, and stand cheerfully, indeed proudly, on the ground of my letter.

THE FREMONT MEETING AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE last evening was a really imposing demonstration. The Hall was crowded, and the cheering vociferous. If this gathering gives any indication of the strength of the movement, Fremont bids fair to divide the Republican vote with Lincoln.

THE BALTIMORE PLATFORM has but one article of any meaning or value, that relating to a Constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery. That article would never, in my opinion, have been inserted but for the pressure of that Movement which culminated in the Cleveland Convention.

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RADICAL INGRATITUDE.

If radicals of the Lloyd Garrison and Parker Filibuster school are vinegar to the rest of mankind, they are also a pestilence to each other. Nothing exceeds the ferocity with which they tear from their common foe, conservatism, and fastidiousness, and a pack of wolves. At the same time the radicals of this school are so cruel and remorseless as to arouse a sentiment of pity in the breasts of those who ought, in a spirit of justice, to be disinterested lookers-on.

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"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THEM; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

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J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1745.

equality. The last thing that we shall bear of negro equality from Cleveland is what we have already heard, not to hear it again. The idea was buried in the platform of Fremont, since no resurrection in the canvass!

"Here is one of the serious dangers that threaten us. Convert the war, in the popular mind, into an abolition war; make it a war of the North on the South, or for imposing Northern ideas on Southern society, and the nation as a republicanism is ruined forever."

Does Mr. Phillips agree with these sentiments? Are not his favorite ideas made to suffer a sea-change in this ex cathedra Cleveland interpretation? No, the Cleveland movement is not for the negro; it is simply for Fremont.

In going to Chicago, Fremont and Cochrane have no notion when they get there, of saying: He is known unto you, O Clement Vallandigham, Horatio Seymour, and Fernando Wood, that we, the Cleveland candidates, believe in 'absolute equality before the law,' concerning your witness presence, to put the hand of Satan into the hand of Pat, asking you to bless the banner."

VI. Our charge that Mr. Phillips is in complicity with the Copperheads, giving his right hand of fellowship to a disloyal faction under the strange hallucination that he is serving Liberty, was fully exhibited last week, when we were the patrons, and he the argument, but only said illustration. What was the significance of John Cochrane's remark (whose lips are entitled to speak oracularly of the Cleveland designs), that Fremont and McClellan were "two cherries on one stalk"?

Rebellion crushed—our flag once more waving in its ancient lustre—Fremont, the pathfinder of radicalism, elected—we will, as in the days of yore, have an American army heroic as in the past, glorious as in the present, and the dastard feet of Austria and France shall be removed from the soil of Mexico, and the LEADER of the free and the patriot, warrior, and Christian—NEW YORK'S favorite son, General GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN! [Loud cheers.]

Mr. S. Wolf, of Washington, a member of the Fremont committee, being called for, was next introduced, and spoke as follows:

Our friend need not fear that our criticisms will gain a wider hearing than his letters. The Copperhead journals have already caught up his first letter, and disseminating it from our answer just as if no answer had been made, are themselves busy like gamblers, gilding his name with praise!

Is that negroes ought to vote, we did not insist that the Baltimore platform should have adopted such a clause, or be thrown overboard? Because, as we said last week, the country is not yet ready for such an issue—otherwise that convention would have enough to know."

But the Cleveland movement is not seeking to give a vote to the oppressed negro; not at all: it is rather seeking to win a vote from the Irish rioter, who hangs the negro. The Cleveland managers (by whom we do not mean the few excellent Abolitionists who were there as invited guests, but are dropped out of sight in the management of the campaign) have, on such ideas as Mr. Phillips has, or as we have, of urging a discussion in behalf of negro

HISTORICAL ANALOGIES.

Extract from an eloquent oration delivered at the recent centenary celebration of the anniversary of American Independence, at the Boston Academy of Music, by Judge Thomas Russell.

Next, in reviewing the early scenes of war, we stand on Bunker Hill, and share the varied emotions that belong to the 17th of June. In darker hours we have loved to remain for a lost battle. On the evening of that day, swift couriers told the country that our fathers had retreated—that Charleston was in ashes—that Warren was among the slain. But they told of such a spirit, and aroused such a spirit, as was an assurance of final victory. So did this contest begin with a lost battle for the North. But as we saw how the tidings were received, we could not call it wholly a disaster. We saw a noble nation not sinking in despair, but rising in defiance. The languid love of the living, of awakened peace, became the living thunder of awakened indignation.

Again, I thought of Bunker Hill: as early on a gloomy morning in December, 1862, I stood by the banks of the Rappahannock, and witnessed the withdrawal of brave, noble, baffled army. The dim stars looked sadly upon our retiring troops, and the wind that swept through the valley seemed to be sighing for the defeat of a great cause and the downfall of a great nation. But as I sat by the camp-fires of the bivouac; better still, as I stood by the bedside of wounded soldiers in many a hospital, and heard men freely borne from that field of battle, Fredericksburg longed for health and strength that they might once again command the field of the same commander, as commander—always the same dear flag—I felt that, in spite of all that we had lost, the triumph of the North was sure.

One lesson more from Bunker Hill: When Pitcairn mounted the rampart of the redoubt, he fell, pierced by a bullet from the musket of a colored volunteer. Do you ask, "Is the inevitable negro here also?" Yes, he is here. He stood on Bunker Hill, as afterwards he stood in the lines at Rhode Island, in the earthworks at Red Bank, as now he stands by the side with the bravest before the walls of Richmond, where the crimson ground gives token that he is indeed of one blood with his comrades. He is here, by no fault of his, by no choice of his, for good or for evil; for good, if we frankly accept his proffered aid with its honest, natural results; for evil, if now, when our rivers are turned into blood, and when the first-born in so many a household lies dead, we still refuse to listen to the voice that thunders from on high—LET MY PEOPLE GO.

After the 17th of June, the heart of the nation cried out for independence, while Congress, lagging far behind the people, delayed to speak the decisive word. Before the 19th of April, "no thinking man" breathed such a wish. The leading patriots repelled the charge of desiring it as a slander. In 1774, Congress, on the motion of a most radical member, passed a resolve, which not only excluded all idea of separation, but admitted the right of Parliament to lay taxes for the regulation of trade. And timid, honest men pointed to this resolve, and could not see that ages of progress had been made since it was passed. It was not until the 4th of July, 1776, that the Continental Congress, in its Common Sense, that "all plans and proposals prior to the 19th of April, 1776, are to be considered as null and void, and superseded now." They did not know that in revolutionary times, the wisdom of last year is folly, and the truth of yesterday is a lie to-day.

Bolder spirits said: "What was true in 1774, has ceased to be true in '75, in the presence of actual war. Concord and Bunker Hill, the burning of Charleston and Fort Mifflin, the fall of Warren and Montgomery, have changed our relations to England, and conferred new rights on the colonists. The land which has been enriched with the blood of so many brave men must forever be a free land. Since we must fight, it should be with every power, and for the highest prize." They argued truly, that foreign nations which would care little for a technical issue of constitutional law, would be moved to sympathize when the contest concerned the freedom of a continent. These bold counsels and safer before the bold, finally prevailed, and our country took its place among the nations of the earth.

I need hardly point out the parallel of our own day. In 1861, Congress, "by a vote nearly unanimous," resolved that Government had no right and no purpose to attack slavery in the States; and, as the conservatives of '75 turned to the resolution of '74, so do many worthy men cling to the vote of 1861. But the people have said: "Events have changed, and our rights have changed, and the institution of slavery is no longer a question of expediency, but of principle. It is an engine of war, which treason uses against us, and which we ought to turn against treason." They have called upon our rulers to put on the whole armor of the powers with which the fact of war has supplied them. They have urged that, in suppressing rebellion, it is not only a right but a duty to wield "the State's whole thunder." And as history records the folly of Stamp Act, and Tea Tax, and Port Bill matters as independent nations, so future historians will relate that the mad chase of the mad, and the crime of rebellion wrought the deliverance of a race from bondage. And it will be reckoned among the chief glories of our age that—

"In our councils statesmen met,
Who knew the seasons, when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet."

GERMANS REPUDIATING FREMONT.

At a special meeting of the German Union Club of Philadelphia, held week before last, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That we accept the decision of the Baltimore Union Convention, composed as it was of the delegates of the Union party of the United States, elected and accredited in truly democratic form by the people, and that we unanimously ratify the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President, and of Andrew Johnson for Vice President, and that we support, to the extent of our ability, all platforms there adopted, and the most radical platform ever presented by any party in the United States.

Resolved, That the Cleveland Convention, inasmuch as it did not emanate from a regular election by the people, but owed its existence solely to the self-assumed power of a small number of so-called radicals, was not competent to give an expression of the sentiments of the loyal people of the United States; and that the nomination of John C. Fremont for President, and John Cochrane for Vice President, and the organization of a new party with the great Union party, is unwise, impolitic, un-American, and unworthy of American citizens. Such action, in opposition to the clearly expressed will of an immense majority of the people, is doubly reprehensible at the present time when the fate of the Union, and even the liberties of the whole human race, are dependent upon the united and undivided action of the North.

courting the affections of the copperheads, have deeply shaken the high esteem in which we have hitherto held him, and that the acceptance of his nomination on a platform which in several cardinal points makes important concessions to our political opponents, has revealed him to us in a still more suspicious light.

Resolved, That we most sincerely call upon all liberal Germans in the United States to consider well and calmly before they allow the reproach to be cast upon themselves that they helped to destroy the great party of liberty, that they aided the copperheads to gain a victory which would jeopardize all that a terrible war of three years has gained for our cause, and that the streams of blood and the best resources of the country which we have sacrificed shall have been spent in vain.

Resolved, To furnish copies of these resolutions to all the loyal newspapers for publication, and to send a copy of them to the Executive Committee of the German organization at Indianapolis, Indiana.

For the German Union Club of Philadelphia, The Executive Committee.

F. W. THOMAS, President.

PAUL JAGODE, Secretary.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

In an able letter to Mr. Garrison, this good friend of our cause in England rather sharply criticises the shortcomings of this Administration in respect to slavery. It is his opinion that Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. Seward in Mr. Lincoln's name, have no policy but that which the country dictates to them. He thinks it very evident that our President will do nothing more for freedom than the people may force him to do; and that in so far as he is like the British Cabinet. There can be little doubt that the effect of Gen. Banks's coquetting with the morbid slave power in Louisiana, and the grudging aid extended to the resolved exterminators of slavery in Tennessee, Missouri, and Kentucky, by the Administration, have excited the distrust and cooled the ardor of our best friends in England. The time is coming when we shall need these friends more than ever; and we hope that such explanations and assurances will be communicated to them as will restore their confidence in the unrelenting sincerity of our anti-slavery policy.

Professor Newman is privileged to express his misgivings freely, for he has proved the depth and steadiness of his friendship to us and our republican experiment; and he may be sure that his warnings will find an attentive and respectful audience. He has a hearty longing for the welfare, greatness, and glory of our country—that glory which is in the righteousness of its cause, and in the justice of its broad, expansive view, our differences of political detail do not make us a separate nation from his own, while we not only talk the same tongue and read the same literature, but breathe the same sentiments on all our highest interests. He is undoubtedly right in protesting, and we join unreservedly in his protest, against any policy which shall restore to the rebellious States the unlimited right of local legislation against the colored race.—Roxbury Journal.

ENGLISH FRIENDS ON THE PRESIDENCY.

Two of the most notable and influential of our English friends have lately expressed themselves upon the question of the Presidency. Their views are interesting from the character of the men, and from their hearty sympathy in our cause. The first is Mr. Francis W. Newman, who, in a public letter to Mr. Garrison, expresses the general public feeling in England for another term. His letter is long, but its substance is a complaint that Mr. Lincoln has not taken, as President, the strongest anti-slavery position, but has emancipated slaves not on moral grounds, but only as a military necessity. "Horrible indeed," says Mr. Newman, "is the augury for your future, when your chief magistrate dares not indict the moralities of his heart through conscientious tremors at the guilt of violating the wicked laws of conquered rebels!"

The total and unnecessary mental confusion excited by such a passage as that is appalling. Mr. Newman seems not to have the least perception of the fact that the President is a magistrate bound by oath to administer a government according to a constitution, and that, while that constitution confers, under certain circumstances, the highest powers, those powers can be properly and safely exercised only with due regard to the will of the people of whom the magistrate is the agent. If now it were possible for Mr. Newman to send a public letter to the President, in which he would exercise that duty to the end for which Mr. Newman and all good men pray, it is necessary, vitally and inevitably necessary, to proceed as the President does. This war is only indirectly a moral reform. If the President, on the 14th of April, 1861, had summoned the country to arms to save the Union by abolishing slavery, the country would not have responded. It may be our shame that we hastened to obey a call for arms which we should only partially and unreasonably have answered. The slave influence had so debauched the national mind, so we entrenched in party spirit, that the rebels would have asked nothing better than an edict of universal emancipation. The moral sentiment of the country, as well as its political consistency and fidelity, had to be educated by the war. And whatever the moral convictions of the President might have been, it would have been the extreme folly for him to have assumed them to exist in the heart and wish of the people. There were not there. He knew it. Every thoughtful man in the land knew it. Every problem was, whether President could be waged upon the other ground, or whether, as the rebels and their Northern friends fondly hoped, the revolution was virtually accomplished before it began.

Mr. Newman, in his letter, shows so profound an ignorance of the controlling facts of the case in which he gives so summary and decisive a verdict, that we have a right to ask him whether the very fact that he differs from Mr. Garrison, whose whole life is an act of moral devotion, ought not to suggest to him that he may possibly be in error upon some important point. It is idle to say that a statesman in the position of Mr. Lincoln is to do all that he may think to be abstractly right upon any occasion, without regard to times, or places, or persons. The duty of a statesman is to do all the good he can. If Mr. Newman could acquaint himself, as he cannot, as no foreigner can, with the exact condition of public affairs and the public sentiment when Mr. Lincoln assumed office, down to the opening of this campaign, and contemplate the measures of justice and mercy which his Administration has taken, he would be very sure to characterize his Administration with Mr. Fremont and Mr. Wendell Phillips, as betraying human liberty, he would rather cheer with the black soldiers in Grant's army, when the President rode by, for "the Liberator." It is a cruel injustice at home, it is a needless injustice in England, to revile the President for steadily walking over stones and through thorns towards the desired bourne, instead of trying to fly thither above all obstacles, and dropping at once, impotent, baffled, and despondent.

Mr. Newman condemns himself in the very last sentence of his letter. If we Americans have no national insanity—prejudice against color—and we do not deny, but deplore, that the phrase is almost exact; it is quite another way of saying that that prejudice is quite unwarlike. How, then, can a President, who retains his common sense, affect that it does not exist? How can he, without criminal folly, disregard that fact in his administration, however heartily he may bewail it and aim to overcome it? The first duty of every citizen is doubtless to destroy so unmanly, so mean a prejudice. But a law which assumes that it does not exist, the law may wish it must, and should wait, until it expresses the conviction of the people. Meanwhile, our friends everywhere may be very sure that the President and every other good citizen will do what he can to remove the shame. Does Mr. Newman propose to chide the hand for waiting sixty minutes before it marks the hour?

profound ignorance of circumstances, and of the details of the truth. Thus we have lately heard of Robert Browning citing the case of the colored sergeant Walker, who was shot rather than serve with regular soldiers, as an instance of unwarlike heroism. We have not spared our word for justice to the colored troops in the matter of pay. Justice should lead Mr. Browning to correct his judgment when he learns that Walker was shot for attempting a mutiny. If every soldier is to take the righting of wrongs into his own hands, and try to persuade others to join him, the result is clear enough. We are glad to know that the mass of the friends of this country abroad agree with the great multitude of Union men at home, that the President has done his part too well to be set aside for any unwarlike man.—Harper's Weekly.

The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1864.

LETTER TO PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

DEAR SIR—For your letter of the 7th ultimo, at once so kindly and so frankly expressed, I beg you to accept my heartfelt thanks; for, believing that you have no other objects than those sacred interests, "Truth and Right," and knowing how zealously you have hitherto espoused the cause of the American Government, as upheld by President Lincoln against the Confederate treason of the South, whatever you may write concerning the terrible trial through which this republic is passing will challenge and deserve my profoundest consideration. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend"; and that you are a friend to America and its free institutions, and, consequently, an enemy to the rebellion which, for the horrible purpose of forming a slaveholding empire on this continent, is now filling our land with devastation and blood, you have unmistakably proved by your noble testimonies and acts ever since the war began.

The tone of your letter is to me, however, a matter of surprise;—so unlike, indeed, any thing I have seen from your pen or read from your lips, that I am persuaded it was not spontaneously written, but owes its birth to the promptings of certain ill-balanced, erratic American minds on your side of the Atlantic, whose pretensions to superior vigilance and fidelity in regard to the rights of our colored population, and whose morbid representations respecting President Lincoln and his administration, have evidently affected your imagination and controlled your judgment. Mr. Conway's jaundiced views are so literally expressed in your letter, that I shall not do him or your any injustice in attributing its origin to him. And here let me say, that you will not find him a safe counsellor, or a reliable witness on public issues. Impulsive, eccentric, reckless, highly imaginative, and his vision is too apt to "magnify mole hills into mountains," and to "give to an inch the importance of a mile," according to his mood of mind. His extraordinary and unwarrantable correspondence with Mr. Mason, wherein he falsely assumed to be duly authorized by "the leading abolitionists of America" to negotiate for the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, provided it would in some way abolish slavery, (the sole cause of its inception and object of its existence!) should make our English friends cautious in giving credence to his representations concerning men and things in America, and admonish him that he is not specially competent to call in question the anti-slavery integrity of those whose lives have been devoted to the liberation of the fettered millions on our slavery-cursed soil. However fervent his zeal or well-calculated his object, the course he is pursuing is pale-washed to damage the American Government abroad, and to help faction and sedition at home.

But, whether correct in my surmises or not concerning the paternity of your letter, I am sorry to see your name appended to it. Before proceeding to notice its complainings, let me say that I am neither the partisan nor eulogist of President Lincoln, in a political sense. Since his inauguration, I have seen occasion sharply to animadvert upon his course, as well as occasion to praise him. At all times I have endeavored to judge him fairly, according to the possibilities of his situation, and the necessities of the country. In no instance, however, have I censured him for not acting upon the highest abstract principles of justice and humanity, and disregarding his constitutional obligations. His freedom to follow his convictions of duty as an individual is one thing—as the President of the United States, it is limited by the functions of his office; for the people do not elect a President to play the part of reformer or philanthropist, nor to enforce upon the nation his own peculiar ethical or humanitarian ideas, without regard to his oath or their will. His primary and comprehensive duty is to maintain the Union and execute the Constitution, in good faith, according to the best of his ability, without reference to the views of any clique or party in the land, and for the general welfare. And herein lies the injustice of your criticism upon him. You seem to regard him as occupying a position and wielding powers virtually autocratic; so that he may do just as he pleases—yes, just as though there were no people to consult, no popular sentiment to ascertain, no legal restrictions to bind. In a strain of unwarranted sarcasm you say—

"With your President it is not the treason of the rebels, but your 'Military necessity,'—that is, present and galling danger,—which alone unakes his conscience easy in a deed so rash and desperate as that of giving to his innocent, injured, loyal fellow-citizens (meaning the slaves) their elementary natural rights."

Again you say—
"Horrible indeed is the augury for your future, when your Chief Magistrate does not indict the moralities of his heart, through conscientious tremors at the guilt of violating the wicked laws of conquered rebels!"

Finally, in reference to the sneering remark of "an eminent person" upon the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, that it was an act of "villainous hypocrisy, for the President refused to set free those whom he could, while pretending to set free those whom he could not," you say that you are "enowed pierced in the heart to discover, that, however envenomed in the phrase, it was no slander at all, but a terrible truth!"

This impeachment is of the gravest character. It implies that President Lincoln is a base dissembler, reckless of his moral duties, but anxiously concerned not to incur "the guilt of violating the wicked laws of conquered rebels," and desirous rather to perpetuate that to abolish slavery. I am compelled to say that I regard it as utterly slanderous. The President was similarly denounced for saying in his letter to Horace Greeley, dated August 22, 1863—
"My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some, and leaving others alone, I would do that. What I do expect to do, however, is to save this Union, and I believe I shall do it, and I shall do it, whether I free all the slaves, or some, or none. I have here stated my purpose only in general terms, and I intend no modification of MY OFF-RECORDED PERSONAL VIEW THAT ALL MEN EVERYWHERE SHOULD BE FREE."

but indicates a man of integrity, anxious to know and to do his duty in a time of national calamity, and in the midst of unparalleled official trials and perils. It shows an inflexible determination to maintain the Government, if possible, in fulfillment of his oath of office, and in accordance with the powers (and only the powers) constitutionally within his grasp. Here he deserves credit, and not reproach. Before the rebellion, he had no right to break the fetter of a single slave in any of the Slave States. After the rebellion, his right to do so was co-extensive with the nature and object of the rebellion, under the war power, and according to "military necessity."

It is my firm conviction that no man has occupied the chair of the Chief Magistracy in America, who has more assiduously or more honestly endeavored to discharge all its duties with a single eye to the welfare of the country, than Mr. Lincoln. And his recent unanimous nomination for reelection by the National Union Convention at Baltimore, (preceded by an equally unanimous nomination by all the loyal States in their legislative or conventional character,) after every effort of his bitter enemies, and of well-meaning but short-sighted friends of the slave, to cause his ejection, is a splendid tribute of confidence in his honesty, patriotism and ability, and a sufficient answer to all the damaging accusations brought against him, whether by the copperheads on the one hand, or those who are so acting, under a mistaken idea of duty, as to strengthen and encourage the copperhead movement.

To those who have struggled so long for the total abolition of slavery, and whose desires for the speedy realization of all their aims and aspirations have naturally been of the most ardent character, Mr. Lincoln has seemed exceedingly slow in all his emancipatory measures. For this he has been severely chided, in "The Liberator" and out of it; and, for a time, a pro-slavery purpose was attributed to him, which I am now satisfied was not his animating spirit. It was only a proof of the great circumspection which controlled his acts with reference to the formidable rebellion in the South, and the fearfully divided state of public sentiment at the North, especially on the slavery question. Ever since his inauguration, the country has been violently rent asunder—the Northern soil has been hot with sympathetic sedition—and the possibility of preserving the union of the States is still an open question. Yet what long strides he has taken in the right direction, and never a backward step! What grand and far-reaching anti-slavery measures have been consummated under his Administration! How near he has brought us—if the Government succeed in asserting its rightful supremacy over the rebellious States—to that glad day of jubilee, when not a slave shall be found in all our broad domains to clank his fetters, nor a tyrant to wield his gory lash!

In this connection, let me adduce the testimony of FREDERICK DOUGLASS as to his impression concerning President Lincoln, obtained from a personal interview with him at the White House, and related in a speech delivered last December, in Philadelphia, at the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society—to wit—

"Now, you will want to know how I was impressed by him. He impressed me as being just what every one of you have been in the habit of calling him an honest man. (Applause.) I never met with a man, who, on the first blush, impressed me more entirely with his sincerity, with his devotion to his country, and with his determination to do it at all hazards, than Mr. Lincoln. He told me (I think he did all honor to me I deserve) that I had made a little speech, somewhere in New York, and it had got into the papers, and among the things I had said was this: That if I were called upon to state to the country in our present political and military situation, it would be the various disasters experienced by our armies and our navies, on flood and field, but it would be the tardy, hesitating, vacillating policy of the President of the United States; and he said that he was dying in his defence, we are compelled to express to one another, to our rulers, and to the country, our deep conviction that the only absolute safety for a nation whose preponderating race is that of white men, lies in absolute justice to its five millions of black men. And until this truth is recognized and acted upon in our National Legislation, and by our National Executive, establishing the absolute equality of all men before the law; and until as a nation that has been grievously sinning against the colored race, we do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God;—no vain will be all our protestations and prayers in the closet, or our fightings in the field."

This resolution did not prevail, either through indisposition of the meeting to favor its ideas, or through some management of the Hunker Chairman, Rev. Dr. Sweetser, preventing action upon it. Very likely, both these things combined to throw discouragement upon a statement which represents righteous action as better than formal prayer. Probably the prevailing sentiment of the meeting was expressed by one of the speakers, Rev. Mr. Cutler, who said (according to the report in the Worcester Transcript) that "the end of the controversy would come when the people ceased to trust in our right arm to give them victory."

Whatever other good or harm these prayer-meetings may do, in one particular, under their present leading, they exercise an influence actually pernicious, impressing those who attend them with the idea that pious feelings and pious observances are better than works of justice and righteousness, and that the former will by themselves secure the blessing of God, even though the latter are neglected. Such meetings, even in Massachusetts, have never incited justice to the negro, either upon their own people or upon the national rulers. Their favorite phraseology declares that "works of righteousness are filthy rags," and they avoid alike the inculcation and the practice of them.—C. K. W.

MONOURE D. CONWAY.

In a recent letter of Rev. M. D. Conway, in the Boston Commonwealth, we see it stated that Prof. Newman, in preparing his letter to the editor of the Liberator, took counsel of Mr. Conway among others. This, of course, he had a perfect right to do, and no one can question the ardent and genuine anti-slavery principle and purpose of Mr. Conway. But we must remind Prof. Newman, that sound judgment is a very material qualification for a counsellor, and that the man, being an American and an Abolitionist, who wrote to the Confederate Agent, J. M. Mason, to ascertain the terms upon which the war might be brought to an end, and whose imagination was so strong as to lead him to represent that he was authorized and empowered by the American Abolitionists, (or by any other party in America,) to speak and act for them in the case, (when no such power or authority existed,) is not quite the man to be selected as an adviser and counsellor in so grave a case as Prof. Newman's letter carries. Be it understood, we do not question Mr. Conway's zeal for his country, or attachment to its interests and honor; but we maintain that his judgment is often un sound, and his interpretation of public events quite wide of the mark.

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him, if not beyond all that could have been reasonably expected of him. For, remember, at that time scarcely one of the numerous measures to which he has given his sanction had been executed, and which will assuredly secure for himself lasting historic renown, and cover his administration with historic glory. Let us see, then, what has been done. But, first, let me call to your remembrance the appalling circumstances in which President Lincoln assumed the Presidency—Washington, to be fully inaugurated and installed—President—the Capital swarming with traitors and assassins—an empty treasury—no army—no navy—the Northern house almost equally divided against itself, and to this hour so divided by sympathy for the Southern rebels as to cause serious apprehension of disastrous outbreaks and bloody conspiracies—the real abolition strength of the country numerically insignificant, and politically speaking, of no importance—prejudice against the negro strong and universal—a general disposition, for a long period subsequently, to avoid the issue with slavery, and to endeavor to restore "the Union as it was," and even worse than it was, with all its pro-slavery compromises—and a sordid power exerted over the popular mind in regard to constitutional obligations and historical precedents. This was all the moral and political capital Mr. Lincoln had to trade upon for the benefit of the despised and oppressed colored people; yet he has done a vast and truly magnificent business.

Witness the emancipation of more than three millions of slaves by the President's Proclamation of January 1, 1863—a virtual death-blow to the whole slave system! Witness, as a necessary consequence, emancipation in Missouri, Western Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia! Witness the entire abolition of slavery in Louisiana and Arkansas! Witness its virtual abolition in Tennessee—leaving only Kentucky to be speedily delivered by the enrolment of her able-bodied slaves as soldiers and freemen, and the consequent liberation of their families! Witness the treaty with Great Britain for the effectual suppression of the foreign slave trade! Witness the consecration of all the vast Territories of the Union to free men, free labor, free institutions! Witness the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia—an act which alone, at any time before the rebellion, would have caused a secession of the Southern States! Witness the abolition of all Fugitive Slave Bills, and the consequent termination of all slave-hunting in the country under governmental sanction—a measure of such signal mercy and beneficence, and so directly striking down the great protective bulwark of the slave system, that its adoption alone would justify popular celebrations and joyful illuminations throughout the country! Witness the abolition of the accused inter-State slave trade—a trade more revolting and hideous in some of its features than even the foreign! Witness one hundred and thirty thousand colored soldiers, battling against those who would perpetuate their enslavement! Witness the admission of negroes to equal rights in the United States Courts, as parties to suits and as witnesses, even before Judge Taney! Witness, finally, the loyal sentiment of the country pledged to the amendment of the Constitution, forever prohibiting slavery in the land! Nor is this all that has been done.

Yours, with the highest esteem,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

PIETY VERSUS REFORM.

At an "Union Prayer-Meeting," held on the morning of the Fourth of July in the Central Church in Worcester, Rev. Henry T. Cheever offered the following resolution for the acceptance of the meeting:—

Resolved, That as a Prayer-Meeting of Christian Patriots, while we lift our hearts in anguish before God, this day, in behalf of our suffering country, and the bereaved and stricken families of those who are dying in its defence, we are compelled to express to one another, to our rulers, and to the country, our deep conviction that the only absolute safety for a nation whose preponderating race is that of white men, lies in absolute justice to its five millions of black men. And until this truth is recognized and acted upon in our National Legislation, and by our National Executive, establishing the absolute equality of all men before the law; and until as a nation that has been grievously sinning against the colored race, we do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God;—no vain will be all our protestations and prayers in the closet, or our fightings in the field."

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This sixteenth number of the Boston Directory contains 65,471 names. The names added to last year's list are 18,247; the names erased from it are 17,433. Other changes have been made, such as removals of residences or places of business, formation or dissolution of partnerships, changes in homes or numbers of streets, &c., to the amount of nearly 13,000.

CAUSE FOR SORROW.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) July 11, 1864.
The saddest and most discouraging event which we encounter in our humble efforts for human liberty are to be found in the treachery and abandonment of our cause by our chosen and trusted leaders. We remember with sorrow, since the movement for such instances of partial infidelity, and some of the entire abandonment of our fundamental principles. And now in this hour of peril, one of our most noble, and trusted, and, as we fondly believed, heroic and unselfish champions has deserted. A hard word and harder still on account of its truth. The John C. FREMONT of today is not the Pathfinder, is not the Leader whom we followed in '66 almost to victory—is not the man whose photograph is among the treasures of our little library in dear old Massachusetts—is not the man whose name we joyfully, hopefully pray to our dear boy, with the earnest prayer that our child might be worthy to bear his name. We can change the name of our boy. Would that God, by his redeeming power, would restore and return us to the late John C. Fremont!

THE VAGANCY FILLED.

SOUTH BRITAIN, July 10, 1864.

MR. WALLCUT:—I notice in the last issue of the Liberator, a communication from Mr. Richard T. Black, of firm Buck Brother, Worcester, in which he discloses that his paper for reasons therein set forth, and will "look elsewhere for a paper more congenial to his (his) views." Nobody, of course, will give the right of Mr. B. to gratify his taste in his choice of a newspaper; but I regret for his own sake, as well as for the sake of the Anti-Slavery cause, the loss of a single subscriber, in times "that try men's souls." I propose to remedy the matter as best I can, by re-issuing you the enclosed greenback, (\$5.) for an additional copy of the old, tried, and time-honored sheet, that has repaid me an hundred fold for all I have ever invested in it these nearly thirty years that I have been a subscriber. Please commence with the number next after the close of Mr. B.'s subscription. Close up the ranks, and onward!

Yours, while slavery lasts, S. DIER.

LETTER FROM A COLORED PRIVATE.

MORRIS ISLAND, (S. C.) June 26, 1864.

SIR:—I thought you might be pleased to know that your principles were strongly represented in the detachment that loaded the 100 pound Parrot gun, that threw the first three shells at Charleston city, S. C. No. 1 was a strong Abolitionist, and has worked well among the soldiers. This man put the loads into the gun. No. 2 is now in favor of emancipation, though he don't think the negro his equal. No. 3 was an old emancipationist, years ago, and always took your paper; and the gunner is a Republican. The other members seem to go with the strongest party, but believe in extirpating slavery from the land at the present time.

Some of the Boston papers say that Fort Sumter has guns which annoy the fleet and the camps on this island. This is a mistake. It has not sent a shot from its shattered walls since last August, with the exception of a few grape and canister thrown at the picket boats and storming party, from a 12 pound howitzer. It cannot reach Fort Putnam with its, which is the nearest point.

The rebels have some thirty batteries on James' and Sullivan's Islands, mounting about 75 guns. From these they throw shot and shell at us, now and then, but not very often, as our men are, by the best gunners, (notwithstanding they are mortals,) and taken them back with interest. Charleston might be taken without a great loss of life at the present time. I don't think there are more than one thousand men on James' Island just now.

Of course some men, who have not been brought up under the emanating influence of slavery and war, and who have not breathed the pestilential air of Washington too long to be honest, to lead our army and navy in this Southern Desert now!

I have been in this State almost three years, during which time I have seen many a golden moment slip away, I think, and many a blunder made. Carelessness, and a lack of principle.

I am a private, and have no right to express an opinion, or to think; therefore you will excuse this, if you think it impertinent; and believe me your friend, while you demand freedom for all, throughout the land.

Extract from a letter from Dr. DANIEL MASS, dated Folly Island, (S. C.)—

"The papers and patriots speak of the necessity of retrenching the expenses of this war, and yet forget one vast expense and loss which will be the first thought of,—WHISKEY. It is an evil of horrid magnitude to the army. I cannot tell the money cost; but I have several regiments which consumed in each regiment several barrels each month. I suppose not all regiments do the same. The aggregate cost for a year, at the present price of whiskey, must be immense. But this is the smallest part of the loss. As soldiers innumerable, involving loss of life and (I believe) loss of arms, occur from its use. Several officers have been cast hence for drunkenness on the field of battle, and some have been accused of being the cause of the loss of the battle by their misconduct—being drunk. Some of these accusations, at least, are doubtless true. There are ten officers drunk when one is court-martialed for the offence. The men are demoralized and made unfit for duty by its use. It is customary to give each of the pickets a gill of whiskey every day. It is a gill of death; it never does good—always injures. Please publish the testimony of the one hundred physicians of Boston (some thirty odd years ago) on this subject. All our teamsters, &c. are drinkers, and vast amounts of public property are destroyed by this means. I saw, last week, a fine team of horses backed off from the wharf at Pawnee Landing, and drowned. Whiskey did it! It is doing horrible things. Stop it!"

A REMARKABLE ANNOUNCEMENT.

MR. GARRISON:—DEAR SIR—What should you say to the statement made (or made, as it was made) by Dr. Stebbins, that "ministers, as a class, made by Dr. Stebbins, the doom that must fall upon forewarned and announced" the doom that must fall upon our nation for its great injustice to the African race? As he says, the ministers have been "repaying the law of righteousness to the sin of this nation for the last thirty years." I conclude that it must have been indulging in a sleep more profound than that of Rip Van Winkle himself. Will you assist in waking me to a sense of the true state of things, and let me know on whose ministrations I could have so trusted, had I been wide awake to listen to a needed, had I been wide awake to listen to a needed, had I been wide awake to

A NOVEL NEWSPAPER.

CARROLLTON, (La.) June 6, 1864.

Dear Sir:—I enclose you a newspaper gotten up entirely by colored soldiers. The commander of the regiment (Col. Vail) has a small press and a collection of type for printing regimental orders. The soldiers, assisted by a few white officers, got up this paper, and printed it in the regiment with the type and press that I mentioned above. This explains the variety of type used. It also shows the inclination of colored people; when they have a chance, of using their own hands in freedom. I take the liberty of sending you this paper, knowing that all evidence in favor of this down-trodden race is gratifying to you. My kind regards to the N. H. Vols. He has had a hard time of it since coming from the South, and now he has to go to the front. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line.

LETTER FROM THE ARCH OF THE POTOMAC.

NEAR PETERSBURG, June 30.

To the Editor of The Boston Journal:—I have been out this forenoon surveying the line of works taken by the 18th corps on the night of the 26th. While there, a veteran soldier came up, looked at the redoubt by the Dunn house, first at the ditch ten feet deep, then at the glacis, rampart, then at the plain over which for a mile the line moved to the attack, then by eighteen pieces of rebel artillery. "I don't see how they did it," was his remark. It was a free and frank expression made by one who has seen hard fighting. Neither do I see how it was done. Gen. H. H. Johnson has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line.

EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND.

The loyal residents of Elkton, Maryland, a place that has been ridden of its Scotch inhabitants, had a very happy and patriotic gathering on the Fourth of July in honor of the day of emancipation in Maryland.

The celebration of yesterday took place in McCullough's woods, which spread their grateful shade a short distance north of Elkton. Dinner was served on a table of oak, in which the guests were seated. The meeting was called to order, front seats being reserved for ladies. The proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Curtis, who addressed the Throne of Grace. The orator of the day was A. B. Sloaner, Esq. In the course of his eloquent oration he said:—Emancipationists of Maryland! You have done well in this day for the interesting freedom in which you are engaged. It argues well for your loyalty, and also for the practical love in which you hold the principles of universal freedom, that you have selected the birthday of American Independence, a day which, in common with the rest of the world, you have made sacred in the hearts of the American people. Maryland Emancipationists! there is something in your name that I like, for it goes to my heart. It speaks to me of nothing narrow or sectional in your organization. It tells me of your devotion to the Union and the blessed free labor system of the loyal North, which at last has so justly won the admiration of the masses of your people. It assures me that your bright star shall never be torn from our glorious national banner; that you will ever be found on the side of the Constitution and the principles of the Union. (Great applause.) This ensign of human liberty which is now leading our brave boys to victory in support of the national authority, will like those of universal freedom, which you, as a people of a State, are now about giving new birth to in the Constitution of your Commonwealth, and for which principle all the people of the loyal States are now fighting in all the battle-fields and on every shore of the globe, is freedom, is freedom, is freedom. (Great applause.) Emancipationists in Maryland! friends of radical freedom in America! allow me, before I take my seat, to beseech you not to forget the teachings of the lessons of this hour, and guide yourselves in obedience to the necessities of the extent of the war, so that in sincerity and in truth you can ever say— "Forever God that stands fast, Where breathes the foe but falls before us; With freedom's soil beneath our feet, And freedom's banner waving o'er us."

THE McCLINTOCK FIGHT.

There are many localities in the world famous for their echoes, but no locality is so famous as that of the McClinton fight.

There are many localities in the world famous for their echoes, but no locality is so famous as that of the McClinton fight. The fight took place on Monday night of last week. John Cochrane, the Cleveland nominee for Vice-President, who was present on the occasion, and calling "bravely," said to the crowd, for the express purpose of breaking the ice, "I don't see how they did it." The fight was a free and frank expression made by one who has seen hard fighting. Neither do I see how it was done. Gen. H. H. Johnson has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line. He is a good soldier, and has been in the front of the line.

GEN. LEE'S LAND.

The Washington Republican has a happy thought which has occurred to the Secretary of War, which is a very pleasant one.

First, he ordered Col. Green to organize the Freedmen's Village, for the protection of the black man and his family, upon the Arlington estate, belonging to the rebel Gen. Lee. Secondly, he has himself recently selected a site upon the same estate for a national cemetery for the burial of loyal soldiers who die in Virginia from wounds inflicted by Lee's orders. Gen. Meigs has been directed to supervise the laying out of the grounds. How appropriate that Lee's estate should be dedicated to two such noble purposes—the free living black man whom Lee would enslave, and the bodies of the dead soldiers whom Lee has killed in a wicked cause. Let this record stand to the everlasting credit of Secretary Stanton. We cheerfully award it.

GEORGE SUMNER ALLEN.

Lowell, July 11, 1864.

Dear Sir:—Our friends, Mr. Nathaniel Allen and wife, desire me to communicate for the information of our friends the end of the intelligence of the death of their son, GEORGE SUMNER ALLEN. He was wounded in the battle of Coal Harbor, near Bethesda Church, on the 30th of May last, and died the 31st. They have just received correct accounts from the only surviving officer in the company, having been all this time in most agonizing suspense. They have another son, who has been wounded, but recovered, and returned to the scene of warfare, to be married, they fear, like the other. This is this terribly cruel war drinking up the best blood of the nation, and still crying, "Give, give!" Mr. Allen was one of our earliest abolitionists, when "side with truth, though noble, was only to share her wreathed crest," and subject one's self to all sorts of unscrupulous abuse and reproachful scandal. They have apparently spent the best part of their lives in the most self-sacrificing devotion to the moral warfare against slavery; and who shall say it was their duty to make this last great sacrifice of their noble and almost idolized son to the demons of Slavery and War? Yours, &c., SARAH CLAY.

THE TRUE TEMPERANCE PLATFORM.

BY R. T. TRALL, M. D.

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DRINKING IN MODERATION.

SOUTHINGTON, July 5, 1864.

Dear Sir:—I do not mean to say anything with anything in the Liberator, outside of the Refuge of Oppression, to which it seems proper to urge an objection on your part. I wish to enter my protest against a sentiment put forth by your correspondent "Nathan," in the Liberator of July 3rd. Here follows a portion of the objectionable passage:—"The latest madman in us is temperance. If the frog man really meant what his language signifies, this is indeed taking a dangerous bull by the horns, and will bring down the wrath of heaven upon his head. It is not, after all, the now state performance of the ass of total abstinence, braying about in the skin of the lion virtue of temperance."

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COMMENTS.

BY HAYARD TAYLOR. AT ST. PETERSBURG, AUG. 11, 1862.

Dear me, oh Fatherland, nor hear unweeding, When love and fear conmingled tell the cry: In all thy children's wounds thyself art bleeding—Thou dar'st not die.

PHRENOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF GEORGE THOMPSON.

Given by L. N. FOWLER, of New York, while in Glasgow, (Scotland,) in April, 1863.

GEORGE THOMPSON—You have naturally a fine tone of organization, are very ardent, emotional, and susceptible of a high degree of culture; also a strong and vigorous constitution, favorable for the enjoyment of health and long life, but, in consequence of long, severe and continued mental labor, you may have injured or impaired its tone.

THE LIBERATOR.

This is a prophetic gift, and the more harmoniously your mental and physical powers are blended, the clearer are your perceptions. The central portion of your brain, from the root of the nose to the occipital spinal, is well developed, which gives great power to the intuitive qualities of mind.

WEISS'S LIFE OF THEODORE PARKER.

[From the Christian Examiner for July.]

THEODORE PARKER was an American of Americans. No man in the nation was more penetrated with the idea of the national life; none was either more intrepid and generous, or more efficient in its propagation.

In this effort, again, to establish all modern life on a basis of sacred and universal truth, he is more and more confronted by one great enemy, African slavery in America. His contest with this became to him a symbol of the whole struggle.

territory not within the boundaries of the original thirteen States, and denounced it as a fatal breach of the original compact of the Constitution.

ing as its inevitable fruits, though he had not expected to live to see them ripen. The part which he took in the Fremont campaign is not yet forgotten, and his interest was as great, though his active participation was less, in that which followed the election of Mr. Lincoln.

HOME-NEWS IN BATTLE-TIME.

Dying! Along the trodden bloody field, Along the field where still the tide of battle ran, The Night came down with flaming spear and shield.

SAFE.

Ah, she was not an angel to adore, She was not perfect—she was only this: A woman to be prattled to, to kiss,

THE LATE JOSIAH QUINCY, SEN.

The New York Tribune, of the 4th inst., contains a very full and highly interesting biographical sketch of the late venerable JOSIAH QUINCY, Sen. of Boston, from which we take the following extracts:

COLORED SCHOOLS IN NASHVILLE.

There are a number of colored schools in Nashville, in a flourishing condition. They were first started, great efforts were made to erect them; but they were destroyed by fire.

GREENVILLE, KY., June 19, 1864.

DEAR SIR: The bearer of this, John Brown, with bears my name, will volunteer as a soldier in your army. This letter is to state that I have raised his name as a badge of honor.

MONITOR.

A negro cook on one of the river boats was seen by a white man, who was on board, and who immediately seized the unhappy fellow, and immediately seized the unhappy fellow, and immediately seized the unhappy fellow.

HOW BESIDE ALL WATERS.

O, could our hearts see but view, Our hearts but feel, right, What faith, and love, and hope can do, By their celestial might.

MR. PARKER AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

Parker would apply his doctrine alike to past and present, alike to belief and action, alike to church and state, or else must forfeit the total significance of his life.

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