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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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If The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-rivania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are athorised to receive subscriptions for THE LABERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :-- Francis Jackson, Edward Quiner, Edward or, and WENDELL PRILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



on from the Free States Imagine or so to Moloch was hidden under the on."—Joux Quinor Abans.

The United States Constitution is "a with death, and an agreement with h

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1598.

The Diberator.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. CELEBRATION OF W. I. EMANCIPATION,

At Abington, Mass., Aug. 1st, 1801.

Phonographic Report by Jas. M. W. YERRISTON.

Ma. Parsident,—I suppose the day dictates the subject. The great interest of this day is as the anticersary of British Emancipation. That was the greatest blessing, the highest privilege, history shows was ever given to a people-the power to emane pate, peacefully, nearly a million of chattel slaves n, as the result merely of though and purpose, like an ordinary change of law, a great people swept out of existence an infamous institution oted in old habit, immense wealth, great social pow et. As far as I know, it is the only instance in his-tery, ancient or modern. Slavery has been every bey, ancient or modern. Slavery has been every where; has been abolished in various ways; but the English people may boast, as a thoughtful, Christian ity, that they have set in history an example of the power of simple principle to change moment whether it was unalloyed, disinterested religious prinrick, or whether there mingled with it the self-inter-est of the commercial classes and the dread of future mobile in national affairs. I only know that, peacefally, by an edict, not by cannon, by an act of Parlia s the ordinary laws are changed, the whole ordition of the West India Islands was re-What has been the result? There perer been an hour of war in those islands. There has not been one instance of resistance to civil process as not seen one instance of resistance to ever process. The forms of law are guarded, not by bayonets in the lands of white men, but by bayonets in the hands of muncipated slaves. (Applause.) The only complaint, that the negro will not work for the white man; floris better employment at home. The only con as, that the former slave population is so shrewd, so thrifty, with so much forethought, that, as in our Western States, Iowa and Wisconsin, you cannot find en to hire. Men have the brains to work for them selves and the English planter cries out to the covernment, as the farmers of the Western States cry out to the civilized world, "We have wealth, eres; but our neighbors are so fore-banded and indpendent, we cannot hire any body to work our land Give us laborers!" That fact, which proves the ad vancing, essential prosperity of the Western States goves, in the same way, the well-grounded prosperit of the laboring classes of the West Indies. The recomplaint never has been that the black man wou not work. The complaint has been, "He can work

camon get any body to work at a shilling a day."

Again: England exports to these islands, I may
hely say, double—perhaps I might say, four times—
be ambunt of manufactured articles that she did in the days of slavery. England never sells witho getting her pay for it. No man can pay witho ose emancipated slaves buy two or for dollars' worth now, where they bought one be-fee, either they had laid up an immense capital dur-ing the slave time, or else they have worked well for

for himself to so much better advantage, that w

since. (Applause.) Such is the lesson of to-day. What are the great elements of national prosperity? They are, law contentedly obeyed, hands intelligently, successfully in dastrious. No British ministry has ever, for twenty British West Indies. There has been no time whe there was not a greater demand for laborers that was supply. There has been no moment whe to looms in England were not kept active to su ply the demands of the West Indies for one before on, marriage, education, religious institution we been quadrupled, at the expense and by the car

That is the picture which has been held up to ou country for twenty-five years. What is the use of re-string to it? It is no longer within our reach. We smitted to science the opportunity—it is gone! Thirty years ago, in England, when Lord Brougham was adtion of the slaves, I remembe be used with great effect the trite classical story of the this who came to the Roman king with nine books is sale, represented as indispensable to the safety of Rome. She named her price;—the proud king waved ed three of the books, ad returned, offering six at the same cost. The con-Sent king waved her a second time aside. She van, and returned again with three, still for the same, fice. And then Rome bought the sacred pledge of ler astery, diminished to one third, at the same sacrice. Twenty years ago, God set us the example of te. Twenty years ago, God set us the example of peaceful, moral emancipation, by ordinary force of av. We dashed it aside. He offers us now, at the ame cost, emancipation at the mouth of the cannon-mothing else. The lesson of to-day is not for us; we mut seek it further. Far off, beyond those islands, sets the Queen of the Antilles, St. Domingo. Hereancipation was different. The races had rushed be sens. Blood flowed in torrents. England was about to income the control of the contr thou to invade the island. Government, pushed to the extremity, at midnight, the sovereignty of the realm slipping from its grasp, in despair, as a means of keeping hold of its territory, proclaimed emanci-lation. It was won in blood and fire. Half the tiles were burned; almost every valley floated with bool; the slave wrote the guaranty of his emancipation in the blood of seventy thousand Frenchi son in the blood of seventy thousand Frenchmen, seat is subdue him. This is the only lesson left for it is bday, -this, how far short of St. Domingo can be government stop! What is the policy that may stre us from that last extremity of bloody emancipa-tion! The strength of the policy of bloody emancipation! The British model is gone. The only question for us is, how far short can we stop of St. Do

There are two or three methods before us. The

teenth century, the age of money, it would be impos-sible for a Southern empire, from political and economidoubted the personal courage and intense earnestnes doubted the personal courage and intense carnestness of the Southern States. I stand to-day exactly where I have stood. I know nothing of the future but by the past. Poland, trodden under the heel of an empire whose resources are boundless, is-still Poland, in arms. Hungary, crushed by the weight of half Europe on her head, is still Hungary, determined to be free. And Italy, with six centuries of demoralization, has still strangled the purpose of the Erench Emperor with one hand, and Austria and Russia with the other, and is Italy, united and free. (Loud cheers.) I beand is Italy, united and free. (Loud cheers.) I be-lieve that the five or six millions of Englishmen residlieve that the five or six millions of Englishmen resid-ing south of Mason and Dixon's line have hearts as bold and wills as determined as Italy, Hungary or Poland; and this nation, in the mere fight of white men and white men, will write her history a copy of the Russian history as to Poland, the Austrian history as to Hungary, and the Italian history, if she goes on to fight as a he does to day. The past proper it, and to fight as she does to-day. The past proves it; and it seems to me that every thoughtful man must see it. At any rate, such will be the picture of the next ten I am well aware that the South has not yet dared to meet the North face to face in open field and fair fight, or at least whenever she has done so, she has been beaten. Witness Kansas and Western Vir-ginia. But for all this, I hold the South deeply in earnest, and able in open fight or by guerilla to drag on the war many years.
But that is not the only question. Foreign countries

watch us. England and France watch us. England

has no purpose nearer her heart than to cripple and

undermine the manufacturing and commercial supremacy of the North. How can she do it? By robbing her of one half of the Union. By seizing the opportunity to plant a rival State at her side. That State. with the underhand support of English money and English arms, can take Mexico for her right wing, and her left, and then, with some eighteen millions of inhabitants, holding the black population in chains, she will be one of the best customers that Lancashire has. How much would the British gov-erament do to found and uphold such a State? She would do every thing. And I do not believe in any such virtue in the middle classes of Great Britain as would rebuke very severely the administration for the useful crime of acknowledging such a confederacy. For I remember China and India. If, therefore, the Southern States alone; it is probably a war with the Southern States, supported openly or by stealth by England; specially if the death of Louis Napoleon should free England from fear of French interference or invasion; when, by the time that happens, possibly there may be a fourth party in the play. The slave may take arms in his own hands, and instead of being a counter on this chess board, he may be a player in the game. When that comes, emancipation is to be a hard work, wrung from the bloodiest civil war known to history. Whether it is to come from a divided Union, and afterward the failure of the Southern con federacy to sustain itself, or whether it is to come fro he indomitable rage of these Northern States, deter-mined that, through seas of blood, no matter how not know; but, surely, it will come from the bloodiest war that history has known for half a century. For it is impossible that this war should endure three years or probably two, without the interference of European ts, and probably of the slave. It is almost years, without great probability of the acknowledgment of the Southern confederacy by certain portions of the Northern States. I know the anger, and pride, and determination of the Northern people; but when these looms and workshops have been silent and still for the state of the state of the state of the state of the sample seate the momentum of the sample of the sample seate the state of the state of the sample seate the sample of the sample seate the sample looms and worksnops may continued the second of the summer are to decide what is to be use twenty-four months,—when the families of half a million of volunteers have been upon our hands,—those very hands empty and idle,—for support, when no greater progress is made than seems to be now in the conflict, how long will the North endure such a war! I am not sure that she will not find that the better almost sure that she will not find that the better should be submission, and submit. Mark you! I have no fear of the failure of ultimate emancipation. God has broken up the fountains of this nation, and the slave is to be shaken out of his chains. (Prolonged cheering.) I can believe that the South, driven to the cheering.) I can believe that the count, urven to the wall, rather than submit to the hated North, might berself, in despair, free the slaves, and writing "Eman-cipation" on her flag, appeal so to the cupidity of which, on the opening of Congress in December, is England and the rest of Europe to uphold her, and to strengthen the Administration's hands up to thi thus cripple the manufacturing North. She is easily limit of national vigor and life. If we float rudderless capable of such a master-stroke of cunning statesman-ship: and would bear even freedom, even be just, rather than submit to us. The only question is, how can the problem be solved with the least bloodshed, at the least cost, and with the best future ! I say the every moment of delay embitters the problem; every moment of delay renders more probable the interfermoment of delay renders more probable the interfer-ence of other governments; every moment of delay renders the South more a unit than she is this week. These are the reasons why I urge upon the government and upon you, the adoption of a policy as speedily as possible. For the present, we have none. Gover ment avows no plan. She has not even a plan of the war, much less a statesmanlike plan of how to relieve

We drift before the storm, no hand on the helm We drill below the sorin, no hand on the neim. Government has been defeated. She deserved to be! Mr. Whiting's letter [Hon. N. H. [complains that England does not sympathize with us. We have no right I, near at hand, with our eyes fixed on the crisis, may dimly discern through the cloud that emancipation is inevitable, spite of men and parties. But, three thousand miles off, ignorant of the heady currents that confuse our national position, why should England sympathize with your government, which marks its first step in the war by the return of slaves, There are two or three methods before us. The set is—and this most men flatter themselves to be Fauble—we can conquer the South; we can keep the Lies as it was. I deem that a dream. (Applause.) I should blush for Great Britain if she sympathized with such an administration. My lips would be the last to sak her for one word of aympathy for such a government. What does England know! She knows to be million of men in arms can bring it back again. I the bot know that I was ever found, depreciating the

to certain arrangements of the civil force. She can-not put her hand into the disordered machine intelli-gently, and therefore she keeps it out. I think she political and economically and interests and account of the political and economical does wisely; I think she does well. Do not misun-believe I never have derstand me while I speak thus of England. It is the English government. It is the most s European governments, guided by the lowest and sted motives; and the same is true, to some extent, of her people. But we have no claim to the sympathy of England. Neither have we a righ to the sympanny of England. Netter mave we a right to victory—none at all. The government does not or ganize victory. I will tell you when, in my opinion we shall be entitled to victory. When one single se cession spy, traitor or pirate has been punished— (loud applause); when the seal of government disapprobation has been set on one single person within their power who has betrayed the Union. (Applause.) John Brown rebelled, it is claimed, against the laws of Virginia. He was hung at Charlestown. The gov ernment said Amen! The government has had in its grasp at least fifty, if not a hundred, ten times deeper dyed in the guilt, if guilt it be, of resisting the laws of the Union, and she has dismissed them all! only one quarter of the clerks in one department at knowledge that the government deserves victory (Laughter and applause.) But while she keeps at least two thirds disloyal men in her employ, that is not or-ganizing victory. The battle at Bull Run was wholesale butchery, public murder; and the government of the United States, more than any other poy er, is guilty of the murder, for they sent out the troops from a city full of traitors in the employ of the ent, knowing, or able to know, that every secret of the government was probably communicat to the rebels twelve hours before those troops quitted Washington. Why do they not hang a pirate? Becaus Jefferson Davis says he will retaliate; and they say the life of some prisoner at Richmond by pard pirate or a spy. At the same time, they please them selves by continuing to give bread to traitors in Washington at the cost of sending out thousands of true men to be butchered on the battle-field. I mean what I say. Murder, with the full knowledge of the go-ernment; for the Secretary who keeps his desks fu of traitors from pity to their families, or the ass tions of past years, is the veriest traiter to the gove ment. Every plan, except those made at Washing There has been but one-the blunde at Bethel—that has not succeeded. Missouri, on line of conquest; in Western Virginia, under McCle war lasts two or three years, it is not a war with the lan, uninterrupted success; because the generals who Southern States alone; it is probably a war with the planned the movements had around them true men ganize nothing but defeat. (Hear, hear.)

Such a government deserve the sympathy of other nations! We have not yet shown that we are a government. When the world doubted whether the United States of America, in the Revolution, were frearnest, Washington hung Andre. He begged to be shot, as a soldier; and Washington replied—"By n tions, spies are hung. I would cheerfully modera the punishment, and accede to your wishes; but must prove to the world, in your person, that this is a nation, and has its rights." (Applause.) And Andre England knew it was not rebels, but a nation, wit deep, the stars and stripes shall float to the Gulf. I do which she dealt; and she acknowledged our independ ence as much in consequence of that act as the sur render of Cornwallis. What the government need o-day is to prove its earnestness-to prove that it ac tually holds these rebels, traitors. The gove that, in its own capital, sees its prisoners from Bull Run waited upon by the ladies of Washington, and ossible that this war should continue two or three Run waited upon by the ladies of Washington, and ra, without great probability of the acknowledgment furnished with every luxury, while its troops want

plause.) Let her delay it, let that government advance to break the blockade or acknowledge the let the South strengthen herself into a long war, ie the North settle down to an indifference which com peas the government to recruit by drafting, not by volunteers,—the moment we get settled to that, we accept the problem of St. Domingo. We write our history on one of two leaves. Two nations—bitter civil war on the borders—constant conflict; trruption from our own soil to interfere with the slave States—channels of trade changed, disordered, choked—Mexican civilization there. Or we write it on another pages, Northern determination weekled. channels of trade changed, disordered, choked—Mexican civilization there. Or we write it on another page—Northern determination, resolved, spite of England, spite of the South, spite of defeat, spite of pecularly cost, to carry the stars and stripes to the Gulf, and emancipate every slave they cover. (Load applause.) One or the other. This summer, the problem is not half so difficult. Now the slave watches our banner, counting it herald of his redemption—waiting, longing, expecting, to throw his weight into our scale. Let him see that army penetrate the South under orders to allow no fugitive slave within its lines, and with commanders who return such to their masters, their spirits droop, their purpose dies away. Instead of warm friends, we have sullen, disappointed foes. Now, we advance into the South with four million of the people on our side. What a strougth, even if no one of them takes up arms! With the slightest encouragement, they are active on our side. They judge us by acts, not words. Six months may confuse, discourage and alienate them into spilen distrust.

ow! She knows bankruptcy again by being citizens of a Union with them as property. White them as property to the sarrier, son, in a dozen years, to result in emancipation and contribund of war marry, a dispute as bankruptcy: Wall street replies, "Yes, but that dozen property can be con

years is my harvest. Let the future take care of itself. Disunion risks the question whether New York I thank bim for it. (Applause.) I am thankful for the shall be the commercial capital of the continent for the next fifteen years. At present, with channels of commerce worn as now, I make twenty thousand dollars a year. What may come with Disunion, I know not. From that heady tunnult, another man may come up swimming on the topmost wave. For me, may nursone is to make dollars, say and for its property stacking, makes were its the and then not. From that nearly tanualt, another man may come up swimming on the topmost wave. For me, my purpose is to make dollars, just as I have, and for that I demand emancipation to the Gulf, to save all risk of such wars as this; and I want it now, to ensure New York's being the commercial capital of the continent, beyond dispute, in my time."

Now, the North, like a race horse, spurns pain, blood, death itself, in its fierce enthusiasm. Twelve months of enforced idlences and utter poverty may

months of enforced idleness and utter poverty may chill the ardor of the masses. Now, therefore, is the accepted time. The helm is within our reach. The question is purely domestic. Wealth, Wall street, is the upper milistone, Anti-Slavery principle the lower; between the two, Jefferson Davis may be ground to powder. The slave holds himself ready, pressing for an opportunity; the North is, to a great extent, a unit. Let the sovernment serie the angicious moment. Let the government seize the auspicious moment They tell us they are ready to obey lead, not wholly to lean on others.

we, too, are to do our part. We are to visit every man, no matter what his position or his courage, with public rebuke, that fails on the great question of the hoar. I asknowledge the courage of Col. Cowdin; I am glad he is a tectotaller; I reniember his merits in both these respects; but never, until, in the face of the American people, he takes back the act, though he be covered military success is to blot it out. If he were to stand before an hundred batteries, never, till he disavows that act, cruel and illegal, can he fit himself for the

society of honorable men. (Applause.) I know what it is to be a critic. I suppose it is fated I shall always be such. (A voice—"We hope of black men there, no man within the hearing of my voice ab \$\text{M}\$, between their cause without hearing it. [Hearty phause.] And if, with the memory of that ast and bloody week of the surrender of Thomas Sims in the capital of the State, your Governor appoints as the Colonel of a Massachusetts regiment the infamous and brutal United States Marshal who led that surrender, Charles Devens, I shall say here and every where the their colonial and the surrender. Charles Devens, I shall say here and every where the their colonial contents are not surrender. where, that he has broken the promise of his whole life, forfeited the confidence of his friends, disgraced the office he holds, and insulted the Com You may forget, I never shall, until I see them on their knees in public repentance, either the Marshal in the Sims case or the Burns case; and whoever, at such an hour as this, places in the right hand of Charles Devens or of Watson Freeman the broad seal schusetts, I hold him a traitor to the slave question. (Applause.) And the reason is, the American reople need to be reminded, to-day, that the kernel of this dispute is slavery; that no man should be sent South of Mason and Dixon's line who has not at least a decently white record behind him. I overlook all political differences. I welcome the Democratic candidate for Governor to his place as a General; I remember him only as a man who differed from in opinion. I welcome his service in the hour of the nation's need. But the men who have actually hunt-ed slaves are beyond the admissibility to service, even in opinion. I welco cu saves are beyond the admissibility to service, even in such an hour as this. (Loud applause.) To trust them with office is to tell the world that Massachu-setts people think so little of the guilt of slavehunt-ing, that a few years wash away their horror for itetts looks on their position with such craven dread as to fice for aid to hands red with th blood of pitiable, helpless bondmen. Girt with a million of freemen and women, I do not yet so despair of the Commonwealth. And if I did, I would rather see the Stars and Stripes bow to the Palmetto, than see them held up by men known in the past only as slave-hunters, and who, for aught the public know, stand ready to hunt slaves again. Such men are symen your Governor holds them up to pu

the party, "it won't hold water." There is nothing in it, properly speaking, unless we are right, and then you have no right in the government. On the whole accorded construction of the dominant political party, there is no ground for it. At any rate, it is only a specious, ingenious technicality, wholly unfit for a great people to rest thereon a national question like this.

That black man enters the camp. What is the only for that for Parlies in the camp.

fact that Gen. Butler knows in regard to him? This He was just now outside our lines; he is now inside. here to be protected, and, if he will fight, to be armed. If he was an enemy, he comes here to be imprisoned, and if he has fought, to be hanged. The government of the United States is bound so to regard the blacks. There is no judge to sit under the Fugitive Slave Lav There is no court sitting in the camp to decide it; there is no authority there competent to settle it. He is a man, with the marks of manhood God has given him. He is capable of firing a musket, and is there-fore either to be armed and used, or imprisoned and punished. Let the government of the United States say, through its Lieut. Gen. Scott, or through its Secretary of War, to the various generals of division—"What we shall do in the future with slavery, w now not; the future will shape itself; but every man, from head to foot with laurels, will I forget that, without legal necessity, without proofs, with no claim, he thrust back a negro into the hell of Virginia elavery, there is no longer slavery in the Commonwealth of virginia this soldier baptism in this war. ("Shame!") No the stars and stripes float, liberty surrounds the The moment they have said it, ours is an army vancing into a country where one half of the popu-tion is on our side—men, women and children. T

see it is is one half the victory. The moment we have said it, we hope the South knows the vigor of the North has touched the point of efficiency. I ask that of the government, principles. There is sitting at this moment—mark you! Charlestown still exists, with its sky almost yet bearing the shadow of that gibbet whereon hung a man for breaking his allegiance to the government of the United States—there is sitting at this moment, within one hundred miles of it, in the city of Washington, a Committee of the House of Representatives, to find out the number of men in the public offices who have refused to take the oath of allegiance. "The hand of the hundred miles of the house of Representatives who had in the number of the hundred miles of the house of Representatives and proper, repeating the maxim, that "self-defence on slew his master, and escaped to Canada. He was determined as a murderer. The Canadian proper, repeating the naxim, that "self-defence on slew his master, and escaped to Canada. He was determined as a murderer. The Canadian proper, repeating the naxim, that "self-defence on slew his master, and escaped to Canada. He was determined as a murderer. The Canadian proper, repeating the naxim, that "self-defence on slew his master, and escaped to Canada. He was determined as a murderer. The Canadian proper, repeating the naxim, that "self-defence on slew his master, and escaped to Canada. He was determined as a murderer. The Canadian proper, repeating the naxim, that "self-defence on slew his master, and escaped to Canada. He was demanded as a murderer. The Canadian proper, repeating the naxim, that "self-defence on slew in five hunder for human association, and may be killed with impunity. A gentleman of disciplination from England. As a nation, we hauge the proper was a murderer would have worked a man je unfit for human association, and may be killed with impunity. A gentleman of disciplination from England. As a nation, we hauge the proper was a murderer would have worked a man je unfit for human association, and may be killed with impunity. A gentleman of disciplination from England. As a nation, we have the size of his defence on the proper was a murderer would have work man for breaking his allegiance to the government of the United States—there is sitting at this moment within one hundred miles of it, in the city of Wash ington, a Committee of the House of Representatives, to find out the number of men in the public offices who have refused to take the oath of allegiance. "The number"! Why, there ought not to be one there. Instead of a Committee to find out the number of traitors, that House of Representatives should have memorialized the President to remove any Secretary who had in his employ one man who had refused to take the oath of allegiance. (Loud ap plause.) If I were brother, or son, or father of any man murdered at Bull Run, I should think that the cretary who kept traitors in his employment run the risk of every life that left Washington in that army. If you and I had marched out of that capital, owing that, by the criminal weakness of the gov-ment, we left behind us in the public offices, with ernment, we left behind us in the public omces, was peculiar facilities, therefore, for gaining knowledge of public plans, hosts of men who often avowed their wish for our defeat, we should hardly feel that such a blood shad in its defence.

government deserved our blood shed in its defence.

I believe, therefore, that the government should announce what I said in regard to the blacks: Every man that enters the lines, arm him or punish him. And in regard to the public offices, empty Washington of every man, woman and child who will not take the cath of allegiance—every one probably disloyal. (Cheers.) Until that is done, this war is a bloody nt is not fighting; they are only farce. The government is not ngnung; they are only playing with bloody counters—with the lives of 200,000 men. Maps just finished in Washington found in the tents of the rebels! The plan of the campaign known to be in possession of the staff of of the State.

If, during that bitter week while the city rained curses on us, and, at this Marshal's bidding, muskets were levelled at our breasts because we obeyed the government. War is beautiful to sak this of the plan of the rebels! The plan of the campaign known to be in possession of the staff of the opposite army! Out of such a nest, no army should be sent. We have a right to sak this of the plan of the rebels! L' during that bitter week while the city rained curses on us, and, at this Marshal's bidding, maskes were levelled at our breast because we obeyed the platest of God's laws, some one had said to us Wilain ton years, one of the some of the platest of God's laws, some one had said to us Wilain ton years, one of the forement of your little had shall be downwork of the State, and, as such shall give to that man, without claiming a paske word of acknowledgment or repetituoes, one of the highest office in a war whose cause and justification had God's control of the control o

military science. But every man who has his eyes open knows that war is a serious and carnest game. The South spares nothing. She goes back to the days of barbarism for her methods. She is in deadly carnest, and we are at play. We pardon traitors at home; we almost smile on them on the other side; and in Washington, they are spoken of as "our friends at the South," and exchange of courtesies takes place. land men, it is to be an earnest war, and it is to be made now, if the great purpose of the war is to be saved from the complications which another spring, and the difficulties and emberorate which the saved from the completations and the difficulties and embarrasaments which another six months cannot fall to bring. If you have any influence, therefore, on members of Congress, on editions of Congress, on editions of Congress, on editions of the congress. ors, on the creators of public opinion, on your neighbors, on the rank and file of your army, teach them that with Massachusetts bayonets, it is better to be in-subordinate, and shoot a Colonel, than it is, unasked, unauthorized, and Heaven-damned, to turn the into hunters of slaves. (Loud and prolonged of Help the government to dare to give free rein ardor of the people. That sight of the stars and stripes bowing to the palmetto at Charleston, that flight at Bull Run, will rankle in the history of the Republic for centuries. The only oplate for this ache of the nation's heart is the government bidding the world take note of the cause of this fell disease, avowworld take note of the cause of this sell disease, avon-ing her purpose with mortal surgery to cut it out, and then, gathering four million of the oppressed under her flag, plant it, in serene strength, amid shouts of jubilee, on the shores of the Guif. (Loud applause.)

From the Jefferson, (Ohio,) Sentinel FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The prestitution of our military force to the catching and returning fugitive slaves, recently exhibited in Western Virginia, must leave a stain upon the character of those engaged in it, and reflect upon the service in which they are employed. There is nothing upon which civilized nations look with more detestation than upon this matter of catching slaves. They view it as an act far more disgraceful than that of the original capture of slaves in Africa, namunch as the slave who escapes of the catching slaves are shown intelligence, a love of liberty, which is less apparent among the beathens of that barbarous land. Hence a Russian nobleman declared to a disinguished American, that nothing ever trappined in Russia so despotic as the catching of fugitive slaves. It will be recollected that the slave Anderson, while attempting to escape from Missouri, was met on his way by his master, who at-

friends who escaped from bondage, but to avenge them on those who committed the crime of holding them in servitude. It is the deep moral turpitude of enslaving the human soul which imparts to the act an ineffalle disgrace.

The slaves on board the Amistad, in 1840, rose

and slew the captain and cook, took possession of the ship, and landed on the shore of Connecti cut. The Spanish government denounced them a cut. The Spanish government denounced them as murderers, but the Supreme Court of the United States, and all civilized men, said they had done States, and all civilized men, said they had done their duty nobly, and we sent them back to Af-

session of the ship, slew one of the sla and arrived at Nassau. John Tyler, of on the British governme

called on the British government to send them back to the United States. But the British Minister insisted that it was no crime to kill a slave-dealer, and refused to deliver them up.

During the revolutionary war, slaves were employed in our armies to fight our battles, and we, as a nation, gave them pensions, instead of seizing and delivering them up to their masters. Even North Carolina, when subsequently passing that most barbarous enactment authorizing the reenslavement of persons emancipated had the grace to exclude from such a fate "those who served the country during the recent war."

In 1814, Gen. Jackson armed a battalion of blacks, without inquiring whether they were slaves

dignity and uphold its laws. No man who volunteered for those high and honorable objects expected to serve under slaw-catchers, of to maintain the barbarous enactments of Virginia, or become subserviers to customs or laws which disgrace the age in which we have a first of the state of the state of the state of govern our Ohis troops, they are sworn to uphold those of our State, which knows no slavey, but which looks upon that institution as heathenish and barbarous. Indeed, we all know that it is slavery which has involved us in this war, and every reflecting man tunderstands, that while slavery exist, there can be no real union among these States.

But I hear some men say, we have a Fungitive Slave Law, that the Constitution provides for the delivery of fugitive slaves. I do not propose to argue that question-now; for admitting that construction of the Constitution and of the Fugitive Law given by the most arrant slaveholders, yet they only extend to the capture of fugitives who "escape from one State to another," but neither dough-face nor slaveholder, until this war, ever held it to be our duty to send an army to Virginia to catch her slaves while they remain in that State. No Constitution, no laws ever authorized a Quartermaster or other military officer to sit in judgment upon the right of a fellow-man to liberty. The act of Judge Key, in passing-sentence of slavery uson the fugitive, was the exercise of no power delegated to him. It was rank usurpation, the exercise of a revolting despotism, and the fate of a despot should await him. But I am astonished to bear men inquire what our army shall do with fugitive slaves. I reply in the same language which I have used for twenty-five years: Let them alone. Let THEM TAKE CARE OF THEMSELYES. If Gen. McClellan desires, he may legitimately forbid them from entering his camp, he may forbid his men from employing any one who is not a soldier. He may exclude both master and slave from his encampuent, or he may do as Gen. Taylor did, exclude the master only; or he may we are proud of our gallant men who stood forth

We are proud of our games and thillippi, and could even look upon their de bodies with pensive pride, should they fall in hor rable battle; but we protest against their being volved in the disgrace of serving under officers we storn to become the blood-hounds for South to become the blood-hounds for Source
JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS. stoop to catchpoles.

THE GRAND QUESTION.

THE GRAND QUESTION.

FORTRESS MONROE, OLD POINT COMFORT, }
August 1, 1861. }

The rebels have lately been down Back River, and the neighborhood of Fox Hill, and run off all the able-bodied negroes they could lay their hands on, and taken them to Yorktown and other places, to help build fortifications. They are using negroes wherever they can be found, without regard to ownership or other considerations, to construct batteries. Negroes have thereby come to be an element of warfare as much as powder or guns. If there was a depot or factory of powder or guns that Gen. Butler could take or destroy, would be not take or destroy it? Would it not be his duty to do it, and thus inflict a heavy blow on rebellion? There cannot be a moment's hesitation about what would be his duty in such a case. What essential difference is there between it and the gobbling up of hundreds and thousands of negroes to construct batteries behind which rebellion will make a stand? If there was a rebel depot of horses, carts, shovels, wheel-previous or other treatiles behaviour of the property of the mind which rebellion will make a stand? If there was a rebel depot of horses, carts, shovels, wheel-barrows, or other utersils for building fortifications, within striking distance, would there be any reason for hesitating about seizing said horses, carts, and so on, and sing them to build batteries for national troops? Since negroes are used in precisely the 7 Since negroes are used in precisely the by the rebels, they are just as much in-and an element of warfare, as powder, borses, carts, and similar utensils; and why ld there be any more hesitation about the one about the other?

guns, horses, carts, and similar utensils; and why should there be any more hesitation about the one than about the other than about th

PRACTICAL JOKE OF A CHICAGO FIRE ZOUAVE.

A member of the New York Fire Zouaves, who went from this city to join Col. Ellsworth, in April, and who, until then, had been an industrious typo in the Chicago Tribine office, was out on picket duty one day last month, when the following incident

An F. F. V. with rather more than the usual su-An F. F. V. with rather more than the usual su-perciliousness of his race, role up in a carriage from the direction of Alexandria, driven of course by his "servant." Zoo-zoo stepped into the road, holding his bayonet in such a way as to threaten horse, ne-gro and white man at one charge, and roared out, "TICKETS!" Mr. V. turned up his lip, set down

"TICKETS!" Mr. V. turned up his inp, set down his brows, and by other gestures infficiated his contempt for such mud-sills as the soldier before him, ending by handing his pass over to the darkey, and motioning him to get out, and show it to Zoo-zoo.

"All right," said the latter, glaneing at it, 'move on," accompanying the remark with a jerk at the cost collar of the colored person which sent him apinning several paese down the road. "Now, sir, what do you want?" addressing the astonished white

White man by this time had recovered his ongue. "Want? I want to go on, of course. That

tongue.

"was my pass."

"Can't heip it," replied Zoo; "it says pass the bearer, and the bearer is already passed. You can't the bearer is already passed. You can't the wicket on one man's pass." "Qan't help, it," replied Zoo; "it says pass the bearer, and the bearer is already passed. You can't get two men through this picket on one man's pass."
Mr. V. reflected a moment, glanced at the bayonet in front of him, and then called out to his black man to come back. Sambo approached cautiously, but fell back in confusion when the "shooting-stick" was brandished towards his own breast.
"Where's your pass, sirrah?" asked Zoo-zoo.
"Here, massa," said the chattel; presenting the same one he had received from the gent, in the carriage.

"Mon't do," replied the holder of the bayonet.
"That passes you to Fairfax; can't let any one come from Fairfax on that ticket. Move on!" A stamp of the foot sent Sambo down the road at a hand gallop.

"Now, sir, if you stay here any longer, I shall take you under arrest to head-quarters," he con-

tinued.

Mr. Y. grabbed up his lines, wheeled around, and wont off at the best trot his horse could manage over the "sacred soil." Whether Sambo ever hunted his master up is not known.—Chicago Tribune.

gg=Two fugitive slaves, who escaped to the Poc-ahoutas, state that the rebels are employing five hun-dred negroes to build fortifications at the mouth of the Rappahannock. But none such must be permit-ted to enlist in support of the government!

FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

England, July 5, 1861. To the Editors of the Independent

ENGLAND, July 5, 1861.

To the Editors of the Independent, and reside in the midst of the cotton-consuming district of England. In common with the bulk of my country men, I have been surprised and grieved at the tone of feeling which has prevalled in the press of the United States towards this country, in relation to the present unhappy civil war which rages in your country. In order to put the readers of The Independent right on this subject, I am induced to write this letter to express the feelings and the opinions which generally prevail in England on this question. I do it not only in accordance with the lent of my own inclination, but at the suggestion of others who, with myself, are distressed at the false impressions which the people of the United States have of the policy of our Government and the sentiments of the British nation.

It is a matter of deep sorrow to the majority of this nation shat an evil of such tremendous magnitude as a civil war should have befallen the United States. Do.not mistake me. I do not say that we are sorry that the Northern States have risen as one man in defence of their Federal Government, and in putting down the Southern rebellion—in this we rejorce—but we are grieved that there should be any necessity for war, and the immense loss of human life. In this country there is really a strong desire for the union, the freedom, and the prosperity of the United States. Our newspapers may criticise your character, Government and proceedings, and even show sometimes an improper spirit, and individuals may indulge in hostile criticisms; but still the nation at large, including our politicians, entertain a sincere desire for the good-will and the prosperity of your country. If unkind observations were to become the rule by which the feeling of one country toward another should be determined, I do not know where any of us should be. The press of this country are constantly criticising the institutions, the movements, and the men of their own nation; and if they sometimes turn their a

between the North and the South. There may be a few indiciduals who are influenced by connection with the South and by prejudice, to favor the cause of the Secessionists, but as a whole nation we are, without doubt or hesitation, of opinion that justice, truth and right are on the side of the North, and that the South have not a genuine pretence, say nothing of principle, to justify their proceedings. They seceded without any ground of complaint, and in our judgment were influenced only by the spirit of tyranny and monopoly. We regard you in the North, therefore, as fighting in the cause of justice and freedom, against an unscrupulous faction who desire to make the United States a republic, founded upon the detestable principle of slavegy.

Believing that the Northern States are engaged in a righteous cause, we have but one intense desire, viz., that they will specifly triumph over the Southern rebellion, and utterly crush the slaveocracy, and rescue the republic from slave dictation. Now that this war has commenced, and that the dispute cannot be settled without bloodshed, our hope is that it will be carried on by the North with vigor, until the South is completely prostrated, and the power of slavery forever destroyed or immensely diminished. Though regretting such a calamity as a civil war, we are inclined to think that the present is an emergency thrust upon the North, in order that they may discharge their duties to the slave and the Republic in reference to the slaveocracy. It is evident to us in this country, that the North has suffered itself to be bullied by the South too long, and that now is the time for emancipating your-selves from the bondage, and asserting the prerogaand that now is the time for emancipating your selves from the bondage, and asserting the preroga tives of the majority, and the preponderance of wealth and intelligence which are found in the free States.

These sentiments of good-will to the North, and speedy and complete victory over the Secessionists, are the general sentiments of the people of this country. Whilst entertaining them as individuals, our government and nation have long determined to take no part in the struggle, but to remain neutral. This is the only policy possible to us as a nation, and the one which your government has demanded and the press has required. In carrying out this policy consistently, our government has, however, been entirely misunderstood by your press and people. The recognition of the "belligerent rights" of the South has been interpreted as taking sides with the South, or as recognizing a complete equality between the North and the South. This is a total misconception. The constant intercourse between this country and the South, as well as the North, required that our practical policy should be well defined and proclaimed; and, in accordance with the law and custom of old nations, a policy of neutrality required that such recognition should take place. But this expresses no opinion on the dispute or the merits of the contest; it simply recognizes existing facts—two portions of one nation at war—and resolves to allow them to fight it out themselves. Such recognition was unavoidable as a guiding principle of conduct. We will not allow privateers to enter any of our harbors, or to take advantage of any means belonging to our government, nor will we allow British subjects to join them. If our government had not made this recognition, they would have been compelled to treat the privateers as pirates, and to employ their own forces in putting them down. Also, if they had not done so, they could not have acknowledged the blockade of the Southern ports for revenue purposes, as contended even by The Independent itself—it is to all intents. speedy and complete victory over the Secessionists, are the general sentiments of the people of this country. Whilst entertaining them as individuals, It is evident that the blockade is more than closing certain ports for revenue purposes, as contended even by The Independent itself—it is to all intents and purposes a regular blockade in accordance with the laws of war. If such were not the case, why should United States ships of war seize, even on the open sea, vessels belonging to the South, and confiscate the goods of private individuals? In fact, in our judgment your government are treating the Southern States as a foreign country at war with

Your well-wisher, J. E.

The Biberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1861.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST

usetts Anti-Slavery S he twenty-sixth anniversary of the day when

Was heard the clash of breaking chains,"

at Abington, on Thursday of last week, August Ist.
This celebration has been held for so many years, that
it has now become an institution, and it is one that
we doubt not, will be perpetuated until the coming of
the jubilee for the four million of slaves in this land. The heavy rain of the previous night, and the threat-ening aspect of the heavens in the morning, made the gathering snaller, in point of numbers, than in former years, but still, it was sufficiently large to crowd the Town Hall,-where the morning session was held,-

o overflowing. The meeting o'clock, by E. H. HEYWOOD, who, in behalf of th Committee of Arrangements, proposed the followin list of officers :-

President-WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston

Vice Presidents—BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth; Hon. E W. Bird, Walpole; James N. Buptun, Lynn; Rev. Sam url J. May, New York; A. J. Groven, Esq., Illinois MARY GREW. Penn. : Mrs. CHARLOTTE A. JOY. Hopedale SAMURL S. DREW, Dorchester; F. M. VANGRAN, Middle boro'; EDMURD JACKSON, Boston; E. D. DRAFER, Hopdale.

Secretaries-CHAS. K. WHIPPLE, JAS. M. W. YERRI

Finance Committee-Elbridge Sprague, J. G. Dodge LOUISE WELLINGTON, ELIZA WELLINGTON, MARY WILLEY Dr. T. P. Knox.

These officers were unanimously accepted by the

Mr. Garrison, on taking his position as President, was heartly cheered. He said— The system of slavery which was abolished twenty

seven years ago by the flat of British philanthropy was, in its leading features, essentially like that which exists in the Southern part of our country. The number of victims held in bondage was only one fifth many as are now driven to unrequited toil on ou Southern plantations. The slave code of the Wes Indies was bloody and barbarous. Chains and thumb screws, whips and drivers and bloodhounds, were the paraphernalia of that horrible system, whose over: throw we have met to celebrate. One would naturally think, that when the effort was first made to abolish a system so palpably wicked and cruel, there would have been an uprising of the people every where in Great Britain, in favor of so humane an ob But the historical fact is, that the fiercest opportunity sition was manifested towards the friends pation from the day when Clarkson and Wilberford stood foremost in the work of freedom, until the las hour, when the chains of those in bondage were b

Twenty-seven years have passed since emand tion took place. You know that it was confidently predicted that such a measure would be productive of vastly more evil than slavery itself. But where are the false prophets who told us that, if the slaves should be liberated, they would ravage the plantations and carry fire and desolation wherever they might go Every year has shown that freedom is safe and benef cent. No act of violence has been perpetrated during this long period. The West India islands have ever since been rising in the scale of human improvement and general prosperity. We Abolitionists, therefore, have a right to hold up our heads rejoicingly; to feel that we have been sustained by the rightcounges of our cause from the beginning; and that what we have been endeavoring to achieve for our country is to bring about the same auspicious state of things here as ex ists in the British isles.

detain you by any further introduct remarks; but propose that we commence by singing the hymn on the printed sheet,-

"Blest day of Britain's freedom, We hail thy brilliant light; Our vision is extended To see the joyful sight."

After the singing of this hymn, to the tune of the 'Missionary Hymn," Mr. Garrison read the following letter from Hon. N. H. WHITING, who had been ex ected to preside, but was unavoidably detained :-

BOSTON, July 31, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND, -I find it will not be conrenient for me to attend the Anniversary of West India Emancipation; to-morrow, at Abington. I look upon the event you are to celebrate as one of the greatest oases in the vast desert of crime and oppreson with which earth is filled; and it is amo brightest jewels in the historic renown of the nation or people, by whom the simple act of justice you orate was done. How far it can be said, "They builded better than they knew," or wrought from the narrowest and meanest selfishness a deed of peaceful and glorious humanity for a despised race erhans we shall never know.

Judging the British nation by its spirit and conduc towards us, since the commencement of our present struggle with the barbarism of slavery, now in open and wanton rebellion against the Constitution and the Union, it will not give us a very exalted opinion of

her philanthropy, justice, or honesty. To England, m ore than to all other causes, do we ow it that the devil of slavery is so woven into the social and political life of this nation, that, in the effort to devil of slavery is so woven into the social cast him out, like the young man in the Scripture, it may be taken up for dead; and though she has been taunting us, with full blown pharisaical pride, through many years, for our faithlessness to the principles contained in our Declaration of Independence, and our criminal connivance at the great crime of oppres the government, for the avowed purpose of seeking its destruction, because it can no longer be sked in its remorreless crusade against human freedom, than the moral (or immoral) and political influence of the

our judgment your government are treating the Southern States as a foreign country at war with themselves, and therefore they recognize the same facts and the same law as are mpiled in our recognition of "belligerent rights." Do not, therefore imagine that in opinion or action we are in favor of the South. If this recognition had not taken place, we should have been required by the circumstances of the case to take sides in the contest, thence, in denying the propriety of our policy, you positively wish us to take a part in the contest. Our best wishes are with you, the people of the North; but our policy is one of fair and strict neutrality.

I have said that I reside in the centre of the cotton-consuming district of England. You seem to imagine that the cotton question blinds our eyes to the true nature of the contest. I beg to inform you that such is not the case. The people of this district are quite calm. If the war and the blockade continue till next winter, the cotton trade of this district are quite calm. If the war and the blockade continue till next winter, the cotton trade of this district will suffer — but will not be destroyed. We are making immense efforts to promote the growth of cotton in India, Africa, the West Indies, and some 'fifty other places. In India, now some four million bales of cotton are grown, and nothing but good communications to the scaboard are required to secure an immense supply, and this is being rapidly secured. In my opinion, the ultimate result of the Southern rebellion will be the death-blow to slavery. Come what will, this country will no longer be mainly dependent upon the Southern States for the supply of the raw material of cotton, and those States will there again be permitted to dictate to the North.

You well-wisher,

J. E.

Your well-wisher,

J. E.

Your well-wisher,

J. D.

You seem the growth and proportion of the south. The prestige of slavery in the government is lost. It is crippled to sever many a lecture sforetime! Noy rebellion seems riot through the Sout in the embraces of the monster Python," who, through British cupidity, as well as American prejudice and avarice, has been suffered to coil around the nation's heart. How icy cold has her boasted philanthropy become! With what carping criticism — with what heartless indifference, or scarcely veiled sympathy with the rebellion—is the progress of this great drama watched by the ruling classes in the British Isles!— although it is manifest that in its development is involved the weal or wee of uncounted millions of our race, in the present and future. With what hot, not say indecent haste do they express their more than race, in the present and ruture. With what hot, not to say indecent haste do they express their more than half recognition of the so-called Confederate States, which they have treaties, and with which they have not only had relations of friendship and amity for many years, but for whose support of slavery they have read us many a lecture aforetime! Noy rebel-lion seems riot through the South. The prestige of slavery in the lion seems riot through the South. The prestige slavery in the government is lost. It is cripple gg The Washington correspondent of the New York Herald says, "The Bull Run affair seems to have whetted the appetite of our soldiers for an opportunity to retrieve the credit of our cause. When an order to pack up and more was send to the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment, this afternoon, the culturisate of the new saintenance of the saintenance of the new saintenance of the new saintenance of the saintenance of the new saintenance of the saintenance of the new saintenance of the new saintenance of the new saintenance of the saintenance of the new saintenance of the new

anger they excited." "Inevitable"! "reason are they? When before, in all the history Britain, has she recognized the belligeren rights of any people, rising in rebellion against con stituted authority, before the ink was dry with which struted authority, before the ink was dry with which their proclamation of independence was written? Was it in the case of Greece, of Hungary, of Poland—of Italy even? When did it ever before occur? For shame! men of England! If you desire the destruction of the American nation, have the maniliness to say so, as the organ of the tory interest, Blackood's Magazine, is frank enough to avov seek to hide your jealousy and envy behind so shal-low an excuse as Mr. Webb, with the Gregorys and Lord John Russells, offers for the encouragement they

are giving to our rebels.

We have had, on this side of the water, a sort of excuse for the British government in their evident anxiety, and apparent necessity, for a supply of cotton, in order to obtain bread for a large number of their people. But Mr. Webb gives up even this poor plea, affirming that "the world is wide, and that in India, in China, and in Africa, there may be obtained a supply a hundred fold greater than their wants."

If this be true, it shows an ignorance or malignity even more inexcusable and hateful than we hav been disposed to charge them with; and places ther before the world as the conscious, deliberate, but no by any means ingenuous allies of slavery, in order t if not destroy, a formidable, and hitherto su crippl

cessful rival. It may be true, as Mr. Webb says, that "the wealth, strength and courage of England are prodigious," and at a premium; but her sincerity, liberality and justice, I fear, will only be taken at a large discount. I would fain believe that the great body of the English people are with us in our day of trial, and hope may, in some way, put an effectual veto upon the manifest tendency of cotton and corn to take part in this warfare, and that, too, on the side of slavery. But I think we had better make up our minds to fight this battle against the concealed, possibly the open hostility of the British government. Remembering ever that the gods help them who help themselves let us show ourselves worthy of victory, and the ap-proval of God and all good men, by seeking to do equal and exact justice to all.

equal and exact justice to all.

If our government is wise, it will not close this war until the vile system, which is its only cause, is placed beyond the reach of further mischief. In the wild tumult and shock of this great battle with the "Armageddon of the race," we may care little for the negro and may strive to utterly ignore him; but, more real, potent and terrible than Banquo's ghost, he will not down at our bidding. As hero-like Tillman, as "contraband," as fugitive from Slavery's dark den, as pa-tient and earnest worker in the ranks of the rebel army, he is ever summoning us to judgment. On one side or the other, he is sure to be seen and felt. If we are disposed to treat him as a man, he will play the part of a man towards us; but if, on the contrary, through mistaken policy or relentless hate, we persist in treating him as a thing, to be used only as merchandize, to be driven into the hell of slavery, and trampled in its mire by the nation's armed heel, we must not be surprised if he joins with his master in the work of throttling a nation which the direct calamwell as the plainest dictates of justice and God's law, have failed to teach the simplest less ethics, namely, that neither individuals nor nations can serve God and Mammon, freedom and slavery,

warning declaration, "When Faith is lost, when Honor dies, The man is dead!"

When that occurs, the form or the continuance of any institution is not of the slightest moment.

Perhaps I cannot better close this long letter than by quoting a gem of purest gold with which that chronic hater of abolitionism, George Lunt, was somehow inspired, and say that, with the blessing of God, "We shall never tire of catching the diame from the forehead of eternal truth. The p whatever is purely good in life and thought is always welcome. We revert forever to the grand moral prin-ciples to which all ages have appealed. They never lose their force, however degraded we ourselves may be in mind and practice, and an honest sentimen finds its echo in the very hearts of thieves.

Hoping that you may have a pleasant and profitable

time at your meeting to-morrow, I remain, yours, enlisted for the war. N. H. WHITING.

Mr. Cannagow then made a few remarks in refer ence to this letter. He said—I am inclined to say a word on the letter of our respected friend, just read in your hearing. The tone of it is one of great severity toward the British government and people. So far as my esteemed friend, Richard D. Webb, is concerned, I am sure that his testimony is worth being taken as he gives it, namely,—that he does not be-lieve there is one man out of five hundred in England who does not heartily sympathize with the North in the Slave Power. (Ap and, surely, a friend so faithful, so long-tried, so clear sighted as he is, is not to be suspected of having any desire to bestow the least sympathy upon the traitors who are endeavoring to overturn this government for a who are cludeaving by the most diabolical purpose. It is true, the attitude of the British government is one of neutrality towards us, at the present time. Whether it should take different nd or not, is an open question. Ten millions of people in arms, asserting their right to fashion their own institutions and maintain their own independence, present a formidable difficulty, as it respects the matter of piracy; and as our own government has not yet hung any of the rebels as pirates, although it has yet hung any of the recess as piraces, antough it is caught a good many, I presume that England will hesi-tate to take the initiative in treating them as such. This is certain—England refuses to allow any of her ports to be used for the purposes of the South, in relation to the captures of our ships by rebel privateers. We to the captures of our sinps by recei privateers. We cannot expect much of any government, as a matter of disinterested virtue, in a critical emergency; but, as far as the people of England are concerned. I feel warranted in saying that they will never intelligently allow their government to do any act which shall make against the cause of freedom in which we are ted, which shall give any countenance what I now have the pleasure of America. (Cheers.) [1]
I now have the pleasure of introducing to you, as
the first speaker, one who has been, for more than
thirty years, a most devoted and faithful friend of the
Anti-Slayery cause; one to whom I feel Anti-Slayery cause; one to whom I feel myself so largely indebted for his early countenance and sup-port, that I have no language to express the feelings of

of this view, see Letter of the English correspondent of the New York Independent, in a preceding column.

to set up a government whose sole origin, scope and purpose is the "propagation, extension and perpetuation of human elavery" is And England—ANTI-SLAYENY ENGLAYED [!]—does not wait for the sun to rise, before she dube this nest of pirates,—these rebellious slave-propagandists,—these shameless traffickers in human flesh, as even she has been wont to call shem,—with the rights of "belligerents"! "O, the offence is rank—it smells to heaven!"

Your Irish correspondent, RICHARD D. WEBB, in his letter published in the last number of the Liberator, seems to be greatly surprised at what he calls the out. cry raised in this country against the action of the British government, to which I have alluded. "These measures," says Mr. Webb, "seemed so inevitable and so reasonable, that we did not know what to make and so reasonable, that we did not know what to make of the North, certainly—are coming to perceive that the great issue is now before us, and that the question is to be decided. the great issue is is to be decided.

Seventy-five years ago, Thomas Jeffer the most far seeing of all the men of that day, or that have since lived in our country, said (I may not quote his words precisely)—"If we do not liberate them [the slaves] by the generous energy of our own minds, they will liberate themselves by the awful processes of St. Domingo—civil and servile war." The civil of St. Domingo—civil and service war." The civil war is already upon us; and if we do not make that civil war end in the abolition of slavery, it will inevitably be followed by a servile war. It is obvious enough, and men are every where seeing, that this great commotion which is now agitating this country as it never was agitated before, and as no other country perhams was ever activated cannot be allayed until try, perhaps, was ever agitated, cannot be allayed until the source of this great trouble is removed. I hope it will not be allayed until then. (Applause.)

I need not say I am a man of peace. I need not

say I ashor the custom of war. I have argued against it with all the little power that I have. I believe it one of the greatest follies of which men can be guilty. But, notwithstanding all that has been said on this subject by Noah Worcester, for more than forty years, and all that has been said by Mr. Garrison for more than thirty years, and by those who Garrison for more than thirty years, and by those wh have labored with him,—notwithstanding all our remonstrances and all our entreaties to the people of our land to settle this great question, this terrible, this intolerable wrong in our midst, by peaceful and Christian means, the people have not heeded us; and Christian ministers, as they are called, and Christian churches, as they assume to be, have even ridiculed we have said on this subject; and now we are plunged into war. How are we to get out of it? The event is to show. All I can say is, that we can ever, blessed be God, get out of it, until we have utterly extirpated the cause of it (loud cheers); and a great many people throughout the country are coming to see that it is so, and are anxiously asking the ques tion, "What is to be done with the enslaved people of our land?" In reply to this question, I have said again and again, "Why have you not informed yourselves of the happy results of emancipation in the Brit-ish West Indies?" I am ashamed to say, that there I am ashamed to say, that there are a great many people, even in this who do not know how admirable, how far better th the most sanguine friends of that movement dared to anticipate, have been the results of emancipation in ly, how untiringly, how laboriously, the political press of our country—the Herald, the Commercial Advertiser, the Courier and Enquirer, in New York, and the Cou-rier, in Boston, (and, I believe, not less, in former days, the Daily Advertiser,) and I know not how many other papers, have tried to make it believed that it is a failure; and I have not a doubt that there are e; and I have not a doubt that there are well-meaning people among us who are now brought to the conviction that slavery ought to be and must be abolished in the country, who tremble at the anticipation of the evil consequences of emancipation, the utter unfitness of the enslaved for freedom. That is, the utter unfitness of human beings for their birthright! You might as well doubt whether men were fit to breathe as whether they are fit to be free. The nonsense of the objection would be so glaring as not to leave us patience to answer it, if it were not that the frequency of the objection has really become a matter of grave importance in the prosecu-tion of this great enterprise. Let us, then, my friends, send out from this meeting to-day as strong an utterance on the subject as we can bring ourselves to give of so plain and obvious a truth; and let us increase our diligence in circulating through the land, where-I think the day of the negro's emancipation is burstever we can, the admirable publications of our Socieing up the sky. I hope the nation has vitality enough , more especially Mrs. Child's excellent pamphlet. s safely through its terrible ordeal. Its destiny "The Right Way the Safe Way," that wherever the people who are now raising this inquiry are willing to pass sarely through its terrible orderal. Its desamy is in the hands of its people. At any rate, justice will survive; the right shall endure. By cleaving to this, the great cycle of immortal life is before us. Forsako have it answered, they may see how fully and how peautifully it has been answered in those islands ing these, through all the mutations of being there is written on the arch of heaven, as with a sunbeam, the

where took place the event we are here to celebrate-a glorious event indeed! The volume of Thome and Kimball, published in 1835, is a most thrillingly interesting narrative of the blessed effects that manifested themselves immediately after the Emancipation Act took effect. In 183-, Mr. Gurney, a very distinguished member of the Society of Friends in England, visited the West India Islands for the express purpose of informing himself, and the people of Great Britain, of the true results of their gift of freedom to the enslaved. His Report showed those results to have been much better the

Numerous articles, published from time to time in the Liberator, Anti-Slavery Standard, and the New York Tribune, have confirmed Mr. Gurney's Report by the most ample and indisputable testimonies.

Tracts have been published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, embodying the evidence thus obtained, and eloquently pressing it upon the consideration

of the doubting. 'In 1858, Rev. Henry Bleby, who had resided and labored as a missionary thirty years in the islands, visited this country. He lectured in several of our principal cities. The substance of his speeches was published in several periodicals, and in pamphlet form, giving the most satisfactory assurances that the eman-cipation of the enslaved in the British West India islands had been a blessing, in every way, to all con cerned.

The same assur nces were given to the British public, in 1860, by the Hon. Mr. Hincks, one of the Governors of the West India islands, then on a visit to England. But there has lately been published, by the Messrs. Harners of New York, a volume which I especially commend to the perusal of all who would prefer the testimony of such as have not been commit-ted to the anti-slavery cause in our country or in England. I refer to the volume entitled, "The Ordeal of Free and Slave Labor."

I have been reminded, in thinking of this meeting to-day, of other evidence of this self-evident truth, that it is safe to treat men as men. I have been thinking of other evidences that have come to me, since I entered upon this work of trying to induce our fellow-countrymen to regard and treat the enslav-ed population of the land as human beings, and to rely upon the healthful influences of those natural induce-ments to labor, and to behave as men should, which keep other people in proper subjection to what is rea-sonable and right. I shall never forget, and I have often used, the brief and all-comprehensive reply which our friend Elizur Wright, very early in ourmovement, gave to this question, "What shall be done with the enslaved population?" He said, "Take them from under Mr. Lash, and put them under Mr. Cash." (Applause.) That answers the under Mr. Cash." (Applause.) That answers the question as well as it can be answered. A folio volume which should be written with the best ability of the most eminent pro-slavery or anti-slavery man in our country, would bring us at last to that conclusion. "Take them from under Mr. Lash, and put them under Mr. Cash!" The simplest thing in the world; and that it has always worked well wherever it has been tried, we have the most abundant evidence.

I need not, of course, refer you now to the evidence, with which all anti-slavery persons, men and women, are so familiar, recorded in pamphlets and speeches that we have all of us, I trust, read again and again; but I remember, some twenty-five or more years ago, that excellent old man, Moses Brown, of Providence—

one of the earliest and truest friends of the antistavi-ry cause—put into my hands several important pample lets and stouter books, some of which, I still lare, but the one to which I am now about to refer, I as the one to which I are now about to refer, I as but the one to which I am now about to refer, I am sorry to say, I have not. I read it, however, with so sorry to say, I have sort much interest then, that it made an impression that has not been effaced; I am not conscious that it has has not been effaced; I am not conscious that it has been dimmed. Still, as I am going to state the concents from recollection, of course some allerance, must be made, notwithstanding my confidence in my memory. It was an account of Mr. Joshua Steek, of memory. memory. It was an account of Str. Sosmus Steels, of England, a man of large West India possessions, who England, a man of large West India possession, who had lived at ease in England, with little or no thought of those who were toiling for him on his far-distant plantations, until he had attained, I believe, neath, if plantations, until he had attained, I believe, nearly if not quite, the age of seventy years, when a deep ra-gious conviction came over him—those effects than are produced upon the hearts of men by that Spirit which is continually striving with us to will and to do of is continually striving with us to will and to do of the good pleasure of the impartial Father of u.d. A deep religious conviction came upon him, that he had been living in great unrightcounses, and had been guilty of terrible wrongs (to we tested to knew not) to those whom he held as his property. He therefore settled up his affairs in Esgland, took can be the knew of his fiftends, and, in 1780, cam to the kind of Barbadoes, with the determination to derue his leave of his rriends, and, in 1635, came to the island of Barbadoes, with the determination to derest his-self, the rest of his life, to the welfare of his reslated fellow-beings on his plantations—amounting, I think, to four or five hundred in all. od their condition much worse

He found their condition much worse than he had feared. He found the treatment to which they were subjected by his overseers more cruel than he could have believed, and the impositions practiced upon them in various ways by those overseers greater far than he hath dreamed of. He gathered about him his enslayed brethren and sisters, acknowledged the wrong of which he had been gally, and declared to them his intention thenceforward to be with them, and to do for them all that he might. He dismissed his overseers, called to his assistance some vonum who to do for them an that he might, he dismissed his overseers, called to his assistance some young men from England, who had never been contamy immediate connection with the workings of the lave system, opened accounts with all his slaves, who were able to be thus employed, as free laborers, and were able to be thus employed, as free laborer, and peald them wages. He encouraged and assisted then in improving their habitations, and gathering about them the comforts of civilized life. I need as to them the commors of civilized life. I need not go into detail. He did all that, under the circumstance, he knew how to do, to help them to live as human beings should live, and as those who are partaking of the blessings of liberty might live. In effect, so far as he could, he had emancipated his slaves—without perhaps, giving that name to it; though, if I temen ber right, (I am not sure on this point,) he informer them that, if they were willing to go from under his hand, they might; but if they pleased to remain, as he wished they might, he should do what he could for them. They all, with few exceptions, if my memory serves me right, chose to remain with him, in the relation of employer and employed. He was permitted to live—although, when he commenced this benevi lent operation, he was an old man-ten or fifteen years; and I remember distinctly the details which I read, with eyes filled with delight, of the constantly improving condition of the people in his employment for the whole number of years that he was permitted to live with them. Their expenditures for their own to live with them. Their expenditures for their own comfort and convenience were vastly greater, but the income from his estates to himselfg-after having paid his people generously, was greater than it ever had been while they were treated as slaves, and was in-creasingly greater to the last. (Loud applause.)

Now, friends, if any of you think I have not a good memory, I hope you will hunt up that little pamphlet,

and see wherein I am incorrect in my statements.

I will tell you now something that has never been written, but I think should be. Soon after I commenced, under the inspiration of this man, [Mr. Garrison,] who has misled me so much, (laughtef.) to labor in this cause, (I think it was in 1825.) as I was on my way to Taunton and New Bedford, I met two gentlemen in the stage, who, somehow or other, had eard who I was, and what I was about. After awhile they made this fact known to me, and gave me to un derstand that they were from the Southern States After conversing upon the subject, and learning what are the principles we arow and the purposes we aim to accomplish, one of the gentlemen said, with a ver kindly! and carnest manner, "Well, I don't blane you. Slavery is a horrible institution, and, for ay part, so far as I have been concerned with it I have got rid of it, as far as I can." "What," said I. "be you mean? Have you emancipated your slaves!" "Well, they know they may go mind to; but they choose to remain." "Do let me have," said I, "a full account of your experiment for have mysions to know all about it." "My name," he said, "is Marshalf, I am a lawyer, now settled in Fredericksburg, but I formerly hved on my plantation, which was about fifteen miles from Fredericksburg. I found, as you doubtless know many planters in eastern Virginia have found to their serow, that our system of labor was an exceedingly ex-pensive and wasteful one, and it had become evident to me that I was running behind hand, and could not ong sustain myself upon the place. Provoked by the mismanagement of the overseer, and in a feeling partly of despair and partly of impatience, I said to my wife. 'I am going to throw the plantation into the my wife, 'I am going to throw the plantation into the hands of the people, and let them see if ther car support themselves, and I will go into Frederickbur, and support myself by my profession.' She glad; consented." He called his slaves about him, forty in number, and told them he was going to Fredericksburg number, and told them he was going to Fredericksber to live; "and," said he, "I am going to give up the plantation to you, and you must see how you can ma-age it." Instantly, he said, an oxpression wenters their countenances which satisfied him he had too the right chord. "Master," said they, "you will se how we will manage." Before night, he said, they had had a meeting—the first democratic meeting, I suppose, ever held on a plantation (applause)—said chosen the very men whom he should have selected chosen the very men whom he should have selected as the best, to guide them in their new mole of living. They selected two, and called one Colonel, and the other Captain. Of course, they did not wast any overseers or drivers any longer.

Mr. Marshall said that, having done this, he west, as soon as possible, to Fredericksburg, where, of

course, he was very busy in establishing himself i his profession, so that something like two months his profession, so that something like two months passed before he went out to his plantation. Thes, happening to think, one day, that it was "play day" among the slaves, he said to his wife, "We will go of, and see how the slaves are getting along." Wen he approached the house, he saw no signs of joilification at all and when he saw men the resounds, he found at all, and when he got upon the grounds, he four them hard at work. So he called the Captain, of Colonel, and said, "How is this?" He answerd very intelligently and knowingly, "You know that the crop is in just such a situation, that a day's work is very important just now; and you know, may is very important just now; and you know, mater, said he, looking upon into his face, "we can the the day now whenever we 've a mind to." "Certaioly, said Mr. Marshall. So he went remud the plantation and was exceedingly gratified at the way in which they had managed it. He praised them highly, for said they had done admirably well, and went lack is Fredericksburg very well satisfied with what he had seen. A few weeks later, there came a messenger, a seen. A few weeks later, there came a messenger, of a feaming horse, to report to him that there was st insurrection on his plantation. "Insurrection!" so he, "what is there for them to have an insurrection about?" You can easily understand that some of h neighbors were not very well pleased at the way is neighbors were not very well pleased at the way at which he had managed his plantation; but yor kos the plantations are widely separated in that section and nothing had occurred specially to excite their fast until that day. It did not occur to him what he resoluted to be under the section of the work of the was led to sunnose had occurred in the neighborhood. ble could be, but in deference to the analysis was led to suppose had occurred in the neighborhood he mounted his horse to go to the plantation, and see what the trouble was. When he got there, the size what the trouble was. what the trouble was. exclaimed, "How did you know this was our part day?" (Laughter and applause.) So he went to the

neighboring plantation, and allayed the fears of the people there by assuring them that his slaves were only having their "play day," and then returned and spent the day with them. Of course, he was treated like a lord. They took him about the place, and showed him the improvements they had made in their houses—how many convenient domestic utensile they lad supplied themselves with; and they were particularly auxions that he should see how well they were managing this and that crop, and all that. He said he was 'perfectly satisfied that the experiment was an entirely safe one; that it was safe to treat man as rely safe one; that it was safe to treat man as a strange as it may seem! (Applause.) "And," man, strange as it may I added, "very unsafe, sir, to treat man as any thing else but man." (Renewed applause.) Very unsafe, a

se are finding continually.

This experiment had been going on, Mr. Marshall told me, five years, and his slaves had never been ha so comfortable. "Talk about their not being able to so comfortable. "Talk about their take care of themselves!" said he. "My oversectake care of themselves!" said he. "My oversectake care of themselves!" d my agents never have taken half as go s they have taken of themselves, and my pla now; I was running behind-hand before."

Now, my friends, you are not surprised at this You would be almost ashamed that I should tell you the story to convince you of the truth. And yet, just such facts as these are necessary to be spread befor the people of our country, to convince them that the danger resides in the terrible experiment that I been going on so long in our country; that experiment which would make brutes of human beings subject to the condition of domesticated animals those whom God has created in his own image, and intende and be followers of himself as dear children. Tha is the fearful experiment that the people of this coun-try have been making for a hundred years; and look at the horrible predicament into which our country is now thrown | God only knows how we are to con out of it. It is a just retribution. I bow reverently and submissively to this vindication of right which is now going on in our midst. Never since I though of the subject have I dared to pray that I, or any whom I love, or any others, might be exempted from the natural consequences of our sins and our follies. I have long since got rid of those notions of God that led me to fear that he would treat us, wicked, ungrate ful, perverse as we may be, with any too great severity No. I believe that we shall be brought out of this ter rible predicament somehow, better, perhaps, than we fear; but yet not until we have been made to feel and nitently to own, that we have been a fearfully wicke ople. (Applause.) It is by true, unfeigned, heart fest repeatance alone that this most egregious, Heaven daring, God-defying system of iniquity, and its con sequences, can be utterly done away. (Applause.)

The President then introduced WENDELL PHIL plause. His speech—a most timely and able one—may

be found on our first page.

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's speech, the meeting, after singing another hymn, adjourned for one

We shall publish the substance of the afterno eedings next week.]

BRITISH WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

The celebration of the colored citizens of Ne

The celebration of the colored citizens of New Bedford, in commemoration of the 27th anniversary of British West India Emancipation, took place at Annold's Grove on Friday afternoon, August 21. The meeting was organized with the following offi-tyrs: — President, Alfred -Swan; Vice-Presidents, Chas. Allen, Rev. Wm. Jackson, Dr. Thomas Bayne, Wm. Henry Johnson; Secretaries, Dr. William P. Powell Jr. John Freedom. Powell, Jr., John Freedom.

Nev. Edmund Kelley officiated as Chaplain, and

offered prayer. The following resolutions were offered by Wm. P

Powell:-

Whereas, in order to subjugate the legitimate government of the United States, his un-excellency, the arch traitor and would be President, Jeff. Davis, issued his proclamation at Montgomery, to commission let has procumation at account of the lawful property of loyal American citizens; and,
Whereas, in view of this atrocious fact, several

piratical vessels are already in commission, and sev eral vessels and cargoes seized and forfeited, and sev-eral loyal colored American citizens sold into life-long slavery, contrary to the codes of civil warfare and international law : therefore,

Resolved, That Wm. Tillman, the colored stewar schooner S. J. Waring, seized by the piratical brig Jeff. Davis, 7th July, for his heroic act, in recapturing said vessel and cargo, by unwillingly taking the lives of the piratical crew, thereby saving valuable property to the amount of \$100,000; and also in saving of what is of more value than money, his own liberty, is entitled to the unanimous thanks of the United States

That a Committee of three be appointed to forward these resolutions to the Hon. T. Dawes Eliot, Representative from this district, and present the same t

Congress.

That the proceedings of this meeting, together with the resolutions, be published in the New Bedford Mercury, Evening Standard, Boston Liberator, Ne York National Anti-Slavery Standard.

The resolutions were adopted.
Eloquent and interesting addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Girdwood, Dr. Stearns, Hon. Rodney French,

Dr. Bayne, Rev. Thomas Jones, Dr. William Powell, David W. Ruggles and William Henry Johnson. The following preamble and resolution, offered by Dr. Bayne, were also adopted:—

Whereas, the colored people of this Commonwealth have applied to the Legislature to have the word white stricken from the militia list, that the colored men of this Commonwealth might render loyal service in

times of war; and, Whereas, His Excellency ex-Governor Banks has decided that the grant of such a petition would be unconstitutional-therefore,

Resolved, That we, as colored men, regard it hypocritical and wicked in those that ask us

The assembly was quite large and respectable, and everything was conducted in the most orderly and satisfactory manner.

WASHINGTON ON SLAVERY. The following sentiments of Gen. George Washington, in a letter to Gen. Lafayette in 1791, will show with sufficient significance what was his opinion of the peculiar institution at tha

time:—

"I agree with you cordially in your views in regard to negro slavery. I have long considered it a most serious evil, both socially and politically, and I should rejoice in any feasible scheme to rid our States of such a burden. The Congress of 1787, adopted an ordinance which prohibits the existence of involuntary servitude in our Northwestern Territory forever. I cyanifer it a wise measure. It met with the approval and about of nearly every insorber from the States more immediately interested in slave labor. The prevailing opinion is Virginia is against the spread of slavery in our new Territories, AND I TRUST WE SHALL HAVE A CONFEDERACT OF PREE STATES."

If Washington were living to uttor auch a sentiment

If Washington were living to utter such a sentiment as this in Richmond, he would hardly escape being summarily lynched or banished!

Rev. W. H. Channing, lately of Liverpool, but who has since accepted a call to Brixtone Chapel, London, is in Boston, diligently learning all he can regarding the condition and prospects of the country in this emergency, and posting leading English thinkers on the matter. He is looking very well, and is exceedingly absorbed in the state of things. A lecture of his in London has been published in London, nakes a considerable pamphlet. It is one of the best things that have appeared on the subject. It is sold by Walker, Wise & Co., in Boston.

DISCUSSION ON EMIGRATION. ted for the Pine and Palm by James M. W. Y

On the evening of the 21st ult., Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., delivered an address in Rev. Mr. Grinest church, Southac street, on the War and the Haytian Emigration Movement—a verbatim report of which appeared in the Pine and Polm of July 25.

While the collection was being taken up, Mr. Garrison said, if any person in the audience desired to ask any questions, he would endeavor to answer them. Geones T. Dowstro.—A great deal of confidence is naturally placed in any remark that falls from our friend Mr. Garrison, because we have known him long and well, and we know that whatever he says, he says in an honest spirit, and not in the spirit of compromise, and that he will speak freely and fully what he thinks. He has drawn several parallels between the old Colonization Society and the new. There are two others, to which he has not alluded. One is this: that both of them seem to desire to create in the minds of the colored people the impression that they cannot that both of them seem to desire to create in the minus of the colored people the impression that they cannot be anything in this country. I think that any one who has fallowed the movements of the two Societies, will admit that this is a fact. Another point is this: that they both aim to keep the light from us, by preventing discussion. I will give an instance. Mr. Hamilton, in connection with Mr. Sipkins, went into several colonization meetings, some years back, an dared to ask certain questions as to the bearing of the nt upon the interests of the colored po movement upon the interests of the colored people, but they were not permitted to discuss the matter. This Society will not allow any colored man to question its motive or plans. I believe I am stating facts. These two parallels have a striking influence upon my mind. If I was allowed to discuss this matter feeely, I might look with more favor than I do upon this movement. But finding this depressing influence emanating from the Society, and, also, a disposition on the part of the Society to suppress all discussion, I questi esty of it.

Mr. Garrison.—I would say, in reply to the state ments of our friend Mr. Downing, that whenever of wherever I shall see any such spirit exhibited, shall feel bound to denounce it in the strongest man If this is the spirit which animates th have the new movement under their charge, it cer-tainly does not indicate the right spirit, nor one that is willing to be "searched as with a candle."

As to the assertion that you cannot rise in the scale of civilization here, I should be sorry to find any colored man retailing that monstrous heresy of the colored man retailing that monstrous old Colonization Society. I regard it as a libel upo the goodness of God, and the power of Christianity It may be, that you will suffer yet a good deal from complexional prejudice; it may be, that I am too sar guine in the expectation that all your rights will, at no distant day, be conceded to you; it may be, that the day of emancipation is further off than I now appre-hend it to be; but I beg of you not to lose your trust in God, or in the power of his truth, and not to believ that this country is so utterly depraved that the truth cannot find its way into the hearts of the people, and that we cannot, as a nation, be saved. I desire you to believe that you shall rise here in "the good time coming"; that you are not to be always kept down and to give no countenance to any man, or any body of men, who propagate the disheartening doctrine that you must always be despised and degraded here: And vet, if a man is so morbidly constituted that he can not take any other view than that, of course he wil advocate it; and perhaps we ought to be as charitable towards him as possible, especially if he be a colored man. But when I hear a white man assert that you can never rise here, on account of your complexion, it creates a moral conflagration in my soul. I should be sorry to have any colored man imitate that be example by expressing his conviction that you musleave the country, before you can gain the possession of your rights, and escape from inevitable degrada

WM. W. BROWN.-I should be very sorry to have those of our people who are here go away with the im-pression that the emigration movement advocates the doctrine, that colored men cannot rise in this country, If it should appear that such a doctrine was advocated, I would at once oppose it, as I would slavery in the Southern States. I am glad my friend Garrison has not seen any thing of that kind, for we all know he would oppose it, if he saw it manifested. I have heard colored men say that we cannot rise in this country, but I have never heard any say so connected

with this movement. In regard to the matter of discussion in their jou al, that may be a matter of opinion. It may be that they thought the subjects presented were not sented in the manner that they ought to have l I remember to have heard the expression used by Mr Redpath, within a day or two, that Thomas W. Hig ginson could have a column every week to oppose the movement, if he thought fit; or any body who would discuss the subject in a manner that was calculated to enlighten the people, and not abuse the privileges of

I thought it was no more than justice to the move ment to make this explanation, for I myself feel an interest in Hayti; but the interest I feel is not sufficient to make me willing that our cause should be lamaged here, in order that Hayti may be benefitted by emigration there. Still, we ought to do the per connected with this movement simple justice Mr. Garrison's remarks upon Hayti I concur in entire ly. I think that they are timely and just, and what we ought to hear upon this subject. It seems to me that we ought to hesitate, before leaving the countries of the countries try, upon every little thing that comes up; but when such a movement as this by the Haytian government is inaugurated, and taken up by people here, we ought to do them justice, and give justice to those who are interested in the movement here.

Mn. Downing .- Mr. Garrison will observe point of my questions. I mentioned two parallels between the Societies, of which he had not spok wish to have his impressions upon these points. Societies, of which he had not spoken.

Mr. Garrison.-I have heard that, in discussing this question, some of the agents employed have held up this desponding view. I cannot speak of my own knowledge upon this point. I only say, that if I all the Territories n shall discover any thing of the kind in a tangible shape, I shall certainly not be sparing of my rebuke. I abbor the old doctrine, and hold it to be very per-nicious. It seems to me that the progress of the last thirty years has been very wonderful, in subduing and they years has been very womerful, in subduing and overcoming this unnatural prejudice; and although much more remains to be done, still, in view of the past, and of the signs with regard to the future, I think whichever of the Republics that State shall decide to we may all of us "thank God, and take courage." I belong; the proportion of the cost of the public build-would not have you leave this country on any account; and yet, I admit, it requires almost or quite an apostolic self-sacrice for you to remain. Nowithstanding Republic will then establish its capital in a more elithe advance in public opinion on the right side, there is still a heavy pressure upon you everywhere. The temptation to go elsewhere among people of your own complexion, where you will no longer be proscribed, ber of limited locations on the banks of that river, to is certainly a powerful one; and I think a great deal may be pardoned to one who, feeling that pressure very keenly, desires to get out of this country. Nevertheless, I want to impress it upon your minds, that it will be the noblest work you can do, to stand here in to return fugitives from service in the Southern Re your lot, and, if it must be so, suffer—(applause)—suf-fer for the sake of the millions in bondage. I want to see the colored people increasing, not diminishing, in number. The slaveholder dreads to have you mul tiply, and I want you to multiply. He wants you to be shipped out of the country; I would have you resolve not to be shipped out of the country. He understands the bearing of this question very sagacious-ly upon the slave system. Before God, I do not see how this nation can be really civilized and Christ ized, if you go. You are needed to make us Christians, to make us understand what Christianity means

going continued. See how it is composed of all me, and nations, except colored ment: But they will have a chance, by and by I say it is significant; that the day is very near at hand, when the last vestige o caste will be destroyed, and there will no longer be any black or any white men to talk about, invidiously and hatefully, but we shall mingle harmoniously to gether as one people. And may God hasten the day

THE ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND.

Let us not be unreasonable in our expectation England in the struggle now pending in this county when we say England, we mean sometimes people of Great Britain, and sometimes their governments.

If, when we talk of the duty of Er aympathy and aid to the North in the existing contest, we mean the people of England, it should be remembered that that nation includes as many varieties in feeling, interest, prejudice, principle, and want of principle, as our own. If it be asked—What is the seeing of Americans towards England t—the answer must be that half a dozen widely different states of feeling are cherished and expressed by as many widely different classes here, each possessed of more or less influence through its numbers, its weight, or its acfeeling of Americans towards England !-- the answer tivity. Of course, the same variety of feeling exists among the English people in relation to us. The Times, and Blackwood's Magazine, and the English lady who wrote, a few years ago, a book full of intense landation of Southern society, effert escent with de-light in its manners, customs, morals, religion, and no less in its "peculiar institution," have their circle of iess in its "peculiar institution," have their circle of symathizers, and that a large and powerful one. They, certainly, are not to be expected to favor us in preference to the South. Neither can such favor be expected from that large portion of the mercantile class who think free trade the best, and "protection" the worst of all possible things; nor from that large por worst of air possible things; nor from that large po-tion of the manufacturing class to whom cotton is the most important of all worldly considerations; nor from those temporal and spiritual dignitaries who have, ever since our Revolution, considered overmuch freedom to be the vice and the danger of this country, and who have constantly looked for its declin-(not at all in consequence of the amount of democracy incorporated with it. (The consequence of the amount of tyrauny incorporated with it. These classes, at least, all great and strong ones, cannot be expected to sympathize particularly with the North. They declare our prosent trouble be a fulfilment of their oft-repeated pro-

thropists of England? from those of her people wh rejoice in the fact that their slavery was long sine abolished, and who have long urged the duty of i Northern continued complicity with slavery ?

These persons feel, no doubt, an active sympathy with the Abolitionists, the people who are laboring, now as heretofore, in the direction of their wishes, and of justice and humanity; but can they be expected to show or to feel any active interest in tha United States Government which takes special care United States Government which takes special care that its action against rebellious slaveholders shall no interfere with their slavery?—which makes special protestation of its purpose to protect that wickedness in the loyal States, and to leave it undisturbed even in the hostile ones? Favor and help to the present Administration, in its present attitude, would give no direct help to the overthrow of slavery. Even if such help were given, to the extent of compelling a submission of the rebels, slavery would still exist among ther and exist by our direct connivance, as heretofore; and would still produce the same pestilent brood of trou bles, making constant efforts to overthrow its natura While our government conenemy, liberty. right, not only to its citizens but to its rebels, to hole slaves, what can British philanthropists do but look on and wait, protesting, meanwhile, against such folly

But if, when we say England ought to help us put down the rebellion, we mean the Buglish government, we show ourselves to be guided by prejudice rather than reason. Governments, no more than corpora-tions, have souls. They are governed by deliberate considerations of policy. Like Napoleon's idea of Providence, they are on the side of the strongest bat talions; and until it is proved which side is the strong est, their part is to wait. Is the second to do more than his principal? Everybody sees that our gov ernment occupies a position of defence far more than of active forward movement. It keeps as quiet as its Southern assailants will allow. It does as little a possible, except guarding its capital against fire and sword. It makes no attempt to remove known trai-tors, not merely from the seat of government, but from positions of trust and active occupation in the government! It seizes a few actively traitorous per sons in the very act of treachery to the governmen and help to the enemy, and releases them on parole though they are known to be as destitute of he of honesty! It issues proclamations against certain persons as pirates; but when they full into its power though taken in the very act of murder and robbery on the high seas, it does not hang them as pirates! I the English government to be more active than ou wn in opposing our rebels? Under such circum tances, what can she do but wait? Before an effective cooperation with us against the South, mus she not at least have the assurance of acts more de cided than any that have yet appeared, that our gov

PLAN FOR TERMINATING THE WAR

Y DIVISION OF THE UNITED STATES, WITHOUT COM CESSION OF PRINCIPLE OR RIGHT ON THE PART OF THE NORTH

1. Let the United States be divided into two distinct Federal Republics, each sovereign and independent o

2. The Southern Slaveholding Republic to be bound ed by the present boundary between the Slave States and the Free States, unless either of the border Slave States shall determine to be attached to the Northern division.

3. The Western, or yet unsettled part of Texas, and

dition, to be annexed to the Northern Republic.

4. All the forts, arsenals, navy yards, and other public establishments or property of the United States, to be ceded to the Republic in the boundaries of which

they are respectively situated.

5. The District of Columbia, with the city of Wash gible situation in a free State.)

6. The navigation of the river Mississippi to be free to the citizens of both Republics; and a sufficient numits mouth, to be sold by the States bordering on the river to the Northern Republic, on which to erect forts or batteries for the protection of that navigation.

7. The Northern Republic no longer to be obligated ne, not recognized as such by any crit ics; nor to take any measure implying a recognition of the right of property in man; and to reserve the right of emancipating any persons coming in any way under its power or d

8. Commerce between the two Republics to be free; and no duties or imports to be levied by the Governments of either, on imports or exports from one Re-public to the other, unless by mutual consent, by treaty, or enactment of the legislatures of both Repub-

9. Travel, residence, domestic and social er best things that have appeared on the subject. It is sold by Walker, Wise & Co., in Boston.

It is sold by Walker, Wise & Co., in Boston.

We shall publish, in our next, the able Discourse of Rev. Mr. Mayo, of Albany, at Music Hall.

Course of Rev. Mr. Mayo, of Albany, at Music Hall.

ons, property, or rights of the iolation of the laws. conditions of separati

d recognize the actual stes, simply as a fact, ac-could not be prevented sould on bo of the acceded States, simply as a next, accompanies, by them, which could not be prevented; and then Commissioners might be appointed on both sides, to negotiate a treaty of peace, which might be on the above or similar terms, and which, when ratified by the Senate, would complete the separation.

It is easid that the Government and States of the Southern Confederacy will not agree to the above conditions, and will prefer to continue to resist the Redgest Convenees by war rather than consent to

Southern Confederacy will not agree to the above conditions, and will prefer to continue to resist the Federal Government by war, rather than consent to them; if so, then, after trial by Conference, (which ought to be made,) their refusal will not render it necessary for the Northern Government to give up a single one of these conditions, or any principle of right, or to continue this sanguinary conflict; the Northern Union has only to enact this plan of separation itself, to recognize the independence of the Southern Confederacy; to withdraw their armies from the second States; to take possession, by those forces, of the Territories claimed in the above project, still holding Washington and the Southern forts, and blockading the Southern ports; to expunge from the Constitution, by Art. 5, the provision for the return of fugitives from service; and then simply holding on to that position, without any further aggressive movement, the States of the Southern Confederacy, in view of the inevitable loss of many of their slaves, cut off from the inevitable loss of many of their slaves, cut off from all foreign commerce and intercourse, and standing in a worse position than this plan would allow them, would soon find themselves compelled to agree to these stipulations, or such others as we might choose

Let us now look at the advantages which would cerue to the Northern States, from the separation of the Southern on the above plan.

1. If adopted immediately, there would be a cessa

armistice,) a great saving of lives, treasure, and other blessings, and a peace secured, which might be per manent; as the causes of war now occurring between

2. The Northern Republic and its citizens would b xempted from the rec ognition of the right of human property, and from all obligations to the support of slavery, directly or indirectly.

8. The maintenance of Northern and Western free

dom could not be again imperilled, or secretly under-mined, by unprincipled parties, having a supposed interest again to favor the ascendancy in the Union of the slaveholding power. 4. There could be no further necessity for a but

ensome standing army, by the Northern Republic, now always required, for the suppression of servile nsurrection, or defence against Southern Indians.

 The vast expenditure of the revenue, now chiefly ollected at the North, and more proportionally dis-sursed at the South, would be economised. 6. The great reproach of the American Union Europe and elsewhere, as a nation professing ultra principles of freedom, and yet cherishing slavery in its bosom, would be removed from the Northern Re-

public, and its high reputation and influence conse quently reëstablished.
7. The regions covered by the Northern Republic would be vastly larger than those of the Southern and, freed from the weakening, impoverishing, and

corrupting influence of connected slavery, would in-vite a more intelligent immigration, and soon rise to vite a more intelligent immigration, and soon rise to an empire second to none on the earth, and take its ank with the first class of nations. 8. And lastly, The impossibility of preserving slav-ery at the South, when the Northern support should withdrawn from it, from the perpetual escape of slaves and danger of insurrection, would compel emai

n for safety, and thus make this m eparation for safety, and thus make this incessive of separation the speediest and most peaceable one of abolishing slavery that can be devised; the prosecu-tion of the war, however successful, while the Union s insisted on, cannot do it. J. P. B.

BATTLE IN MISSOURL

Union Troops Victorious—Defeat of McColloch's Army.
Serinofillo, Mo., 21. A battle occurred to-day
at Tug Spring, 19 miles south of this place, between
Gen. Lyon's forces and Ben McColloch's troops.
Eight of the former were killed, and 30 wounded; while 40 of Ben McColloch's rebels were killed and
44 wounded. Gen. Lyon took 80 stand of arms and
15 horses and wagons. Our cavalry, 270 strong, made
a charge on a body of rebels said to be 4000 strong,
cutting their way through, and routing them with a
loss of only five cavalry. The charge was most gal
lant and terrible. Several dead rebels were found
with their heads cloven clear through. The enemy
retired during the night, and Gen. Lyon took possession of the field. Another battle is momentarily expected, the enemy being in large force west of Springfield. Union Troops Victorious-Defeat of McColloch's Army

A COLORED CREW REFUSE TO GO INTO BALTIMONE, FOR FEAR OF BEING SOLD INTO SLAVERY. The
brig Robert C. Wright, Capt. Garland, arrived at
New York, on Sunday, under the following peculiar
circumstances:—It appears that the brig sailed from
Cuba, having on board an entire crew of colored men,
who, when they learned she was bound for Baltimore,
refused to go to that port, alleging that when they
arrived, they would be sold into bondage. No persuasion or assurance on the part of the captain and his
officers could alter the feelings of the colored men,
and they resolved on measures unwise, but in their
minds the only one by which they should escape a
life of slavery. They took a favorable opportunity,
and rose ea masse, and informed the captain and officers, if they persisted in going into Baltimore, they
would, by force, take possession of the vessel, and
bring her into a Northern port. The superior numbers of the colored crew, and their determined attudue, led Captain Garland to fear for the life of himself and officers; and after vainly attempting to mollify the exasperated negroes, he was obliged to alter
his course. On arriving at New York, the crew were
taken in charge by the harbor police, and committed
for trial.

out as a reward and inducement to the soldiers, who in no other way can get any pay. In a postseript on business is the following: 'There is, in the interior, a well organized negro soldiery, who are ready to de fend the soil, and to whom a bonus of \$10 is offered for every scalp of an invading foe; and I assure you they are anxious for a contest.'

Mr. Robert McGraw, brother of Henry McGraw, who accompanied Arnold Harris in the expedition to recover the body of Col. Cameron, has received intelligence from his brother, through Baltimore. Measrs, McGraw and Harris are comfortably cared for at Richmood. Mr. McGraw has been assigned prison quarters in a tobacco warehouse. The rebel leaders propose to exchange Measrs. Harris and McGraw for two of the officers of the piratical vessel expured by our fleet. This is the sublimity of impudence. Measrs, Harris and McGraw were taken prisoners while proceeding upon a mission of mercy under a flag of truce, and the pirates were captured in a tental they are anxious for a contest."

Mr. Robert McGraw, brother of Henry McGraw, who accompanied Arnold Harris in the expedition to recover the body of Col. Cameron, has received inteligence from his brother, through Baltimore. Mesars-McGraw and Harris are comfortably cared for at Richmond. Mr. McGraw has been assigned prison quarters in a tobacco warehouse. The rebel leaders propose to exchange Messrs. Harris and McGraw for two of the officers of the piratical vessel captured by our fleet. This is the sublimity of impudence. Messrs. Harris and McGraw were taken prisoners while proceeding upon a mission of mercy under a flag of truce, and the pirates were captured in actual hostility not recognized as legitimate by any Christian people.

people.

INDIANIANS HUNG. A man by the name of Elijah Thomas, and his eon, formerly of this city, were hung in Missouri by rebels, at the family residence on the line of the Hamilast and St. Joseph Railroad. Mr. Thomas hoisted the Stars and Stripes on his house-top, but hauled them down to prevent an attack. He was visited and asked if he raised the Union flag, and answering in the affirmative, he and his eldest son were seized and taken to the woods, and hung on the same tree.—Lafayate Courier.

The distributed in the same tree.—Lafayate Courier.

Two "contrabands" have just reached the Pocahontas, off Acquis Creek, saying that they escaped
recently from Mosquito Point, at the mouth of the
Rappahanneck. They add that they were part of a
force of 500 negroes that had been drafted from the
plantations within reach, to erect fortifications at that
point, for which work preparations were being made
when they sloped.

when they sloped.

HAYTAN INDEPENDENCE. In the U. S. Senate, on Monday last, Mr. Summer presented the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, instructing the Senators, and requesting the Representatives, from that State, by all means to encourage the recognition of the Republic of Hayti. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

of the Southern army in the late battle.

Fifty subscribers of the New York Tribune in Worcester have discontinued that sheet on account of the Republic of Hayti. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

GENERAL BUTLER ON THE CONTRABAND QUESTION.

owing interesting letter from Gen. Butler ceived at the War Department:-

has been received at the War Department;—

"Haldocarters Dipartment of Young and Haldocarters Dipartment of Young and Hon. Simon Carriers Morrors Morror of War:

Sir,—By an order received on the morning of the 20th July from Major General Dix, by a telegraphic order from Lieut-General Scott, I was commande to forward, of the troops of this department, four regiment, and a half, including Col. Baker's Californi regiment, to Washington via Baltimore. This order regiment, the Washington via Baltimore. This order regiment, believing that It emanated because the second of the control of th Baltimore. Believing that it emanated becausome pressing exigency for the defence of Wast ton, I tseude my orders before daybreak for the barkation of the troops, sending those who among the very best regiments I had. In the cof the following day, they were all embarked for timore, with the exception of some 400, for whe had no transportation, atthough I had all the transforce in the hands of the Quartermaster here, to the Bay line of steamers, which, by the same of from the Lieutenant-General, was directed to furnaments. imore, with the exception of some 4001, for whom had not transportation, although I had all the transport force in the hands of the Quartermaster here, to aid the Bay line of steamers, which, by the same order from the Lieutenant-General, was directed to furnish transportation. Up to and at the time of the order, I had been preparing for an advance movement by which I hoped to cripple the resources of the enemy at Yorktown, and especially by selzing a large quantity of negroes who were being pressed into their service in building the intrenchments there. I had five days previously been enabled to mount, for the first time, the first company of Light Artillery, which I had been empowered to raise, and they had but a single rifled cannon, an iron six-pounder. Of course, everything must and did yield to the supposed extra gency and the orders. This ordering away the froops from this department, while it weakened the posts at Newport News, necessitated the withdrawal of the troops from Hampton, where I was then throwing up intrenched works to enable me to hold the town with a small force, while I advanced up the York or James river. In the village of Hampton, there were a large number of negroes, composed in a great measure of women and children of the men who had fied thither within my lines for protection, who had secaped from marauding parties of rebels who had been gathering up able-bodied blacks to aid them in constructing their batteries on the James and York rivers. I laid employed the men in Hampton in throwing up intrenchements, and they were working zealously and efficiently at that duty, saving our soldiers from that is bor under the gleam of the mid-day aun. The women were earning substantially their own subsistence in washing, marketing, and taking care of the clothes of the soldiers, and rations were being served out to the cientry at time duty, saving our soldiers from that labor under the gleam of the mid-day sun. The women were earning substantially their own subsistence in washing, marketing, and taking care of the clothes of the soldiers, and rations were being served out to the men who worked for the support of the children. But by the evacuation of Hampton, rendered necessary by the withdrawal of troops, leaving me scarcely 5,000 men outside the Fort, including the force at Newport News, all these black people were obliged to break up their homes at Hampton, fleeing across the creck within my lines for protection and support. Indeed, it was a most distressing sight to see these poor creatures, who had trusted to the protection of the arms of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States, and who had become not legitives from fear of the return of the rebull soldiery, who had threatened to shoot the men who had wrought for us, and to carry off the women, who had served us, to a worse than Egyptian bondage. I have, therefore, now within the Peninsula, this side of Hampton Creek, 900 negroes, 300 of whom are able-bodied men, 30 of whom are men substantially past hard labor, 175 women, 225 children under the age of ten years, and 170 between ten and eighteen years, and many more coming in. The questions which this state of facts raises are very embarassing.

First, What shall be done with them? and, Second, What is their state and condition?

Upon these questions I desire the instructions of the Department.

The first question, however, may perhaps be an-

What is their suscess. I desire the instructions of the Department.

The first question, however, may perhaps be answered by considering the last. Are these men, women, and children slaves? Are they free! I stheir condition that of men, women, and children specific property, or is it a mixed relation? What their status was under the Constitution and laws, we all know. What has been the effect of rebellion and a state of war upon that status? When I adopted the theory of treating the able-bodied negroff to work in the trenchics as property, liable to be used in aid of gebellion, and so contraband of war, that condition of things was in so far met, as I then and still believe, on a legal and constitutional basis. But now a new series of questions arise. Passing by women, the children certainly cannot be treated on that basis; If property, they must be considered the incumbrance, rather than

questions arise. Passing by women, the children certainly cannot be treated on that basis; if property, they must be considered the incumbrance, rather than the auxiliary of an army, and, of course, in no possible legal relation, could be treated as contraband. Are they property? If they were so, they have been left by their masters and owners, deserted, thrown away, abandoned, like the wrecked vessel upon the ocean. Their former possessors and owners have causelessly, traitorously, rebelliously, and, to carry out the figure, practically abandoned them to be swallowed up by the Winter storm of starvation. If property, do they not become the property of the salvors? But we, their salvors, do not need and will not fiold such property and will assume no such ownership; has not, therefore, all proprietary relation ceased? Have they not become the propor men, women, and children? No longer under ownership of any kind, the fearful reliets of fugitive masters, have they not by their masters' acts, and the state of war, assumed the condition, which we hold to be the normal one, of those made in God's image? Is not every constitutional, legal, and moral requirement, as well to the runaway master as their relinquished slaves, thus answered? I confess that my own mind is compelled by this reasoning to look upon them as men and women. If not free born, yet free, manumitted, sent forth from the hand that held them, nover to be reclaimed.

Of course, if this reasoning thus imperfectly set.

senson of the field. Another battle is momentarily expected, the enemy being in large force west of Spring-field.

A COLORED CREW REFUSE TO GO INTO BALTIMONE, FOR PEAR OF BEING SOLD INTO SLAVENY. The brig Robert C. Wright, Capt. Garland, arrived at New York, on Sunday, under the following peculiar circumstances:—It appears that the brig sailed from Chab, having on board an entire crew of colored men, who, when they learned she was bound for Baltimore, refused to go to that port, alleging that when they arrived, they would be sold into bondage. No persuasion or assurance on the part of the captain and is officers could after the feelings of the colored men, and they resolved on measures unwise, but in this officers could after the feelings of the colored men, and they resolved on measures unwise, but in this officers could after the feelings of the colored men, and they resolved on measures unwise, but in this officers could after the feelings of the colored men, and they resolved on measures unwise, but in the following year and they resolved on measures unwise, but in the continuation of the colored the part of the captain and officers, if they persisted in going into Baltimore, they would, by force, take possession of the vessel, and bring her into a Northern port. The superior numbers of the colored crew, and their determined attitude, led Captain Garland to fear for the life of himself and officers; and after vainly attempting to molify the exasperated negroes, he was obliged to altone the colored crew, and their determined attitude, led Captain Garland to fear for the life of himself and officers; and after vainly attempting to molify the exasperated negroes, he was obliged to altone the colored crew, and their determined attitude, led Captain Garland to fear for the life of himself and officers; and the resolution of the colored crew, and their determined attitude, led Captain Garland to fear for the life of himself and officers; and the resolution of the colored crew, and their determined attitude, led C

ings were brought to erty and the pursu might not require m Pardon me for a

Pardon me for addressing the Secretary of Wa directly upon this question, as it involves some po-litical questions as well as propriety of military accretary of War I am, sir, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER."

Gen. Scott will not recognize the Southern Confederacy by exchanging prisoners. He will release on parole of honor. All the Confederate troops, sixty in number, recently taken prisoners in Western Virginia, and conveyed to Grafton, have been released on their parole. Those recently under Col. Pegram, also taken prisoners, have likewise been released.

The rebel sympathizers of Baltimore have sub-cribed \$2000 for provisions for the rebel prisoners at

Sunday last was observed in the churches at Mer phis, Tenn., as a day for thanksgiving for the succe of the Southern army in the late battle.

DEAR CHILDREN,—Before the apple trees were in blossom, or a nest of young robins had pipped their way out of the tiny blue eggs, some boys and girls began to sir about our Children's Convention, which we have held annually since 1855. So, some of them wrote a letter, and addressed it to an "uncle" of theirs, proposing to hold it in hot baste, and not wait for the usual time, in the autumn. Way did not open, however. Would you believe it, one of the signers is a Secessionist? Time was when he was a brave boy, but he seconded into the State of Matrimony. Even thy good name will not Shield thee, William! There are strong indications that others may go, but we must not be good name will not Shield thee, William? There are strong indications that others may go, but we must not be discouraged; we can afford to be magnanimous, and yet "sustain our Government," which we are determined to do at all banaris. The time has now arrived for the children to consider this anniversary their own. However, I took the responsibility to see our friend G. W. Peirce about the grand old Park, to go into after the meeting shall be overgrand old Park, to go into after the meeting shall so ever As usual, the birds poured out a torrest of earbling, as though they had something to say on the question; and I just thought that if every naciodious sound could come down like a snow flake, festooning the Norways, and mak-ing a white carpet under their wide-spreading boughs, and you were all there for about five minutes in your little bare feet—wouldn't it be real fun to see 1000 or 1500 little foct—wouldn't it be real fun to see 1000 or 1000 little tracks? By the way, that must be multiplied by two, as each follow would make two impressions. You would be as joyous as the little girl that had tight shoes, and took them of, stocking and all, saying, "There, little feets, now be happy, won't you?" I like snow and water. I have thought, sometimes, there would be a baby bern, if it is not already, that would make light and fuel out of water. We shall see

CHILDREN'S CONVENTION AT LONGWOOD,

CHESTER COUNTY, PA.

On Seventh day the 17th of the 8th mo., (August) 1861, at 10) o'clock, A. M.

INCLE JOSEPH'S SEVENTH ANNUAL LETTER TO THE LITTLE

We shall see.

Girls and boys, what do you remember the farthest back? How we should all be amused to hear each tell the story! Well, when I was a "wee little fellow," I had a fashion of running down, and playing by the side of a stream like the Brandywine. Father had cautioned me, without the desired effect. One day, he had me take off my clothing, and, suddenly as a bird would swallow a worm, sourced me meck and heels under the water. I sprang for the shore, but how I came to succeed in getting there, I never could tell. I was so frightened that I did not hear my father calling me to stop. I leaped like a young antelege, ran into the village street, and bounded in at the front doer. I learned a leason of obedience that day, and that is the farthest arned a lesson of obed ience that day, and that is the farther that I can rem ber away back amidst the sta

near half a century.

I wish the traitors could all be taught an effectual lesson.
I think they will be. They are like the borers who destroy

our beautiful trees.
Children, we must all work and pray, that the Angel of Liberty may cast out the Demon of Slavery which is boring out the heart, and causing the leaves on the tree of the nation to look sallow. The tree must not be suffered to die. When I think of overthrowing oppression, putting down intemperance, tobacco using, profanity I can't help feeling that little children ity, and all other evils, I can't help feeling that little children may aid in the work. I believe in my heart the holy Jesus thought so too, for wo read, "And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much disleased, and said unto them, "Suller the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the king-lom of God." "Verily, I say unto you, whosever sho not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall ot enter therein.'

There is a cord reaching from where we are, to where the forer of little children dwells. Let every little hand take hold of it, and, as some one said, it will ring the bell; and though we may not hear, the angels will hear, and God will

hold of it, saw, the angels will hear, and though we may not hear, the angels will hear, and answer us according to our works.

Come, then, come one, come all! When you think the wagon is full, sit a little closer, and crowd one more little fellow in. Our meeting will occur in August, the anniversary month of British emancipation, when hundreds of thousands of little children, with their parents, were from the condition of chattelism into freedom. God hasten the period when the foot-print of a glave shall ot pollute our fair land !

not pollute our fair land!

A noble little Chester county boy raised six dollars in five cent pieces last winter, and cent it to the committee to relieve the starring people in Kansas. I have never seen him. I hope he will come to the Convention. I would rather shake hands with him than with a chieftain or a rather shake hands with him than with a chieflain or a sonqueror. Let the galland little State of Delaware, our own counties of Lancaster, Montgomery, and Delaware, all be represented as usual, for we are to have a good time. The order will be first to hold the meeting, ben foad a couple of wagons with the well-filled baskets, when we will all alk over to the Park, with the distinct underst rriages are to enter the gate.

Affectionately, your Uncle and Friend

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

P. S. The West Chester and Philadelphia cars on the timore Central will arrive at 10 o'clock, A. M., at the enwood Station, twenty minutes walk from Longwood

DIED-In Roxbury, July 31st, Dr. Anos Farnsworth formerly of Groton,) in the 73d year of his age. Among he earliest to espouse the unpopular cause of the enslaved nillions in our land, he remained steadfast to the end lowing no considerations of professional suc bility, or religious standing, or social position, to bate his zeal, or limit his action. His public identication with that cause dates back more y-seven years. It was at an Anti-Slavery of order of the was at an anti-Stayery Convention, in Groton, where Dr. F. presided, on the 1st of October, 1834, that Grooms Thourson, Esq., the cloquent advocato of negro emancipation from England, made his introductoy speech—the commencement of that extended series which so electrified the friends and so alarmed the en-mines of those in bondage at the South. His residence was, for many years, the hospitable house of the agents and cturers of the American and Massachusetts An ocieties, of which he was an honored officer, as well as The service rendered to our cause, in its inflarcy, by so de-eided and uncompromising an adhesica as he gave to it, was, in view of his position, exceedingly valuable and im-portant. Though not permitted to live to see the abolition of slavery, his departure was at an hour full of promise in that direction—it being more and more manifest that that beneficant act will be seeminate to the life of the republic, and the only solution of the terrible conflict which is now

"O, Age! thy silver crown
Into the dast drops down:
O Death! thy sunset shadows close the eyes.
Barth's weary winter ends;
The withered leaf decounds;
Tho winged seed is wafted to the skies.

What glorious visions ope
Beyond the cloudy cope
Of pent Mortality's contrasted span !
O, Death I where is thy sting I—
Now blooms the second spring.
And youth and love renew the aged man.

Give to the dust its own!
Glad Soul, ascend thy throne!
In triumph riso—the convact march is given!
From sphere to sphere ascend!
Thy blies shall never cod—
For thine is life, love, harmony and heaven!"

FF A. T. FOSS will speak at North Beverly, Sunday, August 11.

EF R. H. HEYWOOD will speak on "The War," at Butland, Sunday, Aug. 11, 101-2, A. M Hubbardston, " " 5, P. M.

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL

THE next Term of this Reformatory and Progressive
Institution will commence of Wednesday, Sept. 4, and
continuo Fifscen weeks. For full particulars, please address
WM.S. RAYWOOD, Pracquel.
Milford, Mass., Aug. 6, 1861.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle st., for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, while a few minutes walk of the most central portions of the city. Brery exertion will be made for the confert of those who may favor the house who has favor the form with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms modernes.

Beston, Jan. 7.

B.NEWELL.

Boetry.

A TRUMPET-BLAST.

[The following lines, written eighteen year ike prophecy fulfilled at the present crisis.] O ! for God and duty stand, Heart to heart, and hand to hand, Round the old graves of the land !

Whose shrinks or falters now, Whose to the yoke would bow Brand the craven on his brow

Freedom's soil has only place For a free and fearless race; None for traiters false and be

Perish party! perish clan!
Strike together, while ye can
Like the arm of one strong n What though Isaachar be strong, Ye may load his back with wrong

Patience, with her cup o'errun With her weary thread outspu Murmur's that her work is done

Work the ruin, if ye will!
Pluck upon your heads an ill
Which shall grow and deepen still!

With his heart of black despair, Stand alone, if stand ye dare! Onward with your fell design-Dig the gulf, and draw the line— Fire beneath your feet the mine!

Deeply when the wide abyse Yawas between your land and this, Shall ye feel your helplessness.

OUR BOY FOR EVERMORE.

New lay your head close to my heart, / My wife Elizabeth! Our Tommy is no more dis-The neighbors say, "Tis death:
We know the child has gone to rest,—
A word that comforteth.

How often, wife, we deemed the boy Too early wise for earth! We felt he was no idle toy, To wake a transient mirth : Our Lord had lent him as a joy To sanctify our hearth.

He never pain'd our hearts, you know, Save in this bitter grief: Tis well the tears awhile should flow To give the breast relief ;

Why question aught the Lord's decree? Twere wiser to adore
The grace hid in grief's mystery We knew not of before, That Tommy in our minds shall be Our boy for evermore.

Let not our faith grow faint nor cold; God's goodness claims our praise, That makes the cup of serrow hold The joy of many days,— For Tommy, never growing old, The same shall be always.

The calld of searce five summers The called of correct five numers, we Shall see him every day,—
Now skipping in his sinless glee,
Out-on the lawn at play;
Now, meekly bending at your knee,
His evening prayer to pray.

He stands on tiptee at the gate, He stands on tiptee at the gate,
Befere the sun goes down,
In glad expectance went to wait;
Our coming from the town;
He runs with eager haste clate
To eatch you by the gown.

At table, on his 'customed chair, The while the grace is said, He shuts his eyes with reverent air, And gently bows his head: His knife, his fork, his napkin there, Our Tommy is not dead !

We see the cherub in the skies Among the whildren stand, Near to the Lord, whose gracious eyes Smile on the loving band: Our Harriet, wish glad surprise, Grasping his tiny hand.

Ere yet pineteen, our firstling died In bloom of maiden grace : Her brother now is by her side, Whe never saw her face Till she became his gentle guide Around the heavenly place.

When on their children bonors fall, Men give it proud report:
What glery that the King should call
Our children to his court.
To stand before him in his hall,
Where heavenly ones resort!

How gently with us God has dealt ! So deals he with us still; The double serrow we have felt, He never meant for ill:
The Finer lights the fire to melt
The metal to his will.

THE LIE

You told her that you loved her, but God knows you told a lie.

You held one arm around her waist, And gazed into her eye; Her hungry heart drank in the words, Nor dreamed you told a lie.

The dandelion at your feet
Had closed its yellow eye;
It heard the vow, but could not tell
The maiden 't was a lie.

A bird, with head beneath its wing, Elept on a bush close by ; It half awoke, but never guessed You told the maid a lie.

The fragrant breath of early spring Came with the zephyr's zigh, But nought to her was half so sweet As that dark, treacherous lie.

Days came and passed, then weeks, then months And years flew swiftly by, And then the maiden came to know Twas all a wicked lie.

And now she gases on thy form Not even with a sigh. Save at the wreck of sin, and thanks Her God, it was a lie.

MINISTERING SPIRITS.

Can see the helpers God has sent,
And how life's rugged mountain side
Is white with many an angel tent:
They hear the heralds whom our Lord
Sends down his pathway to prepare;
And light, from others hidden, shines
On their high place of faith and prayer.

Selections.

NAT TURNER'S INSURRECTION.

Of the capture or escape of most of that sm band who met with Nat Turner in the woods up the Travis plantation, little can now be known. A appear among the list of convicted, except Hon and Will. General Moore, who occasionally figure as second in command, in the newspaper narrative of that day, was needed.

the Iravis plantation, little can now be known. All appear among the list of convicted, except Henry and Will. General Moore, who occasionally figures as second in command, in the newspaper narratives of that day, was probably the Hark or Hercules before mentioned; as no other of the confederates had belonged to Mrs. Travis, or would have been likely to bear her previous name of Moore. As usual, the newspapers state that most, if not all the slaves, were "the property of kind and indegent masters." Whether in any case they were also the sons of those masters is a point ignored but from the fact that three out of the seven were at first reported as being white men by several witnesses,—the whole number being correctly given, and the statement, therefore, probably authentic, one must suppose that there was an admixture of patrician blood in some of these conspirators.

The subordinate insurgents sought safety as they could. A free colored man, named Will Artist, shot himself in the woods, where his hat was found on a stake, and his pistol lying by him; another was found or work of the consequence of the consequence of these conspirators. The subordinate insurgents sought safety as they could. A free colored man, named Will Artist, shot himself in the woods, where his hat was found on a stake, and his pistol lying by him; another was found of worked; others were traced to the Dismal Swamp; others returned to their homes, and tried to conceal their share in the insurrection, assuring their masters that they had been forced, against their will, to join,—the usual defence in such cases. The number shot down at random must, by all accounts, have amounted to many handreds, but it is past all human registration now. The number who had a formal trial, such as it was, is officially stated at fifty-five; of these, seventeen were convicted and hanged, twelve convicted and transported, twenty acquitted, and four free colored men sent on for further trial, and finally acquitted "Not one of those known to be concerned escaped.

Cassy, an Emily, or a Topsy, no information appears; she was a woman, she was a slave, and she died.

There is one touching story, in connection with these terrible retaliations, which rests on good authority, that of the Rev. M. B. Cox, a Liberian missionary, then in Virginia. In the hunt which followed the massacre, a slaveholder went into the woods, accompanied by a faithful slave, who had been the means of saving his life during the insurrection. When they had reaghed a retired place in the forest, the man handed his gun to his master, informing him that he could not live a slave any longer, and requesting him, either to free him or shoot him on the spot. The master took the gun, in some trepidation, levelled it at the faithful negro, and shot him through the heart. It is probable that this slave-holder was a Dr. Blunt,—his being the only plantation where the slaves were reported as thus defendholder was a Dr. Blunt,—his being the only plantation where the slaves were reported as thus defending their masters. "If this be true," said the Richmond Enquirer, when it first narrated this instance
of loyalty, "great will be the desert of these nobleminded Africans." This "noble-minded African,"
at least, estimated his own desert at a high standard:
he demanded freedom,—and obtained it.

Meanwhile the panic of the whites continued; for,
though all others might be disposed of, Nat Turner
was still at large. We have positive evidence of the
extent of the alarm, although great efforts were afterwards mide to represent it as a trilling affair. A
distinguished citizen of Virginia wrote three months
later to the Hon. W. B. Seabrook of South Carolina,
—"From all that has come to my knowledge during

Who now shall go back thirty years, and read the heart of this extraordinary man, who, by the admission of his captors, "never was known to swear an oath or drink a drop of spirits,"—who, on the same authority, "for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension was surpassed by few men," with a mind capable of attaining anything," who knew no book but his Bible, and that by heart,—who devoted himself, soul and body, to the cause of his race, without the trace of personal hope or fear,—who laid his plans so shrewdly that they came at last with less warning than any earthquake on the doomed community around,—and who, when that

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does not clothe the President with a very large discretion, it must, nevertheless, leave him free to exercise, it in maginable circumstances. It says: "He shall take care that the laws be faithfully exceuted." But should a hundred thousand armed men, when to congress is not in session, suddenly start up to defeat their execution, may be not summon another hundred thousand to withstand them? Then you seem to forget that the President is "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy"; and that, as such, his power is far more discretionary than prescribed. In that capacity he may often be left to decide, irrespective of Constitution or statute, not only in small and common, but in great and uncommon cases. In that capacity he may, although the Constitution does not say so, appropriate everything within his reach; may order the destruction of bridge's and arailroads on the one hand, and the burning of cities on the other. And what greater stretch of power would it be should he, in the exigencies of war, call to his aid tens of thousands of volunteers? Then, too, you seem to forget that the President is a man, as and is under no obligation to sink the man in the officer. When he saw the capital of the nation, and the nation itself, in imminent peril, he was, as a man, just as much as were you and I, bound to do all he could for their safety. But you will say that, in acting as a man, he had no right to use the President from becomering as a man had as well and the could turn to the salvation of his country. What, then, can restrain the President from becomering a despot? His responsibilities. Swift and terrible will be his punishment if he shall be found, in the life-or-death struggle of his country, to be serving his selfishness instead of serving her. I add that, of the prostituting them, is virtually the poor policy of giving up your country in advance, under the apprehension that, some time or other; some how or other, it may be lost. Better is it to choose for our officer the man whom in an emergency we can trust wi

steps to provide for the protect

thus stop the war, and save them from the needless loss of tens of thousands of lives, and hundreds of millions of money, feel little power and less disposition to move against alayery. Whence this infanation and this paralysis? It is a pass of our pensition and this paralysis? It is a pass of our pensition and this paralysis? It is a pass of our pensition and this paralysis? It is a pass of our pensition and this paralysis? It is a pass of our pensition and this paralysis? It is a pass of our pensition and the length we are spell-bound and believes the state of the tent of the control of the pensition of the pensition and the length we are spell-bound and believes in its presence. In prosecuting the present war, we are almost as much embarrased by serverence for slavery as were the anti-Egylaian in battle by their worship of animals—their energy ingeniously protecting himself by placing the objects of worship between himself and the Egypuan. The Egyptians were to be pitied, because it was their enemy who made this appalling disposition of the sacred animals. We are not to be pitied because we can, if we will only muster recolution to do it, hard slavery out of our path. The enemies of the Jows were wont to fall upon them on the Sabbath, hoping they would not defend themselve on the day they so superstitiously observed. Our essues we cannot have a least to strike at it.

I thought the war would be very short, because I assumed that the North would soon be sufficiently provided to tell the slaves that they were free. She will yet tell them so; but I fear she has not yet suffered enough to do it. It may be that the fod of the oppressed has much more suffering in store for, her before she can be brought to tell them so. It may be that the fod of the oppressed has much more suffering in store for, her before she can be brought to tell them so. It may be that the fod of the oppressed has much more suffering in store for, her before she can be brought to tell thems, so. It may be that the for other tell thems of the