

Refuge of Oppression.

GOV. STANLEY'S SPEECH.

On the 17th ult., Governor Stanley spoke at Washington, N. C., at a Union meeting, in which seventeen counties were represented.

You say your slaves are all to be emancipated. What course has the Federal Government pursued thus far in regard to your slaves? When Fremont, Hunter and Phelps issued their proclamations of emancipation, did not the President revoke them?

Down with Abolitionism! Let this be the motto of the truly loyal and conservative men of the North and West, until the monster is not only crushed, but killed.

There is no longer use in temporizing on the part of conservative men. The rascals—Wade, Wilson, et al.—have been and are as bitter enemies of the Union as the Secessionists in the South.

Selections.

ABOLITIONISTS AND SECESSIONISTS.

There is a sort of one-horse loyalty which attempts to sweeten the bitter task of condemning treason, by classifying Secessionists with Abolitionists, as equally enemies of the government.

THE FAILURE OF RADICALISM, AND THE DUTY OF THE PATRIOT.

A glance over the radical forces, as they now show themselves, is eminently instructive. We publish elsewhere the remarks of Wendell Phillips, who is the recognized organ of the faction, of which the New York radical newspapers, to whom he alludes, are distinguished adherents.

GOV. STEWART ON EMANCIPATION.

In the Missouri Convention on the 13th ult., Ex-Gov. R. M. Stewart said:—I believe the people of Missouri should extinguish slavery, and I believe further that the rebels have put it in a speedy course toward extinction.



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

VOL. XXXII. NO. 29. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1641.

Sumter to the 4th of July, 1862, a period of fifteen or sixteen months. What are they to be now? They say that they have lost confidence in the President.

In short, the entire force of radicalism, from the lowest grades of Massachusetts abolitionism to the most dangerous, became office-holding, rankle of the leaders at Washington, now holds itself aloof from the masses of the Union.

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They must go down, or the rights and liberties of the people will go down. They must go down, or the interests of the working men will go down.

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STINT?

BY HORACE GREELEY.

The people of Illinois have recently voted on a new Constitution framed for them by a Convention largely Democratic, which was held at Springfield last winter.

THE RETREAT OF GEN. MOCLELLAN.

Wilkes' Spirit of the Times has the following vigorous criticism on the recent movements in the Peninsula:—

GOV. STEWART ON EMANCIPATION.

In the Missouri Convention on the 13th ult., Ex-Gov. R. M. Stewart said:—I believe the people of Missouri should extinguish slavery, and I believe further that the rebels have put it in a speedy course toward extinction.

Republican in politics, while the South is intensely Democratic. Northern Illinois is almost wholly settled from New England, or by men of New England stock from New York, Ohio, etc.; while the Southern Counties are largely peopled from Slave States.

The truth which underlies the World's statement is this: In Northern Illinois, the great majority vote for a cherished principle—Equal Justice and Equal Rights for all; in the Southern Counties, they vote against a despised and degraded caste, which they have known for the most part in a servile condition.

THE COST OF SLAVERY.

If ever we hated slavery, it has been within the past two days. As we think of the ten or fifteen thousand men, the flower of the North, all in the prime of youthful manhood, killed and wounded, lying in agony or death, disabled by every form of wound the most vivid imagination can conceive, crowding all the swamps of the Chickahominy, and turning their festering wounds to the feverish heat of a July sun in Virginia—as we think of the sufferings of these men, we hate slavery and its abominations more than ever.

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"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

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

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He was perfectly isolated from Pope's army and from Burnside's, while the Rebels, with superior tactics, had made masterly combinations of their forces at a common centre. Worst of all, he separated himself from his gunboats, the cooperation of which was the argument that sent him to the Peninsula. One would suppose, that the military mind which could, after the reflection of a fortnight, detect the fatal error of this inland isolation, might have seen its absurdity at the outset, and by occupying the river bank at the available point below Fort Darling, moved forward with the gunboats acting as a left wing, and, in themselves, representing a strength equal to 30,000 men.

It is proper that the people should think these things well over; and, while they give due credit to the moral value of our troops, and the skill and courage of our leaders, we must not forget that, nevertheless, they have earned a great moral advantage, and the Union army has received a check which will retard its progress for six months.

RIPENESS FOR REVOLUTION.

Nothing but judicial blindness can prevent the rulers of this nation from perceiving that we are on the eve of revolution. The enemies of the Republic, North and South, have determined it; and without more prompt and vigorous resistance than this government has yet put forth or is likely to put forth, they will be able to carry it into execution. It is madness to shut our eyes to the fact that there is a grand conspiracy, all over the country, to put down by force of arms all ideas of justice, all regard for human rights, all equality among men, the supremacy of God's authority and God's law, and to substitute, instead, a dominion of brute force, a government of supreme selfishness, and having its foundations in the death and desolation of the South, and watching the first opportunity to seize the helm of government at the North. There is not the slightest difference between the Southern rebel now in arms, and the northern advocate of slavery, who is seeking the same end, but who dares not at present use the same means.

The pro-slavery spirit of this city found expression at the great conservative meeting in the Cooper Institute on Tuesday last. The Express says that twenty thousand signatures were appended to the call. The speakers scarcely attempted to disguise their treasonable intent. Ex-governor Wickliffe, of Kentucky, said that unless the abolitionists lay down their pens, there might be another revolution. Wm. A. Duer, of this State, said that if every traitor in this country were to be hung in the scaffold after Jefferson Davis, would be Charles Sumner, or any other man, it would be a great improvement on the evening. Mr. Duer said the Emancipation and Confiscation bills were monstrous violations of the Constitution which would justify resistance.

But the ruling spirit of the meeting was ex-mayor Wood. His speech was enthusiastically cheered by the audience. The peroration, as reported in the Tribune, was as follows:—"In my opinion, the time will soon come when, if the rebellion be not suppressed, the people will rise up and demand either a change of measures or a change of men. (Applause.) The Constitution is to be preserved, Congress, and by a change of the administration to succeed it. (Great applause.) Mr. Wood, after some further remarks in relation to the pernicious character of the abolition legislation of Congress, concluded the necessity of getting rid of such a Congress, and that it is to be done as Oliver Cromwell did, by walking into the Rump Parliament, and scattering it to the winds. ("Love-joy!"—Great applause.) Let your voices be heard in the capitol of the country, and if you can not succeed at once, Parliament is the standard—a change of measures, or a change of men!" (Loud and long continued applause.)

We do not quote this because it is anything more than has been often said before, and may be heard every day in the streets and saloons of this city. But it is here put forth deliberately, seriously, earnestly, by one of the prominent leaders of a large party, one who is well known as a sagacious, sober, cautious, and generally successful leader. Mayor Wood does not utter sentiments at random. When he says that our generals are to walk into Congress, and scatter the representatives of the people, he means it. The people who cheer him mean it. They mean civil war at the North; the shooting, hanging, and imprisonment of radical Republicans and abolitionists. How are their threats to be met? Shall we look to President Lincoln? He is doing all in his power to conciliate these insolent threateners. He fears a disruption of the North as much as President Buchanan did. We can look for no essential help from him, or from the pro-slavery generals who, whose hands he has put the army. Are we, then, to remain idle, and allow ourselves to be kept hand and foot? Shall we tolerate the continuance of anarchy until it seizes on some opposite party, and then carry it into effect, by foreign intervention, or the precipitate on which we are standing. We protest against allowing the enemies of abolition to prosecute their schemes for the destruction of liberty, while we take no precautions against them. When the hour for revolution comes, if come it must, let the friends of freedom be prepared to deal with the slavery lawlessness as it deserves. The plotters of rebellion should not be guilty as the plotters of rebellion at the North.

The question with us must be, If revolution comes, how shall we be able to shape it in favor of freedom instead of despotism? Hon. H. B. Stanton, in his able Fourth of July oration at Brooklyn, said we were in the midst of a revolution now. "Stanton led at the word. Deny not the assertion. A philosopher has said, a nation may be in the throes of a revolution, and yet not know it. It was long ago that the masses of the French people would overthrow the earthquake that toppled down the throne of Louis Sixteenth was a revolution." Just so we may

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colored people are just as fastidious upon this point as white people. We have our aristocratic feeling. I have my neighbors all around me—most of them have some of whom my family are glad to have...

ence? The Creator dying, his creation perishes with him. All your theologians will tell you that. Now, the rebellion has annihilated the law-making power in the slaveholding States. Is there any government in South Carolina, is there any government in Georgia or Virginia, or any other rebellious State, which any loyal citizen of the North has a right to recognize as a government?

incompetent; and I see that the editor of the New York Evening Post now demands, in the name of common decency and humanity, that General McClellan shall retire, and give this war into the hands of some body who knows how to carry it on. (Applause.) Give the command to General Mitchell, with his dash, with his live ideas, with his sympathy for freedom, or to General Hunter, with the ideas he has put forth in South Carolina, and the war will be closed before another Fourth of July comes round, and we may meet in this grove to thank God that we have a free and united father-land. (Loud applause.)

THE CONFISCATION BILL. The Confiscation Bill agreed upon by the Joint Committee of Congress, and which was adopted by the House of Representatives on Friday by a vote of 82 to 44, was agreed to on Monday, 27 to 15, by the Senate. The bill, therefore, only requires the signature of the President to be the law of the land, and we presume it will be approved, whatever may be the President's objections to this or that particular feature of the measure. The bill provides:— First.—That the President, by proclamation, shall give sixty days' grace to the rebels to return to their allegiance, and the property of every rebel failing to do so within the interval of sixty days shall be forfeited.

LETTER FROM GEN. BUTLER. The following characteristic letter from Gen. Butler, explaining his reasons for issuing the celebrated order in regard to the women of New Orleans, has been received by a gentleman from Boston:— HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, New Orleans, July 2, 1862. MR. DEAR SIR—I am as jealous of the good opinion of my friends as I am careless of the slanders of my enemies, and your kind expressions in regard to my order lead me to say a word to you on the subject. That it ever had been so misconceived as it has been by some portions of the Northern press is wonderful, and would lead one to exclaim with the Jew, 'O, Father Abraham, what these Christians do! They will do anything to teach them to suspect the very thoughts of others!' What was the state of things to which the Woman Order applied? We were two thousand five hundred men in a city seven miles by two to four wide, of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, all hostile, bitter, defiant, explosive, standing literally on a magazine—a spark only needed for destruction. The Devil had entered the hearts of the women of this town, (you know seven of them chose Mary Magdalen for a residence,) to stir up strife in every possible way.

COLLECTIONS. By the Finance Committee, at Framingham Grove, July 14, 1862. Geo. W. Simonds \$7.00 W. W. Dutcher 1.00 Edward B. Perkins 5.00 W. Brown 0.25 Timothy Davis 3.00 B. Snow, Jr. 1.00 Wm. F. Parker 2.00 Margaret S. Snow 1.00 Sarah W. Allen 1.00 Rufus Ford 1.00 H. V. Pond 1.00 — Johnson 0.80 John Widgell 1.00 Louisa Humphrey 0.25 J. Simpson 0.35 H. G. Blake 1.00 F. B. Southwick 1.00 E. W. White 1.00 W. T. Fildon 0.25 M. C. Case 2.00 Richard Clapp 1.00 Mrs. B. Draper 0.25 Thos. B. Rice 1.00 Jonathan Buffum 1.00 J. Mitchell 0.25 Alden Sampson 1.00 D. Russell 0.35 James Curry 0.10 A. A. Gifford 1.00 John West 1.15 O. S. Brigham 1.00 W. J. Williams 1.00 John Wenzell 1.00 Wm. Spruell 1.00 Mr. Hoyt 0.25 E. Lyon 0.25 Chas. Breck 1.00 — Caswell 0.20 T. Hazard 0.25 Henry O. Stone 1.00 Wm. B. Harrington 0.25 Do. (for Society) 2.00 Wm. H. Howe 0.50 Mr. Grout 0.25 Thos. F. Knox 0.50 A. Jewett 1.00 Daniel Foster 0.25 L. Wyman 0.25 L. Stratton, Jr. 1.00 S. H. Foster 1.00 S. M. Whipple 0.25 A. E. Foster 0.20 W. E. Hazlow 1.00 W. E. Budd 0.20 H. Swasey 0.25 I. W. Forbush 1.00 N. Swasey 0.25 A. L. Babcock 0.50 E. B. Underwood 0.25 J. H. Bingham 1.00 E. W. Carter 0.25 Samuel Barrett 1.00 Susan H. Hammond 1.00 D. W. & A. B. Morey 1.00 Wm. Ives 1.00 S. S. Jones 1.00 E. D. & Anna T. Draper 1.00 S. H. Southwick 1.00 — 2.00 Joseph Treat 0.25 Oliver Johnson 1.00 M. C. Mason 0.25 Samuel May, Jr. 1.00 L. D. Gray 0.50 J. Miller McKim 1.00 Cash and friends, 1.15 W. L. Garrison 1.00 various sums, 18.48

SPEECH OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH. The short time which it is possible for me to take, in justice to other speakers, will not permit a speech; and therefore I shall only give you a fragment, torn out of the middle of one, with neither beginning nor end. We have been reminded in the course of the day of the method, or rather, perhaps I should say, the want of method, in which the military operations of the North are carried on against the rebellion. If the anti-slavery movement which has been agitating the country for the last thirty years still stood in need of any justification to the minds of candid and sensible men, it would be found in this very attitude of the North today towards the rebellion, acknowledged on almost all hands to have sprung from slavery, and nothing else. Here stands the North, covering before the very power which has stirred up that rebellion, and talking about putting down the rebellion without going behind it, and putting down its admitted cause; as if you should try to put down diabolism in the world, and respect the vested rights of Satan. Why is it so? Because slavery has blinded the minds of the people, and stupefied their understandings; and all the way from Abraham Lincoln in the chair of State, down to his lowest follower in the halls of Congress, you find the same evidence of a want of clearness of vision—not only of moral, but even of intellectual vision. We suppose that men in conspicuous public stations ought to know something; and these men do know something about every thing except slavery, and what slavery teaches; but going there, they seem to know nothing, or, at least, they do not know every thing which it is important they should know at this time. We are told that Abraham Lincoln is a very good, well-meaning man; I hope he is. All the stronger, if, in the proof of what I have said, for your well-meaning man, if he understood his business, would never go about the work of putting down a pro-slavery rebellion after the fashion in which he has gone about it. But men say he is waiting to see if the people will support him; he is going to drift upon the tide. I tell you the man who understands his business never waits for his followers to drift him in the right direction. He is resolute to go forward, and his very resolution serves to bring his followers after him. If Abraham Lincoln had spoken the right word at the right time, he would have been supported by the whole country; not only by those who are making out a policy, but by multitudes who would have thanked him from the bottom of their hearts for saving them the trouble of seeking one for him; and not only they, but those who stand waiting for an opportunity, and mean to go with the strongest party, and when they see one party in deadly earnest and the other shivering in the wind, by instinct, they recognize the deadly earnest men as the strongest party; and still others, who were opposed, would have been swept into the current, if Abraham Lincoln had shot forward with energy enough to make a wake behind him that would draw men.

SPEECH OF REV. DANIEL FOSTER. This gathering to-day shows us that there is no need of exhorting the Abolitionists to keep up their interest. The fourth of July, 1862, is celebrated only by those who meet to demand, in the name of the Fathers, and of the ideas under the inspiration of which they fought through the Revolutionary struggle, the abolition of slavery as the termination of this contest or revolution in which we are engaged to-day. What do we see, just on the eve of this celebration? After a whole year of wonderful military strategy, the mustering of the finest army ever gathered on the face of the earth—an army with which Napoleon Bonaparte would, in a single year, have conquered Europe—with all the resources at his command that have ever been placed at the command of any General, McClellan has fought no battle that he has not been compelled to be by attacking, he has encamped upon the swamps of the Chickahominy, where his men have died by thousands, and now he is driven away, and has escaped with little more than half his army; and all the pro-slavery journals are lauding him as a wonderful General, because he has not lost every man and every siege gun. If the people submit any longer to the charlatanism of being commanded by men of absolutely pro-slavery character, like McClellan, Sturgis, Denver, and some others, then the judgments of God will continue to fall upon them. It is true, as our friend Dr. Rock said in his speech, that we want an idea to fight for. That idea is freedom. The fathers fought for freedom, and they pledged themselves and their children after them to maintain the grand and glorious idea that liberty is the birth-right given by Almighty God to every man—a birth-right that no combination of men can ever take away from him; and as our friend who has just taken his seat has clearly shown, whatever interpretation may be placed upon the Constitution, the moment South Carolina disowns that Constitution, she throws away all her laws; and slavery, if it is created by positive law, and if it is recognized in the Constitution, falls to the ground that moment. In the name of God, in the name of the fathers, in the name of freedom and humanity everywhere, I call upon our government to take this position, I call upon you to demand it of our government. We have had the finest army that has ever been gathered; an army drawn from our school-rooms, our work-shops; an army of intelligent men who love freedom, who went into the war to fight against slavery, to make a free as well as a united father-land; and throughout this whole war, our Generals have been fettered with red tape; have been following the strategy of Europe before the days of Napoleon Bonaparte; while Beauregard, and Johnston, and Stonewall Jackson, have been exhibiting the most brilliant military strategy, and the most successful operations, dash, and the strategy of Napoleon, concentrating their forces where they could strike an effective blow—and with limited men, with neither money nor credit, they have won nearly all the victories that have been won in this war so far. Our army fought nobly at Pittsburg Landing, at Fair Oaks, at Williamsburg, at Winchester; and now, after five days fighting on the banks of the Chickahominy, they have maintained themselves against overwhelming odds, and have saved the army, in spite of incompetent and traitorous Generals, by their indomitable pluck. (Loud applause.) Let President Lincoln turn General McClellan out, and put General Hunter or Mitchell in. (Applause.) That man has proved himself

SPEECH OF ANDREW T. FOSS. I fully agree, Mr. President, with the criticisms that have been made upon our President and our Generals to-day; and yet, with all the faults I have to find with the conduct of this war, I am in favor of it, and believe it will work out a beneficial end. In saying this, I do not say that I am in favor of returning fugitive slaves, as was done by the army for a long time, but which, happily, they can do no longer; I do not mean to say that I am in favor of any of those pro-slavery policies that have controlled the President and his Generals; but I know, Mr. President, as you said this morning, that this war has been occasioned by the rebellion of the slaveholders, and that they have made that rebellion in favor of the eternization of slavery; and when I see the North and the South arrayed against each other, and know that the question at issue is nothing else, I cannot but rejoice that there is life enough in the people to produce this degree of inflammation. Now, Mr. President, when I say I am in favor of this war, I agree with every slave in this land. They are in favor of this war. I believe very much in instinct, and very much in the instinct of the slaves. After all that has been done by the Government to drive them over to the other side, after they have been outraged in every way, they yet entertain the idea that this war is to eventuate in their deliverance. I think it will. I do not thank Abraham Lincoln. I do not thank the Generals, but I thank God, for this war. I know that war is horrible, but I know that there is something more horrible than war, and that is slavery; and we must have slavery all over this land, and that eternally, or we must have war. There is but one path to freedom, and that is through the red sea of blood, and therefore I am glad of the issue; I accept it with joy. Now, Mr. President, with regard to the conduct of this war. Those who have heard me speak upon this question know that no man has denounced the conduct of the war more freely or more earnestly than I have. I have believed and do believe that Mr. Lincoln has been utterly wanting in statesmanship, utterly wanting in fidelity to freedom; I believe our Generals have been; and yet, after all, I believe that a great deal has been done, and is now being done in the way of freedom, and in its rejoice and will rejoice. But, Mr. President, there are people so stupid that they cannot understand how you and I can be in sympathy with the result of the war, and yet not fully and entirely endorse all the proceedings and actions of the government in carrying it on. I can understand how we may be in favor of one course of action on the part of some man, and opposed to another course of action on his part. Abraham Lincoln, returning fugitive slaves, I condemn; but Abraham Lincoln, signing the bill giving freedom forever to the slaves of the Territories, and establishing freedom in the District of Columbia, I commend. While I condemn Abraham Lincoln for all his pro-slavery acts, I rejoice to see him signing the treaty, recognizing the independence of Hayti and Liberia. I agree with Mr. Burleigh, that the President having the power to free all the slaves, is the greatest slaveholder in the land to-day, and as such I denounce him; but I will not denounce him for a right act because I denounce him for a wrong act. I desire to be discriminating. I rejoice in the good that I see, while I condemn the evil. Mr. President, I have great hope in regard to this war. I believe it will issue in the disentanglement of the slaves of this land, and because I so believe, I herein do rejoice and will rejoice. I suppose that we are all saddened—I am sure I am—by hearing of the defeat of our arms; but I expected it. I agree with Mr. Foster, that General McClellan is utterly wanting in the qualities of a great leader of a free people. In the first place, he has been, from the beginning, in sympathy with the slaveholders; and no man in sympathy with slaveholders is fit to be a military leader in this war. But, Mr. President, although I lament the reverse to our arms, and mourn, deeply mourn, that fifteen thousand of our countrymen, brave and noble young men, have been sacrificed, yet, after all, I do not know but it will do good. This nation must endure still more chastisement at the hand of God, before they will let the people go; and for aught I know, there may be, as in Egypt, one dead in every house; but this war is begun, and will go on, until God by his hand shall sweep slavery from this land; or it may be that he will sweep us all away; but slavery is sure to die in this land, and I rejoice in that belief. I do not want to be misunderstood, Mr. President. I am in favor of this war, I am glad of it, I rejoice in it, but I criticize and condemn all the pro-slavery action in regard to it. I cannot conceal from myself, you cannot conceal it from your eyes, that during the last fifteen months, the cause that has been advocated on this platform has gone forward; its prospects have brightened, and we are allowed to cherish a clearer hope in regard to the triumph of our principles than ever before. The day of redemption draws near. As I have said before, so I say now, I believe no society that was ever organized for a moral purpose has ever seen its work carried so far forward, so near its consummation, in so short a time, as this.

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT. I think that our friend, Mr. Burleigh, has demonstrated to the entire satisfaction of this audience, that there is not, at this moment, a slave legally held in slavery in the Rebel States. They were made free by the act of the slaveholders themselves, and now the question is,—Are we fighting to re-enslave those whom the slaveholders have freed? Mrs. FOSTER. Yes. Mr. WRIGHT. Our friend, Abby Kelley Foster, says "Yes." That is the question. Are we now contending for the re-enslavement of those whom, by their own act, the slaveholders have set free? I believe that a great portion of those who are now sustaining this war, especially the officers in the army, and the great mass of the politicians of the country, are really and actually fighting to re-enslave those who have been made free by the act of rebellion; and it is my most earnest prayer that the nation may succeed in such a diabolical scheme. For myself, I believe that from the moment Charles Sumner introduced into the Senate, proclaiming that by the act of rebellion, the State governments, through which the slaves were held in slavery, were annihilated,—from that hour, the slaves were free, and the Constitution of the United States recognized their freedom, because it ceased to recognize the rebellious States as States; they are Territories, and no longer have any State government. Now, every man who is fighting to restore this Union to its original basis, or where it stood two years ago, is fighting to re-enslave some four million of men, women and children whom the rebels have set free. Mr. MAY read a letter from WENDELL PHILLIPS, stating that he was prevented by a cold and hoarseness from attending and addressing the meeting, as he had intended. (Of course, the absence of the eloquent orator was greatly missed by the immense gathering.) A brief but lively, pertinent and witty speech, which then made by Rev. Mr. TERRY, of Marlboro', who was followed by Mr. GARRISON with some appropriate concluding remarks. An Anti-Slavery song was sung, and the exercises of the day terminated.

THE IMPUTATION ON GEN. BANKS. The following is the letter of Major-General Banks to Mr. Gooch of the U. S. House of Representatives, relative to the resolution of June 16, offered by Mr. Voorhees of Indiana, directing the Committee on the Conduct of the War to inquire whether persons of color were allowed Government transportation on Gen. Banks' retreat from Strasburg, while white people, including sick and wounded soldiers, were compelled to walk.— WINCHESTER, June 19, 1862. HON. D. W. GOOCH: Dear Sir,—In answer to your inquiry, I have the honor to say there is no collection of facts for the purpose of ascertaining the resolution referred to. No person, not belonging to the army, white or black, was allowed to occupy or use Government transportation of any kind on the march of my command from Strasburg. If any instance occurred it was, with one exception, not only without authority, but against orders, and has not yet come to my knowledge. Citizens, traders, refugees and fugitives were protected in the occupancy of their own wagons, and allowed to move with the Government train in order and no further. The rear guard of infantry and artillery, halted in the rear of Martinsburg from two o'clock till evening. When at a considerable distance on our march, we overtook a small party on foot. My attention was attracted by a little girl, about eight years of age, who was holding the hand of a man of the color of the negro, and her hand was stretched by some vague dream of liberty, to be lost or won in that hurried night march. I have the honor to be, with much respect, Your obedient servant, N. P. BANKS, Maj. Gen. Commanding.

WOMAN AND THE PRESS. On Friday afternoon, May 30, a meeting was held in Studio Building, Boston, for conference in regard to a new periodical to be devoted to the interests of woman. While none questioned the value and the need of such an instrument in the Woman's Rights cause, the difficulties that would endanger or even defeat the enterprise were fully discussed, but with this issue—the experiment should be made. For the furtherance, therefore, of so desirable an object, we insert and call attention to the following PROSPECTUS OF THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL:— When we consider that there is scarcely a party, sect, business organization or reform which is not represented in the press, it appears strange that women, constituting one half of humanity, should have no organ, and especially one devoted to the promotion of their interests, particularly as these interests have excited more wide-spread attention in this country than in any other, while in no other country can the double power of speech and of the pen be made so effectively to be felt. This appears stranger from the fact that conservative England has successfully supported a journal of this sort for years with acknowledged utility. America needs such a journal to centralize and give impetus to the efforts which are being made in various directions to advance the interests of woman. It needs it most of all at this time, when the civil war is calling forth the capabilities of women in an unexampled degree, both as soldiers and nurses—when the whole body of ideas are so generally becoming sobered by the progress of events, which will leave to that of woman the most prominent place hereafter. To meet this want of the times, we propose to establish a WOMAN'S JOURNAL, based on the motto, "Equal Rights for All Men and Women," and designed especially to treat of all questions pertaining to the interests of woman, and to furnish an impartial platform for the free discussion of these interests in their various phases. It will aim to collect and compare the diverse views held on the subject, to chronicle and centralize the efforts made in behalf of woman, in this country and elsewhere, and to render all possible aid to such undertakings, while at the same time it will neglect no field of intellectual effort or human progress of general interest to the men of culture. 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Poetry.

WANTED - A POLIOY. ADAPTED FROM FREDERICK. Our land is hamlet - Grave and dumb...

SONG FOR THE TIMES. AIR - Bruce's Address.

From the lowly cabin, hear! Sounds like these salute the ear: "Bless the Lord, the time is near, When we shall be free!"

THE MILLS OF GOD.

"Die Muehlen Gottes malten sich fein." Those mills of God! those tireless mills! I hear their ceaseless throbs and thrills!

MEN OF DE NORP!

Mix on de Norp! why don't you come along? Dat is now de burden ob de black man's song.

The Liberator.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION AT FRAMINGHAM, JULY 4, 1862.

In accordance with its long established usage, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society celebrated the National Anniversary in mass meeting at the beautiful Grove in Framingham.

At a quarter to 11 o'clock, A. M., the meeting was called to order by E. H. Heywood, who submitted, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, the following list of officers for the occasion:-

President - WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. Vice Presidents - E. D. Draper, Hopedale; George W. Stacy, Milford; Alfred Wyman, Worcester; William H. Fish, New York; Daniel Foster, Kansas; John S. Rock, Boston; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; Oliver Johnson, New York; John Bailey, Lynn; Chas. L. Remond, Salem; J. Miller McKim, Philadelphia; William F. Parker, Cleveland, Ohio.

Secretaries - Samuel May, Jr., J. M. W. Yerrinton, Wendell P. Garrison. Finance Committee - Jerome Wilmarth, Mary Willey, David B. Morey, Sarah E. Wall, Caroline R. Putnam, Frances H. Drake.

These nominations were unanimously adopted. The President (Mr. Garrison) said he would commence the proceedings by reading some appropriate selections from the book of the prophet Jeremiah.

Having done so, prayer was then offered by Rev. Daniel Foster, of Kansas - followed by the singing of an original hymn, commencing -

For the sighing of the needy, to deliver the oppressed, Now the Lord our God arises, and proclaims his high behest: Through the Red Sea of his justice lies the Canaan of rest: Our cause is marching on!

Mr. Garrison then said - "Friends of Freedom! the ground on which we are assembled is consecrated ground - consecrated by precious memories, by high aspirations, by the mingling of hearts and hands in a common effort for the deliverance of our country from its shame, its crime, its all-abounding iniquity, and for the carrying out of the Declaration of American Independence, and the Golden Rule of our Saviour.

Turning away, as we have hitherto done, from the thoughtless frivolities, the base hypocrisies, and the hollow mockeries which characterize the general observance of this anniversary, we meet once more to bear our testimony in regard to the oneness and brotherhood of the human race, in behalf of the rights of all men, without distinction of race or complexion, and to vindicate the law of eternal justice and right.

There has been no time since the organization of our Government when it was not a mockery, on the part of the people, to pretend to celebrate this day in the spirit of impartial and universal liberty.

While men are held in bondage, and clanking their galling fetters, the people who can enslave them are not in a condition to sing the praises of Freedom. At the present time, especially, any attempt to treat this day as though it were properly a day of rejoicing, on the part of the nation, would indicate great hardness of heart and blindness of mind.

The nation is reeling and staggering to-day like a drunken man; the nation is divided and torn asunder by civil war; the nation is bleeding at every pore; and the cries of enslaved millions are still fresh in the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth. It is a day for sackcloth and humiliation, rather than for exultation of spirit on the part of the nation.

And yet, amid this terrible tumult and clash of arms, are there no signs of the times which indicate progress, and a hopeful future for the cause so dear to our hearts? Yes, the very conflict itself is hopeful. It is because, at last, there is so much of conscience here in the North, in opposition to slavery, that the South can no longer possibly tolerate companionship with us, even upon the old conditions.

I might recapitulate many events, all going to show that, with whatever of darkness there may be still remaining around us, we have much to rejoice over. Think of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, our national capital! Think of a treaty between Great Britain and our own country for the effectual suppression of the foreign slave trade!

Think of the passage of a bill by Congress, consecrating all present and future Territory forever to freedom! Think of the recognition of those two hitherto despised and rejected republics, Hayti and Liberia, recognized now as independent nations by our own! Think, finally, of the passage of the Homestead Bill, whereby in the great opening West, forever and forever, slavery shall find no heritage, nor be able to acquire those vast landed possessions which are essential to its vigorous existence.

These are some of the cheering signs of the times; and though there are some discouraging incidents - incidents which sadden the heart, and exert a dispiriting influence for the moment - yet, on the whole, our great and glorious cause is advancing with irresistible power. Happily, its triumph does not depend upon the result of any battle, whether upon the Potomac or at the West; that triumph is ultimately pledged by the word of God, and by the rights and necessities of human nature itself.

I will not, however, extend these prefatory remarks, but will reserve what I have to say, in regard to the state of the country, to a later period in the proceedings of the meeting, should an opportunity be found.

The chief task of the abolition movement - as indeed of all moral reform, the root of its rare patriotism and profound religious significance - has been not so much to unify this nation as to break it up; not so much to organize men into bodies as to unorganize them into individuals, as Jesus did; to drag these States out of the by-paths of cowardice and hypocrisy, and re-launch them on the high road of truth and instinct; to harmonize society with nature, and enable the body politic to move under the impulsion of the Divine Heart.

Hence its power; hence the South flying from the Northern conscience; and hence the South flying from heaven; or, as the Carolina negro expressed it, when he was asked why he expected deliverance from the North - "Because," said he, "in a dream, the Lord appeared to me in the form of a Yankee." (Laughter and applause.)

No government, however powerful, no institution, however deeply rooted in present enlightenment or traditional favor, has been able to withstand the application of this moral force method. A few strong men, appealing to the common sense of the English mind, unfringed bishops, disabused parliamentarians, sent one monarch to the block, and turned another like Nebuchadnezzar out to pasture upon the continent. An insolent sovereign could afford to flout the great religious poet and reformer of that period as "a blind adder spitting his venom upon the king's person," but who now does not love to rise, from the cricket chirp of Charles Stuart, to the sphere harmony of Milton and impartial liberty?

"I am the State," was the proud boast of Louis XIV. in the seat of Charlemagne, with the church kneeling at his feet and the army waiting at his gates, as he plotted the subjugation of empires; but in the quiet chamber of some modest thinker - of Pascal, or Charon, or Rousseau - you may find the drop of democratic truth, whose electric forces shattered that throne to the four quarters of Europe. With this free platform for a pulpit, with the broad acres of democracy for a diocese, we will yet make an Eden of this bare garden of the West, and lift America to the level of Calvary.

The highest office is not to be president or king, but to be right. If servant girls, plough-boys and gravel-tossers are with us in a moral issue, Wall street and Washington must come round. They called you a fanatic, sir, but in asserting fair play for black men, you stood behind the Declaration of Independence and Plymouth Rock, behind Hampden and Magna Charta, behind Luther and Jesus, behind human nature and the throne of Infinite Truth.

A German play makes Adam cross the stage, going to be created. (Laughter.) Democracy here is just that state - in embryo; has not taken to feet and life; has not uttered itself in organic forms, out its wisdom teeth. Young, athletic, dreamy, feeling within strings of a great future, hearing distant voices calling it to high destinies, yet the gristle of democratic sentiment has not hardened into the bone of many purpose. Nature is a stern schoolmistress, and still holds the race to the primary benches. Massachusetts even, the best State in history, has not yet graduated from the infant school of human rights.

The same men who brought Magna Charta to Bunker Hill, the same hands that smoked with the blood of British tyrants, spread the shield of Federal law over the slave pens of the South. Within the same year, the first slave ship sailed the soil of Virginia, and the free feet of the Pilgrims consecrated Plymouth Rock. From those two opposite points have arisen two hostile, belligerent, defiant types of society; or rather, a society and a chaos: the one rising and broadening into the freest, purest, most energetic and beneficent civilization known to history, the other treading under its impious feet all the guarantees of human rights which the toll and agony of ages have erected, would make the Republic itself a stepping-stone whence to vault into the throne of a universal slave empire.

This conflict now raging through the Republic is simply, then, the old battle between despotism and the people - feudalism against the free cities, Cavaliers against Roundheads, old Sarum against Manchester. What the Tarquins were to Rome, what the Hapsburgs are to Hungary, what the Stuarts were to England, what George the Third was to the Colonies, that slaveholders are to the States. As a portion of the people, I do you the honor to suppose that you do not intend to be abolished. Well, then, abolish slaveholders - for one of you must go under. (Applause.)

As you said, sir, in the opening, this is the progress in national affairs since the war. Happily, Southern interests among us are at somewhat of a discount. The explanation of it is this. The democratic masses of the North have been made to face the music; have been brought in collision with their natural, despotic enemies of the South. But it is not so much a change of sentiment and principles as a change of relations. Slavery has not changed. When Jefferson Davis spoke in Faneuil Hall, and waltzed with the beauty of New England, he was as really a pirate as now; for every thread of his garments was the stolen earnings of the slave. The war - it is only a thunder-clap in dog-days to clear the atmosphere; it is an earthquake coming up under our feet, jostling apart States built on an unnatural basis. It unmasks slavery, and makes it sit for its portrait; reveals the foot of clay in the silver slipper. "When rogues fall out, honest men come to their own." Herein is the hope of the slave. That is why you have thought that this roll of Federal drums, crossing the continent with the morning light, will yet end in the grand chorus of the negro's redemption.

An impression has got abroad, that the negro's freedom, if not guaranteed, is at least pledged; that this moral force agitation, passing from words to blows, is superseded by the conflict of arms; thought unplumbed by the sword, and "Othello's occupation gone," this Society may adjourn to heaven on the wings of jubilee. True, the negro's freedom was always assured. Launching a great principle, abolition, from the first, was only a question of time - how long these children of the Declaration of Independence could resist self-evident truth, could defy the laws of nature, stem the tide of events, and fight up against the frowning wrath of God's retribution. Here a reflux ripple, there a wave breaks and rolls back, but the great flood steadily advances. The cause, which has gone through England, which has gone through France, Holland, Turkey, Russia; the cause which has sealed and captured every throne of Europe, will not be strangled here by a fire of secession cotton. When this gigantic system trembled under the single blow of Harper's Ferry, Mr. Virginia Hunter, in the Senate, said, "If slavery ever stands on bayonets, it will fall." It is there, Mr. Hunter, stand for under! (Applause.) Moreover, the late rapid and determined strides of this cause, compared with its early halting progress, bespeak the goal.

"A stumblers stumbles least in rugged way." Our country never walked so erect as in the present calamity. The suppression of the foreign slave trade, abolition in the District, the consecration of the Territories to freedom, and the spirit of the age, electric with free ideas, floating through every crevice and fissure of its shattered system, reveal the beginning of the end of slavery.

Then we have a President who at least tries to represent the people. This confidence in his executive ability and good intentions, this general applause of all parties, is unexampled in our politics; and though not born like Alexander upon the steps of a throne, or like Caesar in the folds of imperial purple, if the President but carry emancipation, all the nations shall greet him with royal thanks, and history crown him with a nobler laurel than has graced the Father of his Country (applause); for while George Washington, in putting his hand, red with the life of tyrants, to the slave clauses of the Constitution of '80, wittingly or unwittingly, conjoined the weaker race to chains, may it be the good fortune of Abraham Lincoln, by tearing out that "stain of blood," to redeem the good old pledge, and make the "cause of America the cause of human nature." (Applause.)

I am aware, sir, also, that our Government compares favorably, in respect of justice and efficiency, with any of which history brings us the account. If the hot violence which bound Indian Sepoys (English rebels) to the muzzle of English guns, to be blown to fragments, had inflamed our people, Mason and Silldell, instead of crossing the Atlantic from Fort Warren, would have been invited to a hasty cup of the British tea at the bottom of Boston harbor. The last question asked in Parliament of West India emancipation was, "Will it be safe for the master longer to retain his slaves?" The only gospel light which Louis Napoleon respects from Italy is the gleam of Orsini's dagger and Garibaldi's sword; while the ultimate argument for emancipation with Alexander of Russia is the instruction which his feet from the fiery gulf of insurrection. But let not these halcyons take you off your feet. We are not yet out of the woods. Neither an efficient government, nor late successes, nor good intentions of the President, can redeem an impatient pro-slavery people. Good intentions! "Hell is paved with good intentions." We have passed the "slough of despond," but not Apollon or the valley of humiliation. Grave in victory, cheerful in defeat, you will "think nothing done while anything remains undone." When Illinois stares a new code of atrocious black laws in the face of the age - when manacled fugitives from the marble steps of the Capitol are handed back to bondage - when millions are in chains yet recognized as legal by a Republican Administration - when slavery is strong enough, holding one race under its feet, and keeping 20,000,000 of another race at bay, to declimate the finest army raised in modern times, - it is no time for Abolitionists to resign. So long as the best President can merely represent an unregenerate people, so long as that capillary column of water in the White House can only balance the ocean without, I prefer to believe in God rather than in Abraham Lincoln, - to appeal to the eternal moral sense of the people, which was before governments, and will survive them.

But a little while ago, you recoiled with horror from Federal officers. They would apologize for slavery, hunt fugitives, raise mobs, and all because they respected the Government as a fixed fact, with all its respectable crimes. Well, stripping the Democrats of their official robes, the Republicans have crept into the same poisoned shirt. In Boston, it is yet to be proved whether or no there is a path from the Custom House to Heaven. I allow the Republican party has done well. It attempted all that could be done inside of our Government, and girdling slavery with the fire of non-extension until the scorpion should sting itself to death, it was an earnest and heroic effort on the part of the people to do the best thing with the institutions on hand. The reason Massachusetts reaches over Beacon street and Harvard College, and lifts Henry Wilson into the Senate of the United States, is not from any young America recklessness or want of respect for cultured dignity, as the heartless scholarship of the *Courier* affirms, but because there has been more efficient politics, more practical statesmanship hammered out on that cobbler's lapstone than the classic brain of Everett, with his world-embracing learning, ever knew. (Applause.) But the Republican party did as little as possible. They only struck at a twig of the system, not at the tree itself. You Abolitionists were so "rash," so "radical" - "But they found a tiger while beating the jungle for a deer; and quailing before him, after having fought their way to the Capitol on the doctrine of non-extension, they at first organized the Territories without the guarantee of freedom; so that Mr. Wilmont entered one door of Congress just in season to see his proviso flying from the other.

I refer to these things to show you that we cannot depend, in a moral struggle, even upon the best of parties. Politicians, statesmen, scholars, theologians, - why, they are only passengers scolding on the deck, when the ocean, the people, heaving below, sail or sink at pleasure. The muttering wrath which broke out in Governor Andrew's late letter to Secretary Stanton shows the volcanic indignation which undergirds and will overwhelm this Administration, unless it speaks for liberty. I was going to take Mayor Wightman for a target, but if he were not too dirty to touch, he is not worth the powder. (Laughter and applause.) Let the people of Massachusetts repeat and emphasize that protest by re-electing Mr. Andrew as Governor (applause); and if you would have your trumpet at Washington give no uncertain sound, see to it that Charles Sumner next winter is returned to the leadership of the Senate. (Prolonged applause.) But outside and above politics is the party of justice - of justice, under whose serene, firm eye alone these trembling States can find refuge, their only interest in this conflict for truth and liberty. Having appealed to the world against the sin of their own government; slinging out "No Union with Slaveholders," as a signal of distress to the nations; holding up a fat, impenitent, recant church to the indignation of Christendom; outcast and excommunicated as "radicals," "fanatics," "infidels," "traitors," "cursed by the Church, lampooned by the Press, hunted by the Government; for thirty years treading alone the wine-press of national wrath, the party of justice will make their way over every obstacle, against every foe, by the Constitution or in spite of the Constitution, through the Union or over the Union, to break the last fetter upon the continent. (Applause.)

If this war is to be fought with Northern treasure and Northern blood, ought it not to be fought with Northern ideal? ("Aye, aye!") Granting war to be right, until that Yankee sword, which now lightens on the black front of the South, means liberty, it is murderous, the disgrace of the nation and the age. (Applause.) I would have Massachusetts put her foot down; say to the President, "Not another dollar or another man until you decree emancipation." (Applause.) God in his mercy will send defeat and disaster, even to the slaying of the first born of all your households, unless this nation lets his people go. Hence, Hunter understands this question, and responds to the impudent resolution of Wickliffe by promising, before November, to cram 50,000 black troops down the throat of Kentucky. (Loud applause.)

These appeals of expediency and interest, this following the lead of slavery, assuring posterity that we will never be guilty of a disinterested motive, this tendency to forget the negro, even among Abolitionists, to merge everything in Union, to make Human Rights a mere bob to the kite of political success, betrays an alarming distrust of justice and human nature - more faith in Diabolism than in Divinity. It is a feeling that God is not quite strong enough to take us through this crisis; we must lean on the Devil a little. (Laughter.) I distrust this cry of "Union." It is a Union under which families are sundered at the auction-block, and women sold for prostitution; a Union under which tottering, fainting age, and tender, beautiful youth, are hunted with bloodhounds; a Union under which men are burned alive for their love of liberty, and which for two generations has been a death-head and cross-bones erected above the grave of Freedom. This nation has forgotten God. The tyrannic dogma of the Stuarts, dug up from the apocalyptic contempt of two centuries, and robed in Republican ermine, is abroad here. We say, not "the king can do no wrong" - he is out of fashion; but the majority can do no wrong - the Union can do no wrong - the army can do no wrong. In Mr. Dickens's phrase, we "dignify all our favorite vices as institutions." Any respectable rascality may be "voted up or down."

I would not attack the President; for my baby level I could not fling a spear so high. I know his policy; it is to go to heaven backwards; to drift with the tide of events; - to float, and let the current find the way. "To blow the villains all sky high, But do it with economy." (Laughter.) Yet from anything uttered by the Commander-in-Chief, the Federal army to-day is fighting for as really a selfish object as the Confederate army. I know it is an unpleasant thing to say, chiefly unpleasant because it is true. Many an officer has been cashiered for his love of liberty; where is the

officer cashiered for his love of slavery? Fremont's and Hunter's orders to free men are annulled; Halleck's orders to enslave men are approved. No sane man doubts the war power of the President to abolish slavery. One stroke of his pen would annihilate the system. Indeed, the rebellion of a State is in itself a decree of emancipation to every slave in that State. These slaves are not held, then, by the laws of God, or the laws of man, but by Abraham Lincoln, the greatest slaveholder in history. I have no confidence in this death-bed contrivance, this "military necessity" - I scout it. The nation that will abolish slavery merely to save itself, will establish slavery to save itself. It is idle, it is wicked, it is atheistic, for the President to make terms with men in armed defiance not only against all Federal authority, but against the laws of nations and the laws of God. Ah, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln, above this war of words, above these hurrying epithets, more potent than political expediency or military necessity, louder than the shock of battle, speaks Eternal Justice - "Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

Mr. GEORGE DRAPER. I would like to ask the speaker why he wants us to send Charles Sumner, who speaks so highly of President Lincoln, when he can use such language against him?

Mr. HERWOOD. In order that Mr. Sumner, by his Territorial doctrine, may annihilate the slaveholding South (Applause.)

Emancipation is the method of peace and civilization - the only name under heaven by which we can live, it kills the slaveholder, and saves the man. I would have let the South go out; or, rather, repudiated her on moral grounds. The policy of the Anti-Slavery Society, for seventeen years, to dissolve the Union in behalf of liberty, to cast out slaveholders as other criminals, is the most honest, direct, practical, and statesmanlike method of solving this question yet proposed. The North wants to marry the South. Well, she won't have you, and what are you going to do about it? We are two nations, and the sword, which never heals the wounds it makes, which is never wreathed in myrtle - the sword can never make us one nation. The war is no cure; it only announces the disease, that the physician may appear. You cannot illuminate men's minds by letting daylight through their bodies. As religious reformers, the sword, except to be executed, is beneath your notice. The time will come when to wear a sword will be a greater disgrace than to hold slaves. You may think that fatal, but I bring truth, not apology. Conquest confers no right. If my fist is bigger than yours, is that any proof that my heart is larger or my brain clearer? We must rule the South, not by the weight of our fist, but by superior ideas, larger philanthropy, more beneficent civilization; for if this nation cannot come back to the basis of justice, God grant that it may sink forever from the sight of men! (Applause.)

But to hold the South on the basis of force, even you must inoculate her with a new principle - freedom to the blacks. This oyster must be opened with the pen, not the sword. Steamers say, that when you have failed to catch a bawling brute into motion with a cudgel, a handful of mud, scooped from the gutter and pressed against his nose, will start him, because it gives him an idea. (Laughter.) Nothing but this mud of Democracy, of abolitionism, will ever put the South on the road to progress. The Democratic party, leaping from its grave, spurs into the conflict to break another lance against justice, to bring back the Union as it was; and Mr. Lincoln says we cannot allow this struggle to degenerate to revolution. But the revolution is upon us, and we must go up to it, not down. The old Union! 't is a last year's Almanac; a Union of red tape; a Union of diplomacy - it never was a Union of ideas. The Union sentiment at the South is a fiction. The Border States would have gone long ago, if they had not been pinned to their loyalty with federal bayonets. Norfolk is defiant, Nashville is defiant, New Orleans is defiant. Slavery and Rebellion, one in life and love, in death cannot be divided. Hang the leaders! Hang the leaf, and leave the tree! Hang the incident, and leave the cause! Rather pluck up the thing by the roots, and brandish it in triumph over the enemy. If, as Mr. Vice President Stephens says, slavery is the foundation of the rebellion, then one simple airy word - Emancipation - dropped in, knocks the bottom out of secession.

Put down this agitation! Let owls and bats put down sunshine! They tried Texas, they tried fugitive Slave bills, they tried Nebraska's wiles, the Dred Scott decision, bludgeoning Senators, secession; and in Boston, the mobocratic waves clapping their hands above the City Hall and the State House, said - "It is done." Wendell Phillips is hushed up! When, lo! one morning the *Courier* waked to see that same irrepressible agitator go into the Capitol of the Republic, a conqueror! (loud applause) - while the same men who breathed threatening and slaughter to all who dared lip the name of John Brown, by the unlearned omniscience of this idea, in embattled legions were hurled against slaveholders in the tune of "Glory, Hallelujah!" This is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in the eyes of the *Courier*. (Laughter.) Oh no; to "keep step to the music of the Union," you must keep step to the music of the sheen of victory, the heroism of defeat, the black shine of the negro's countenance alone reflects the smile of Heaven. "Pharaoh sits upon the throne, but Joseph is governor over all Egypt." Colonize the slaves! Colonize the Rocky mountains! It cannot be done. We do not want to do it, for we must have the negroes as a metropolitan police to hold the South. We shall yet have those cotton States represented at Washington by black faces instead of black hearts. (Applause.)

In Conway's vigorous phrase, "The war will never be over till slavery is over." [Mr. BURLEIGH - Until slavery is under.] This slaveholding tigris must go for guano. By eight generations of outrage to a trampled and bleeding race, by Sumpter and Corcoran, by Baker and Lyon, by our brothers scalped, and decimated in their hallowed graves, slaveholders are outlaws! I would not stir your blood or wake revenge.

"Though by their high wrongs I am struck to the quick, Yet with your nobler reason 'gainst your fury Do I take part." These men were not natural friends; the spirit they incarnate, which bound twelve gigantic States to the chariot wheels of Rebellion, which sends death and desolation to thousands of Northern and Southern homes, and drives its murderous steel to the heart of free institutions, is Slavery. Then, in the name of government periled, of families beggared, of wives widowed and children orphaned, of unborn generations to inherit the poverty and woes of this, of the black race for centuries trodden into the burning marl of oppression, hurl this flend to the pit whence it rose!

There are, Mr. President, but two methods of handling this thing. One is, to forget the negro; the other is, to acknowledge his rights. Long and fairly tried, the former is a failure. Entrenched in all the strongholds that command the public mind, the pulpit, the press, the Senate, the seats of learning, mounting on its flying car all the machinery of our civilization, for seventy years Slavery was victorious on every field. Your public men, for ability, for learning, for virtue - notwithstanding the excellent courses launched upon them from this platform - would not suffer in comparison with those who have administered political affairs in England or France during the same period. Where, then, was the hitch? They essayed to reconcile freedom with slavery, an impossibility; for where the intellect of Webster, the eloquence of Clay, the scholarship of Everett, the statesmanship of Seward, and the conscience of Sumner could not succeed, the gods themselves must fail. The other horn of the dilemma, which is the lesson of this day, is fair play to black men. Some mornings ago, as a negage of the nursery floated under my window, and one tiny slip of womanhood put her sunny foot on a mutual ring, the others scattered, screaming, "I'll tell mother, I'll tell mother!" It seemed girlish; yet there was

deep wisdom in the method of reconciliation. "A ounce of mother is worth a pound of clergy," says the old proverb. So in our trouble we must go back to old principles, back to justice, back to impartial liberty, back to the laws of God, until we can make better. (Loud applause.)

The President said it gave him great pleasure to introduce, as the next speaker, one of the earliest and most devoted advocates of the cause of the oppressed, JAMES MILLER McKIM, of Philadelphia, so long identified with the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society as its Secretary and General Agent. Mr. McKIM (who was warmly applauded) proceeded to give a very interesting and most encouraging sketch of his recent visit to Fort Royal and Beaufort with reference to the "contrabands," and the educational and industrial efforts making in their behalf. [We defer its publication, at his request, until he shall be able to revise and complete it.]

An original hymn, by CAROLINE A. MASON, of Fitchburg, was then sung; and it being 1 o'clock, the meeting adjourned for a social picnic till half past 2 P. M.

For the remainder of the proceedings, see the second and third pages, inside.

THE BRUTALITY OF THE REBELS AT THE MOUND CITY DISASTER. Colonel Fitch bears testimony, in his official report, to the brutality of the rebels at the Mound City disaster, and a correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial says of the scene, after the explosion - "In the confusion of the moment, some 60 men, badly scalded, jumped overboard - thirty or more whom we are sure were drowned or murdered - the enemy's sharpshooters literally picking off one poor fellow while they were swimming and struggling in the water for life."

When the accident occurred, Master Donny was standing out forward on the deck, board upon deck, (the only man then on the deck, Capt. Kelly being at his post in the pilot-house,) giving orders about the hall of cannon, rifle and musketry shot off, covering the flow of steam, Donny pulled off his coat, with which he covered his head, and begged men, "For God's sake, not to jump overboard!" next went to the stern, waved his handkerchief to the gunboats below to come up and tow the disabled Mound City out from under the rebel batteries - the powder - which were playing on her very breast at the time. While signalling the gunboats to come up, the handkerchief was shot out of his hand. As fast as he pulled the men out of the water at the stern of the Mound City, the enemy's sharpshooters shot them down."

Of the terrible sufferings that were undergone by the victims he says - "The agonizing scene cannot be described or imagined. Here lay the bodies of some twenty men, scalded to death, or agonizing with their mangled bodies severed sunder by the fatal shot. The gun deck was literally strewn with from 7 to 80 others, who, being badly scalded and badly disfigured, were tearing off their clothing, and the strings of bleeding flesh dangling from their faces, hands, arms, and lacerated bodies, and their eyes burned out and closed, crying out for 'high help - water, give me water, water - save me.' 'Oh, God, save me, save me.' 'Oh! kill me, about me.' 'Oh! do end my misery.' 'Doctor, will you? Tell my wife how I died,' and numerous piteous exclamations and pathetic appeals of his character. The features of all were wonderfully distorted. Many could not be recognized by their most intimate friends. We pray to God we may never have occasion to look on such a scene again."

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