THE LIBERATOR EVERY PRIDAY MORNING,

RIEGTON STREET, ROOM No. ERT.F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

W LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1863.

Refuge of Oppression.

HE NEW YORK HERALD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE LATE RIOT IN THAT CITY.

nner in which that pre-eminently saturite he New York Herald, described the fate ew York Herald, described the late that city, may be seen by the following ik how the rufflans are described!

stars now the fundamental sections that a very superior of the neighborhood, and when the names of rips were read, there seemed to be a genuination to resist the law. There was no resion tolerated on the subject. Whoever the draft seemed to be regarded as an enterprise of the subject of the

he people, or at the people, or at the people, or at the people, or at the published the list of over twelve hundred help being the people of fortune and a man blindultipendent of their still—and in hundreds of a their knowledge—enrolled as soldiers, eagle seemed to forget their prayers and the aspect attached to the Sabbath. Fiety and a perint people with the people of their prayers and the aspect attached to the Sabbath. Fiety and a perint people of their prayers and the aspect attached to the Sabbath. Fiety and a perint people of their prayers and the aspect attached to the Sabbath. Fiety and a perint people of the peop

rible scenes in the district and throughosed peaceably. We have reason to beorganization was then formed to resist
but when Monday came—the weekly
people—when labor is merely started,
nerally abstained from work. The day
developments of no ordinary character,
a law—which might become the signal
else where—was to become practical,
one of toil entered their workshops, and,
oncerted arrangement, a concourse of
thousand, armed with various weapons,
es, pieces of steel, bars of iron, and cart
ared, and proceeded to patrol the city.
Il known that the draft was to be conlonday moraing, in the Ninth district
quents of the throng were not anticipatures were taken to overcome them by

nly and with success temporarily of power, and applied the torch

×:

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. W. D. KELLEY,

The corner posses was soon overtice down species. The Captain, however, heard of the most properly and the post of the most design to the inflammable natural so from stories displayed the control of the most properly and the post of the most design to the most design to the inflammable natural so from stories displayed the post of the most design to the inflammable natural so from stories displayed the post of the most design the most design to the inflammable natural so from stories displayed the most design to the inflammable natural so from stories displayed the most design the mo

The people of the United States have decreed justice; the Almighty has answered them with victory. (Applause.) Month after month we have struggled with rebellion in arms; month after month, through more than two years of war, have waited for decisive victory in the East. In vain! Why? We had wealth and strength, numbers and power, intellect and energy, in the North. No one questions the heroism of the men we have sent into the field; men represented by that one who, left dying on a batttle-field of the West, was asked by a friend, "Do you regret?" answerd. "No; !—we all are willing that our bodies should form the bridges and ladders that the coming thousands may great and adders that the coming thousands may great and

bostly, without pay, without payles and the promise form resided to the belonguered capital, and were first in their offers of life or of death. (Cheers and application, and that is is Constitutional to use they would purchase such recovering that their Southern brethream are in rebellion, and that is is Constitutional to use them as chance of promotion. History will write the write them as the complete would not oppose the warm of the promotion of the promotion. History will write the write them as the complete would not the promotion of the promot

SPEECH OF MISS ANNA E. DIOKINSON. PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S SECOND EPISTLE TO THE COPPERHEADS.

When President Lincoln wrote his letter to the

est possible semblance of an excuse aged the Copperheads to think he the wrong, and will not dare to int should he return defiantly to Ohio,

VALLANDIGHAM'S SCHEME.

COPPERHEADS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. Muchal

The World, in its comments on this act, at the time of its passage, said:—"With this tremendous power over the liberty of every citizen whom he may suspect, or whom he may choose to imprison without suspecting, the President is as absolute a despot as the Sultan of Turkey. All the guarantees of liberty are briken down; we all lie at the feet of one man, dependent on his caprice for every hour's exemption from a bastile." Very good; who is to blame? Who is it that has forced upon us this abridgment of our liberties? It is the World and its fellow-traitors that have made this extreme measure necessary; and now the whole country has to pay the penalty which these infamous Copperhead wretches have brought upon us. Why blame the President for making these arrests? He is bound to do it by his oath, which compels him to execute the laws. Why do Pierce and Seymour leave out of sight this act of Congress, and denounce the President, as if he were the usurper of dictatorial power? It is true that the power is an enormous one; it is true that it. is repugnant to the normal condition of the Republic: it is true that with it, for the time being, the Government is able to put down domestic enemies with an iron hand; and this is just the power which we want the Government to have; it is just the power schick the founders of the Republic feed uncomfortable under the operation of this constitution. We are glad to find that Messrs. Pierce, Wood, Vallandigham, and the editors of the World, feel uncomfortable under the operation of this constitutional power of the nation to protect itself. Gov. Seymour is equally explicit in charging the Government with violating the Constitution by making arrests:—

"I sak iff it is not an evidence of weakness, defeat The World, in its comments on this act, at the time of its .passage, said: — With this tremendous

"I ask if it is not an evidence of weakness, defeat and discomfuture, when, in the presence of armed rebellion, the administration is compelled to hold that the very charter by which it holds its power has ceased to have a power that can protect a citizen in his rights? . Personal rights and personal fiberties suspended during our revolutionary conteat? You have heard the words of that Declaration of Independence, which said that men have a right to trial by jury; that the military authorkies should-never be exalted above the civil jurisdiction; that men should not be transported abroad for trial (tremendous applause); that they should have all the rights and privileges of English jurispradence and English law...
This doctrine of the suspension of the Constitution, the doctrine of the suspension of the Constitution, the doctrine of the suspension of the Constitution, (Tremendous applause.)

Who is it that teaches this doctrine of the suspen who is it has teaches this doctrine of the suspension of the Constitution and laws? It is not the
President—it is Gov. Seymour. He defies the act of
Congress; he tramples it in the dust. He declares
that which the Constitution makes the supreme law
of the land to be no law, but to be "unjust and treasensable." Is it the perceptative of Gov. Seymour to
decide on the constitutionality of the acts of Congrees? Is he the Supreme Court? Hear him
threaten:—

" Is it not revolution which you are thus when you say that our persons may be rightfo seized, our property confiscated, our homes entere Remember this, that the bloody and treatonable and olutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclain by a mob as well as by a government. (Applause.)

It is well to keep in mind the circumstances under which the Governor of New-York thus denounced an express provision of the Constitution, and the law of Congress made in pursuance thereof. It was shill, the terrible struggle in Pennsylvania was supposed to be yet pending, and when our prospects were so dark that the Governor said he did not come before his audience "as one animated by expected victories": it was while the fate of our armies at Vicksburg and Port Hudson hung dubious in the scale: it was while incendiary placards in fayor of the South were being scattered through the city, with simultaneous reports of an intended conspiracy to seize the New-York arsenal on the evening of our national anniversary, establish a Provisional Government, and offer the dictatorship to McClellan! Had, Meade experienced a defeat, there is little don't the programme would have been carried out to the letter. Gov. Seymour takes great credit to himself for having forwarded troops to to McCletian! Had Meade experienced a defeat, there is little doubt the programme would have been carried out to the letter. Gov. Seymour takes great credit to himself for having forwarded troops to succor Pennsylvania in her distress, but he can make half an hour's speech without a single syllable of reproach or blame for the rebels or their cause. His manesake, Thomas H. Seymour, the Copperhead ex-Governor of Connecticut, followed him with a speech exonerating the South from the guilt of bringing on the war, and declaring that "we could not compel States to remain in the Union by force of arms."

compel States to remain in the Union by force of arms."

And yet these men complain bitterly that they are charged with disloyalty. In the trying hour of the nation's agony, when our very existence depends on the success of our arms, they are using every effort to show that the South is right, and the North wrong; that we cannot and ought not to conquer. Says President Pierce:—

"My judgment compels me to rely upon moral orce, and not upon any of the coercive instrumentalities military power. We have seen, in the experience of military power. We have seen, in the experience of the last two years, how futile are all our efforts to maintain the Union by force of arms; but year had war been carried on by us successfully, the ruinous result would exhibit its utter impracticability for the attainment of the desired end. Through peacyful agencies, and through suck agencies alone, can we hope to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic transpullity, etc. I speak of the war as fruit less; for it is clear that, prosecuted upon the basis of the proclamations of September 22d and September 24th, 1852, prosecuted as I must understand those proclamations, to say nothing of the kindred brood which has followed, upon the theory of emancipation, devastation, subjugation, it cannot fail to be fruitless in every thing except the harvest of woe which it is now riponing for what was once the peerless republic."

possions lain to the service of the Revolution, our fathers guaranteed to the tory plotters in their midst the same privileges of free speech, free action, inviolate homes, and trial by jury, that would have been allowed them in time of peace. A coal of tar and feathers, and an uncervenonious expalsion to the enemy's lines, was the very midsest reatment a coppethead might expect in those days. Having no special law upon the subject, the patriot of Seventy-Six were a law to themselves; but now in our more advanced civilization, we wisely entrest these cases of discipline to the President, rather than to local committees. The tar and feathers, and the unconfortable method of transportation on a rail, we have dispensed with: but we must missit or than to local committees. The tar and feathers, and the unconfortable method of transportation on a rail, we have dispensed with: but we must insist on retaining the main feature of the discipline, which is the right to remove these dangerous plotters from our midst, as the President has removed Vallandigham, until their opportunity for mischief is past.—American Baptist.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

It is to the credit of human nature that great wickedness seems always incredible. The columns of the daily papers have been crowded for six days with the atrocious cruelties and the savage excesses of the last week—cruelties and excesses unexampled in the history of riots, with the exception, possibly, of those of the first French Revolution—and yet the people find it hard to believe that these are not gross exaggerations. The Northern American character, modified and enervated by half a century of peace and prosperity, cannot be made to comprehend that low type of the race which has been produced in another country by the combined influence of a faith that first enchains and then darkens the human mind, a tyranical government, the most abject poverty, and a vicious system of in-and-in the brutal passions and instincts of man in the first savage state, with some vague intelligence of the material strength of civilization and power to use it, but without any of the higher intellectual and moral qualities which belong to the age. It is this class, made fat and strong upon American food, and licentious under American liberty, that broke all bounds ten days ago, and committed deeds of cruelty over which a Sloux would have screamed with delight. But why they should have broken bounds, why they should have thus suddenly deffed the restraints of law at this particular moment, is the question that really needs to be answered, and the only rational solution of which people are even slower to accept than the relations of the shocking inhumanity of the rioters. Nevertheless, the truth must be told fearlessly, and well for the people. If they believe it in season.

The riots of last week were not the mere passion

An entous or issue were more not tone mere passionate outbreak of a popular discontent, but the first act of an attempted revolution. The rioters themselves have been excited by the Copperhead press and Copperhead speeches, and still more by diligent and numerous emissaries visiting the haunts of vice, by discontent with the draft, and by that appeal which never fails with the viccious—the hatred of the rich. They only knew that at a certain time they were to rise—it might be on one pretext, it might be on another, but the draft was a convenient one at this moment. It was, of course, impossible to fix a limit to their excess, or to confine the torrent of their unbridled lust to a single channel. The first point was to create a riot, and to control it afterwards, if possible, into an organized revolution.

We are not, we beg our readers to understand, building up a theory or indulging in conjectures from which to draw plausible deductions. We are dealing in facts. The draft was a pretext for the riot; the riot was intended by the Peace party as a Northern revolution which should overthrow the Government, overawe the North, and compel it to accept such terms of peace from Jeff. Davis as he, under such circumstances, would consent to give us. Go back to the moment when Lee moved from the Rappabannock. The rebels knew-better than we did that Vickaburg and Port Hubson could hold out but a little longer; that Bragg must fall back before Rosecrans, incapable of doing anything better than escape shad disperse, if that should be possible; that Charleston would probably be ours on the first vigorous attack; that Mobile must soon follow; and that, all these events accomplished, for which a few weeks only were needed, the Southern rebelion would no longer have an existence, except in Lee's army. Some great, bold stroke alone could save the Confederacy, and if it is Northern friends were ever to help it, they must do so now or never. Lee broke camp, marched at hundred and fifty miles northward, and invaded Pennsylvania.

If the Northern peoper insurrections among themselves. And all this was to happen on the 4th of July, when this city was checkered with posters calling on the citizens to rise in rebellion against the Government, and Gov. Seymour was at the Cooper Institute with perhaps a fitting speech for such an occurrence, which he certainly did not liave for the actual occasion. The battle of Gettysburg discomposed the plans of the conspirators, and sent Lee flying back across the Potomac. Then came the news of the fall of Vicksburg. Clearly, the rebellion which was to ride the umphantly into power over the ruins of the Govern-ment and the necks of the people, stretching out the hand of good fellowship to Northern conspira-tors who had helped it at the right moment, was not culminating in triumph, but sinking in helpless-ness and disgrace. Could that which was meant to help it merely save it? A Northern revolution which was to help it to brilliant and final success, must now save it from utter destruction. It was the only hope of Southern rebellion and Northern copperfeadism.

densed trespectations of Especially and a special file was a freely the proclamations of Especially and Especially and the proclamations of Especially and Especial and Especially and Especial and Especial and Especial and Especial and Especial an

if we prepare for it; in the destruction of fernment, and all that will go with it, if we — New York Independent.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1863.

FIRST OF AUGUST!

Emancipation the only Safe and Just Policy. The 29th Anniversary of West India Emancipation

chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON,

on SATURDAY, August 1st; to which all are invited who desire that, hereafter, it may be in our power to celebrate the anniversary of a day which shall see every slave in the United States emancipated, and every root of slavery extripated from the American soil.

Come, all friends of liberty! Ald us in making this he most effective meeting for justice and for origin, support, motive, and end—Human SLAVERY.
Among the expected speakers are Wm. LLOYD GAR-RISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, F. B. SANBORN, THEODORE D. WELD, WM. WELLS BROWN,

and others. road, will leave the Depot, Kneeland Street, Be at 94, A. M. on that day. Leave Plymouth at A. M. Both trains will stop at usual way sta and at the Grove.

and at the Grove.

RETURNING, leave the Grove at 5½, P. M.

FARES—Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Nepon set, Quincy and Braintree, to the Grove and back, for adults, 50 cents; children, 25 cents.

Plymouth, Kingston, Plympton, and Halifax, to the Grove and back, half the usual rates.

Excursion tickets good on other trains.

In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Abington
Town Hall, near the Grove. all, near the Grove.

By order of the Managers,

EDMUND QUINCY, President.

R. F. WALLOUT, Rec. Sec.

GROVE. We have the pleasure of saying to all, who design being present at this meeting, that there is a prospect that our friends, Asa HUTCHINSON, wife and children will be researched. nd children, will be present, adding to the interest of he occasion by their cheering songs for Freedom. arge attendance, worthy of and believed will be present.

Mr. Heywood's Address. In publishing at his request, Mr. Heywood's Address on "The Wai Method of Peace," in the Liberator of the 17th inst. we purposely abstained from criticising its statements we purposely abstained from criticising its statements, deductions and conclusions, on the ground that, in the midst of the earthquake and whirlwhad of an unparalleled civil war, we deemed it an inopportune period to agitate the question of Non-Resistance. Our worthy correspondent, "H. H. B.," dissents from this opinion, and regards this as the very time for such an agitation; because, as he says, "the time to rebuke sin is while sin abounds." But we still believe with Soloand we are firm in the conviction already expr the doctrine as to give "aid and comiont" to tratiges and their copperhead sympathizers, at this particular crisis. That doctrine is as dear to us as ever; and the friendly solicitude of "H. H. B." as to our fidelity and consistency is duly appreciated.

As to the statement alleged by our friend "G. W. S." to have been made by Mr. Heywood, at Millord, that we had so far "fallen from grace" as to declare "that the President was in fault for not hanging Valudichem "if the week to be Mr. H. without explains.

digham," if it was left by Mr. H. without exp landigham," if it was left by Mr. H. without explana-tion, it did us flagrant injustice. That explanation abould have been that, orgains within the scope and on the plane of governmental action,—Mr. Vallandigham being, in our opinion, a traitor of the most malignant type,—the President, instead of sending him to the rebels, should have had him capitally executed. What this view of the case has to do with our Non-Resistance

ACHBISHOP HUGHES AND THE NEW YORK RIOT ERS. Referring to the very reprehensible address of Archbishop Hughes to the Irish rioters, whom he re-quested to assemble in front of his residence, in whose

CONDITIONS OF PEACE

Peace," when there is no pea-yous than those we read of a rews. In every Northern State love slavery and uphold the co-; and these are ready on all or

lican family can be conceded. No one particular of the immensely important transactions of the next teryears is so important as this.

This matter is well stated in an article in the Atlantic Monthly for August, entitled "Political Problems and Conditions of Peace." After quoting abundan authority for his doctrine from Wheaton, and Vatte

authority for his doctrine from Wheaton, and Vattel, and Chancellor Kent, the writer says:

"Our rights as beligerents are ample for our security in time to come. The Rebel States will not cesse to be enemies by being defeated and exhausted and disabled from continuing active hostilities. They have invoked the laws of war, and they must abide the decision of the tribunal to which they have any host war have have been as because the same and they must abide the decision of the tribunal to which they have appealed. We may hold them as exceise until they aubmit to such reasonable terms of peace as we may demand. Whether we shall require any indemnity for the vast expenditures and losses to which we have been subjected is a question of great magnitude; but it is of little importance compared with that of guarding against a recurrence of the Rebellon, by removing the course of it. It would be worse than madness to restore them to all their former rights under the government they have done their utmost to destroy, and at the ame imperpent them, to retain a system that would surely involve us or our children in another struggle of the same kind.

Slavery and freedom cannot permanently coexist under the same government. There is an inevitable, perpetual, irrepressible conflict between them. The present rebellion is but the culmination of this conflict one existing,—transferred from social and political life to the camp and the battle-field. If the new urena, ex have all the rights of belligerents in an international corr. Slavery has taken the aword; let it perish by the sword. If we spare it, its wickedness will be exceeded by our folly. As victors, the word conceder our right to demand, for our own future peace, as the only terms of restoration, not only the abolition of Slavery in all the Rebel States, but its prohibition of slavery in all the Rebel States, but its prohibition of slavery in all the Rebel States, but its prohibition of slavery in all the Rebel States, but its prohibition of slavery in all the Rebel S

rned by the error of our fathers against assuming lavery will dwindle and die of itself in a few

given an interesting account of some festivities at Bromley, to welcome Rev. J. Sella Martin, who has recently accepted a call to the pastorate of the Free recently accepted a call to the pastorate of the Free Christian Church at that place. The attendance was large, and the meeting enthusiastic. Rev. W. H. Bonner, Herbert Thompson, Eq., and many other of Mrs. Ellen Craft and her two youthful sons. Mr William Craft is now absent on an

New Music. We are indebted to Oliver Ditso

A Co., 27. Washington street, Boston, for the following pieces just published by that firm:—
Children's Toys. A set of twelve casy, melodious
and instructive pieces for the piano, by A. Baumbach.
Golden Shaver Tremolo, from the Piano Forte Album,
a selection of brilliant and fascinating gems by gmi-

Gatted from the Armorer of Names, grand romano-opera by M. W. Baife.

Onward Forever. Song by Ferdinand Gumbert.
The Miseries of Sneezing.
Words and Music 10
Ossian E. Dodge.
T'm Coming Home to Die. By the same author.

by A. Williams & Co. It contains its usual variety of interesting articles, of which the most prominent is one by Robert J. Walker, written from London, on "Loffernor Dayle and Parallella Parallella

aferenting—
me by Robert J. Walker, White"Jefferson Davis and Repudiation." Mr. Walker
fixes on Davis the stigma of Mississippi repudiation
in an elaborate argument, supported by abundant facts
an elaborate argument speaks of matters about
Ha closes with the ture. By Lieut. Egbert Pheips, U. S. A. 2. A. Leaves. By Mrs. M. W. Cook. 8. Across M. Mid-Winter. 4. Diary of Frances Kralsnaka. Sleeping Perl. 6. My Lost Darling. 7. Hyme, and Rhythm. Compiled and written M. W. Cook. 8. The Buccaneers of America.

Reiter from Hon. Robert J. Walker. 12. Evergrees Beauty. By Major Samuel H. Hurst. 18. Dying in the Hospital. By Mary E. Nealy, Louisville, Ky. Literary Notices. Editor's Table.

The Atlantic Monthly, for August, is received, with the following varied and attractive table of contents — I. An American in the House of Lords. By Francis Wayland, Jr. 2. Theodore Winthrop's Writings. By Charles Nordhoff. 3. Hilary. By Louis Agassiz. S. The White-Throated Sparrow. 9. Fleur-de-lis in Florida. By Francis By Rathmell Hawhorner. 7. The Geological Middle Ages, By Louis Agassiz. 8. The White-Throated Sparrow. 9. Fleur-de-lis in Florida. By Francis Parkman. 10. Seaward. 11. Side Giances at Harvard Class Day, By Gail Hamilton. 12. Love's Challenge. By T. W. Parsons. 18. Political Problems and Conditions of Peace. By Judge Woodbury Davis. Reviews and Literary Notices. Ticknor & Fields, Publishers.

LETTER.

-You ask me how we, who have hit

or remarks to tage omce and awars to support the constitution because we could not promise to do what we thought sin—return alaves to their masters, for in-stance, as required by the Constitution. Further than that, our effort to break the Union was only a means to an end. Our object was the ab-

Further than that, our effort to break the Union was only a means to an end. Our object was the aboiltion of slavery.

No man can forcee the future, or certainly tell even the immediate, much less the final, results of any measure. We must act on probabilities, and use those rightful means within our reach which seem most likely to end an evil perfectly, in the shortest time, and with the least harm. On this principle, ig the old times of peace, we labored to break the Union as the best and quickest way to end slavery.

Let me remind you that we never undervalued Union—never had any objection to Union—but only to a Union on pro-slavery conditions, one that supported and sirengthened slavery.

The diaunion we sought was one which should be begun by the North on principle, from conscientions objection to upholding slavery. Such a division of the Union would have given us a Nation in the North, united on high principle, able to defend itself, rigid against granting any pro-lavery advantage to its Southern neighbor; and the vicinity and example of such a North would have coöperated with the easential weakness of all slaveholding governments in finally sholishing slavery at the South. Such disminimust have been brought about, by a public opinion throughout the North adverse to slavery, and would have gouranteed one for the future. The agitation for such disminion, based on the idea that alvery is a sin, to be immediately repudiated at every cost, was the most direct and efficient way of educating the public to a stern anti-slavery principle. You see, therefore, that the aboiltion of slavery was our object, disunion our weapon—and our method of reach. ting the public to a stern anti-surery principal.

see, therefore, that the abolition of slavery was our object, disunion our weapon—and our method of reaching it was to convert the Nation, and create a strong anti-slavery public opinion.

We sought such disunion for the slave's sake, well knowing, all the time, how much of what his toil had fairly earned disunion would sacrifice, but convinced

fairly earned disunion would sacrifice, but convinced that, as things then stood, it was the quickest and shortest way to free him. We knew also that our plan would leave the slave to struggle up to freedom against a thousand obstacles, alone and unaided, yexed and hampered by a reluctant master; but that disadvantage was inevitable, and seemed no sufficient reason why we should forego the only method which respectively him any recedy and certain relief.

son why we should forego the only memora where promised him any speedy and certain relief.

We held that, for such reasons—the rights of the slave and the sin (for anti-slavery men) of upholdin; the Constitution—the North had the right of revolu-tion—the right to break the Union; and that such division would sooner end slavery than continuing under a Constitution which forbade the North, during seace, to interfere with the slave system of the South-ern States.

War came. The South began a war on the Na

converted North, though it would have killed slavery in the end, would have lost the slave his share in the Nation he helped to found, and would have left the slave, obstructed in his path to freedom by great obstacles, unpitied, unaided, vexed and hampered by an embittered master. Such disunton, too, would probably have helped to prolong slavery, seeing that such a North would have been willing to grant its pro-slavery neighbor many advantages, the re-capture of slaves, &c.—and the conflict of two such nationalities would have entailed perpetual war.

On the contrary, the first gun the South fired gave the Nation the constitutional right to abolish slavery wherever its flag floats, showed that such a measure

wherever its fing floats, showed that such a measure would inevitably be necessary, and that the Union must probably cease, or rest on the equal liberty of all

races.
In these circumstances, the Abolitic were not peace men, and had never asserted the sin-fulness of war, perceived that the war itself would produce an overwhelming national opinion adverse to slavery sooner than any other agency. The manifes-iation war mut make of the nature and designs of the Slave Power would inevitably make every Unionist Slave Power would inevitably make every

The need of the negro in the conflict would de orejudice against color more speedily than any of means could, and his presence in the army would the first step to civil equality. We saw that the preservation of the Union wo

efficiently protect the negro in his transition to perfect freedom, and that the Nation he helped to create owed

freedom, and that the Nation no nepper to create or whim this aid, which is of vast importance.

As things stood, therefore, since the war—

1st. The Union means liberty, and to save itself must free the blacks. To ophold it in this struggle for existence, is the readlest way to convert the nation into Abolitionists. One year of such war is worth,

2d. The Union protects the slave in his transition bilberty, and makes that passage speedy and easy. 8d. It saves him and ourselves all the benefits of a fationality which his toil and ours has carned in three

Perhaps all these benefits might have been gaine

reace, on which we had counted, has one danger. The constant sight of successful iniquity is as likely to dull the conscience as to waken it. We could not be certain that, is the struggle between right and interest, the triumph might not be, for a long while, on the recognition.

manence.

In a word, the slave's cause led us to dismine, when dismined seemed the only way within our reach to free him. Now we cling to the Union for the same reason. We can uphold it without dishonor—and it has become the attempts when a substitution of the same reason. We can uphold it without dishonor—and it has become the attempts waspon in the slave's behalf—the shortest path to his liberty.

The terms of the Constitution may still, for awhile, shut us out of office; but that is temporary. The spiritof the Union is liberty to all races and every individual. Without that, it must die.

The Union whose like we arrive to protect is not one settled, at peace, with a million slaves in its Border. States. But it is a nation in the throns of its birth, in its transition and forming state, with the right to free every slave in its limits, willing to free every save in its limits, willing to free every save in its limits, willing to free every save in the limits of the first of the region of the state of the state of the same reason.

While this necessity reats on it, while it agains to do this duty, we feel that our place is at its ride, it betrayed by its leaders, it ever settler down into means, the least, systematic toleration of elastery, it was us, as before, its foes.

You may say the results we expect from the we are not absolutely certain to follow. True. No say can be absolutely sure of the correctness of he least complete the control of the c norm. Doubless, the war may cease, and, by an reason and tricks of politicians, leave slavery since But I am as sure as I can be of anything, that also dred years hence, bistory, looking back on our en, all record that slavery received its death-blow from the rebellion underrangen in its behalf.

ebellion undertaken in its behalf.

Yours. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

July 21st, 1863.

WOMEN'S LOYAL LEAGUE ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE WOMEN'S LOTAL NATION,
LEAGUE, ROOM 20; COOPER INSTITUTE
NEW YORK, July 25, 1823
WM. LLOYD GARRISON:
MY DEAR FRIEND—Enclosed are copies of the

MY DEAR FRIEND-Enclosed are copies of the Pledge, Petitions, Letter of Instruction, and Inc. which the Women's Loyal National League is say ing among the people, so far as it can get the sens meet the cost. Already six thousand packers has been mailed, through the liberal and timely tuning tions of Gerrit Smith of Petersoro, and Schippa. Brothers of this city, of one hundred dollars and and John Jay, twenty-five dollars, together with the numerous amaller aums from friends equally sure and equally liberal, in proportion to their ability. To these few petitions, the women of the county are sending in most cheering promise of work in taining signatures. The rural districts, we have an own devise some plan to rouse the cities to edica action. Boston, surely, should take the initiality, she is ever proud to be named the first in the neighborhood.

reedom.

And, now that we hope and carnesily pray things. And, now that we hope and carnesily pray thany be the last time the people of this nation will be alled upon to earrol their names to ask Congress a pin freedom to the slave, let us all give our most smalthought, word and deed to the work. And testing thought, word and the control of the co past thirty years, to grant some pittance of the board freedom to the black man—now trust the builer of this work to the younger converts to the case; for they who are converted by the stern "light of events"—by the arguments of the bullet and the events "--by the arguments of the bellet ask is bayonet, put their trust alone in the var. The wer that opened their eyes they believe equal to the so compilationent of the entire work. They see nother the war, even, is the result of the unitrie, see crasing labors of those they have been west und the "do nothing Abolitionists." They, most of the, really believe "the day for debate and petting and have no faith in new nowal, the day passed," and have no faith in any power but that of the bullet. But the old standard-bearers of the case of freedom, who have fought the good light for quarter of a century, are surely the ones who in the last days will finish their faith by one more night appeal to the power of truth and justice to pred with the law-makers of the nation. he bullet. But the old standard-b

Before me are two remarkable pictures-one, Securiner Truth-Mrs. Stowe's "Lybian Sybil"-de journer Truth—arrs. Stower Lyona bym -a other, a Louisiana slave. The former, minu the fingers, chopped off by her cruel New York mater, the latter with bared back, glaring its comites a oused blood-cuts of the slave rand faces, telling the noble souls within.

There lives not the human being, were that end oman his mother, or that splendid man his fale, the could trust his or her and their children, and the dren's children's chance of escape from such high death, to the uncertain fates of war alone. He wait pray, and urge every other man and woman to limbs pray, and arge every other man an wasae-every other power of the nation, to precisin, is e-act, to decree, any and every man's claim to "pr-perty in man," forever null and void. No, no-est-tary power is not enough—added to it must be of law, positive Congressional enactment, that bearing slaves cannot breathe" where floats the fag of the

American Union.
The old Abolitionists, who know The old Abolitionists, who know the suble that by which Slavery clings to life, must now wat a the end, and more earnestly and effectively, if possible, than ever, to make sure that not the subject loophole be left in the statute law of the using through which the monster crime may wis led into the new Union that shall come, when he seed shall have done its bloody work.

I began with the purpose to ask you, Mr. Garson, to say the word of encouragement to you keep tried and faithful Liberator readers, and ask then have hold of the work of circulating Emancipuis httitions to Congress, now we have the hope that the

moth petition of millions of the best men and was of the nation will be the last ounce that shall ben't back of Slavery, and forever bury the frightful, has back of Slaver, and solventedion. Any salemy thing beyond the fear of resurrection. Any salemy word you can say to help us in our mighty min-taking will be most gratefully received by us, sale the poor and despised for whom you have so long at so faithfully labored.

Yours, ever gratefully, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Sec'y Women's L. N. Leope.

Most heartily do we respond to the appel nade by Miss Anthony in behalf of the Loya nen's National Association, and trust it will stim to universal activity in the procurement of significant to the Mammoth Petition alluded to. Let the resist go forth, inflexibly, for the total abolition of savor by the next Congress. [-Ed. Lib.

LADIES' LOYAL LEAGUE MEETING.

There was a very interesting and pleasant seeing of the ladies at the Loyal League at the Coper Institute on Friday, July 17th. Mrs. Bate serpled the chair. Miss Anthony and others address gress for the immediate abolition of Slavery—de cause of all our woe." The use of the balle not be bayonet in putting down Rebels and rioten does a preclude the necessity of petition, and now is the for the friends of Emancipation to bestir themsels to abut up every avenue that leads to a contradio of Slavery. The following resolutions were proceed by Mrs. S. E. Draper, and adopted by the seeing without a dissenting vote:

without a dissenting vote:

Whereas, our friends are from day to day accept nying their donations with this remark—"that loy set the time for debate and petitions past, that the year to the time for debate and petitions past, that the grow's future." Therefore,

Resolved, 1st. That while we fully agree with the in this, we feel that the events themselves have set unused and brought about by carried and promise norsal efforts, and that such efforts are by 30 means be now abandoned.

moral efforts, and that such efforts are by no means be now abandoned.

Resolved, also, That as the late rich in early have fully proved the dangers which streed the ord have fully proved the dangers which streed the ord in all States where his rights of classaship are set fully admitted, therefore we feel the necessity me fully admitted, therefore we feel the necessity me ing upon as still more forcibly, of using all the sea engineery in our power—if, so be, we may now her by Congress fully to grant, what we housely by Congress fully to grant, we are not not be to be a successful to the provide the sea of th

Bead at a week

July 6, for d

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you !-- by all erties; by all all your desir law; by all subterfuge, il rallying for enroll your mow, and you mow, and you mow, and you mow, and you in mass meet unitedly expought, but mompanies of for the Unitedays, in our

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and cruei and cruei bearlesses bearlesses bearlesses bearlesses de description de la constant de

frence less brave than slaves! More than k million hilte men have left comfortable homes, and jained the amies of the Union to save their country; cannot re leave ours, and swell the hosts of the Union, to are our liberties, vindicate our manhood, and deserve

rdom and a manly character by an appeal to the is ord. The day that has seen an ensiaved race in arms has, in all history, seen their last trial. We can say see that our last opportunity has come! If we are not lover in the scale of humanity than English-

Men of color! brouners and values and your lib-grat—by all your regard for God and humanity; by all your desire for clitzenship and equality before the law; by all your love for the country—stop at no subterlay, listen to nothing that shall deter you from nilying for the army. Come forward, and at once

companies of eighty men each, of colored volunteer for the United States service, within the next ter days, in our own city of Philadelphia."

PUBLICAN CONGRESS. To the Editor of the Liberator:—

More than a month ago, I received a letter from George W. Julian, member of Congress from Indiana requesting me to make a statement of facts, corrective

preventive of erroneous impressions from what I Republican Congress, in relation to the Fugitive Slav

Republican Congress, in relation to the Fugitive Slave law. In addition to stating that he "despinese" that law as much as I do, and that he voted against its en-actment in 1850, friend Julian states that, at an early pried in this Republican Congress, he introduced a bill for the repeal of that infamous and atrocious en

etment; and that when it had been referred to th states; and that when it had been reterred to the Justiary Committee, he moved a resolution instructing the Committee to report a bill for its repeal. He then refers me to "Compressional Globe, part III, 2d which 57th Congress, page 2623," where to find the result of the present of the pres

Suffer me also to say, I read, at the time, as repor el in the New York Daily Tribune, George W. Julian's anti-slavery speech, delivered in the last session of

anisharety speech, delivered in the last session or that delinquent Congress of sham-republicans — a speech the production of heart and brains, such as if we could have a whole Congress furnished with, there weld be some foundation on which to rest hope for the aution.

ORSON S. MURRAY.

LINCOLN'S LAST.

The President has made proclamation for "national thanksgiving, praise and prayer." Did ever feeble instrumentality, foolishly folsted into place requiring thereise of power, come so far short of comprehending

sher ear open to prayers from Richm "invoking His Holy Spirit to subdu

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., Ohio, July 10th, 1863.

To the Editor of the Liberator :-

Red at a Meeting mean of Colored Enlistments.

July 6, for the promotion of Colored Enlistments.

Me of Color, to Arms! Now or New?! This was golen moment. The Government of the United in the golen moment. The Government of the United States all for every able bodied colored man to enter states all for every able to died colored man to enter the states of liberty and the Union. A new era sit, the battles of liberty and the Union. A new era sit, the battles of liberty and the Union. A new era the instance of slavery, outrage, and wrong; our manked heren of slavery, outrage, and wrong; our manked word, our spirits crushed, and the hopes of the state overd, our spirits crushed, and the hopes of the state of the whole sapect of our relations to the liberty in the whole sapect of our relations to the state with the whole sapect of our relations to the state with the whole sapect of our battle liberty is the whole sapect of our brittle with the state liberty; if we low early the free in this land; if we see our country; if we love our families, our children,

and or the East, who, but he neares to 'treatong and Gettyburg', have added fresh laurels to their Imperishable fame.

Not alone for his country's honor, not for empire, mot for conquest, not alone for the crushing of refellon, is the African's blade unsheathed. He fights for the honor and sannhood of his race, for institution, and freedom. When her see for of swrong yet unarreport, shall berre discussed of fame, when thirst for justice and after the blood already kindle her seed to be successed the seed of the seed of swrong yet unarreport, shall berre disme of freedom, how is treatly kindle to be seen and fire the blood already kindle the best of the seed your answer in the bloody battles of the Revolution, where negro soldiers hore a part so noble that Gen. Washington publicly, and at the head of his army, scknowledged their gallantry. Remember the honor paid by Gen. Jackson to the heroic regiment of colored men who aided in the defence of New Orleans. Let the battles on the Atlantic coast and the storning of forts on the Missiappi answer. Their bravery recalls the memory of the world-renowned battle of Marathon, in which one-tent of those who fougle and won imperishable honor were slaves "unchained from the doorposts of their masters."

Will the colored men respond to the invitation of the government?

They are now springing up, like dragon's teeth, from the soil into which they have been crushed.

quents, to the benefit of being known as an exception to the rule. Doubtless there are others deserving, in tome degree, to be known as exceptions. But they

to, the chair. Mr. Conway enlisted the attention and by the delivery of a very argumentative and convincing the above are open to prayer from Rehmond—think of invoking illis Boly Spirit to subdue the anger with hap produced and so long sustained a needless and cruel robellion." I From the brainlessness and the sutterance, where the success controlling one army and our navy for the substantial seast controlling one army and our navy for the substantial seast and cruel robellion." I produced "by a specific and cruel robellion," in produced "by a specific and cruel robellion," and the specific and cruel robellion, and the specific and the specific

while the presidential seat, aimed South, or aimed Such Moral States and cruel rebellion"! As if we had an in head than a war coming by natural sequence, the seat of the seat

?" With brightened faces, and some raising wounded arms or hands, all said, "Oh yes, yet sang out, "Oh, never give it up, till the lebe dead," or "the last brother breaks is," or, "if all our people get their freedom,

liter of the Boston Journal:
storming of Fort Wagner on the night
July 18, 1863, the 54th Massachusetts le
It. The fight was of a "hand to hand" et
at the same time that the guns from Fo
and Cummings Point were pouring shot an
crossfire" at a terrible rate upon our brav

TE COL. ROBERT G. SHAW.

THE MERCHANTS' RELIEF COMMITTEE

burg was burned resterday morning by incendiaries.

CINCINATY, July 25. Fourteen inundred more of the property of the present state of the property of the dead rioters, for the purpose of avoiding detection, have procured, by means of a fee, burist certificates from a certain class of medical practitioners, setting forth that the deceased came to his death from natural causes.

The This was the process of the purpose of avoiding detection, have procured, by means of a fee, burist certificates from a certain class of medical practitioners, setting forth that the deceased came to his death from natural causes.

The This was the process of the purpose of avoiding the process of the proc THE MERCHASTE' RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Merchants' Relief Committee for Suffering a Colored People, Depot, No. 360 Fourth arrest.

New York, July 24, 1863.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Merchants, for the relief of suffering colored people, held the morning, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, It has come to our knowledge that many parties heretofore employing colored men and women are now declining their further employagent, from fear of molestation by the mob: therefore, resolved, That merchants, warehousemen, transport companies, and others are respectfully urged to employ colored men as heretofore, and are requested to rely upon the public antherities for protection. Received, further, That all such cases he reported to the Board.

Received, That responsible persons residing out of town, knowing of colored refigees from this city their neighborhood, he requested to report them to the Board.

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Received and the responsible persons residing out of town knowing of colored refigees from this city there are the provided to the B

A DEMOCRAT'S OFFICE. We have not always agreed with the venerable Daniel S. Dickinson, but we agree with him exactly in his opinion of Governor Seymour. He said, at Genèsee, (N. Y.,) a faw did not any that be felt his State to be dispraced when his opinion of the did not any that be felt his State to be dispraced when his opinior of the State. From the Chief Executive to a high platein of the State to be dispraced when high opiniors of the State, from the Chief Executive to a high platein of the State to a mod it walled and deprecently imaginary, instead of pasting them down with a strong large, and the product of the state of the Sta

CHARLESTON MAY BE CAPTURED.

he first boat from New Orients.
A large crowd of merchants and other citisens greeten her arrival, and a salate was fired in honor of the opening of the Mississippi river.
The steamer Albert Ferce sailed this evening for the Coleans with a large load of private freight and the Orleans with a large load of private freight and the Orleans with a large load of private freight and the Orleans with a large load of private freight and the Orleans with a large load of private freight and the Orleans with a large load of private freight and the Orleans with a large load of private freight and the Orleans with a large load of th

A PICTURE FOR THE TIMES.

For mae by R. F. Wallicur, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, a well-arented photograph of a remarkable drawing by Mr. Carlron, one of our resident, arrites, called "Watch-Meeting, Dec. 31, 1822—Walting for the Hour"—representing a seene "way down South in Dizic," on last New Years Eve, where some thirty or forty slaves seem to be walting with great anxiety the hour which, by President Lincoln's preclamation of the 72s, of September, shall make them "henceforth and for ever."

we have a photographic likeness of a Louisiana elave's

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of fomen and Children. Reference.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Omes hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

EST PROF. NOYES WHEELER has located binself in few York City, and opened Rooms, No. 513 Sixth Avenue, there he intends to precise Medicine, in connection with threeology and Phytiology, make phrenological examin-tions, and heal the sick.

THE GREAT BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG

"WHAT I SAW IN TENNESSEE,"

BY EDMOND KIRKE.
THE NEW YORK SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE of THE NEW CIME DESILEMENT ADDRESS OF THE THE NEW CIME STATES OF THE THE NEW CIME STATES OF THE THE NEW CIME STATES OF THE NEW CIME STATES OF THE THE NEW CIME STATES

TERMS OF THE TRIBUNE.

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IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing, "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER
WOULD inform the public that she has removed from
333 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,
Where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.
She is sure to crite in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years as her in producing a new provision of his.
Her Research and the hast her study, and is mure there are non to exist ediffers from that of any one one her lip producing a new provision of heir.
Her Research differs from that of any one one, being the contract of the contract of the form of the contract of the contract of the form of the

saing the Instoratory as the second of the saint standing grow hair to its material standing grow hair to its material solor in sairly all costs. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the sounty. They are also peaked for her sustemers to take to finings with them, enough to last two or three years, as they other any they was get nothing abroad lite thest.

MADAME GARTRAUX PANNINTER.

No. 21 Winter Street, Rosson.

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A HYMN OF THE BATTLE.

BY REV. T. L. MARRIS. One ye lengthen the hours of the dying Night? Or chain the wings of the Morning Light? One ye seal the springs of the Ocean Dep? Or bind the Thunders in silent sleep? The San that rises, the Seas that flow, The Thunders of Heaven, all answer, "No!"

to be derive young Spring from the blossom he Barthquake still in its awful birth? Or the pulse of the Universe panse for thee?

The chaken Mountains, the Flowers that blow se of the Univ

Dan ye burn a Trath in the Martyr's fire?
Or chain a Thought in the designent dire?
Or stay the Soul, when it some away
In giorious life from the mostlering clay?
The Truth that liveth, the Thoughts that,
The Spirit ascending, all answer, "No!"

O. Priest! O. Despot! Your doom That speak;
For God is mighty as ye are weak;
Your Night and your Winter from earth must roll;
Your chains must melt from the limb and soul;

To laugh in soors from your shrines and towers;
But weak are ye, for the Taura is ours!
In areas, in gold, and in pride ye more,
But we are stronger, our sTREMOTE is LOVE.
Slay Truth and Love with the curse and blow?
The beautiful Heavens, they answer, "No!" The Winter Night of the world is past;

The Day of Humanity dawns at last;
The yell is roth from the Soul's calm eyes,
And Prophets, and Heroes, and Seers arise;
Their words and deeds like the thunders go;
Can ye stifle their volces? They answer, "No!" It is God who speaks in their words of might ! It is God who acts in their deeds of right! Lo! Eden waits, like a radiant brideo! Eden waits, like a radiant bride— umanity epringoth clate to her side; Can ye sever the twain who to Oneness fic Thevoice of Divinity answers, "No!"

> From the Church of England Magazine THE LOVED AND LOST.

The loved and lost!" why do we call them lost Because we miss them from our onward road?

Jod's unseen angel o'er our pathway crossed, Looked on us all, and, loving them the most, Btraightway reliaved them from life's weary lead. They are not lost; they are within the door That shuts out loss and every hurtful thing With angels bright, and loved ones gone bef

their Redeemer's presence evermore, And God himself their Lord, and Judge, and King. And this we call a "loss"! O selfish sorrow Of selfish hearts! O we of little faith! Let us look round, some argument to borrow,
Why we in patience should await the morrow,
That surely must succeed this night of death

Ay, look upon this dreary desert path— The thorns and thistles wheresoe'er we What trials and what tears, what wrongs and wrath
What struggles and what strife the journey hath!

Ask the poor sallor, when the wreck is done, Who with his treasures strove the shore to reach, While with the raging waves he battled on, Was it not joy, where every joy seemed gone, To see his loved ones landed on the beach?

A poor wayfarer, leading by the hand
A little child, had halted by the well
To wash from off her feet the clinging sand,
And tell the tired young boy of that bright land
Where, this long journey passed, they longed to dwell;

when, lo! the Lord, who many mansions had,
Drew near, and looked upon the suffering twain;
Then pitying spake, "Give me the little lad;
I a strength renewed, and glorious beauty clad,
I'll bring him with me when I come again."

Did she make answer selfashly and wrong—
"Nay, but the woes I feel he too must share"?
O rather, bursting into grateful song.
She went her way rejoicing, and made strong
To struggle on, since he was freed from care! We will do likewise; death hath made no breach In love and sympathy, in hope and trust; outward sign or sound our cars can reach, there's an inward, spiritual spe ets us still, though mortal tongues be d

In bids us do the work that they laid down—
Take up the song where they broke off the strain;
So journeying till we reach the heavenly town,
Where are laid up our treasures and our crown,
And our lost loved once will be found again.

From the New York Christian Inquire MEN OF COLOR.

BY J. C. HAGEN. of color, crushed and fallen. Rouse ye, rouse ye for the strife!

Hark! your better genius calling,

Strike for freedom! strike for life!

"Now's the day, and now's the hour,"
Looked for, hoped for, prayed for long;
Prove your manhood, prove your power;
Prove that God has made you strong.

Priends in thousands round you gather;
Heaven has sent them in your need;
And the Universal Father
Bids his faithful children speed.

Men of color! friends have risen
Where you looked for fees before;
Beourge and bloodbound, chain and prison
In the distance loom no more.

In our coming history's pages
Make yourselves an honored place;
From the blighting scoff of ages,
Men of color, free your race! " Now's the day, and now's the hour

Let none say the envied power From your grasp unheeded fell.

THE COPPERHEAD.

When the sweet roses, blushing red, in Eden their first fragrance shed, A traiter and a copperhead Came in disguise, Diffusing knowledge; and he said, "Es and be wise," And window shall anothis thine eyes." And wisdom shall anoint thine eyes.

And when the woman naw the tree,
So pleasant for the eye to see,
She ate forbidden fruit. Thus she
Hath men misled:

New 'neath the tree of Liberty
This copporhead

Appears in blue and white and red.

Appear in mue as the same and the comment of the co

Estan scooled, and he fall,
In chains and darkness drou'd to dwell
With other traiton who rebel,
Its act and word,
Because he'd rather reign in hell
Than servegibe Lord,
Who geards us with his faming sword.

The Diberator.

MR. HEYWOOD'S ADDRESS.

WORCESTER, July 20th, 1863 points, gave me grees produced by a point of the green gold to find a young man into whom the martial spir has not been diffused by the present sanguinary conflict. As he is a recent convert to the doctrine of No Resistance, doubtless he feels impelled to speak ther fresh impulses of his soul more than some who has the transfer of the feet from you to its truth and efficacy.

ireshiance, doubless ne rees implied to spak these fresh impulses of his soul more than some who have borne a life-long testimony to its truth and efficacy.

Agreeing with you that the present is not the time for the effectual advancement of this cause by preaching or etherwise,—although I believe our friend thinks differently,—it is the time for the maintenance of our principles, since, if they cannot stand the test in time of war, they are worth little. To me it is peculiarly pleasant now to listen to the silver tones of peace, when the boom of cannon-shot grates so harshly on my car. But, as I replied to one who recently remarked that I went for peace, "Yes," said I, " but not such a peace as is possible for this nation at present." The North and the South are being shaken together, the wicked with the good; and not until the ent." The North and the South are being shaken to-gether, the wicked with the good; and not until the law of retribution has been fully vindicated will the North be permitted to tridumph. With this instinctive abhoreence of all war, no rapture of exultation ever trills me at the news of victory. I turn soul-sick from the harrowing details of the ghastly battle-field;

stand-point, and appreciate the courage and devoti with which men take their lives in their hand to bat in the highest form they can see for their country and the right. True, judging them by their antecedents, their motives may seem extremely low and selfish. , what more is to be expected?

I dissent from one point of Mr. Heywood's argu-

hich may, perhaps, be owing to my ignorance e says to the North,—" Having repudiated you '; but, practically, so far as legislation she has always been guilty of craven ielding more than the Constitution re-

necessity, she has been forced into some measures on the high road to universal emancipation, the Constitution still remains unchanged; so that the force of the slaveholding clauses might yet be restored, if a democratic administration should come into power.

So long as Abraham Lincoln upholds the Fugitive Slave Law, Heaven forbid that an Aboltionist should descend so low as to lend his sanction to this Government! A person with ardent feelings and an impulsive temperament will, doubtless, find it hard to refuse a belping hand when there is so much of promise to when the evils engendered by it shall be sown broad-cast over the land,—he will probably realize that there are other duties beside those to the slave; and while he may consistently rejoice that his freedom has been achieved, he will also rejoice in the clear light that God has given, that he has maintained his integrity

ionist.

"To thine own self be true,
And it will follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

So far as the war is concerned, however, and the mass of those who compose it, it is an arrow's flight ahead of the peace which preceded it, because that was a false peace, a "copperhead" peace, if my friend Heywood will pardon the expression. Terrible as is the carnage and slaughter of the present he they are not more terrible than the cruelties practise on the slave for more than two centuries. And sha on the slave for more than two centuries. And shall we murmur because these injustices are now visited upon us and our children? Rather let us look upward and say, "We thank thee, Father, for this chastisement, which we justly deserve; for we have grievously sinned in thy sight." The apostle say, "Be patient with one another." Salutary advice. The soldier chides the abolitionist and the non-resistant source content of the armor in the midst of the strife, the other for the impracticability of his views. Ah, Mr. Soldier, if you had practised their theories your

e law of retribution I possible to make men see the truth; they prepared to receive it before it can take root, to truths so intensely spiritual, so divinely inspired, that they must be felt to be believed; they

cannot be reasoned into.

I sometimes think thus of Non-Resistance, and I care very little to argue it, perhaps because its fundamental principles come to me through the instincts, and not through the intellect. It is for this reason, probably, that I differ so much from our friend S. S. Foster in his treatment of the subject. But I owe it to myself to make a confession here. I cannot longer consent to all under false colors. it to sail under false colors

consent to sail under false colors.

The term Non-Resistance, as it is generally understood, implies all opposition to human governments, the repudiation of all ontward authority. That point I have not gained. It may be cause of regret. Certainly, such a view is very consistent with its teachings, and it does not strike me as visionary or fanatical but only impracticable in conformity with order.

misunderstood, and falls to do justice to himself and those he so sharply calls to account. The hunkers and opponents to freedom in any and every shape—the haters of the negro and his friends—were in ecstary race and both sexes, there could not be much chance for expression. I know the oft-repeated argument, that all governments must be based on force to be upheld,—on military force; but I do not believe it. Blackstone distinguished between law and compact thus—that law is a command given to us by a supreme power. Probably he would be probably he would be probably he would be probably be would be probably be would be. Probably some of my remarks upon the subject; and for this resion i wish to be distinctly understood, so as not to receive too much credit.

It is the principle of human brotherhood, the sacredness of human life, that I have sought to defend, and for the want of some more significant title adopted that, rather stealthity as I think. There is no significant to the proper of the proper of this, I simply remarked, that I was will that, rather stealthity as I think. There is no significant to the proper of the proper of the proper of the proper and his friends and opponents to freedom in any and every shape—the haters of the negro and his friends—was not only unfortunate, but entirely uncalled for.

At the close of the lecture. I took the liberaties and positions assumed were liable, by a promiscuous audience, to be misunderstood—that they would be. He told as that the deconciliation of the war upon the present will be adopted in the proper of such, as I had falled to read or hear before of this revelation of vengeance, and he reveled—it I was not to receive too much credit.

It is the principle of human brotherhood, the sacredness of human life, that I have sought to defend, and for the war of some more significant title adopted that, rather stealthity as I think. There is no significant title adopted that, rather stealthity as I think. There is no significant to the proper of the proper of the prope

THE LIBERATOR.

If we can take care of our own sins, it is probably as much as we shall be able to do for the present gen-eration; and if we wish to repay her when our own peace and prosperity are restored, we can well afford

eration; and if we wan to repay her where our own
peace and prosperity are restored, we can well afford
to do it by forgiveness instead of retaliation.

It may be that there is great defection in the ranks
of the non-resignant, which is a grievous conviction
to those who remain true; but, if so, it springs from
the intense interest felt for the freedom of the slave
as recognized in the present struggle, and we must
"pardon something to the spirit of liberty," even
though through the red ses of blood.

S. E. W. S. E. W.

though through the red see of blood.

S. E. W.

SOUTH ADIROTOR, July 18, 1868.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—We thank you, from our immost soul, for publishing the Discourse of our good friend Reywood. It is indeed manns from heaven, and gratifying and truly refreshing to witness to able a defence of the truth "as it is in Jesus"—especially at the present time, when nearly every one appears to have forgotten the "Higher Law." God bless our noble friend for this discourse, and you also for publishing it! How true it is that God reigns, and will being good out of evil, and crass all things to be overruled in such a manner as to advance His glory, and the great principles of Christ's kingdon!

O I in what estimation will posterity hold the suther of the Declaration of Bentiments of the Anti-Slavery and Non-Resistance Societies, formed in 1833 and 1838! In our opinion, no commendation ever bestowed on any Christian man or philanthropist will more heartily be given. Already is it being given the hon-Resistance question will be as faithful as it has been in regard to the Anti-Slavery movement. We hope his advocacy and consistency of nection, touching the Non-Resistance question will be as faithful as it has been in regard to the Anti-Slavery question. If so, great will be his reward.

But you must allow us to say, friend Garrison, we cannot exactly understand your present position with reference to your non-resistance principles. You have maintained in the anti-slavery struggle a faithful adherence to the right over expediency and governmental political usurpations. No end, however glorious, can sanction means that are wrong and sinful. Slavery is a sin, consequently it ought to be immediately abolished. If, by supporting Church or State, we thereby support slavery, we are bound not to do so, but to withdraw from them. What affinity has Christ with Belia! "Let the dead bury their dead." Thus have you reasoned, and the masses have, in some measure, followed you. A thorough revolution has been the result. Slavery is sobilated.

neonsistency in your present conduct, which we can not well-solve, touching your approval of the war no not well-solve, touching your approva or in war not being waged by our government. Loyalty to Christ and his government is as true when applied to war as when applied to slavery. "Touch not, taste not, han de not," is the only correct philosophy as it regards the temperance and anti-slavery causes. How does it happen the same correct principles do not apply to the non-resistance movement? We see no reason whatever. Sin is sin, whether it develop itself in in whatever. Sin is ain, whether it develop itself in in-temperance, slavery or war, and should receive our condemnation. The rule of conduct which applies to one, applies with equal force to each of the others. And if we would see correct peace principles prevail, we must be as outspoken and consistent in our con-duct touching war, as we are in our conduct touching intemperance and slavery. For ourselves, we cannot support war-like preparations, believing them to be contrary to the precepts and example of Christ. Loy-alty to Him, before loyally to mans devices. He commands us to love our enemies, not kill them. Forgive, if we wish to be forgiven; not only seven es, but seventy times seven. "Resist not evil; overcome evil with good," &c. &c. &c.; senti-

Again, allow us to speak a few kind words in regard to your readers. You say, in consequence of the "whirlwind and the earthquake" of our present civil war, you "deem it not wise to enter into the discussion of the question of non-resistance," Why not! Do we argue so in regard to other great sins? When intemperance is destroying its thousands, shall the reformer desix from his temperance labors? Slates. very has been growing more and more releaties; but have you ever advocated a withdrawal of moral force against it, in consequence of the "whiriwind and the earthquake"! It appears to us that the time to re-buke sin, to show its wickedness and deformity, and speak against it, is while ain abounds—when we see your country. We would not need to suffer in common with you from berevements, and all the evil is awful effects and appalling consequences. So we its awful effects and appalling consequences. So we is awful effects and appalling consequences. So we have the summon of question will be discussed, and rejoice that the ball has been set in motion by our noble friend Heywood. This great question is yet to be agitated. The Church and ministry are prophesying peace when alavery is abolished. "We shall then be free from agitation." But we predict an agitation in the Christian world, with reference to the compatibility or incompatibility of war with Christianity, which will exceed in deep thought and interest any question here toore considered or discussed by the Christian church. May you effectually lead the way!

Yours, for Christian truth and duty.

H. BRIGHAM.

MILPORD, July 20, 1868.

Last evening, E. H. Heywoo MY DEAR FRIEND-Last vening, E. H. Heywood gave us his Music Hall lecture, as published in the Liberator, only "ninch more so." Of course, we must attribute sincerity and honesty to our respected friend H. But it does seem that at this hour he is misunderstood, and fails to de justice to himself and these he as beartly calle to account. The hunkers

SPEECHES AND LECTURES BY WENDELL

SPEECHES AND LEUTURES BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

James Redpath, 221 Weshington street, publishes, in a beautifully printed volume of 602 pages, Speeches, Lectures, and Lettres, by Weshington street, publishes, in a beautifully printed volume of 1820 pages, Speeches, Lectures, and Lettres, by Weshington and the Speeches made by Mr. Phillips and the Speeches made by Mr. Phillips during the too years, and reported; and others that we find the Speeches made by Mr. Phillips during the speech of the Speeches of the Speeches and Lovejoy. The speech of the Speeches and Lovejoy was exported by the late Mr. Hallett, who was one of the best reporter we have ever had, and of the others, Mr. Phillips, in a letter to the publisher, say—"The preservation of the rest you owe to phonography; and most of them to the unequalled skill and screen, which almost every New Regland speached, it was to be standed at the head of his calling. The collection has been made by Mr. Pedpath is well deserved, it has tanded at the head of his calling. The collection has been made by Mr. Pedpath at the earnest and repeated requests of the personal friends and the followers of Mr. Phillips; and Mr. Phillips himself modestly says of the Speeches and Lectures, "They will serve, at least, as a contribution to the history of our Anti-Slavery struggle, and especially as a specimen of the method and spirit of that unovement, which there its name from my illustrions friend, William LOTD GARRIAGO." There are twenty four pieces in the volume, mostly Speeches, beginning with the speech on the "Murler of Lovejoy," delivered for the west of a century, too, in which the struggle against the speech on the "Murler of Lovejoy," delivered for the second of a century, too, in which the struggle against the second of a century, too, in which the struggle signain the speech on the "Murler of Lovejoy," delivered for the country, in the second provides of the second provides of the country, and that quarree of a century, and that quarree of a century, and that quarree of a

there and there are now roard the wide married tree of the targety that took place in Covery and Athena—Boston Transfer

Athena—Boston Transfer

It will be seen by our food column, the tits the second of the seco

This looks as though the amount of the integers "wholesome food for powder, mangre the linear and the linear t

FIENDISH OBUELTY, OF THE MOB.

which were under the immediate command of Col.
O'Brien, also opened a fire of Minie bullett, and
committed some havos among the crowd, which was
firmly massed together at this point. The balls
whistled around in almost every imaginable direction. Several full upon the side-walks and in the
middle of the street, and were carried into the varrioss houses where their wounds were attended to.
The action of Col. O'Brien, as described by several who were within a hearing distance of him during the whole time, is thus described from the commenement of the conflict. He urged on the soldiers
to fire into and attack the people in all manner of
ways. How true this is cannot be accurately determined with any degree of actual certainty; but
the fate which he met with, as will shortly appear,
is probably one of the most horrible that either history tells of or the present generation ever witnessed.
Col. O'Brien had the entire command of the military.
It was by his orders that they fired, and also by his
instrumentality, whether he be right or wrong in
the matter, that the heart's blood of many an able
youth was stopped in its flowings.
Probably the most heart-rending occurrence which
one could imagine took place during this fight. Col.
O'Brien held a revolver in his hand, and was riding
up and down between either line of the crowd. He,
as it is stated, fired his revolver into their midat, the
ball killing a woman and child, which she held in
her arms. After several rounds had been fired, the
command, however, remained. The Colonel dismounted from his horse, and walked into a drug store.
Had the commander of this military force taken
his fle would have been saved. But fatality had

He was immediately surrounded, and one of the men came behind, and, striking him a heavy blow on the back of the head, staggered him. The crowd then immediately surrounded him, and beat him in most shocking manner.

After having been terribly beaten, his almost in-animate body was taken up in the strong arms of the crowd, and hurried to the first lamp post, where it was strong up by a rope. After a few minutes, the body was taken down, he being still alive, and thrown like so much rubbis into the street.

The body lay in the middle of the street, within a few yards of the corner of Thirty-fourth street. Nature shudders at the appalling scenes which here took place. The body was mutilated in such a manner that it was uterly impossible to recognize it. The head was pearly one mass of gore, while the clothes were also sturated with the crimson fluid of life. A crowd of some three hundred persons wounded the prostrate figure. These men looked upon the terrible sight with the greatest colness, and some even smiled at the gay object. Our reporters walked leisurely among the crowd which surrounded the body, and in company with the rest gazed upon the extended mass of flesh which was once the corpulent form of Colonel H. F. O'Brien. Notwithstanding the fearful process which the soldier had gone through, he was yet breathing with evident strength. The cyes were closed, but there was a very apparent whiching, of the cyclicis, while the lips were now and again convulsed; as if in the most intense agony.

After lying for somewhat of an hour in this position, saveral of the crowd took hold of the body by the legs, and dragged it from side to side of the street. This operation was gone through with several times, when the crowd took hold of the body by the legs, and dragged it from side to side of the street. This operation was gone through with several times, when the crowd again left the body lying in its original position.

Had Colonel O'Brien been a man of weak constitution, he would certainly have ceased to exist long b

plact thus—that law is a command given to use by a supreme power. Probably he would represent it by the English aristocracy, although more enother name and compact, an agreement entered into by us, which is my idea of what a government entered into by us, which is my idea of what a government relight and should be. Probably some of my mon-resistant friends will be more this revelation of vengeance, and he replied—"I am sorry to say the men I meant are Wm. L. Garrish. Probably some of my mon-resistant friends will be consciously the say a great inconsistency, takes in connection with some of my remarks upon the subject; and for this reason I wish to be distinctly understood, so as not to receive too much credit.

The conscription law he denounced as the most of human life, that I have sought to defend, and for the want of some more significant title adopted that, rather stealthily as I think. There is no significant can be the my point on against his, and added, that I believe the and the first opinion and would like to see discarded on our platform, which is an peace.

There is one thing I would like to see discarded on our platform, which is at variance with the recognised price of more than the first of the subject one were the moth has broken out platform, which is at variance with the recognised and again relaxed. He are the first of the subject one were the moth has broken out platform, which is at variance with the recognised and again relaxed. He can be a subject to the first of the control of the defend, and the form of the plant of the control of the control of the defend, and for the variation of the plant of the control of the contr

Second Edition, Published This Day, July 31

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CONTENTS:

The Murder of Lovejoy.

Woman's Rights.

Public Opinion

IV. Surrender of Sims.

Sims Anniversary.

Philosophy of the Abolition Movement VII.

Removal of Judge Loring.

VIII. The Boston Mob.

The Pilgrims.

Letter to Judge Shaw and President

Walker. XI.

XII. Harper's Ferry.

XIII.

Burial of John Brown. XIV.

Lincoln's Election.

. XV

Mobs and Education.

XVI. Disunion.

XVII. Progress.

XVIII.

Under the Flag.

XIX.

The War for the Union.

The Cabinet.

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