

forty-nine of my regiment, one hundred and eighty were killed and wounded. Captain Perry and Co. Murray were shot with the colors in their hands. Major Shubart and Captain Moore fell within thirty or forty yards of that stone wall at the foot of the hill. I have no more to say of the day's experience. The scenes of that battle added ten years to my life.

I suppose we are now in summer quarters. When are the conscripts coming? The enemy are very strong in the front of us. I want to fight this thing out. My life—all I have—is at the service of the country. I shall always be glad to see any of my Cincinnati friends, come when they may. I have often been recommended for promotion, and by no less than twelve general. Yet—so it goes.

Yours truly, EDWARD E. CROSS, Col. Commanding 1st Brigade.

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Delivered at a Mass Meeting held at National Hall, Philadelphia, July 6, 1863, for the promotion of Colored Enlistments.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS—I shall not attempt to follow Judge Kelley and Miss Dickinson in their eloquent and thrilling appeals to colored men to enlist in the service of the United States. They have left nothing to be desired at that point. I propose to look at the subject in a plain and practical common-sense way. There are a number of views to be taken of such enlistments—broad view and a narrow view. I am willing to take both and consider both. The narrow view of this subject is that which respects the matter of dollars and cents. There are those among us who say they are in favor of taking a hand in this tremendous war, but they will not do so on any terms of equality with white men. They say if they enter the service, endure all the hardships, perils and sufferings—if they make bare their breasts, and with strong arms and courageous hearts confront rebel cannons, and write victory from the jaws of death, they should have the same pay, the same bounty, the same honor, and the same favorable conditions every way afforded to other men.

I shall not oppose this view. There is something deep down in the soul of every man present which assents to the justice of the claim thus made, and honors the manhood and self-respect which insist upon it. [Applause.] I say at once, in peace and war, I am content with nothing for the black man short of equal and exact justice. The only question I have, and the only question which I differ from those who refuse to enlist, is whether the colored man is more likely to obtain justice and equality while refusing to assist in putting down this tremendous rebellion than he would be if he should promptly, generously and earnestly give his hand and heart to the salvation of the country in this day of calamity and peril. Nothing can be more plain, nothing more certain than that the present war, and best possible way to end it, is to manhood, equal rights and elevation, it is that we enter this service. For my own part, I hold that if the Government of the United States offered nothing more, as an inducement to colored men to enlist, than bare subsistence and arms, considering the moral effect of calamity and war upon ourselves, it would be the wisest and best thing for us to do. [Applause.] There is something ennobling in the possession of arms, and we of all other people in the world stand in need of their ennobling influence.

The case presented in the present war, and the light in which every colored man is bound to view it, may be stated thus. There are two governments struggling now for the possession of and endeavoring to rule over the United States—one has its capital in Richmond, and is represented by Mr. Jefferson Davis, and the other has its capital at Washington, and is represented by "Honest Old Abe." [Cheers and long-continued applause.] These two governments are to-day facing each other, fronting each other with vast armies, and grappling each other upon a bloody field, north and south, on the banks of the Mississippi, and under the shadows of the Alleghenies. Now, the question for every colored man is, or ought to be, what attitude is assumed by these respective governments and armies towards the rights and liberties of the colored race in this country? Which is the government which is for the color of the skin? Which is the government which is for the color of the skin? [Cries of "That's the question!"]

Now, I think there can be no doubt as to the attitude of the Richmond or Confederate government. Wherever else there has been concealment, here all is frank, open, and diabolically straightforward—Jefferson Davis and his government make no secret as to the cause of this war, and they do not conceal the purpose of the war. That purpose is to make more or less than to make the slavery of the African race an universal and perpetual on this continent. It is not only evident from the history and logic of events, but the declared purpose of the atrocious war now being waged against the country. Some, indeed, have denied that slavery has anything to do with the war, but the very same men who deny it affirm it in the same breath in which they deny it for they tell you that the abolitionists are the cause of the war, that if the abolitionists are the cause of the war, they are the cause of it only because they have sought the abolition of slavery. View it in any way you please, therefore, the rebels are fighting for the existence of slavery—they are fighting for the privilege, the horrid privilege, of striking the dearest ties of human nature—the striking the slaves and the souls of men—for the glastly privilege of scourging men and selling innocent children. [Cries of "That's true!"]

I say this is not the concealed object of the war, but the openly confessed and shamelessly proclaimed object of the war. Vice-President Stephens has stated, with the utmost clearness and precision, the difference between the fundamental principle of the Confederate Government and those of the Federal Government. One is based upon the idea that colored men are an inferior race, who may be enslaved and plundered forever, and to the heart's content of any man of a different complexion, while the Federal Government recognizes the natural and fundamental equality of all men. [Applause.]

I say, again, we all know that the Jefferson Davis government, auction-blocks, bludgeons, branding-irons, and eternal slavery and degradation. If it triumphs in this contest, we, too, shall have no more to the black man! Such of us as are free, in all the likelihoods of the case, would be given over to the most execrating tortures, while the last hope of the long-enslaved would be extinguished forever. Now, what is the attitude of the Washington government towards the colored race? What reasons have we to desire its triumph in the present contest? Mind, I do not ask what was its attitude towards us before this bloody rebellion broke out. I do not ask what was its disposition when it was controlled by the very men who are now fighting to destroy it, when they could no longer control it. I do not ask what it was two years ago, when McClellan shamelessly gave out that in a war between loyal slaves and disloyal masters, he would take the side of the masters against the slaves—when he openly proclaimed his purpose to put down slave insurrection with an iron hand—when glorious Ben Butler [cheers and applause], now stumped into a conversation to anti-slavery principles (which I have every reason to believe sincere), professed his services to the Governor of Maryland to suppress a slave insurrection, while treason ran riot in that State, and the warm red blood of Massachusetts soldiers still stained the pavements of Baltimore.

I do not ask what was the attitude of this government when many of the officers and men who had undertaken to be loyal to the United States, and to leave the service, if men of color should step forward to defend it, and be invested with the dignity of soldiers. Moreover, I do not ask what was the position of this government when our loyal camps were made slave-hunting grounds, and United States officers performed the disgusting duty of slave dogs to hunt down slaves for rebel masters. These were all dark and terrible days for the people. I do not ask you about the dead past. I bring you to the living present. Events more mighty than men, eternal Providence, all-wise, and all-controlling, have placed us in new relations to the government, and to the government to us. What that government is to us to-day, and what it will be to-morrow, is made evident by a very few facts. Look at the colored men in the District of Columbia who are being sent to the territories of the United States and abolished forever; the foreign slave trade, with its ten thousand revolting abominations, is rendered impossible; slavery in ten States of the Union is abolished forever; slavery in the five remaining States is as certain as death, and the same fate as the night is upon the day. The independence of Hayti is recognized.

her minister sits beside our Prime Minister, Mr. Seward, and dines at his table in Washington, while colored men are excluded from the cars in Philadelphia; showing that a black man's complexion in Washington, in the presence of the Federal Government, is less offensive than in the city of brotherly love. Citizenship is no longer denied us under the government.

Under the interpretation of our rights by Attorney General Bates, we are American citizens. We can import goods, own and sail ships, and travel in foreign countries with American passports in our pockets; and now, so far from there being any opposition, so far from excluding us from the army and officers, the President at Washington, the Cabinet and the Congress, the general commanding, and the army of the nation unite in giving us one thunderous welcome to share with them in the honor and glory of suppressing treason and upholding the star-spangled banner. The revolution is tremendous, and it becomes us as wise men to recognize the change, and to shape our action accordingly. [Cheers, and cries of "well said!"]

I hold that the Federal Government was never, in its history, anything but an anti-slavery Government. Abolish slavery to-morrow, and not a sentence or syllable of the Constitution need be altered. It was purposely so framed as to give no claim, no sanction to the claim of property in man. In its origin slavery had any relation to the Government, it was only as the scaffolding to the building which was to be removed as soon as the building was completed. There is in the Constitution no East, no West, no North, no South, no black, no white, no slave, no slaveholder, but all are citizens who are of American birth.

Such is the Government, fellow-citizens, you are now called upon to uphold with your arms. It is the Government that you are called upon to support with your hands, and with your feet. [Applause.] Never since the world began was a better chance offered to a long enslaved and oppressed people. The opportunity is given us to be men. With one courageous resolution we may blot out the hand-writing of ages against us. Once let the black man get upon his person the same rights as the white man, and he will be a man, and a man at the shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States. [Laughter and applause.] I say again, this is our chance, and we betide us if we fail to embrace it! The immortal bard hath told us:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries. We must take the current when it serves, Or lose our ventures."

Do not flatter yourselves, my friends, that you are more important to the Government than the plank to the ship. This rebellion can be put down with or without you. Slavery can be abolished by white men, but liberty so won for the black man, while it may leave him an object of pity, can never make him an object of respect.

Depend upon it, this is no time for hesitation. Do you say you want the same pay that white men get? I believe that the justice and magnanimity of your country will speedily grant it. But will you be content with the same pay that white men get as good wages now as white men get by staying out of the service? Don't you work for less every day than white men get? You know you do. Do I hear you say you want black officers? Very well, and I have not the slightest doubt that, in the progress of this war, we shall see black officers, black captains, and generals even. But it is not ridiculous to wish men in time of war, who are everywhere commanded by white men in time of peace? Do I hear you say still that you are a son, and want your mother provided for in your absence?—a husband, and want your wife cared for?—a brother, and want your sister secured against want? I honor you for your solicitude. Your mothers, your wives and your sisters ought to be cared for, and an association of gentlemen, composed of responsible white and colored men, is now being organized in this city for this very purpose.

HOW THE REBELS REGARD VALLANDIGHAM.

In a national sense, he is an enemy to the Confederacy; but it cannot be denied that his personal opinion is in favor of a people struggling against the same tyranny that has trampled upon liberty in his own country, and that has laid its hand upon him for the purpose of crushing him out as a champion of that liberty. His own views of his position were exposed in a brief address to the people of Ohio, dated the 5th ultimo, and written from the Military Prison in Cincinnati.

The Confederate press agree, without dissent, that the misfortunes of the distinguished exile command respect and kind treatment at the hands of our people. They oppose, with equal unanimity, the policy and propriety of any public demonstration, or of any course of action to alter his status, as an exiled citizen of the United States, and as a candidate for Governor in next year's most important State or Territorial election.

The majority of the press agree with us that Mr. V.'s best course is to get out of the country as soon as possible, and make his way to Canada, as near to Ohio as possible, and there prosecute his canvass for Governor of that State. That course would be better for the cause of freedom in his own country, to which he has devoted his life, better for himself and our own power of usefulness, and better for the whole deeply concerned in every effort which looks to the overthrow of the Black Republican Government which rules at Washington, to the disgrace of civilization and humanity. If he remains, he loses his power, and plays into the cunning hands of Lincoln and Seward. If he returns, he may yet become the liberator of his country. Another course has been suggested. It is for him to repair to New York, and claim the protection of Gov. Seymour, and of the State which boasts that it is free. Mr. V. is himself the only proper judge of the policy of such a step. He knows better than we do the hopes and the peril of it. As his personal well-wisher, we should hesitate to advise it. As a Confederate, we should be glad to see the experiment tried. It would open the way for a better understanding between the "Free States" of New York, and the Lincoln Dictatorship, and to show whether there was any back-bone left to New York Democracy. State rights, and Constitutional freedom.—Mobile Evening News.

The civil war still prevails over all the North. The President has declared martial law only as to specified persons and specific acts. It is only against rebels, insurgents, their aiders and abettors, and persons encouraging volunteer enlistments, residing in the militia districts, and guilty of disloyal practices, affording aid and comfort to the rebels, against the authority of the United States. The purpose is to prevent the defeat of the very means put into his hands to suppress the rebellion. He cannot conquer without an army. He cannot call men to arms without power to compel them to come; and he cannot maintain discipline if outside interference prevails.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1863.

FIRST OF AUGUST! Emancipation the only Safe and Just Policy.

The 29th Anniversary of West India Emancipation will be celebrated, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON.

On SATURDAY, August 1st, it may be in our power to see that day, hereafter, of a day which shall celebrate the anniversary of a day which shall see every slave in the United States emancipated, and every color of slavery extinguished from the American soil. Come, all friends of liberty! Aid us in making this the most effective meeting for justice and for our country ever held on Old Colony ground. Let the true sword give impulse to the right, just and brave desire, and every heart be moved with the determination to utterly crush the rebellion of the slaveholders, South and North, and with the rebellion, its origin, support, motive, and end—HUMAN SLAVERY.

Among the expected speakers are Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Wm. Wells Brown, Theodore D. Weld, &c. An Excursion Train, on the Old Colony Railroad, will leave the Depot, Kneeland Street, Boston, at 9 A. M. on that day. Leave Plymouth at 9:20, A. M. Both trains will stop at usual way stations, and at the Grove.

Returning, leave the Grove at 5 P. M. FARES—Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Neponset, Quincy and Braintree, to the Grove and back, for adults, 50 cents; children, 25 cents. Plymouth, Kingston, Plympton, and Halifax, to the Grove and back, half the usual rates. Excursion tickets good on other trains. In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Abington Town Hall, near the Grove.

By order of the Managers, EDMUND QUINCY, President. R. F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec.

THE LATE FIENDISH RIOTS.

Whoever attempts to charge upon the conscription act the origin of the late fiendish riots in New York and elsewhere, is to be set down as extremely credulous or boldly dishonest. In all loyal minds, that act is not only constitutional beyond all doubt, but indispensable to the maintenance of the Federal Government, and the suppression of the rebellion; and they give it not only their acquiescence, but also their hearty support. Resistance of it is prima facie evidence of a treasonable spirit on the part of every one claiming to be an American citizen; and therefore the cheers for Jeff. Davis that went up from the throats of the worst than savage rioters in New York, as they surged from street to street, carrying desolation and murder in their track. It has been a part of the programme of the Southern traitors, from the beginning of their revolt, if driven to the wall, to stir up in due time, in all the leading cities and towns of the North, those elements of ignorance and depravity which are easily "set on fire of hell" by the concealed hands of confederate sympathizers, and which, when ignited, are capable of achieving misery and ruin on a gigantic scale. Now that Vicksburg and Port Hudson (and in all probability, this, Charleston) have fallen, and Richmond is in peril of speedy capture, and victory is everywhere perching upon the Federal standard, and the confederate army is dissolving like snow in spring-time, it behooves Jefferson Davis and his co-conspirators in crime to lose no time in stimulating that mobocratic spirit which has been eagerly waiting for its summons to burst forth like a whirlwind, and by its excesses send dismay and horror through every portion of the North. Hence, the hellish deeds which have been perpetrated in the "commercial emporium," as the focal point of Northern disloyalty and foreign degradation. The draft simply furnished the occasion to inflame the passions of the dangerous classes, under the guise of resisting a tyrannical edict; but the determination to invoke the aid of incendiarism and assassination in the last resort, was coeval with the act of Southern secession. As slavery is "the sum of all villainies," there is nothing so cruel or diabolical in purpose or action that its confederate upholders are not capable of perpetrating. Their instrumentalities are manifold. "Full of all deceivable unrighteousness," they can wear any garb and assume any aspect.

The peculiarity of these riots is, that the mass of those who participate in them are the lowest and most brutal of the Irish population. These are cruelly made use of because there is no other class at the North capable of committing the atrocities required by the urgency of the case. Of them it may be as compassionately said, as Jesus said of the rabble who crucified him, "They know not what they do." For them we have no burning indignation; they are the wretched victims of intelligent and desperate conspirators, who deal with them as the gambler does with his loaded die.

Primarily, then, the awful guilt and dread responsibility of all these riots rest upon those Southern traffickers in human flesh who have broken the nation asunder, and brought upon it immeasurable woe, for the sole purpose of preserving and extending negro slavery. Already, their fiendish exultation is beginning to break forth in characteristic strains. "Riot, murder and conflagration," says the Richmond Enquirer, "have begun in New York." It seems it "a world's wonder that this good deed did not commence long ago." It derives immense satisfaction from the belief that "this excellent outbreak was the opening scene of the inevitable revolution which is to tear to pieces that most rotten society, and have the Northern half of the American Union a desert of blood-soaked ashes," and "bids it good speed." It gladsly oozes the prospect of seeing "yet a little while, the giant and hollow bulk of the Yankee nation bursting into fragments, and rushing down into perdition in flames and blood." Who but demons could write in this strain, or be jubilant over such infernal atrocities!

Secondarily, the Northern democratic leaders, like Gov. Seymour, Franklin Pierce, C. L. Vallandigham and Fernando Wood—and such journals as the New York World, News, Express, Herald, and Journal of Commerce, and Boston Courier and Post—by their factious opposition to the Government and artful appeals to the passions of an ignorant and unreasoning mob—are to be brought to the bar of justice, and held directly responsible for all those excesses which have made the midnight sky lurid with the flames of burning dwellings, and the streets of the city gory with blood. They are the Northern accomplices of the Southern principals. It is what they have said and done to malign the Government and represent it as the enemy of the poorer classes,—as animated solely by a tyrannical and usurping spirit,—that has operated to bring about this hideous state of things, and added fuel to the flame. While such are allowed, with audacious impunity, to "scatter firebrands, arrows and death" broadcast, there is no safety for life or property, and Government permits itself to be placed upon a heaving volcano.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECHES AND LECTURES. THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS BOOK WAS SOLD IN FOUR DAYS—AS RAPIDLY AS IT COULD BE FOUND. THE SECOND EDITION, WHICH IS NEARLY OUT OF PRESS, IS ALREADY ORDERED, AND A THIRD EDITION WILL IMMEDIATELY FOLLOW. IT IS A VERY SOLID AND HANDSOMELY BOUND VOLUME OF MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED PAGES, AND ELEGANTLY PRINTED AT THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS. FOR AN ENUMERATION OF ITS CONTENTS, SEE MR. REDPATH'S ADVERTISEMENT ON OUR PAGE.

THE COLORED SAILORS' HOME.

FRIEND GARRISON—With a sorrowful heart, I write you a narrative of the outrages perpetrated upon myself and defenceless family by a lawless, infuriated New York mob. On the afternoon of the 18th inst., the Colored Sailors' Home, No. 2 Dover street, was invaded by a mob of half-grown boys. At this Home, established under the direction of the American Seaman's Friend-Society, boarded the last twelve months four hundred and fifty colored seamen. Founded on the strict principles of morality and the moral and religious elevation of my brethren of the sea, it was the only refuge where they could rest secure, when in port, from the snarls and temptations which unsparingly beset them on shore.

More than thirteen years ago, the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was mobbed, and driven out of the Broadway Tabernacle and other public buildings, by the notorious Capt. Byrders and his hellish crew. That was an outrage for which it was hoped New York had condoned for its confession, contrition and satisfaction, and had received absolution and remission of their sins, from the ghastly hands of our down-trodden humanity.

Dear Garrison, your doughnut course of your eventual life, as an unflinching advocate of the suffering dumb of our enslaved race, in which you have never faltered, and have, from time to time, been mobbed, imprisoned, bruised, beaten, and dragged through the streets of Puritan Boston as a malefactor, you can well enter into my feelings. As a man of peace, I have religiously, and upon principles eternal as the heavens, never armed myself with deadly weapons of defence, and thus have been the mercy of the blood-thirsty Vandals. It was the wisdom of one insignificant man that once saved a besieged city. I thank God who has given me the victory—let wholly upon His all-protecting arm. It is better that all my property should be destroyed, as it has been, and my family stripped of everything except the clothing in which they escaped with their lives, than that one drop of blood should be shed in defence of their lives. Let us thank God that He still reigns, and that He will yet make the wrath of man to praise Him.

From 2 P. M., till 8 P. M. myself and family were prisoners in my own house over the roofs of adjoining houses. About 4 P. M. I sent a note to Superintendent Kennedy for protection, but received none, from the fact that he had been seriously injured by the mob in another part of the city. Well, the mob commenced throwing stones at the lower windows until they had succeeded in making an opening. I was determined not to leave my invalid daughter, (who is entirely helpless), and my wife, on the roof of the next house. I remained till the mob broke in, and then narrowly escaped the same way. This was about 8 1/2 P. M. We remained on the roof for an hour; still I hoped relief would come. The neighbors, anticipating the mob would fire my house, were removing their effects on the roof—all was excitement. But as the object of the mob was plunder, they were too busily engaged in carrying off my effects to apply the torch. Added to this, it began to rain, so as if the heavens were shedding tears over the dreadful calamity. "Hug be the heavens with black!"

How to escape from the roof of a five-story building with four females—and one a cripple—besides eight men, without a ladder, or any assistance from outside, was beyond my next excited imagination. But the God that succored Hagar in her flight came to my aid in the person of a little deformed, despised Jew—Israel—who, Samaritan-like, took my poor helpless daughter under his protection in his house; there I presume she now is, until friends send her to me. He also supplied me with a long rope. I then took a survey of the premises, and fortunately found a way to escape; and though pithy dark, I took soundings with the rope, to see if it would touch the roof, after which I took a clove-hitch around the clothes-line which was fastened to the wall by a space of about one hundred feet. In this manner I managed to lower my family down to the next roof, and from one roof to another, until I landed them in a neighbor's yard. We were secreted in our friend's cellar till 11 P. M., when we were taken to the station-house for safety. In this dismal place we found with broken limbs—bruised and beaten from head to foot. We stayed in this place for twenty-four hours, when the police escorted us to the New Haven boat, at 11 P. M. Thus we escaped from an infuriated mob, leaving our invalid daughter in New York in the hands of kind friends.

All my personal property, to the amount of \$8000, has been scattered to the four winds, which, "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaves not a wreck behind," except our lives; and so the Lord be praised. As a devoted loyal Unionist, I have done all I could to perpetuate and uphold the integrity of this free government. As an evidence of this devotedness, my oldest son is now serving my country as a surgeon in the United States army, and myself had just received a commission in the naval service. What more could I do! What further evidence was wanting to prove my allegiance in the exigencies of our unfortunate country? I am now an old man, stripped of everything which I once possessed, of all the comforts of life; but I thank God that He has yet spared my life, which I am ready to yield in the defence of my country.

I am, Sir, yours, &c. WM. P. POWELL. New Bedford, July 18, 1863.

THE RIOTOUS OUTBREAK IN NEW YORK.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—In this city, during the past week, has been the reign of terror. As I am, now, a permanent resident in New York, I beg leave to relate a few of the leading acts of violence, robbery, incendiarism and bloodshed, some of which took place under my own observation.

Among the most cruel and barbarous acts of the mob was the slaughter of the colored people. In the evening, on Clarkson street, I saw a poor negro hanged by the neck on a tree. He was entirely naked, and a slow fire burning under him! His feet were partially roasted; his body scorched in several places, and lifeless! A crowd of low people,—men, women and children,—were looking on; rude boys were poking the poor corpse with sticks; while others of the crowd were making derision of their victim.

A day or two afterwards, the mob hung another colored man on a tree, in Thirsty-second street, not far from my office. It took place about six o'clock A. M. Soon after it occurred, I ventured to go near the place of the horrible scene, and saw a most loathsome looking crowd, jeering at the mangled corpse as though they had done a worthy deed. They appeared more like demons than human beings. Any man's life would have been in danger, had he interfered. A rough looking man stepped forward, with knife in hand, and went to cutting open all the pockets of the dead body, to ascertain what he could find.

There were no policemen, nor soldiers, on the ground. At last, the military came rushing along; some mounted on horses, with waving swords; soldiers with glistening bayonets; and artillery, with brass cannon. The cavalry with their swords cut down the dead body. It fell into the gutter; they left it lying there. The artillery soon fired their cannon, and raked the streets of the mob. After the military had left the scene, the rioters returned, and renewed their depredations. They hung up the dead carcass again, amid the cheers of howling demons. They then put an old cloth cap on the victim's head and turned him round so as to front the crowd, and enable them to see his bruised face and bloody head, so that they might enjoy the horrid spectacle!

unfortunate negro, and dragged him in the street, before they hung him up; for his clothing was covered with mud, and his face and head were horribly mangled, which gave the corpse a frightful appearance. The house in which he resided being opposite, they broke out the windows, and set it on fire. In a few minutes the building was all in flames. The engines were soon on hand, and prevented the other houses from burning down; but the negro dwelling was burned. Reports say that the family fled in such haste, the inmates left a colored baby in the building. All abolitionists and leading Republicans were in danger. Horace Greeley was called for by some of the mob. They said they wanted to hang him up by the side of the negro; and why they did not murder him, as he passed up and down regularly to his dinners and lodgings, is a miracle. The rioters threatened to burn every Anti-Slavery church, and kill every Abolitionist. They went to Crook's hotel on Chatham at 10 o'clock, and drove out all the colored waiters, who fled for their lives to Philadelphia. On Broadway, the mob discovered a colored man riding on the outside of a carriage, and pulled him off. He hit his head on the wheel, and fell to the ground. They beat and stamped him to death on the pavement. [We are obliged to curtail this letter for lack of room.] Yours, truly, NOYES WHEELER.

EMANCIPATION.

Slavery in North America "is doomed," is the cry of Abolitionists, and the prediction is echoed by the voices of thousands. The emancipation of so many slaves by the President's proclamation, the discovery that they may be made valiant soldiers and useful citizens, have impressed the mind of the Northern people with the expectation that the day of eternal freedom in this land is not far distant.

But there is no rationality in the belief, that it can as certainly be brought about by any of the events which may precede it; and the opinions of those who anxiously desire it are different as to the method by which it is to be effected. This difference renders it uncertain whether slavery is yet to die, as an error in the method of abolishing it would of course make a failure in the attempt. To the aspirants for freedom, this is therefore the most important question that can be presented; and it is the one now proposed to be discussed.

Most persons believe that general emancipation will be the consequence of this present war of secession, and would not have occurred without it; but it is plain that this will depend on the way in which the war will terminate; which, therefore, is to be considered. There are only three methods by which this war can be closed, viz.—

- 1. By conquest and subjugation of the seceded States, holding them as conquered provinces, by military force.
2. By the restoration of the Union under the present or an amended Constitution, to which the seceded States may consent.
3. By recognition of their separation, as an independent power, and a treaty of peace with them.

The first of these methods is one to which the majority of the people would not consent. It would be contrary to the principles on which our Government is built; would be attended with too burdensome an expense; would be destructive of the liberty and morality of the nation; and no intelligent man could wish or expect it to be permanent; though maintained for a time, from necessity, it would soon be exchanged for one of the two other conditions; and the slavery which it would undoubtedly suppress might again be restored when the Federal armies were withdrawn, which could not be prevented by the Government. It may therefore be put out of the question.

The second supposition is that which the Government and conductors of the war appear to have in view; but it is clearly visionary. We have the most thorough assurances that the people of the seceded States are resolutely determined never to give again into voluntary union with the North, or to give up property in slaves, however they may be reduced in power; but should the expectations of the Federal Government be fulfilled, and the Union be restored, it can only be on the Constitution as it is; and the moment that is accomplished, the proclamations of the President will become dead letters at once; the slave States can renew and extend their slavery, which the Federal Government cannot prevent; even the slaves now emancipated in the free States will be subject to reclamation by the Constitution. Those persons who declare that the Union shall not be restored with slavery in it, might be gratified with its exclusion, but could not prevent its resumption when the Union was reestablished.

We now come to the third and only remaining supposition—viz., that the independence of the seceded States should be recognized, and a peace made with them. In this case, it is true the free States cannot stipulate with the slave States for the abolition of slavery, but may exempt themselves from all participation and responsibility for it, and from all the evils and disgrace arising from it. Slavery at the South will be no more to the North than it is in Brazil or Cuba; the sympathies with it, of some parties at the North and in Europe, will be gone; and all obligation to the return of fugitive slaves will cease; and this fact, known to the slaves, will cause escapes by hundreds; and Northern opposition to insurrection will no longer fester. Slavery, thus menaced and effectually circumscribed, cannot long continue; and the slaveholders, compelled to resort to free labor, would soon find it more profitable, more safe, and more humane, and in time would voluntarily move for emancipation; especially if the greatest sufferers by it should be compensated. This is the true path of freedom. Every sincere and practical Abolitionist should strive for separation. J. P. B.

PATRIOTIC SENTIMENTS.

We received a letter from our venerable friend, JESSE STEDMAN, of Springfield, (Vt.) dated July 1st, in which, after expressing his regret that he should not be able to attend the Anti-Slavery celebration of the 4th at Framingham, he embodied the following patriotic sentiments for the occasion:—

"The great principles of civil liberty, enunciated on that memorable day, the 4th of July, 1776, form an epoch in the world's history, second in importance none since the crucifixion. To maintain them, we seized the sword; and we are now at war because we abandoned them. May the war never end till the last enemy of human liberty be conquered or slain, and the last slave set free. The Ladies—The first in every good cause, and the last to abandon the post of duty. To the cry of the needy, their ears are never closed; at the couch of suffering, their hands never tire. England counts her Florence Nightingales by units; we count ours by scores and thousands. May they never want for the sympathy and support of husbands, brothers and friends! New England left out in the cold—Inured to the storms of two hundred and forty winters, she has nothing to fear from the Northern blast; and less to fear from Southern shafts than from Southern principles. Her first foot-prints on this continent were upon a "Rock"; and her reliance is upon the Rock of Ages. Faithful to her primeval principles, may she live forever! The Rebels—No common foes. Like Milton's devils, they prefer to reign in hell, rather than serve in heaven. They combine the cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger, the self-conceit of the ass, the cowardice of the assassin, the cruelty of the savage, and the brainless fury of the maniac. With a conquering Joshua at their heels, may they share the fate of the seven nations of Palestine! The Slaves—While their enemies butcher each other, may they escape between the two fires."

PROGRESSIVE MEETING AT LOCKPORT.

ROCHESTER, (N. Y.) July 10th, 1863. MR. GARRISON— My friend, I sent you a word touching the Waterloo Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress. The next week, Friday, June 12th, commenced a similar meeting for three days, at Lockport. The attendance was made up, for the first two days, mainly of persons from the country, thoughtful and intelligent. The daily paper had advertised that on Sunday, "The State of the Country" would be the topic, and a large and good audience met to hear, with deep interest, the word of H. C. Wright and others, on the subject.

The President of the meeting, Mr. Trowbridge, a returned soldier, from Rosecrans' army, made a noble speech, true to freedom, which was well received. The next week, Friday, the 10th, I met Mr. Wright at Sturgis, Michigan, a pleasant village of some 500 people, in a rich and beautiful prairie, on the M. & N. railroad, one hundred miles west of Toledo. At 10 o'clock, A. M. commenced a three days' meeting, largely attended, and of great value and interest. The spacious and pleasant "Free Church," built by the Spiritualists and others, was readily opened and tastefully decorated with evergreen. Wreaths in green wreaths along the wall, over the platform, were words of peace and encouragement. Vases on the stand, in flowers, and every fit niche, bloomed out in a rich wealth of roses and flowers.

J. A. Rox, of Orland, Indiana—a true man and a pioneer in Anti-Slavery—was made President; M. Jacobs, of Sturgis, Secretary. A Committee was chosen to offer subjects, arrange for speakers, and plan that freedom and order should aid each other. "Human Progress," "Immortality," "Education, physical, mental, and spiritual," and "The Abolition," were the subjects. Saturday had been devoted as set apart for "The Rebellion," and through three long sessions, closing at 10 P. M., the house was thronged, and many were unable to gain entrance, while showers forbade an outdoor meeting. Our blind friend, Mr. Hoisington, spoke with much earnestness. J. T. Rouse, of Indiana, a blind man also, gave a noble address. H. C. Wright and others spoke, and the most thorough utterances for liberty and justice gained most earnest response. It was a day of great value.

Sunday morning, for an hour or two, was a conference for short talks, full of interest, and these conference speeches, each one left to talk on what topic they chose. Whatever the subject, came up from among the good word for Liberty and Union. Through the three days were held three sessions. H. C. Wright, Mr. Jameson, Mr. Kutz, Mr. Parker, J. T. Rouse, Mr. Hoisington, and others speaking. The petitions of the "Women's Logic League" for emancipation were presented, one hundred and twenty names of women taken, money collected for them, and several petitions taken home by women from other towns. Sunday evening, Mrs. Josephine S. Griffin spoke at the close, with deep feeling and a persuasive power, that held all in quiet attention. Mr. Wright added a few words, and at 10 1/2 P. M., the people left, slowly and reluctantly.

The next week, Saturday, the 27th, we met at Framingham, twenty miles northwest of Detroit, in a beautiful grove, some three hundred persons. The hour haymakers waited until the next day, but the house was well filled by those present. Sunday brought a multitude. I spoke for one hour on The Rebellion, when there came a sudden pouring of rain for half an hour. Such grotesque scrambling! What a subject for a Hogarth! At 2 P. M. I had a third meeting, in a church in the village, which went well. Mr. Wright spoke on the war and the "serpents' schemes," and at the close read a series of most "radical" resolves, which were adopted by a rising vote of almost every person present. Notwithstanding the rain, the meeting was so encouraging that a committee was chosen to plan for a three days' gathering next season. Yours, truly, G. E. STEBBINS.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

HART, June 30, 1863. BRO. GARRISON—Your criticism of Blair is excellent, but do you not know that Blair is the echo of Lincoln? Are you not aware that he is speaking by authority? Look at his speech in Cleveland, a few weeks since, and see how oracular he is in speaking of the intention of the Government as to the separation of the races. I can assure you, my old friend, that nothing is further from the design of Lincoln than emancipation without colonization,—and Montgomery Blair is his chosen medium, through which to infuse the worst that brutal hatred among the people. Though the Blair came into the Republican party strongly inimical to Weed and Seward, they are his fellows well met now, and are all in sweet communion with the President in their hatred of the colored race. No three men in America gave Seward so much character among the best portion of the world as he, and Phillips, and Parker. I warned you of it in 1853, and told you you were reading a chicken whose skin was to be girded to ruin. I dare say you thought me crazy then—and will now, when I tell you that you and Phillips and Parker, who are all so well known to be the best-meaning men in the world, have done more to give to Lincoln character than any of all other men living. Now, my brother, see if he does not retire from office the least possible fragment of humanity, in your estimation, of anything conceivable beyond angels and liards. I beseech you to read that Cleveland speech of Blair's, and see the efforts to lead off the noble Fremont, who had publicly advised the use of the very freed men in

