F TERMS - Three dollars and fifty cents in advan Four opies will be sent to one address for TWELVE the payment is made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letter All remittances are to be made, and any letters which to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be invector (PET PAID), to the General Agent.

Advertisements of a square and over inserted three grat ten cents per line; less than a square, \$1.50 fo for insertions. Yearly and half yearly advertisements

To The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-The Agents of the Australian Anti-Slavery Societies are also the receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

gabrize to recommend to the first state of the following gentlemen constitute the Financial formittee, but are not responsible for any debts of the page, vir.—Wexdell Phillips, Edmund Quiscy, Kopper Jackson, and William L. Garrison, Jr.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & BON, Printers.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 27.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1796.

plaim Liberty throughout all the la the inhabitants thereof."

lpal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE RESTI, and that, under that state of things, so far from its being frue that the States where slavery sixtle have the excitaire management of the subject, not only the Principure of The States, but the Concastons or rest Amer. HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . From the instant that the staveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Courages extend to interference with the institution of Courages extend to interference with the institution.

with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the ossion of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a w-power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of tawaton or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to corty on the war, and must cann't ro 0s, ac-countré to the Laws or wan; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-tions swept by the board, and attriat rower takes the PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-elpate all the slaves in the layned territory. ".-! Q. Anana.

# Selections.

### GREAT FUNERAL.

BEAT FUNDRAL.

Died, in Richmond, Va., on the 3d inst., of a secretated of the Great Union Army, in convulsions the medium-in contortions and writhings the stylent—in contortions and writhings the stylent of the Fourier of Secession. It was been that it has been in a declining condition. The borid monster, though pain off in its childhoog, find long cought to work great wickedness in the value. It ravaged the land with fire and sword, it acts the life-blood of millions of men, and filled the vable country with lamentations of willows and ophans. It at last grew so detestable that even its freely, is foster-parents, showed the utmost resentment whenever called by its name, and now it is deal there are none so poor to do it reverence."

The funeral ceremonies will take place at Charleston, S. C., on the 11th of April, when a Grand Procession will be formed.

THE DEMON OF REBELLION, losen in a Flaming Car by Ignorance, Arrogance as

Knuvery.

JEFF. Davis and his Cabinet,
with halters around their necks. THE REBEL CONGRESS, Two and Two, each with Cap and Bells.

THE SPIRIT OF NULLIFICATION, As Chief Physician. BEARERS, State Sovereignty, Slavery, Injustice,

HIS SATANIC MAJESTY, (Withhhis tail between his legs) as Chief Mourner. THE GREAT COPPERHEAD SERPENT,

of Liberty. ENORT-Two Hundred Knights of the Golden Gircle, headed by Cl-m nt V-II-nd-gh-m in sackcloth, with

THE GODDESS OF DISCORD-In W h le right hand a torch expiring—In her left a bloody broken sword.

Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burn, standard-Motto: "Birds of a Feather flock Together."

THE SOUTHERNER WILD WAS EQUAL TO FIVE YAN KEES, (very gaunt.)
to: "We've driven the enemy Richmond!"

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE " SUPERIOR RACE."

looking Cur, bearing this Motto—"We retreat only that we may not be contaminated by the fouch of time-born mudsills." With Motto-" We told you so !

A Most OF THE ENGLISH TORY NOBILITY, The Bubble of Republicanism has burst and Nown us all to the devil." NASSAU BLOCKADE RUNNERS.

Motto-" Our occupation's gone," BRITISH BUILDERS OF REBEL CRUISERS, words-Motto: "The Confederacy has gone to look
after the Alabama."

THE GENTUSES OF THE NEW YORK NEWS, BERIAL BROWN, ETC., ... la their original blackness .- Motto : " The days of or

years are few and evil."

A Cart, piled with Confederate Currency and Bonds ms marked " Waste Paner

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

Sundard-Motto:
"Since I was so soon done for,
I wonder what I was begun for."

risco American Flag.

#### MR. NASBY "MAKES A DELEGASHUN UV HISSELF," AND VISITS THE PRESIDENT.

Noo Gersey,) May 15, 1865. All the statis av the North, and the helt uv anem recently subjugatel), all the Sosieties, Asscinshus and Churchis that ever I heard uv, hev sent delegations for the purpus uv volunteerin 2 advise Jonson. We not Prevent the the Source of th staits uv the North, and the heft uv the

the presents.

"Wher is the delegation?" ejakulated the President; "hurry en up, for I've thirteen more to rekere this afternoon."

"Andreo Jonson," said I, impressively, "I represent Noo Gersey, a stait that hez just dun honor to the decrest Presydept."

Troo, "returned he; " sich staits honour patriots—after they'er dead."

vidin yoo'll stop now. Woo our Suthbern bretherin back with jentle words. They air a high-spiritid and sensative race, that kin never be subjoogatid. Take em agin to yoor buzzum, and dont humiliste em by degradin condishns. Give em a chanse 2 fergive us fer whalin uv em. Restore ther niggars, pay ther war debt, invite Magoffin and Vance and Brown and the rest uv the Guvners back 2 their various capitols—give Lee and Forist and Boregard their posisbuns in the regular army, and penshun the disabled confedrate heroes.

Ther must't be no hangin. Yoo've cot that unforthit staitsman, Davis—he fell in 2 your hands become the war ignorent uv the style uv yoor [laite Linkin's] minyuns. He mite have knode that the sojers never seed a woman takin to the woods without chasin her. But he must not be hung. Democrisy looks upon the matter thus:

We aven't haves care for ecception agin the

sojers never seed a woman takin to the woods without chasin her. But he must not be hung. Democrisy looks upon the matter thus:

"Yoo can't hang a man fer conspirin agin the
Guvernment onless he taiks up arms.

"Ef a few take up arms, it's only a riot, and no
hangin matter, cept when Ablishnists like John
Brown do it. In such cases, hangin is allux in order.

"Ef a number of staits do it, it's a revolosshen,
and them ex yoo capcher must be treeted ex bellyjigger ants, and prizners uz war. To hang prizners uv
war, Androo, is murder.

This wood probably satisfy the South. At the
North, less is reqwired. The Dimocracy is eesly
consiliated. Give our leeders enoff uv the offises 2
support em, with the privylege uv managin things 2
soot us, and the trubble is ore. On them terms we'll
support yoor Administrashen, or any other man's,
corjerly and hartily, and peese will agin wave her
white pinyuns over the land, and will continue 2
wave em ontil the Suthern hart is agin fired.
I hev dun—Noo Gersey hez spoke.
I rather spect my words will bare froot. Look
out fur a change uv policy.

PETROLEUM V. NASBY,
Lait Paster uv the Church uv the Noo Dispensa-

PETROLEUM V. NASBY,
Lait Paster uv the Church uv the Noo Dispensa

Once justice, liberty, law, the nation; now, expediency, slavery, the States. You know what were the spirit and purpose of earlier days. But now public men, the rostrum, the pulpit, the professional chair, moralists, publicist, Jurists, taught that the basis of all nationality was compromise, expediency. Ignoring the elements of national law, the principles of liberty, they sought to revive a long-exploded sis of all nationality was compromise, expediency. Ignosing the elements of national law, the principles of liberty, they sought to revive a long-exploded system of morals and of men. Unblushingly, nay with fervor and zeal, with sheer madness that fancied itself patriotism, they proclaimed that that morality which regarded absolute justice was puerile, foolish, impious; that one nation, any nation was possible only by compromise; that patriotism was the noblest practical limitation of universal philanthropy, and the only standard of duty was utility. The ethics of nationality had been forgotten. Secession, treason were the legitimate result. The policy of the parties, the measures of leading men, the statutes, decrees of the courts; popular preaching; the press, teachings of schools and colleges; the tests of social, political fellowship; the laws of 1793 and of 1850; the policy of territorial extension from Louisiana to Texas, Kansas, California; the dogma of Calboun; the constitutional theory of Webster; the compromises of Clay; Andover; Princeton; Cambridge; judges; lawyers; divines; writers and scholars—all, all social, political (wines; writers and scholars—all, all social, political (wines; writers and scholars—all, and sevended to a sevended to be sure. Their rule was absolute, and seemed to be sure.

sham. They united to undermine the ancient hationality.

Their rule was absolute, and seemed to be sure. Arrogant, intolerant, they began the work of proscription. The mails were rifled; speech and the press muzzled; liberty sacrificed; the States stood first; the Nation was their servant, and Slavery's. Slavery ruled. Nationality was dying out. If peace had continued, revolution would have been completed, ruin have come.

A few moralists who taught justice; a few divines who preached the law of God; a few statesmen who held to the eternal obligation of divine law; poets who sang for freedom; and popular writers and orators who nursed the nation's love for liberty, most of them without position or power, and powerless to act against all this machinery of evil.—Channing, Garrison, Adams, Parker, Whittier, Stowe, Sumner, Chase, and such.—Expt alive the nation's heart.

Garrison, Adams, Farker, Whitter, Stowe, Summer, Chase, and such,—kept alive the nation's heart.
So revolution was going on; the country was drifting to ruin. Slavery had controlled, and nearly practically extinguished both liberty and nation-ality.
But the tempest of war came, and cleared the air again. When the shot was fired on Sumter, and the

But the tempest of war came, and cleared the air again. When the shot was fired on Sunter, and the flag hauled down, the scaffolding of the old parties, creeds, philosophies, fell to the dust in a moment. It was obvious that it was treason against patriotism; secession against nationality; compromise against principle; slavery against humanity; expediency against justice. Parties dissolved. All this machinery stopped. The people hastened to undo the vile work of generations. The nation had been living on, and turned even the work of evil to its account. It was plain, too, that all this machinery was thrown but of gear, useless, powerless, in a moment. For it had all depended on the civil administration of the government in its several branches, and the modes of controlling the masses in the walks and ways of peace; and now came vear! The whole people must move as a military body, with their commander, by the laws of war. So all that vanished. Slavery, the naked, deadly, loatshome monster, must be met face to face. There could be no parly, no compromise. It was life or death with them now. All at once the old nation was alive again; morals were taught; religion was preached; justice decreed; the Constitution was read as it had been in the beginning. The war power, as legitimate, as necessary as the civil power, brought to an instant test parts of the political system that had never been thoroughly tried before.

It was the fortune of Abraham Lincoln to move with his people, its leader and head, in this vast movement of American society, sweeping on again in the tide of humanity, and in his brief term sweeping away before it to oblivion the shades of seventy years.

You have noted his gradual development, mind, heart and soul; and as the waven.

as well as incurred to need the heart and conscience of of the people and of humanity, and that alone,—did more by his arts to shape the course after the law of human progress than any other man.

And without regarding the power he had vested in him by his high office and supreme command, it would be difficult to conceive how any man could have acquired over so vast an empire such complete moral control; as it is impossible to name one whose motives in the exercise of supreme power were so completely unquestionable. Therefore the people of his country recognize him as you all do; as the representative American—the most American of Americans—the exponent of American lof.

Under him, what a revolution has been wrought! From profound peace, with no preparation for war, an army of two million men, war on the vastest scale; from a little navy of twenty-six vessels, now about seven hundred vessels of war; manufactures developed enough to reimburse this outlay of thousands of millions; the enfranchised labor of a race enough to repay it; the energy, courage, principles of the people developed; from an inferior the country became a first rate power; it has advanced more in these four years of trial than in fifty of prosperity, as a young man grows more in one year of adversity than in many of apparent success.

But all this material progress is nothing besides the moral regeneration of the country; nothing whatever.

Under him, by the blessing of the good God, the people preserved the country entire; the law of Liberty was restored to rule; Nationality is Humanity; that, in fighting our cause, we have fought for you, for sell-government, and liberty regulated by law everywhere; for civilization, and the progress of mankind.

The work of his day, his work, was well done, all done; the work of war felling and burning the for-

The work of his day, his work, was well done, all TRIBUTE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Extract from a Memorial Address on Abraham Lincoln, delivered at the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, in Saint John, N. B., June 1, 1865, at the institute, in Saint John, N. B., June 1, 1865, at the institute of the Citizens, by Charles M. Ellis, Esq., of Boston:—

The work of his day, his work, was well done, and done: the work of this day and the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it will be his glory to have redeemed America. If we fail, now or hereafter, and the roots of evil sprout and grow again, his will be the glory of having begun that work, ours restricted that the roots of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it was the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, and clearing times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, and clearing times, of cleari

gun that work, ours the shame of its failure. Few, if any, name will stand out stronger or brighter in history than that of Abraham Lincoln.

How fortunate in his death! Having meekly, manfully, religiously, a faithful servant of his people and his God, done the greatest work of the ages; still the same simple, honest, trusting Christian, he laid aside the robes of mortality to see his country united, free, its Union sanctified and cemented by his martyrdom; its heart throbbing with love and gratitude inexpressible for him; and men of every clime, humanity joining in benedictions to him the good, the great, the true.

Blissful translation! Sufficient reward; that a life of such glorious service should have been crowned with a death not less serviceable to the holy cause to which his life was devoted, which enlisted for country and for him the sympathics of the

ly cause to which his life was duvoted, which enlisted for country and for him the sympathies of the world. On earth his name will last, long after the monuments men will erect shall have all crumbled to dust. As it is inscribed in the motto above you, "The memory of the just is blessed." The best monument will be the completion of the work that follows enancipation. Let the four million he freed as men be men. To teach a boy to work, set him to work. To make a man a good citizen, make him a citizen. If there be risks as there are, take them. There can be no risk so great as that of leaving a root or fibre of the evil in the ground. Let us leave no distinction which may increase; none to recall the evil days. Let us root out slavery, and all trace of it, now and forever.

no distinction which may increase; none to recall the evil days. Let us root out slavery, and all trace of it, now and forever.

Then will the world see the true glory of this war now closed, and of his life of devoted patriotism; that the law of all laws is the divine law; know the meaning and the strength of self-government; that no State can stand secure that violates the law of human liberty and the justice of God.

These colonies are all but waves of a mighty race, sweeping to those and to other shores; to Plymouth rock and to Canada; to California, India, and Australia. In the course of centuries, the lessening differences of time and form will all be forgotten. Little will be remembered but such mighty convulsions in its course, if the unity and current of the life of the race itself be clear.

Possibly, at some future day, your colony and ours, of common origin; inheriting the same institutions; with the same native love for liberty and law, justice and the right; alike in climate, productions, wants, position; with one history in common; one common destiny; configuous; with no natural barrier; so free in intercourse; so glad to receive tokens of good will, may be even more closely united.

But, whether even united, or only joined in friend-

But, whether ever united, or only joined in friendly alliance as now, till all shall have developed laws
of self-government, and, in the progress of mankind,
the people have become more a law unto themselves,
you will ever feel a just pride that in this, their
trial-day, our people, your kinsmen, proved troe to
the spirit of their fathers; defended their faith that
religious truth is the basis of government, and will
honor the name of Abraham Lincoln, the savior of
his country, the martyr for American Liberty,

# LETTER FROM ROBERT DALE OWEN.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND REPRESENTATIVE POPU

twenty-nine millions and a half only (29,043,172). But let us asyme that for-thirds of all the wide produced of Comp. peer 314, 137. Sec Combined Combine

made the judges are to be the gainers—unfairly but vastly the gainers—by their own decision.

Observe the working of this thing. By the Constitution the representative population is to consist of all free persons and three-fifths of all other persons. If, by next Winter, slavery shall have dissepeared, there will be no "other persons" in the South. Her actual population will then coincide with ber representative population. She will have gained, as to Federal representation, 1,600,000 persons. gained, as to Federal representation, 1,600,000 persons. She will be entitled, not as now to 84 members, but to 94; and her votes for President will be in proportion; Congress, if it intends that the Constitutional rule shall prevail, will have to alter the apportionment so as to correspond to the new order

apportionment so as to correspond to the new order of things.

Now, if the negro is admitted to vote, the Constitutional rule, will operate justly. For then each voter in the South will have precisely the same political influence as a voter in the North. The unjust three-fifth principle will have disappeared for

Many honorable exceptions no doubt there are, in whom native virtue resists daily temptation. Such exceptions are to be found in all communities, no matter how pernicious the surroundings. But in deciding National questions we must be governed by the rule, not by the exceptions.

The Southern whites subdivide into three classes:

deciding National questions we must be governed by protionment so as to correspond to the new order of things.

Now, if the negro is admitted to vote, the Constitutional rule will operate justly. For then each voter in the South will have precisely the same political influence as a voter in the North. The unjust three-fifth principle will have disappeared for ever.

On the other hand, if color be deemed cause of exclusion, then all the political power which is withheld from the emancipated slave is gained by the Southern white.

For though, by law, we may deny suffrage to the freedman, we cannot prevent his being recknoted among those free persons who constitute the basis of not, adds, in spite of all we can do, to the political influence of the State, for it increases the anniber of its votes for President, and the number of its representatives in Congress. Now, somebody must gain by this. The gain is shared equally by every actual actual voter in the State. If, in any State, the number of blacks and whites is equal, and if, in that State, blacks are excluded from voting, then every white voter will go to the polis armed with twice the political power enjoyed by a white voter in any Northern State. But again, this is on the supposition that every white adult in the State is loyal, and therefore entitled to vote.

Are the half of all Southern male adults at this time, or will they be for years to come, more than lip-loyal if even that? I think you will not say that they are. It would surely be an extravagant calculation. If more than half the whites in existence on the supposition that every white adult in the State is a considered and the case of human being claiming an Anglo-Saxon origin that can be found on the face of the earth—filtry, lazy, ignorant, breathing and the refore entitled to vote.

Are the half of all Southern male adults at this time, or will they be for years to come, more than highly all the political power enjoyed by a white vote in any Northern State. But again, this is on the supposition

Government commission, some of the Southern States. Labor degraded before their eyes has extinguished within them all respect of industy; all ambition, all honorable exertion, to improve their condition. When last I had the pleasure of seeing you at Nashville, I met there, in the office of a gentleman charged with the duty of issuing transportation and rations to indigent persons, black and white, a notable example of this strange class. He was a rebel deserter; a rough, dirty, uncoust specimen of humanity—tall, stout and wiry-looking, rude and abrupt in speech and bearing, and clothed in tattered homespun. In no civil tone he demanded rations. When informed that all rations applicable to such a purpose were exhausted, he broke forth: "What am I to do then? How am I to get home?"

"You can have no difficulty," was sho reply. "It is but fifteen or eighteen hours down the river." (the Cumberland.) "by steamboat, to where you live. I will furnish you transportation; you can work your way."

"Work my way!" (with a scow) of angry contempt.) "I never did a stroke of work since I was born, and I never expect to till my dying day."

The agent replied quietly: "They will give you all you want to eat on board, if you will help them to wood."

"Carry wood!" he retorted with an oath. "Whenever they ask me to carry wood. Ill tell "Whenever they ask me to carry wood."

to wood."

"Carry wood!" he retorted with an oath!

"Whenever they lask me to carry wood. I'll tell them to set me on shore; I'had rather starre for a week than work for an hour; I don't want to live in a world that can't make a living out of without work."

Lat for me "Manager and the starre with the starre of the starre

Is it for men like that, ignorant, illiterate, vicious — fit for no decent employment on earth except manual labor, and spurning di liber as degradation — is it in favor of such insolent swappers; that we are to distranchise the humble, quet, hard working nego? Are the votes of three such men as Stanton, Sumner or Garrison, Grant or Sherman, to be neutralized by the ballot of one such worthless barbarian?

Are there not breakers ahead? To such an issue

neutralized by the ballot of one such worthless barbarian?
Are there not breakers ahead? To such an issue
as that may not the late tentatives at reconstruction,
how faithfully soever conceived and intended for
good, practically tend?
The duty of the United States to guarantee to
every State in the Union a republican form of government is as sacred as the duty to protect each of
them from invasion. Is that duty fulfilled when,
with the power of prevention in our own hands, we
suffer the white voter in the least loyal, the least intelligent and the least industrious section of our
country to usurp a measure of political power threefold greater than in the rest of the nation a voter
enjoys?

enjoys?
Will it be denied that we have the legal power in

enjoys?

Will it be denied that we have the legal power in our own hands?

Unsuccessful Rebels cannot, by bits of paper called Secession ordinances, take a State out of the Union; but, by levying divil war, they can convert all the inhabitants of a State into public enemies, deprived, as such, by law, of their political rights. The United States can restore these rights—can pardon these public enemies. And we have a right to pardon on conditions; as, for example, on the condition that Slavery shall cesse to exist; or on the condition that Slavery shall cesse to exist; or on the condition that slavery shall cesse to exist; or on the condition that flavery shall cesse to exist; or on the condition that slavery shall cesse to exist; or on the condition that slavery shall cesse to exist; or on the condition that slavery shall cesse to exist; or on the condition that slavery shall cesses of ecolor, be deprived of the right of suffrage.

If we neglect to impose the first condition, the cause of the late Rebellion will continue, and will some day produce another. If we neglect to impose the second condition, an oligareby, on an extended scale, will grow up in one large section of the country, working grave injustice to toward the voters of another section. The three-fifth abuse will reappear in a giant form.

grant an injustice, it is in vain to expect harmony or permanent peace between the Northern and Southern sections of the Union.

It is not here denied, nor is it deniable, that under ordinary circumstances a State may, by a general law applicable to all, restrict the right of suffrage; as, for example, to those who pay taxes, or to those who can read and write. And it is quite true that the effect of such a law would be to give additional political power to those who still enjoyed the elective iranchise. But a State can only do this after she has a State government in operation, and not when she is about to frame one. North Carolina is in the Union as she has always been; but her people, having lost, by war against the Government, their political rights, are not allowed to go on under their old Constitution and laws. They have to begin again. As Idaho, if desiring to be a State, would have to do, the people of North Carolina have to elect members of a Convention, which Convention has to frame of State Constitution, to be presented, its acceptance or rejection, to Congress. Now, just as Idaho, taking her first stop toward State sovereignty, could not, on her own authority, begin by desying a vote in the election of members of her Convention, to hall her free population, or if she did, would find her Constitution rejected, for that cause, by Congress, anote emanating from the whole people is o, in my judgment, ought not North Carolina, having forfeited her State rights, and beginning mew as a Territory does, to be permitted in advance to reject more than a third of her free population. Stif. 522 out of 992,622. I bops she will not so construe her rights as to venture on such a rejection. If she does, Congress ought to reject her Constitution as authorized by a part of her people only.

But, beyond all this, we cannot safely allow the negro-exemption clause to take its chance along with other possible rest ictions to suffrage which a State, fully organized, may see fit to enact. First, because of its magnitude. It

I think of our Union soldiers, the survivors of a thousand fields. I recall the last days, not of con-flict but of triumph, when Confederate arms were

Tr.

The bear which which was trained by the Land which was trained by the Land which which was bear warmen by the land which was bear warmen by the land was bear warmen bear warm

Description of the second of t

stacked and Confederate paroles were given, and the stars and bars fell before the old flag. I remember with what fierce fury those who surrendered at last, fought throughout a four years' desperate effort to shatter into fragments that benignant Government under which, for three-quarters of a century, they had enjoyed prosperity and protection. I remember all that was done and suffered and sacrificed before, through countless discouragements and reverses, treason's plot was trampled down and the glorious ending was reached. And as it spirit, I follow victors and vanquished from the scene of conflict, I think that never was nation more gratitiously or more foully assailed, and never did nation owe to her deliverers from anarchy and dismemberment a deeper debt of gratitude and goodwill.

Then I sak myself a great guestion. Shall these

memorment a desper dete or gratique and goodwill.

Then I ask myself a great question. Shall these
soldiers of liberty, returning from fields of death to
Northern fields of labor and of peaceful contest—of
contest in which the ballot is the only weapon, and
the bulletin of defeat or victory is contained in the
election-returns—shall these veterans, who have
never flinehed before military force, be overborne,
with their laurels still green, by political stratagem?
Their weapons of war laid saide, is the reward of
these conqueerors to be this, that man for man they
shall be entitled to one-third as much influence in
administering their country's Government as the
opponents they conquered? Are the victors on
fields of death to become the vanquished in the Halls
of Legislation?

fields of death to become the vanquished in the Halls of Legislation?

To is a question which the nation cannot fail, ere long, to ask itself; and who can doubt what the ultimate answer will be?

May God, who, throughout the great crisis of our nation? shistory, overcaling evil for good, has caused the wrath of man to work out his own gracious ends directing us, without our will or asency, in paths directing us, without our will or agency, of justice and of victory which our human was too feeble to discover—direct you also, throu out the arduous task before you, to the Just and Right 1 ROBERT DALE OWEN direct you also, through Right 1 ROBERT New York, June 21, 1865.

### A RACY SPEECH.

LONDON, June 17, 1865.

There is very little, of any interest, pertinent to American affairs transpiring here, just now. We still keep up an intermittent discussion about the fate of Jeff. Davis, duly interspersed with what Mr. Carlyle used to denominate a "running shrick" as to the atrocity of manacling him, of feeding him on soldier's rations, and possibly terminating his mischievous existence with "edge of penny cord;" but I am not aware that anything particularly novel, or valuable, or amusing has been evolved therefrom. Stepthough! I am reminded of a curious letter which has appeared in The Star, advocating the American view of the question, and so felicitously condensing the modern instances on record against the British Government in the matter of its behavior toward traitors, real and imaginary, that I must quote; Government in the matter of its behavior toward traitors, real and imaginary, that I must quote; though, doing so at the beginning of a letter, coupled with the declaration I set out with, may look suspicious. I think, however, I should do the same if my budget were unusually full (as it has been of late) instead of proportionably scanty. The writer is Mr. J. Paul Cobbett, the son, I am told, of the tensors William and evidently emulatine his father's famous William, and evidently emulating his father wholesome democratic proclivities. He is worthy of the space I shall accord to him:

samous viniam, and evidently emulating his latter's wholesome democratic proclivities. He is worthy of the space I shall accord to him:

"The history of the United States has shown that, in point of humanity, the Americans are about the same sort of people, as ourselves. To anticipate a want of the people, as ourselves. To anticipate a want of the people, as ourselves. To anticipate a want of the people, as ourselves. To anticipate a want of the people as ourselves. To anticipate a want of the people as ourselves. To anticipate and to that heap of mischief which has already been made between the two countries.

Law, justice and expediency (taking the last of these in an honest sense) are the three things which our Government, in scores of cases, has had to consider. What, as to either of these, have we to say, why the American Government should not now be 'let alone'? Our advocates of a 'highly conservative policy' perceive the necessity of condemning the ways of the Stuarts. They admit it to have been outrageous to force Sir Archibald Johnstome out of France, and Miles Corbett, Col. Okey, and Col. Barkstead out of Holland, and to execute these, They have no excuse for Charles the Second's attempt to kill Ludlow in Switzerland, or for the actual killing of Lisle at Lausanne. No; but then they draw their line at the end of our civil wars, between all the past admitted severities and a supposed new era of nothing but tenderness!

But, sir, what of the hanging of Governor Wall, and what of the shooting of Admiral Byng? 'What of the international act of dragging home Napper Tandy, to send him to the scaffold? What of the hanging of Major Andre; but how absolutely right was a deed like that when compared with the hanging of Major Andre; but how absolutely right was a deed like that when compared with the hanging of the Dorchester laborers, and the execution of Henry Cook of Hampshire, in 1831; or, again, the putting to death of those sailors who were unlawfully taken from the American ship Chesa-

unlawfully taken from the American sulp Chesa-peake!

Why, an impartial spectator, viewing many things we do, and hearing all we pretend to, might not unnaturally regard us as combining more of the sanguinary along with the hypocritical than any other nation tolerated by Providence. We have of late years been not only most severe punishers of State criminals, but even the promoters of crime for the purpose of obtaining victims to make example of. You may remember that instance so worthy of remown, in which Lord Brougham volunteered his jus-tification of the employment of spics for the hatching of treasons. We are so vastly 'liberal,' too, in this kind of work that (if recent correspondence between

tification of the employment of spies for the hatching of treasons. We are so vastly 'liberal,' too, in this kind of work that (if recent correspondence between two Ministers of: the Russian Government had any truth in it, those Ministers had reason to congratulate themselves on the fact, that our Government were undertaking to use our police in the office of detecting and betraying foreign political conspiracies.

There is so much wildness in the rage against the American President, that we read almost in the same sentence denunciations of his savageness as conqueror along with warnings to him that the Rebellion is still alive, and not without hope. Here is a happy sort of logic by which to inspire 'mercy' for the Rebel in the heart of the ruler!

It is said, again, in the same kind of reasoning, that Mr. Davis cannot rightfully be held to be criminal because he has been 'treated with' by the law have said, that a Government should keep good fifth even with subjects in robellion; that is, in all things to the extent which it makes agreements with them. But to what extent has the North 'treated with' the Confederates'. Have our Minwith them. But to what extent has the North treated with 'the Confederates? Have our Ministers been in any way treating with the latter, while doing the same with Mr. Adams, as the representative of the whole 'United States'? There was,

istera been in any way treating with the latter, while doing the same with Mr. Adams, as the representative of the whole 'United States'? There was, indeed, a guarantee given, and by an English officer, to save the lives of the garrison of St. Elmo at Naples, when they surrendered; nevertheless, they were put to death; and on that occasion Prince Carracioli, to the shame of England and Nelson, was hing at the yard-arm. There was also a general amnesty by Louis XVIII. on bis restoration; but Marshal Ney was shot, although the allies at that moment, with the Duke of Wellington, were in fact the masters of all things in France, and it was our boast that the French King held his throne as the mere nominee of the English Prince Regent.

There are some people unfit to have anything to say on any question of mercy or magnanimity. The Times newspaper bawled out lustily for the putting of the First Napoleon to death. It said that caging him for life was no sufficient security; that our own safety could never be insured if he were suffered to live. I hear that this paper has now been making am ugly turn against the ex-President. That is characteristic of its practice. In abandoning the cause of those who come to misfortune, it commonly helps the weight of the fall by a back-handed blow from his own fist. The Standard, in January of 1835, pointedly recommended the assassination of Mr. O Connell. Such an act, it declared, would not be without bonored authority. It exhorted, in the words of the xcivit Fasim, Lord God, to whom vangeance belongeth, &c. It screamed out, 'How long, merciful God, are we to endure this man? And if thy thunders sleep, is there no other agency of thy justice?

Not wishing to be included in the large company of our mistaken prophets, I will not venture to forcetell what views of expediency, or what feelings in the way of vengeance, the Government for the people of the United States may exhibit in the case of Mr. Davis. But, assuredly, no insinuations of in-

humanity, much less insults from our side, will be of any service to him."

humanity, much less insults from our side, will be of any service to him."

There! you won't catch The Times or The Slandard offering a word of reply to this; throughout the four years of our civil war they have persistently ignored all that could be urged on the side opposite to that on which they close to range theuselves. Nor are the great mass of Englishmen capable of accepting any parallel to be drawn between the rights of our Government to execute justice and their own. "You're different?" is the common sentiment, and in that remark how much is implied! It means that being a hop-and-scramble Democracy (which we all naturally expected to go to pieces, and are very much puzzled to account for the contrary), you ought to consider yourselves only too lucky in having conserved your national existence, without arrogating punishment against gentlemen whose error are quite venial in being directed merely against you, and who, therefore, cannot be regarded as conspirators and traitors against any old, respectable monarchy or despotism on this side of the Atlantic It's all very well for us, or Louis Napoleon, or Francis Joseph, or Frederick William to execute for treason; but you—you're a ripublic, you know! and can't expect us to regard you in the same light! cis Joseph, or Frederick William to execute for treason; but you—you're a republic, you know! and can't expect us to regard you in the same light! Latent in the British mind, but thoroughly pervading it, lurks this idea, rendering it incompetents. Io treat the question fairly. An untravelled Englishman doesn't understand putting a foreigner on his own level, or recognizing his equal rights. Hasn't Emerson a story of an Englishwoman who, hearing the word applied to her in France, resented it, saying. "No! it is you that are foreigners, not wewer English'!" Hence, half of John Bull's perversity towards us and others. Lowell's lines are wonderfully portinent to the subject.

"Of all the caree that I can call to mind, England does make the most copleasant kind. Tis you're the sinner cllus, she's the saint, Wut's good's all English, all thet isn't aint. Wut profits her is cllus right and just, Wat's good sair nogen; the Man good good of the Wat profits her is olts right and just, And ef you don't read Scriptur so, you must. She's praised herrelf until she fairly thinks. There ain't no light in Natur when she winks. There ain't no light in Natur when she winks. The world stir, thout she went tu ex nus? She have highly the sher mortals, thet's a fact. She ain't like other mortals, thet's a fact She nemer stopped the Haboas Corpus Ac Nor specie payments, nor she never yet Cut down the interest of her public debt. She don't put down rebellions—lets 'em bree And's ollus willin' Ireland should secede. She's all thet's honest, honorable and fair, And when the Vartoos died they made her h -Corr. of N. Y. Tribune.

#### LETTER PROM OHIEF JUSTICE CHASE TO A COMMITTEE OF COLORED MEN.

The following letter of Chief Justice Chase to committee of colored men of New Orleans explain

New Orleans, June 6, 1863.

"Gentlemen: I should hardly feel at liberty to decline the invitation you have tendered me, in behalf of the loyal colored Americans of New Orleans, to speak to them on the subject of their rights and duties as citizens, if I had not recently expressed my views at Charleston in an address, reported with substantial accuracy, and already published in one of the most widely circulated journals of this city. But it seems superfluous to repeat them before another audience. NEW ORLEANS, June 6, 1863.

er audience.

It is proper to say, however, that these views, having been formed years since, on much reflection, and confirmed in a new and broader application by the events of the civil war now happily ended, are not likely to undergo, hereafter, any material change.

not likely to undergo, accessed, and change.

That native freedmen of whatever complexion are citizens of the United States; that all men, held as slaves in the States which joined in the rebellion against the United States, have become freedmen through executive and legislative acts during the war; and that these freedmen are now citizens, and consequently entitled to the rights of citizens, and erropositions which, in my judgment, cannot be successfully controverted.

cessfully controverted.

And it is both natural and right that colored Americans, entitled to the rights of citizens, should claim their exercise. They should persist in this claim respectfully but firmly, taking care to bring no discredit upon it by their own action. Its justice is already acknowledged by great numbers of their white fellow-citizens, and these numbers constantly increase.

already acknowledged by great numbers of their white fellow-citizens, and these numbers constantly increase.

The peculiar condition, however, under which these rights arise, seem to impose on those who assert them peculiar duties, or rather special obligations to the discharge of common duties. They should strive for distinction by economy, by industry, by sobriety, by patient perseverance in well-doing, by constant improvement of religious instruction, and by the constant practice of Christian virtues. In this way they will surely overcome unjust hostility, and convince even the inest prejudiced that the denial to them of any right, which citizens may properly exercise, is equally unwise and wrong.

Our national experience has demonstrated that public order reposes most securely on the broad base of universal suffrage. It has proved also that universal suffrage is the sure guaranty and most powerful stimulus of individual, social and political progress. May it not prove, moreover, in the work of reorganization which now engages the thoughts of all patriotic men, the best reconciler and the most comprehensive lenity with the most perfect public security and the most speedy and certain revival of general prosperity?

Very respectfully yours,

security and the most space, general prosperity?

Very respectfully yours,
S. P. Chase.

# Messra. J. D. Roudanez, L. Golis and L. Banks, Con

LETTER FROM MAZZINI. The following letter from Mazzini, addressed to the London agent of the United States Sanitary Commission, is interesting:

DEAR MR. FISHER: Has there been published, o DEAR MR. FISHER: Has there been published, or is there about being published, a good accurate primary history of the late struggle, relating in one volume the events of the war, the progressive march which led to the solution of the tried problem, emancipation, and mainly the noble individual and collective efforts, the money raised by voluntary subscription, the doings of the Sanitary Commission, and all that tends to prove the immense vitality of your republican principle? What you have done is so heroic that I feel the profound necessity of laving it publicly known in all our countries, and especially in my own. We would translate and spread the book everywhere.

anarchy and military despotism. You have refuted all that. You have done more for us in four years than fifty years of teaching, preaching and writing, from all your European brothers, have been able to

mplete your work. The United States stand Complete your work. The United States stand now a leading power in Europe, too, and power is duty. You are called on by God to enter a new career. Your function had been hitherto to constitute, to organize yourselves, and to realize, within your own boundaries, the republican principle which is your life. It was natural that whilst doing that, you should carefully abstain from interfering with European movements or with the general march of mankind. That task is fulfilled: a second one must now begin for you. The life of a great people is two-fold; inward and outward. Such no a mount of heroism and strength as has been displayed by the United States must lead to more than to the solution of a mere problem of existence, and of an incomplete one. It is an implement given by God for the good of all. The abolition of slavery binds you to the onward march of mankind; and the admiration of all Europe calls you to take your rank—a leading one—in that onward march.

calls you to take your rank—a leading one—in that onward march.

Above American life, above European life, there is mankind's life, mankind's education, mankind's progress. That is the common aim in which we are all brothers and combatants. There is our great battle—to which all local battles are episodesfought on both continents and everywhere, between liberty and tyranny, equality and privilege, right and might, justice and arbitrary rule, good and evil, God and the devil. By these four years of noble deeds and self-sacrifice, you have been enlisted to take a share in it wherever it is fought.

Remember this. Remember us, who are ready to help in the task. And remember the plan of which the first line has been visibly written by European despotisms in Mexico.

Believe me, dear Mr. Fisher, ever faithfully yours, May 21.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1865.

THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION.

The Oration delivered before the City Authoriti of Boston, in Music Hall, by Rev. J. M. Mannino, on the 89th anniversary of Independence Day, was high-y impressive and eloquent. Below is its peroration.

marks, that I see no peril in the future. What shall be the treatment of the disloyal, and what the basis

Are we exhorted to be kind to the rebels? That appeal is needless. We shall be kind to them. Many of us have very tender reasons for treating them kindly. We always have been kind to them; erring on that side, and yielding to their unjust demands, until they inferred that we could not be aroused to main other side. Let us not give other nations occasion to say that we make a commodity of justice. Let not the offenders themselves despise us for fearing to vin-dicate the majesty of the republic. Will good citizens feel altogether safe, in our country, if it is to have adnired rebels roaming at large in all parts of it for a reneration to come? Let us not be so kind to the isloyal as to be unkind to the loyal. Should not those in the South who have fought on our side be cared for before those who fought against us ? Those cred. Nor is it magnanimity, but a crime which ture abliors, to cherish enemies who are outraging our all we leave blacks in the power exasperated foe, knowing, as we do, that the spite which cannot touch us will be wreaked upo their unsheltered heads ! I shall believe that the re volt of the rebel angels has succeeded, and that Satan now sits on the throne of God, if such horrible treachery can go unscourged of heaven. While the Savior of men was riding in triumph to Jerusalem "He beheld the city, and wept over it." But those tears did not prevent Him from saying, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." Imitating that divine act to day, we raise our bitter cry over prostrate treason, even while we call on Justice to draw out her sharp sword. There is no malignity in or hearts, but a reverent prayer that the sovereignty bearance and warnings, and defied the power which should be a terror to evil-doers. Let justice be done without the least over-doing. Let their doom be so reasonable that no wicked sympathy shall dare lift its end. Let them be put where no "foreign correct ondent" can glorify them; where no lying pens of their own can fill the world with histories of their treason disguised as patriotism, and of their attemp to nationalize barbarism painted as a struggle for hi man liberty. Let them be so punished that their ex-ample can never prove contagious, and be buried where the bloodhounds of despotism can never seen Two acts of the struggle for liberty in America ar

past; the third and consummating act is now upon us. The first act closed under Washington, when the colonics were acknowledged to be free and independent States; the second act closed under Lincoln, with the vindication of the sovereignty of the Union; the third act will close when equal rights are conceded to all God grant that the last act may not, like the first two, deluge the land with blood! May the evil tree be plucked up in the hour of its weakness, befo ice is its roots have undergrown and its branches overspread the Republic! The Emancipation Proclamation wa but incidental to the war for the Union. Not in the purpose of man, but by the arrangement of God, it knocked off the chains of the slave. And it has done a negative, rather than a positive work. It has de-livered the blacks from chattel slavery, but it has not introduced them into civil liberty. How this last act shall be achieved is the problem now forced upon the country. Our statesmen cannot evade it if they would; it is taxing their wisdom beyond any other question of the hour; and whoever solves it successfully will co plete the grand American triumvirate. We could wis that the triumvirate, when full, might read—Washing-ton, Lincoln, Johnson. Do any say that it is incon-sistent to demand citizenship for the blacks in States now returning to the Union, while in many of the so-called free States only the whites are admitted to the ballot? But the people of these latter States have not rebelled. Security for the future may require of disloyal communities what should not be exacted of the Only those who have broken the peace are put under bonds to keep the peace. "But the question of suffrage belongs to the States." So it does, while they are in their normal condition. Perhaps the day of military necessity is over; but is there not a neces-sity of State quite as pressing, which, if not yielded to, will ultimately become a military necessity. If you annot do a righteous deed for its own sake, yet doing cannot do a rignicous area for its own sake, yet doing it to prevent war is better statesmanship than waiting for the war to come. A free government can be said to fulfil its purpose only, when no class of persons under it have wrongs to be redressed. Emancipation is but a mockery of the blacks, especially while among their late masters, if they be not adr ship. Perhaps it did not occur to Mr. Lincoln, perhaps he thought it unwise at the time, to make his Procla-mation perfect by adding to it: "And, that the promises herein contained may not prove illusory in the end. I do also proclaim, and cause to be published and proclaimed, that, in reconstructing the State gov ted to all the rights of freemen on the same co with the whites." How much present anxiety would have been prevented by some such golden clause But we will believe that the question is in safe hands Surely the Congress, if made wise by the events of the past, will not guaranty a republican form of gov-ernment to any State, while there is manifestly, in that State, a spirit hostile to the very principles of republicanism. To the loyalty, wisdo n and patrioti our statesmen we coulde this grave concern. They alone can decide it peacefully; and may God have them in His boly keeping!

Anticipating the gradual solution of all remaining difficulties, in a manner which shall fulfill the hopes

of a generous patriotism, I see, before our country, future too grand for my feeble portrayal; a develop ment of the resources of nature, a growth of manufactures, a commerce, civilization and Christianity, which shall be the glory of the New World and the of the Old. No man standing at the sources of the Amazon can bring within the range of his vision al Amazon can oring winth are anged in which its mighty course from the mountains to the sea; its broad tributaries with their interlacing atreams, its silent advance through primeral forests, and waster aweep across inxuriant savannas; the sails of advanturers, and of scientific explorers, moving up into its alluring mystery; the inexhaustible wealth of field and mine to which it is a natural highway; the curand mine to which it is a natural highway; the cur-rent, so like an ocean, with which it proudly yields at last to the ocean's embrace. And so, standing to-day by the sources of this new atream in American history, we cannot foresee all its unfolding volume; its distant greatness, and grandenr, and majority : the destina-mortal and immortal, of both nations and individuals, which it will gather upon its ample bosom, and bea which it will gather upon its ample bosom, and bear onward and onward into the unbounded hereafter. We can only lift up our overflowing hearts toward Him whose rod has brought the water out of the rock, and ask that He would direct its wonderous course; draining the richness of all the civilizations into it, and causing it to bless the ages through which it shall roll, until it mingles in that see of latter-day glory, whose law is peace, and whose tides and waves are the pulsations of a perfect love."

DEDICATION OF THE STATUE OF HORACE LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXXVII.

MANN.

In common with a goodly number of the most worthy cifizens of Boston and vicinity, we were present on the morning of the Fourth of July to winness the dedication of the statue of Horace Mann. Appropriate and eloquent addresses were made by Dr. S. G. Howe, Gor. Andrew, John D. Phibrick, Eq., Superlistedent of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, intendent Hill, of Harvard College. A ferrent March Water. and Presiden Hill, of Harvard College. A ferven dedicatory prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Water ston. The Journal says:—

nol says :-nol says :-no erected, as is well known, to perna erected, as is well known, to perpetuate the memory of Horace Mann, the first Secre-tary of the Board of Education; the founder of the first State Lunatic Hospital in this Commonwealth; the originator of the Normal School System; whose zeal and eloquence have done more for our common schools han any other? in the country; whose life was full of good deeds; to Horsce Mann, the teacher and philanthropist—not to Horace Mann, the politician
—has this monument thus been erected.

The statue, which is of bronze, about nine feet in height, was executed by Miss Emma Stebbins at Rome and cast at Munich, and cost about \$5000. It is erected on a pedestal of brown stone, and, suitable dimen sions and appropriate design, costing \$1500 additional with this memorial that the fund raised therefor was subscribed principally by people in the humbler walk The larger portion of a particular contributed by children and to public schools of the Commonwealth. The cost of the pedestal was defrayed by a special appropriation by the Legislature.
To Miss Stebbins, however, is more than ordinary

credit to be given for the successful manner in whi she has fulfilled the commission entrusted to her. She has labored unremittingly upon the work, moved as much by admiration of her subject as by love of the sculptor's art, of which she has here proved hersel no unworthy devotee. Horace Mann's genius and goadness, wrought in her new inspiration as she has wrought into the rugged bronze the almost living linea ments of the departed philanthropist.

The statue remained veiled until the conclusion of the address of the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. S. G. Howe. Bond's Band furnished the instrumenta and children from the public schools the vocal music The audience was assembled upon the portice of the State House, upon the steps leading thereto, and it the enclosure in front.

#### "THE NATION."

The first number of the new weekly periodical having this comprehensive title, has punctually made its appearance, in the handsomest typographical dress, with a variety of well-considered and well-written ar-It takes thorough ground on the question of recor truction, and pertinently says :-

struction, and pertinently says:—

"The points we have to consider at the North, in deciding which course we ought to take in fixing the status of the negro at the South, are really reduced to two—the effect upon his condition of leaving him at the mercy of a hostile and semi-barbarous race, and to two—the effect upon his condition of leaving him at the mercy of a hostile and semi-harbarous race, and the effect upon the national rule of shutting him out from all share in the local government. To suppose that he will receive fair play from white legislators, who are not responsible to him, who have no sympathy with him, and who, in their secret hearts, consider him a beast of the field, is to violate every rule of democratic government, and to make an open and shameless declaration of want of faith in our own principles. It is, moreover, to be guilty of cruelty as well as perfuly; for freedom bestowed on a man left in the position in which we have placed the freedomen. only increases the number of points at which he can eassailed and tormented. There is an alternative for those who fear to arm him for his own protection with the franchise, and it is one from which there is no honorable escape, and that is to continue, by some mode or other, to cover him with the sword of the national Government until he is either considered competent to take charge of his own interests, or his white neighbors can ofter proof of the possession of humanity or of a sense of justice. The community in whose hands we now propose to place him and his family is, it ought not to be iorgotiven, that in which our prisoners were tortured only six months ago, and in which he started. ers were tortured only six months ago, and in the St. Albans raid was considered honorable wa

# A FEATHER IN THE WIND.

An incident of which I was an accidental witnes yesterday, the 4th of July, reminded me of the in-scription which it was found desirable to put up in Gen. Butler's office in New Orleans, namely-"The he and she adder is precisely the same." As I passed two ladies on Washington Street, one of them seemed attracted by an engraving in a shopwindow, and took her companion's arm to stop her, saying, by way of explanation, "It's General Grant." The other said quickly, in an emphatic voice, "Don't look at it! Contemptible!"-and they both passed on, leaving me to judge to whom the word

If such feelings are cherished and expressed in Boston, how must it be in South Carolina, Georgia, every rebel State which has felt, and has been forced ment? Must we not believe the testimony that come to us from so many quarters, that there is next to no Union sentiment in those States, and that women and men alike hate the power which has conquered them? Is it safe for us that men who took part in the rebel lion should have any voice, either in the terms of reconstruction or the making of the laws after reconstruction ?- C. K. W.

# TRIBUTE TO GRIFFITH M. COOPER.

Memorial allonted at the Waterloo Meeting o Since our last meeting, GRIFFITH M. COOPER, venerable man, ripe in wisdom and experience, who has been with us at times in person, always in spirit and desire, has passed on to a higher life.

Through a long and varied career, as a naval officer as a preacher of the Society of Friends; as a guardian of the spidians on the Cattaraugus reservation from the rapacity of speculators (employed in that capacity by the Society of which he was then a member); as an early and faithful advocate of Human Freedom, of yond the limits of sect, and transcending the bound of arbitrary authority, he ever sought to be true to hi own light. His clear, frank and faithful word was ready, in public or private, for the best truth he knew

We offer this brief testimonial to the genial qualitie and manly virtues of a much-beloved friend, who, his course on earth well-finished has cone to meet the

WILLIAM BARNES, Secretaries.

"THE MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY." This P. markable narrative, upon its original publication in the pages of the Atlantic Monthly, attracted more gen eral attention and comment than any article printe for a long time. It is now republished in a separate form, by general desire, by Ticknor & Fields, Boston, and at a price (ten cents) which will give it universal

Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield Street, has just published a small pamphlet, entitled "Is there a Devil! The Argument pro and con; with an Inquiry into the Origin of Evil, and a Review of the Popular Notion of Hell and Heaven, or the State of the Dead. By John Baldwin.

"DEMOREST'S ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY, AND MUE. DEMOREST'S MIRROR OF FASHIONS," for July, is a jubilee number, and contains a National Jubilee Prize Song, Illustrated Scene on the Hudson River, Elegant steel plates, stories, household, and full-size patterns, etc., etc. The price is only 25 cents per number, or \$3 per year. Office of publication, 39 Beckman St., New York City.

NEW YORK, June 29, 1865 To the Editor of the Liberato Subjugation is better than capitulation, if one com-pares Charleston with Richmond for example. So

long as there appeared a resting place for the fugitive aristocracy of rebeldom, the places which once knew them were abandoned totally when Sherman knocked at the back door, or threatened to. Hence in Savannah and in the nest of secession our army for nan and in the nest of secession of a rainy loans from ing offices but no editors, and the types were seized by loyal men for loyal purposes, to the great advantage of people and Government. Not so at the capital of the Confederacy, which, being the last ditch, could not be evacuated for any safer refuge, and therefore teemed with all grades of public enemies. This need have caused no inconvenience under a proper regimen of jails and other surveillance, but to to invite disloyal expressions and prolong the rebellious spirit of the discounfited Virginians. For a momen ed as if the military authorities had been cor-by their subjects. The horror of treason was mixed material and restored givil rule there sprung up a reign of terror which drove its colored victims for tion to the very feet of the President. This, protection to the very feet of the frestuent. Ins, though quickly terminated, sufficed to encourage the country planters to betray their animus toward the freedmen. They met together, and resolved upon aun-dry oppressive articles to which they gave the validi-ty of a social code, deviation from which was to constitute a misdemeanor. They voted five dollars, in one county, to be the maximum of a negro's wages, requiring a recommendation from his last employer, and excluding him from any plantation which he did not approach on business-that is, with a disposition to be starved at the appointed rates. They voted, in another county, that they would hire no colored man, -perhaps they said slave, -without the consent of his wener or according to his terms Between the news apers and these assemblies it became evident that therefore extended to the one, and a prohibition to the other, with a nullification of their mischievous action. Gen. Terry's order lacked only one thing—that it was not issued from the White House; for it embodies a doctrine full of sense and humanity, and deserving of adoption by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. The hero of Fort Fisher is not to be troubled with paper constructions of whatever magnitude. He says to the F. F. V.s, your laws which discriminate against the blacks were made in support of slavery: that system having periahed, the reason for such legislation has periahed also, and your code abrogates itself. Hereafter, he continues, we know no distinction of color in this State, whether in respect of rights or protection The laws are for all classes alike, and a common neces sity rests upon all of being industrious and self-sus-taining. No cant here of the right of a State to regu-late its own suffrage, as covert permission to prolong the sceptred sway of a slain barbarian. Only a simple enforcement of republican truisms in converting the aristocratic society of the South.

Gov. Pierpont, of Virginia, have spoken by proclama tion and message respectively. One preaches a social sermon to the blacks, the other lauds their heroism in he war. Both declare that they have nothing to out to them, except a release from shackles and the ash. Gov. Pierpont more bluntly informs the legisreedmen; and as President Johnson has uttered the same disclaimer, it would seem as if the irrepressible negro were to be "let alone" severely. Unhappily shield him from molestation, while the bulk of the white population have a very different notion about interference. Riots which would have done credit to Mackerelville and the Five Points have broken ou n Norfolk and in Portsmouth upon the withdrawal of our troops, and the victims in either case have been the unfortunates whom the President leaves in charge of the Joyal minority, and the loyal minority are quite unable to recognize as a component part of the

elegation developed two motives for his policy that are worth being put on record. I attach no novel importance to his emphatic asseveration that slavery must be rooted out of every State Constitution, and the anti-slavery amendment of the national charter be ratified, before the secoding communities can resume their places in the Union. No inferior position was possible for the nominee of the Baltimore Convention and the successor of Abraham' Lincoln. What is the secret of Mr. Johnson's haste to renew the civil machinery of the South? He says he thought the loyal men there who had been crushed and overawed by the rebellion ought, now that the despotic weight s removed, to stand on the same footing with those it the North. Why does the President refuse negro suffrage? He does not say he had no lawful contro over it. He rather implies that he has, but prefers to eave it with the States. He argues against it ists, the land-owners, their former masters, should to that servitude to the aristocracy from which they have been emancipated no less than the blacks. I will not examine into this reasoning, but simply pre-sent the picture of the President's own State of Tennessee. There the loyalists are in a very decided mi-

pority and owe their elevation to power entirely to beence of their enemies in the Confederate ser This handful of Union men expect to disfran chise, first, the secession aristocrats, lay and clerical including the large slaveholders and landed proprie tors; who are certainly unrepentant and past conve bellion; and, third, the blacks. Such a course, be conspiracies and cor motions of which no man can foresee the end. Mr. Johnson selects too feeble de-positories for his powers. He balances his pyramids on their apex, instead of planting them upon their ase.

I have formerly had occasion to remark that there is

no well-settled denial of the black man's right to the ballot, nor any formidable combination (at the North) to deprive him of it. Yesterday the Daily News outstripped the admissi as of the World and the Obse ner by arguing quite ably the inherent political right of the freedman, hitherto kept in abeyance during his involuntary servitude; and by declaring that the South which compromised away two-fifths of her legitimat which compromises away two-fiths of her legitimate power at the formation of the Union, is now determined to recover this portion by employing the franchise of her colored inhabitants. Of course, such a statement must be accepted with a liberal allowance, not less because the truth of history is ingeniously perverted to render plausible the policy announce The insinuation, however, that Southern statesme The instituation, however, that Southern statesmen may make political capital by demanding negro suffrage, is worthy some attention. In this way it is conceivable that a coalition might be brought about between the upper and the nethermost classes at the South, and the President may wellbe anxious for his loyal minority when he sees the mill in motion and the stones a grinding.

M. DU PAYS.

The Anti-Slavery celebration at Framingham to The Anti-Slavery celebration at Framingiam, on Tuesday, the 4th of July, held in accordance with a vote passed at the last New England Anti-Slavery Convention, was largely attended, and exceedingly interesting. An official account of the proceedings will appear in next week's Librarior. Speeches were made by Wendell Phillips, Charles W. Slack, Andrew T. Foss, Wm. Wells Brown, Charles C. Burleigh, and Stephen S. Foster. Those who were present were highly gratified, and nothing occurred to mar the pleasure of the occasion.

THE PIVE REASONS.

There are five reasons why the nay not take the life of any evil-doer connect he Rebellion, even to satisfy strict justice—

may not state that the Abelian are the Rebellion, even to satisfy strict justice—fit to sons that change strictest justice to mercy.

1. Slaveholders, and those who have been buyld up under the influence of slavery, cannot be high up under the influence of slavery, cannot be have been so held, and they cannot be so now. Be have been so held, and they cannot be so now. Be ry Clay was not so held in the matter of declina are thought of the slavery leading to the slavery in the slavery is an order of licentificances with slaves. Starry is and of barbarism, and is barbarism, and its influences. ter of licentiousness with slaves. Starry is and of barbarism, and is barbarism, and its infesses it barbarise those who come in contact with it, each effect, in thousands of instances, to make sea and gets. Savage Indians, in carrying on their was, as not be held tresponsible to the law of civilinates, and more can savage slaveholders is ges. Savage
not be held responsible to the law of civilinate to
no more can savage slaveholders in curring a
this war. The inhuman treatment of the
this war, and nameless other attockies of the
names, and nameless other attockies of the the butchery of our colored troops, the manual Lawrence, and nameless other atrochies of they were all savage, and in perfect keeping with the via savagery of slavery for the past two handred law, and with all the street fights, shooting afray, berk and with all the street lights, shooting sfray, brick knife rencounters, open day murders, and brain and which have grown out of slavery, and is prints with the hunting of slaves with bloodbonk and burning them at the stake. Slavery is stug, and burning them at the stake. Outer it amp, at the world will yet pronounce that stoops integrated and carried on a war of rebellion to satuin it.

11. - We of the North have been guilty of his storp.

II. We of the North have been guilty of this sharp, as well as they of the South. From the first we hast done almost nothing but foster and pumper and put their "peculiar institution." We may not see then their "pecuniar manufactures to say not now, then turn round, note up our names in corps, and poster that we are innocent and they are periest measure. To claim or for their blood for their falcity to fatter, when we have so long kept them company in that when we have so long keputhem company in that fidelity, and often gone beyond them in our timple of it, would be to stamp us monsters, planiers, hipserites, and stupendously and immeasurably support of the plane of the standard limits, we to do this would be, in the absolutest significant and emphasis of human language, as to be possible just. In particular, the service North led and the shadow and the standard limits of the service North led and the shadow and support the service North led and the shadow and the service North led and the ne South into this very rebellion. Had not the white the South into this very recommon. Has not the blat history of the North given the South to believe that we should at last yield to her threat of secenies, or, at least, that a sufficiently large party in the North would side with that secession to make it seccessful, the to bellion would never have been inaugurated. So that And James Buchanan, Horatio Seymour, C.L. Vallandigham, Fernando Wood and others lesser, ar more guilty of the rebellion than all the Souther rebels put together; yet who thinks of taking the No more-not so much-think of saking to lives? An more—not so much—mag or using a have the lives of any of those rebels taken. And the editors of the La Crosse Democrat and Chicago Ties, and other similar Northern journals, together with numbers of Democratic perambulating whom made a trade of inflaming the public mind against Abraham Lincoln as deserving of assassing tion, are more guilty of the murder of the late Preci dent than Booth, or any of the conspirator rion they in part influenced to become their instrument, yet who thinks of taking their lives! No more-not so much-as asking to have the lives of any of these conspirators taken! No, brethren, no; there is a beer way of testifying against all these wrongs, a letter way of doing justice to all these parties, candies with the rest, thus : III. Pardoning slaveholders on the ground that they

are savages will still be to inflict on them the atmost extreme of punishment; for what could be so terrible as to be so branded before the world! And parise their slavery will also be both punishment and purish -nunishment to us, as having been guilty with then but pardon to them, as no more than that punished to us, seeing the guilt has been common to be And pardoning rebels will be the same punishmen and pardon of them and of ourselves—punishmental ourselves because we helped make them rebels, and pardon of them because we spare them for bring what we helped make them. And pardoning those Southern rebels will be forevermore and most ten-bly punishing Buchanan, Seymour, Vallanlighm, Wood & Co., by concluding them so much more rulty of the rebellion than were those rebels them selves. And sparing the lives of the conspirates will be in the same way punishing ourselves of the North, first, for all our complicity with this slavery out of which the conspiracy mediately gree; see ondly, for our hand in developing the rebellion, is which slavery at last gree, and out of which the cospiracy immediately sprung, and thirdly, forour further having had a great and formidable party at the North obstructing the Government in its efforts to put down the rebellion during all the time of its raping. even to the day of its close. And still more will sparing the lives of the conspirators be terribly pu-ishing those editors and orators who clamped in Lincoln's assassination, as forever writing them down far more guilty of the deed than those who became their tools !- But thus, shall all we who wish to have testimony against wrong, be both just and magnas-mous—just to ourselves, as having been ourselves in mous—just to ourselves, as having been ourselves at the wrong, and magnanimous to other, as not pail-bly more in the wrong than we, but chiefly in its cause of our influencing. This must be the sest-ment—that all parties have sinned together, as now all must repent together, that, by the united effort all, the evil of the past may be atoned for by the god of the future. This is to be notife, just, magnati-mous, right, all round.

IV. Southern slaveholders were always elected

IV. Southern slaveholders were always edecated to regard their slavery as more than all else, to be up to regard their slavery as more than all else, even held and preserved at the expense of all else, even their religion, even the National Government. Ex-their religion, even the National Government. n had to be sacrificed to slavery, that is, cut down to be consistent with it; and the Union had to be selordinate to slavery, that is, to State rights, which were only for the sake of slavery. Fealty to slavery became the one grand duty, till at last treason is the Government was lost in that feality to slavery. In stead of being treason to the Union, it was feeling to State rights, and to the institu which both the South and State rights printe the North put itself in the South's place, before it poposes to hang a single traitor under the ples of ju-

V. There is no possible need of taking a life. In rebellion is dead. Its cause is dead. Slavi more. Paramount State rights have dist The supremacy of the Union is established. The supremacy of the Union is established. Fears secession is out of the question. The congistion are in our hands, and can be, as they ought to be, strained of their liberty to do further harm, by issuecration. So can bad, dangerous men among for rebels, if necessary, in yiew of what they have done be punished with incarceration. But so life need to flow. Clemency to that there is no be shown to Jefferson Davis himself.

tent can be shown to Jefferson Davis himself.
Land of the Free, North, South, East, West, there open thy doors to this justice and magnanimity justice of mutual repentance, and the magnani of universal forgiveness! JOSEPH TREAT.

Lisbon, Iowa, June 21, 1865.

The Editor of the Universalisi, having been sured by a correspondent for latinating that left censured by a correspondent for Davis should be hung, replies:

"After the excitement is passed and Jafers Davis is hung, we may be sorry! But in all sorres let us say, if Jefferson Davis is not hung, the iss that in this laind ever after signs a destivation should drop from its socket. If he is parlace, it every prison-door open."

The Letter of Hon. Robert Dale Ores President Johnson, on our first page, on the resistancion of the late Rebel States, suggests contact tions of the present the states of tions of the gravest importance.

# THE STATE TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE.

A CARD. olitan Police Bill and Jury Bill havin The Metropolitan Force BHE and Jury Bill having been defeated, and a Constabulary Statute substituted, which was not feated by the advocates of these bills, redeen it important to define our position in relation

p these measures.
No statute can be adequate to the execution of the No statute can be adequate to the execution of the less sgainst the liquor traffic, unless it provides a sufficient force to secure a triumph in Boston, which is it says against the law, and is the Sebastopol of nultipolitic. Here, where the question of support of the says and the same statement of support of says and the same says and says are says as a say p lesque sgainst the are, and as the occasion of on the state of the desired of success or allowed to be decided, the Metropolitan Police Bill grashed a veteran force of three hundred and fifty mided a veteran lorce of which was to be defrayed men; the expense of which was to be defrayed the disobedient district. The Constabulary Law by the disonedient district. And Constabulary Law ponder, at the expense of the Commonwealth, "not be than twenty for the county of Suffolk," and the opriation of the present year will not admit of increase in their numbers.

With the ordinary action of an ordinary executive

ge law would be a failure.

It however, the Governor should sustain this, as he is however, the general be should be a should If however, the convenient strong state it is, as ne has untained some other measures,—if he should pide the power of the State to its execution,—if he phofd address the constabulary force in the tone with which he addressed the 54th regiment, a great degree which be addressed the oath regiment, a great degree of secres would be assured. And inaginated as this senare originated with the Governor, and the apat and direction of its officers are under his pointment and direction of its officers are under his control, and since his Excellency informs us that "The presimption both of reason and the law must always he hat those whom the law has carefully selected and boost for any public duty will perform it," we have a right to expect from him in its execution the zeal and config which have marked his administration in the

perspe which have marked his administration in the gase of freedom, by which he has made the principle of humanity the law of official action. If he shall thus enforce the Constabulary Statute principle will crown his gubernatorial career with a fing conclusion. In this work he will receive the lessy support of the people of the Commonwealth. Is the execution of this measure there are great but satisaterable difficulties to be overcome. There are git is to be twenty five millions of dollars invested in the liquor truthe in Boston alone. Those who are op seed to any measures for its suppression can control seed to any measures for its suppression can control seed daily press, and the political influence of our large odes. In the war against slavery, however, the same free have been met and overcome. Then, as now writh, interest, the political press, and all the out reith, interest, the pointent press, and all the out-rard elements of strength were on one side, and on the other only justice and the interests of mankind.

Then, as now, men were often unconscious of the inferences that controlled their actions. They did not their mean to support slavery. They do not now mean to support intemperance. Gradually the sophories and deceptions by which slavery was defended renewept away, and the true nature of the contest

research. It will use so in the present contest.
Looking to the paper, we have confidence in the fulim. With a firm donviction that the interests of the
phic demand the suppression of the liquor traffic,
reshall steadily pursue that object, with no feeling
of dock or hesitation, but with perfect confidence
with tempiring radio of herbories. the remaining relic of barbarism will not be ed permanently to control and nullify the laws of

Unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of the Sur Alliance, June 28, 1865. W. B. SPOONER, President,

WE M. THATER, Secretary.

### THE LAUREL PARTY.

NEWBURYFORT, June 30, 1865. Disk Mr. Garrison—I do not wish to plant a domoi regret in your pillow, but I coonot refrain ling you that much as those who hoped to see the "Laurel Party," which came off on the 5th inst., lost, by your absence, you also were a loser Every one admits that the present June is a month fitose "rare and perfect days," and the annual gath-ing at the Laurel Grounds, last Tuesday, was in all gets worthy of the fame these gatherings have m. A new attraction was added this year. The nest, after meeting at the house of our hospitable en-mainers, were conveyed to the wharf where barges mated them, which, after receiving their happy tright were towed up the river, landing our party at selegatful point near the Laurel Ground. Nothing tanting to make the day one to mark with hite stone. Such troops of lovely girls, such happy maging of mothers and grandmothers with the pares families, such a tempting table spread un-the trees; and dinner over, it needed no miracle sile the busy Marthas of the hour to take " twelve when full "from the plentifully supplied table, after a three hundred guests had eaten their fill. Ther Then second Minnesinger, the poet of the lovely river at our best with best tuned to lays of peace; then fol-lard genal speeches from various friends. This s hours too short. The sail homeward, the se great birds across our path, all added to the com-ton find of delight.

That sixteen years have seen this group of friends, subtred under the delightful auspices of our host and bates and their daughter, sidds another feature of in-strat to this beautiful custom. I am sure you would have also beautiful custom. have enjoyed the meeting, and joined most heartily with all who were fortunate enough to be present in the wishes expressed, in speech and song, for the long continued health and happiness of the Ashbys of New E. C. W.

# REPUDIATION.

DORCHESTER, July 3, 1865. -It seems amusing to me th derabasis Garrison,—It seems amusing to me ma-dere should be so much said about what Mr. Phillips and at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention on the subject of repudiation. Nothing was said in the Convention plainer to be understood than the lantage be used on that occasion: "I give notice, now, that if the United States assume the robed dubt, I go for regalization; and all those who hold government sensities may depend on it." The above may not be it state words, but the sense is the same. What past would here be in saying anything about it, if he meat only the robet debt! What same man at the Smit would think of such an abourdity as paying his stabangman's bills! Friend Phillips was perfectly ea bangman's bills? Friend Phillips was perfectly ight in his theory. I own a small amount of Governhas bonds; but, sooner than pay one cent of rebe his benda; but, sooner than pay one cent of rebe his bendas for their hellish schemes, I would sink hite in the bottomless pit.

Mr. Phillips really meant only the rebel debt, I religite up all idea of ever trying to understand any lagrage again. All knowledge of Mr. Phillips, w to the present time, stamps the whole transaction ent time, stamps the whole transaction th mystery, if he meant only the rebel debt.

J. LEONARD.

THE FRIEND OF PROGRESS, for July, contains the blowing articles:—Frances Power Cobbo, by T. W. Eigneon; Womanhood (Poetry,) by Lizzie Doten: Woman and Her Era" vs. "A Plea for the Masca-lar," by J. V. V. R.; Monopoly in Religion, by Rev. Materials of the Company of the Religion, by Rev. el (Poetry.) by Cora L. V. Hatch; Relations of he incorp. J. by Cora L. V. Hatch; Relations of the losins and the General Government, by Captain I. J. Ilinton, U. S. C. T.; Each Fights for All (Poetry), by Geo. S. Burleigh: Psychometrical Examination of Abraham Lincoln, by A. J. Davis; The Unag (Poetry,) by Phoebe Carr: The Inner Temple, ning (Poetry.) by Phothe Cary; The Inner Temple, b Endle; A Single String; Relinquished (Poetry.) I Louise Palmer; Our Library.

This is an increasingly interesting periodical, and varily of liberal patronage. Subscription price, \$2 Pay year, payable in advance. Single copies, 20 cts. M. Piumb & Co., Publishers, 274 Canal Street, New York.

MERCHANTS' MEETING ON SUFFRAGE. In accordance with the following circular, a meeing of about forty gentlemen was held at the Board of Trade rooms, in Boston, on Friday noon:—

The undersigned invite you to attend a private meeting, disposed to consider whether the highest fit treats at the whole country do not require that the right of suffrage in the Southern States be independent of race and color; and also the practical measure which should be taken in relation to the subject.

which should be taken in relation to the subjective Theophilus Parsons, Clearfes G. Loring, A. A. Lawrence, J. Ingersoil Bowditch, Benjamin E. Bates, James H. Beal, Heary B. Rogers, Homer Bartlett, F. B. Crowninshield, A. A. Lawrence, East called the measing of the property of the prop

James H. Beal, B. F. Nourse,
Henry B. Rogers, Samuel G. Ward,
Homer Bartlett, J. J. Dixwell.
F. B. Crowninshield,
- A. A. Lawrence, Esq., called the meeting to order.
Robert B. Storer, Esq., was chosen chairman, and
Edward Atkinson, Jr., and R. K. Darrah, secretaries.
Hon. Theophilus Parsons made an opening sidless in which he said that President Johnson needs and Geserves to be supported in the steps stready taken, preliminary steps, the beginning of an experiment, and he hoped the country will leave him at therty to watch events, and see thereby what action shait be necessary to secure permanent safety and security. The slaves,
Mr. Parsons argued, were now freemen, and must be counted among those who have the right of representation. Votes must be cast for them, and there was no reason why they should not cast votes for them selves when the proper time connea. The war had brought on us a tremendous debt, and the defeated whites would have an interest in trying to prevent its joyment. It was a question of time only, and in the coning conflicts we should need their ballots as much as we have in the past needed their ballots as much as we have in the past needed their ballots as much as we have in the past needed their ballots as much as we have in the past needed their ballots as much as we have in the past needed their ballots as much as we have in the past needed their ballots of the luture we might find that the ballots of the loyal colored population would secure us against the machinations of the disloyal whites, &c.

On motion of Mr. Barrows, a committee was ordered to direct a letter to the President, to be signed by Boston business men.

At the call of Mr. Forbes, Mr. Parsons read a letter embodying the idea above alluded to, with some minor points, such as the dishonesty of freeing the blacks, naking them fight for us, and then depriving them of votes, reorganizing the South without that vote, and so surrendering them to a vindictive legislation engendered by disappointment and ambition. The reat of

ENGLAND AND AMERICA. At a recent large religious gathering in England, Dr. Edmond, of London, said the religious bodies had not done their duty by their friends in America. He did not apprehend war with America. He said:

their friends in America. He did not apprehend war with America. He said:

"If war comes not, no thanks to the organs of public opinion from which our American friends gather the sentiments of this country. I wish those who felt otherwise could have rung in their cars, with thunder-peal of voices that could not be mistaken, that the heart of this country is a heart of brother-hood toward our American brethren. (Applause) In the interests of peace, sir, let it be known by us that, while in terms of this overture, we most cordially rejoice at the prospect of the speedy extinction of American slavery, and repe! the crime by which the President of the American States fell; we also wish the world to know that we reckon war between America and this country would be one of the greatest calmitties the world ever saw; and this cannot come about without very heinous crimes on one side or the other. (Hear, hear.) Let us do our part, for we need to do it, to preserve perfect liberty in the two countries; and let us say our only rivalry shall be which of the two countries—and the two characteristics and war, and shall by and-by entirely destroy them. (Loud applause.)

Princeton College. The degree of LL, D, was

PRINCETON COLLEGE. The degree of LL. D. was conferred on President Lincoln at the December meeting of the trustees, and the following letter was received in response to the letter of President Maclean, notifying him of the fact:

notifying him of the fact:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, 
WASHINGTON, Dec. 27, 1864. 
MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your notes of the 20th of December, conveying the announcement that the trustees of the College of New Jersey had conferred upon me the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The assurance conveyed by this high compliment, that the course of the government which I represent has received the approval of a body of gentlemen of such character and intelligence in this time of public trial, is most gratful to me. Thoughtful men must feel that the fate of civilization upon this continent is involved in the issue of our contest. Among the most gratifying proofs of this conviction is the hearty devotion everywhere exhibited by our schools and colleges to the national cause.

I am most thankful if my labors have seemed to conduce to the preservation of those institutions un-

conduce to the preservation of those institutions un der which alone we can expect good government, and in its train sound learning and the progress of the lib

I am, sir, very truly,
Your obedient servant,
Dr. John Maclean.

NARROW ESCAPE OF CRARLES DICKERS. English papers say that Charles Dickens had a very narrow escape from death at the catastrophe on the South-castern railway, recently. The chringe in which he was sitting toppled over the edge of the embankment, and hung there for a while, giving him an opportunity to scramble through the window to the platform, where he found himself without scratch or bruise, greatly to his own amazement. When the dead bodies of the victims were laid out for recognition, one over-zealous gentleman, knowing that Mr. Dickens was in the train, recognized one corpse as his, and this statement was at first credited. The novelist was returning to his country seat, from a short continental trip, when the accident occurred.

SLAYERT. The only States in the country in which slavery has now an existence are Kentucky and Delaware, and the institution is in a frightfully mori-bund condition in each of them. In Delaware it is an absurdity, in its character as well as in its magnitude. In Kentucky, nearly all the able-bodied blacks have done service in our army, and are therefore free; and the fact that these men have done military service makes all their wives and children free. So that what the fact that these men have done military service makes all their wives and children free. So that what remains of slavery in Kentucky is the mere skeleton, disjointed, lifeless, hopeless, with no present value, and no prospect in the future. The action of the States on the Constitutional Amendment will wipe out the institution clean.

the institution clean.

GONE YO HIS OWN PLACE. Edmund Ruffin, who achieved an unenviable notoriety by firing the first gun at Fort Sunter, committed salicide at his residence, near Mattoax depot, on the Kichmond and Danville Railroad, on the 17th ult. He retired to his chamber at an early hour in the morning, and taking a seat in a chair, took a gun loaded with shot and aluga, and placing the muzzle to his mouth, discharged the piece by pushing the trigger with a sitck. The upper portion of his head was entirely blown off. In a diary of his was found a memorandum, stating that he could never live under the United States Government, and took death in preference. In the some memorandum he said he would have committed the deed on the 9th of April, (the day that Gen. Lee aurrendered.) but was prevented by the presence of visitors in his house.

DULL WRITING. A Boston correspondent of the Springfield Republican characterizes Mr. Garrison as one of the dullest of writers." The ground on which this assumption is made to rest is, that Mr. G. has not "a particle of imagination." &c. This may be true, and yet it is quite as manifest that the writer to the Springfield paper lacks logic as that Mr. Garrison wants imagination. The reasoning is, that a writer is dull, because he fails to be imaginative. It were far more correct to affirm that a writer is dull, especially in such a sphere of writing as Mr. G. has worked in for a third of a century, if, he comes short especially in logic. Without this no man can be truly forcible, either with the tongue or pen, and it is hard! to the Springfield paper lacks logic as that Mr. Garrison wants imagination. The reasoning is, that a writer is dull, because he fails to be imaginative. It were far more correct to affirm that a writer is dull, especially in such a sphere of writing as Mr. G. has worked in for a third of a century, if, he comes abort capecially in logic. Without this no man can be truly forcible, either with the tongue or pen, and it is hardiploted to deny that Mr. Garrison is forcible in the use of both. Never otherwise could be have succeeded in the impression which he has made deep in the public in hind. Few men use the English tongue with greater precision of clear and forcible statement and expression. To characterize such a man as one of the "dulest of writers" is simply absurd. It is about as correct as to say granite is soft.—Watchmen and Reflector.

THE FREEDMEN IN VIRGINIA. Gen. Terry has issued the following order, defining the rights and privileges of the freedmen in Virginia

THELIB

the rights and privileges of the freedmen in Virginia:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA;

RICHMORD, Va., June 23, 1865.

"General Ordens No. 77. The laws of the State
of Virginia and the ordinances of the different municipalities within the State having special reference to,
and made to restrain the personal liberty of free colorde persons, were designed for the government of
such persons while living amid a population of colored slaves; they were enacted in the interest of
slave-owners, and were designed for the security of
slave property; they were substantially parts of the
slave code.

slave code.

Slavery has been abolished in Virginia, and therefore, upon the principle that where the reason of the law ceases, the law itself ceases, these laws and ordinances have become obsolete. People of color will henceforth enjoy the same personal liberty that other citizens and inhabitants enjoy; they will be subject to the same restraints and to the same punjaiments for crime that are imposed on whites, and to no others.

for crime that are imposed on whites, and to no others.

Vagrancy, however, will not be permitted; neither whites nor blacks can be allowed to abandon their proper occupations, to desert their families or roam in dieness about this department; but neither whites nor blacks will be restrained from seeking employment elsewhere when they cannot obtain it with just compensation at their homes, nor from travelling from place to place on proper or legitimate business.

Until the civil tribunals are reëstablished, the administration of criminal justice must, of necessity ob by military courts; before such courts the evidence of colored persons will be received in all cases.

By command of Major Gen. A. H. Tanax.

ED. W. Shiths, Asst. Adj. Gen."

The following order from Gen. Hartsuff regulater

The following order from Gen. Hartsuff regulates negro labor:

"HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE NOTTOWAY, PETERBRUES, Va., June 22, 1865. 
General Corress No. 8. Until the civil authority is fully restored, no more public meetings will be held within the limits of this command to establish a fixed price for negro labor, or make distinctions prejudicial to the interests and limiting the freedom of the blacks. Such meetings are combinations, which will result in injury to both parties. The proceedings in this respect of those already held are disapproxed.

Commanding officers of counties will see that the amount paid for labor is sufficient to meet all the necessary expenses of food and clothing, besides a reasonable sum for the contingencies of sickness, &c. No difference in price for the same amount, kind and quality of labor will be permitted between whites and blacks. All the circumstances in each case will be carefully considered, and when a former master hires his former slave, and in addition keeps, feeds and clothes his family or some of his young or old and helpless relatives, who would otherwise become a tax and burden upon the laborer, the cost of their maintenance will be considered as a part of the laborer's wages.

If the laborer is hired by the year, the rate per

tenance will be considered as a part of the haborer swages.

If the laborer is hired by the year, the rate permonth may be reasonably less than when hired from month to month.

Measures will be taken to insure the fulfilment of contracts on the part of both parties, and the interests of each will be looked to equality.

Commanding officers of sub districts will have these directions strictly carried out. To this end, and for the purpose of keeping themselves thoroughly acquainted with the condition of affairs under their charge, they will visit all the stations of troops within their respective commands once each month.

By command of Major Gen. Habarsure,

Geo. A. Hicks, Arst. Adj. Gen."

The Viscinia Legislature has passed a bill to legal-

The Virginia Legislature has passed a bill to legal-ize and regulate the marriage of negroes.

"How happy you must feel in having been spared "How happy you must feel in having been spared to see the triumph of those grand principles for which you have been contending all your life! The stain of Slavery is removed from the fair escutcheon of your noble land. The curse is dispelled which clouded the bright prospect of her future. The manner in which the genius of your people carried through the democratic principle in its first application to a vast community affords a sure guaranty that, to the benefit of all Humanity, you will know how to consolidate by wisdom and moderation what you have achieved by wisdom and moderation what you have achieved by Yours, ever truly,

L. KOSSUTH."

Mr. Lincoln's Estate. Judge Davis of Illinois, as administrator of the estate of Mr. Lincoln, gave bonds for \$75,000, which has given rise to the story that Mr. Lincoln left property to that amount. The facts are that the estate is less than half that sum. Hon. Isaac W. Arnold, in a letter to B. B. Sherman, Esq., treasurer of the Lincoln fund, says:

"I write you as an old friend of President Lincoln to know what progress has been made in raising the fund proposed for the benefit of his family. I served in Congress during Mr. Lincoln's administration, and I say what I know when I say that his family are left in circumstances of comparative poverty."

The tomb in which the President's remain The tomb in which the President's remains, together with those of his little son, are placed, is kept carneted with fresh flowers, and about and upon the coffins as they lie in view are garlands and clusters of bads and blossoms, ever fresh and fragant, so that the very breath of the sepulchre is rendered redolent and page.

both and observed the separative is rendered redolent and pure.

Looking into the tomb, the visitor can discern nothing offensive—no token of the "damp vault's rayless gloom"—but can deen himself gazing into some floral cave whose tenants are the graces and summer nymphs. The taste which is thus displayed in rendering the vault attractive is most commendable, and will brighten the recollection of every pligirm who has here gazed in upon the dead. Since the 14th of May last, some two thousand names of visitors have been thus registered, representatives of every State of the Union, and also the Canadas. One hack upon every day during the week, and two upon the Sabbath, are kept running between the city and the cemetery for the accommodation of visitors, and all this has been done since the remains of our late President were placed at rest in this burial-place, since Oak Ridge has held the dust of this great man.

And in making this notice, we would conclude by adding that this is not only to be the resting-place of the President, but that there is to be erected a pile to his memory which shall stand through all ages to come. The rising ground immediately in the rear of the tomb has been selected as the site of the President's monument. Three acres upon this beautiful spot was selected by the Monument Association on Saturday last, and here it has been decided to build the shaft. The beauty and appropriateness of this site are such as would recommend it to the minds of all, and we are pleased to know so agreeable a selection has been made.—Springfield (Ulineis) paper.

New York, June 24. A copy has been received the resolutions passed by the Senate of the resolutions passed by the Senate of the death o in this city of the resolutions passed by the Senate of the free city of Frankfort on hearing of the death of President Lincoln. It is signed by Herr Groinper, Burgomaster, and expresses the painful regret of the Senate in regard to the mouraful occurrence, as well as their indignation at the wicked deed. The Americans in Frankfort observed the day of humiliation on Jane I, by special services at the watering places of Hamburg. Bishop Kip of California presided. The funeral discourse was in the principal church, and the English chaplain participated in the services.

McClellan's Predictions. In a recent speech, Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, made this statement: "A friend of mine, whose daughter is new at Rome, received a letter from her, written while Ges. Sherman was visiting North Carolina. She wrote: 'Oh, father, low fortunate you are? I You know where Sherman has gone, but we are in deep distress, for our next door neighbor, Gen. McClellan, is croaking and saying that Sherman and his army can never march through that country, and will be destroyed as the Homan legions were destroyed under Varus.'"

Howell Cobb was at Macon, recently, and it is pleasing to know he counsels, on the part of the people, a cheerful and prompt obedience to the Constitution and laws of the country. He believes that alavery is forever dead, but he is not at all despondent as regards the future of the South; on the countrary, he believes that a bright future is ahead, and thinks it only remains for the people to put forth their best energies toward developing the resources of the country to insure commercial prosperity and success.

TREATMENT OF FREEDMEN IN VIRGINIA. Capt. of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Lands, at Richmond, has issued an order ordinates, defining their duties as follows:

Your duties will be to protect the negroes in their ghts as freemen, to see that in their present state of cemen, to see that in their present state is they are not oppressed or injured b ir masters, with false charges or unjust pur

their former masters, with faise charges or unjust pur-lahment.

You will aid them by your advice in making con-tracts for their services, if such contracts are likely to be injurious to their interests; in all other cases, leave them free to make their own bargains.

You will fet them, also understand that when their contracts for services are made with the whites, they are under obligations to and must fulfill the same. You will annul all contracts that may have been made with the freedmen that are injurious and unconacionable. Cultivate as far as possible, among them a friendly spirit towards the citizens and their former masters, and explain to them the relations that exist between capital and labor, and how each is dependent

capital and labor, and now exce.
You will not issue rations to any person able to work for whom employment can be found. Require each Assistant Superintendent to keep a register of all colored persons able to work and without employment in his sub-district, and aid such persons in finding places to work. When such employment is found, let the accompanying form of contract be made out in triplicate, one copy to be furnished each of the parties, and one copy to be filed in the office of the Assistant

Superintendent.
Look after vagrants, and if, after being admonished, they do not provide themselves with honest labor, turn them over to work under military guard without payment, until they are ready to work for themselves."

DISORACEFUL SCENES AT AN ELECTION IN NORPOLE, VA. The Norfolk (VA.) correspondent of the 
Philadelphia Inquirer, after detailing horrible outrages 
committed by white citizens and returned rebel soldiers of Norfolk upon defenceless negroes on Friday 
and Friday night last, says of the voting the next 
day that the scenes at the polls were simply disgraceful—a broad burlesque. Never did we hear or see 
such voting. Scores of onen voted who wore the rebel uniform, brass buttons and all. They, took the 
Alexandria oath, though they were in arms against 
the government as late as last April. Gentlemen 
who have lived in Norfolk for two years, and served 
for two years in the Union army, were compelled to 
take the Alexandria oath by secessionists at the polls. 
Every vile epithet in the language was bestowed upon 
the Union men. The old Intolerant and defiant spirit of slavery was rampant. The negro was the great 
stalking horse of the amnesty. All Northern residents and Union men are stignatized as nigger worshippers. It was loudly 'threaterdy yeaterlay that 
all white men in favor of negro suffrage would be driven out of Norfolk within six months.

RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA. President Johnson has appointed Benjamin F. Perry, of South Carolina, Provisional Governor of that State, whose duty it shall be, at the earliest practicable period, to preseribe such rales as may be necessary and proper for convening a convention composed of deligates to be chosen by that portion of the people who are loyal to the United States, and no others, for the purpose of altering the constitution thereof, and with authority to exercise within the limits of that State all the power necessary and proper to enable such loyal people of South Carolina to restore said State to its constitutional relation to the Federal Government, and to present such a Republican form of State government as will entitle the State to the guarantee of, the United States therefor, and its people to the protection of the United States against invasion, insurrection and domestic violence, provided that in any election and state convention as aforesaid, no person shall be qualified as an elector, or shall be eligible as a member of said Convention, unless he shall have previously taken and subscribed to the oaths of amnesty and allegiance.

Governors have now been appointed for all the

legiance.

Governors have now been appointed for all the rebel States except Florida.

The question whether freedmen will work for wages is answered affirmatively by the St. Louis Dispatch, which cites several cases that have come under its observation, where freedmen have not only labored, but labored harder than they ever did in a state of slavery. Among other cases it gives that of the largest slave owner in Missouri, who formerly held a high position in the United States Government. This gentleman is delighted with the change from slavery to freedom. The Dispatch says:

to freedom. The Dispatch says:

"He had fairly tried the experiment, and found that his old servants were worth twice as much under wages as they were under the old slave regime. He gives them a proper slave of all the produce they raise, and after furnishing them with dwellings to live in, and teams and tools to work with, his care and responsibilities end; while they are at work early and late pursuing their labor with tirelessingly, in order to secure food and clothing for their families, and a modest competence for future years."

GOV. BRAMLETTE OF KY., ON EMANCIPATION. Losinville, June 29. Gov. Bramlette addressed the citizens this evening in favor of the Constitutional anuendment, and the advantages of free over alave labor in Kentucky. He said slavery had been utterly overthrown, and proved the impossibility of its restoration. He urged the people to proceed to establish a system of free labor as dictated by wisdom and their interests; showed by statistics of the population, and the occupation of land by slaveholders and non-slaveholders, that the rich lands of the State were in the hands of a class exceedingly small in comparison with the popular masses; urged the organization of the free white laborers of the State to take care in future of their own interests. He said the necessity existed for the immediate action of Kentucky in disposing of the vexed queetion of slavery, the progress of events having practically destroyed the institution itself. Governor Bramlette discussed at some length the second section of the amendment, and answered with overwhening power 1f6 objections urged against it, such as that the amendment gives Congress power to confer the elective franchieu upon emancipated slaves, and thus make social equality. He said the section gives Congress no more power, than ander the Constitution now existing, and this second section meant simply that Congress should by appropriation or necessary legislation prohibit slavery and involuntary servitude in the State.

BEAUREGARD'S HATRED OF MASSACHUSETTS. A

While at Savannah, last winter, I became acquainted with a young lady whose father held a high and very honorable position under our Government before the rebelion. During the war, while in command at Savannah, Beauregard passed many of his leisure hours with that fanily. After delivering himself of his usual venomous speeches about the Yankees and abolitionists, he concluded thus: "When I reach Massachusetts, my first act shall be to blow Plyconoth

BEAUREGARD ON THE "BLACK FLAG." The private papers of Jeff. Davis and Gen. Beauregrid, re-cently captured in Florida, were brought into Jackson-ville a few days since by one of the drivers of the wagon in whose charge they had been placed. The capture includes all the private dispatches and corres-pondence of Beauregard, together with a considerab-quantity of the personal effects of Davis. Among sther things are three splendid uniforms presented to Beauregard by the ladies of Cotumbis, S. C., Augusta, Ga., and Selma, Aia. An important private telegram to the following effect was also discovered: CHARLESTON, S. C. Oct. 13, 4862.

Hon WM. P. MILES, Richmond, Va. ?

Has the bill for the execution of abolition prisoners after January been passed! Do it, and England will be stirred into action. It is high time to proclaim the black flag after that period. Let the execution be ote. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE. Both braithe Virginia Legislature have adjourned. The ing was the parting and somewhat significant of the Speaker of the House, Mr. Downsy:—

of the Speaker of the House, Mr. Downey.

"Gentlemes: I have no speech to make, but I congratulate you very much for the manner in which you have ended the term of service for which you were cleeted. At the time of your election, It was said that the halters were preparing for your necks, and that the halters were preparing for your necks, and that Jeff. Davis was "making the rope." Since that time we have had two sessions, and have kept Virginia out of the hands of the abolitionists, who are now pitching at Andy Johnson with a red-hot poker, hoping to findeence him to adopt their radical views. But, I thank God, we are safe; and though they may force negro suffrage on other Stakes with provisional governments, they cannot pile it upon us. Gentlemen, I wish you a safe return to your homes."

In answer to a resolution of inquiry on the part of the Legislature of that State, the Judges of the State, and of the Legislature of that State, the Judges of the Supreme Court of Connecticut say that, in their opinion, a free colored person born in the State is a cluster of the State, and of the United States, within the incaning of the Amendment of the Constitution recently passed.

THE TRAITOR BRECKINGIDGE. Late account rom Havana state that the traitor Breckingidge a there, staying at a second-class hoarding house in hat city, the proprietors of which keep him free of harge. Those who knew him intimately in years one by any has marting and the control of the concharge. Those who knew him infinately in years gone by say he has greatly changed. His former robust and vigorous frame has been considerably reduced, and he is frequently lostin fits of abstraction. Instead of, as formerly, being lively and animated in conversation, he is moody and tacture, speaking only to his intimate friends. His intends to leave Havana

for Spain.

The Lazy Whites in Alahama. The N. Y.

Time's Mobile correspondent represents a terrible
atate of affairs in Alabama. There is absolute social
demoralization. Labor is so despised by the whites
that they actually prefer atarvation or begging to work
in any form, and even in their penury and wretchedness they show the most rindictive spirit of disastisfaction. Military protection is necessary against the
destruction of the whole population by nearchy.

25 The \$1000 dressing case at the Chicago Sanitary Fair, for the prettiest girl in Chicago, was voted to Miss Anna L. Wilson, who received 1078 votes to 1068 for another tady; and 722 for third. The whole number of votes, at a dollar each, was \$471. The committee very sensibly agree not to publish the list committee very sensi of scattering ballots.

is scattering onloss.

The General Gillmore has recently secured much
of the private and public correspondence of the rebe
seneral Beauregard. It is quite extensive, and covernearly the entire duration of the rebellion.

when Dick Turner, of Libby prison infamy, was arrested, he had in his possession one revolver and two Derringer pistols; his beard had been cut close, and his hair and moustache dyed. His presence in Richmond was detected by a negro washerwoman, to whom his ciothes, marked with his name, were

A New York artist has painted a picture en-titled "Eccs Home Honestas!"—Behold an Honest Man! It is Abraham Lincoln, with Diogenes repre-sented as dropping his famous lantern in the back-ground—the object of his long search having been accomplished.

The New York Herald calls Ben Wood a Ben Arnold without his bravery, and a Judas Iscari edict Arnold without his bravery, and a Judas Isc ot, who has not the grace to hang himself.

ot, who has, not the grace to hang himself.

A Democrative View. The Boston Post, remarks on the suffrage question, that "the same qualification should be required of all men who demand the right of suffrage, no matter whether they be black, white, red or yellow. The Massachusetts requirements are considered wise, but, it is thought, should be liberalized as as to allow all federal soldiers, who served faithfully in the late war, to vote." We can heartily endorse this kind of democracy.

\*\*BT\* The New York Neac, the Southern organ, comes out for negro suffrage in the South, and says it knows of more than fifty leading Southerners who sustain its position.

it knows of more than sustain its position.

27 Great demand for negro labor exists in Mary-and. The sarmers there are paying \$16 a month to males, and from 10 to \$12 to . Females for field labor. The supply is still short, and agents have again been sent in different directions to make contracts and induc mmigration, notwithstanding their recent expulsion from Richmond. Miss Ann E. Dickinson denies the report that

The degree of LL. D. has been conferr Gen. O. Howard at the recent commencement Shurtleff College, Ill. Gen. Butler has presented \$5000 to Phillips

Academy, Andover, to provide a free scholarship, fifty years, for the son of a soldier—white or black—disabled in the war.

Fichard Yeadon, the South Carolinian who offered a reward of \$10,000 for Butler's head, is living a abject poverly at Aiken. He has taken the oath of llegiance. In Nantucket, the name of a colored man has

een placed among the names of white men in making up a list from which to conscribe jurymen. CAIRO, June 28. Over fifty guiboats and other ressels, lately comprising a portion of the Mississippi quadron, are to be sold at auction at Mound City, August 17.

M. Reville, a popular Rationalistic preacher at Rotterdam, is about to publish a biography of Theo-dore Parker.

A college for colored men at Washington is projected, Rev. H. H. Garnett being President of the Trustees. It will be called the Lincoln College, and will be a most suitable memorial of the late President.

The American Colonization Society has sent 340 emigrants to Liberia since the first of April last, making 11, 329 since the organization of the Society. Jeff. Davis never filled so large a space in the world as when he was in his wife's crinoline.

-Louisville Journal.

Henry Van Meter of Bangor, (colored.) celebrated his golden wedding recently. He is considerably over one hundred years of lage, but he himself does not know his precise number of years. His faculties of sight and hearing are still good. He escaped from alavery many years ago.

DIED, in Castine, John Jackson, a native of Africa, aged 100 years. He was the son of a chief, and was lattoocd. When a boy, he was carried to Brazil in a slaver, and afterwards escaped to this country,

slaver, and afterwards escaped to this country,

The New Hampshire Legislature has adopted the amendment of the Federal Constitution abolishing slavery, by a vote of 217 to 98. All the votes in the negative were given by democrats, and all the affirmative votes but eight came from Republicans. There are 114 democratic members, some of whom did not vote. Democracy and slavery mean the same thing, and the 98 men who voted against the amendment would readily vote to establish slavery in New Hampshire, and to revive the slave trade with Africa. It to please such fellows, and their Southern allies, that the people are implored not to support the elevation of Southern colored men to the rank of citizens.—Boston Traveller.

Lord Brougham entreats Americans to be a merciful as they are mighty. He is much afraid that his old friends, the rebel leaders, will be hanged, and the thought of their possible fate troubles the old boy, who is almost a nonsgensrian, and given to crying.

Fourth of July will be celebrated by the colored people of Columbia S. G. This fact will make the 89th anniversary of American Independence the most remarkable ever known. Five years ago, it would have been considered more reasonable to suppose that there would be a Methodist revival menting held in Mecca than that there should be a colored celebration of the Fourth of July in the capital of South Carolina; but under the bloody spur of secession, the American world moves fast forward.—Traveller.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON INVITED TO VISIT BOSTON.
A letter has been numerously signed by the authorities, merchants and business, men, inviting President Johnson to be present at Harvard University Commencement. Gov. Andrew heads the list of signatures.

A MAGNIFICENT NEW STEAMER. The new steamer "Newport" has been completed, and placed on the route between Newport and New York. She is a magnificent, steamer, built, and furnished at an expense of \$500,000; is 350 feet in length; has 150 state rooms, \$00 bernie, and ample accommodations for 1000 passengers. She is claimed to be the finest steamer affoot.

LA CROSER, (Wiss.) July 1. A terrible tornado has just passed over the village and vicinity of Veroqua, Union Co., Wisconsin, prostrating fifty dwellings, killing seventeen persons, and wounding one hundred. The suffering caused by the tornado is very great, and a call is made for relief. Mayor Lloyd and Postniaster Sottridge have been appointed a committee in this city to receive donations.

city to receive donations.

The last official act of the Emprey as Regent was the presentation of the Order of the Legion of Honor to Rosa Bonheur, of which Order the distinguished artist is made a "chevaliter." This is the first time that any female in the civil ranks of life has received the decoration. The innovation is received by all classes of people with great favor.

Our MILITANY STREAGH. The country is now divided into five grand military divisions. The following are their names and commanders: Military Division of the Atlantic, Maj. Gen. Meade: Military Division of the Mississippi, Maj. Gen. Sherman; Military Division of the Tennessee, Maj. Gen. Thomas; Military Division of the Southwest, Maj. Gen. Sheridary Military Division of the Southwest, Maj. Gen. Sheridary Military Division of the Pacific, Maj. Gen. Halleck.

13 The venerable Wm. Wilkins, one of the most distinguished men of Pennsylvania, died last week near Pittsburg. As U. S. Judge, as U. S. Senator, as Minister to Rassia, and as Secretary of War, he served with great purity and usefulness.

THE NATION,
WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE SCIENCE AND ART,

Will be published July 6, 1865.

Its main objects will be—

First—The discussion of the topics of the day, and, above
all, of legal, economical and constitutional questions, with
greater accuracy and moderation than are now to be found

les in society and government, and the a natration of whatever in legislation or in

and illustration of whatever in legislation or at manners seems likely to promote a more equal distribution of the fruits of progress and civilization.

Third—The earnest and persistent consideration of the condition of the laboring classes at the South, as a matter of vital interest to the nation at large, with a view to the removal of all artificial distinctions between them and the rest of the population, and the securing to them, as far as education and justice can do it, of an equal

as far as education and justice can up it, of an equa-chance in the race of life.

Fourth—The enforcement and illustration of the doctrine that the whole community has the strongest interest, both moral, political and material, in their elevation, and that there can be no real stability for the republic so long as

they are left in ignorance and degradation.

Fish—The fixing of public attention upon the political importance of popular deducation, and the dangers which a system like ours runs from the neglect of it is any por-

ion of our territory.

Sixth—The collection and diffusion of trustworthy isormation as to the condition and prospects of the South-rm States, the openings they offer to capital, the supply and kind of labor which can be obtained in them, and

Scientà-Sound and impartial criticism of bo

Seventh—Sound and impartial criticism of books and works of art.

The Narion will not be the organ of any party, sect or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation, by which, so much of the political writing of the day is mixred.

The criticism of books and works of art will form one of its most prominent features; and pains will be taken to have this task performed in every case by writers possessing special qualifications for it.

It is intended in the interest of investors, as well as of the public generally, to have questions of trade and

the public generally, to have questions of trade and inance treated every week by a writer whose position and haracter will give his articles an exceptional value, and render them a majo and trustworthy guide.

A special correspondent, who has been selected for his sork with some care, is about to start in a few days for journey through the South. His letters will appear every reek, and he is charged with the duty of simply reporting that he sees and hears, leaving the public as far as possi-

The following writers, among others, have b

JOHN G. WHITTIER, SAWUEL RIJOT. (Ex-Pres. Trin. College, Hartford,)
Prof. TORREY, (Harvard,)
Dr. FRANCIS LIEBER,
Prof. CHILD, (Harvard,)

CHARLES E. NORTON. Judge Bonn, (Baltimore,) EDMUND QUINCY,
Prof. W. D. WHITNEY, (Yale,)
Prof. D. C. GILMAN, (Yale,)

Judge Daly, Prof. Dwight, (Columbia College,) Judge WAYLAND. FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED

Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS, Rev. Dr. BELLOWS, C. J. STILLE.

HENRY T. TUCKERMAN, BAYARD TAYLOR, C. A. BRISTED, C. L. BRACE, RICHARD GRANT WHITE, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Sydner George Fisher, Theodore Tilton,

R. H. STODDARD, &c. &c. A more extended list will be published in a few days. Terms, \$3 per annum.

JOSEPH H. RICHARDS, Publisher,

## June 16. HIGHLY IMPORTANT

No. 130 Nassau st., New York

AND INTENSELY INTERESTING! S PIRITUALISM AS IT IS! Facts, Fancies and Fol-lies! A New Explanation. The result of Scientific investigation. Send 25 cents to WM. BALLEY POTTER, New York. June 23.

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A RE the most perfect purgative which we are able to duced by anybody. Their effects have abundantly shown to the community how much they excel the ordinary medicines in us. They're as as and pleasant to take, but powerful to cure. Their penetrating properties stimulate the vital activities of the body, remove the obstructions of its organs, perify the blood, and expel disease. They jurge out the foul humorr which breed and grow distemper, ethnulate sluggish or disordered organs into their natural action, and impart a healthy tone, with strength to the whole system. Not only do they cure the everyday compliants of everybody, but also formidable and dangerous diseases. While they produce powerful effects, they are, at the same sime, in diminished doses, the safets and best physic that can be employed for children. Being saga-coated, they are piessant to take; and, being purely vegetable, are free from any risk of harm. Oures have been made which surpass belief, were they not sankantiated by men of such exaled position and character as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Many eminent elergymen and physicians have lent teel' names to earry to the pable the the reliability of our remedies, while others have sant up the assurance of their conviction that our Preparations contribute immensely to the relief of our sellicted, saffering fellow-men.

The Agent below named is pleased to furnish gratis our

ing fellow-men.
The Agent below named is pleased to furnish American Almanac, containing directions for the American Almanac, containing directions for the use and certificates of their cares, of the following complaints;—Costiveness, Billious Complaints, Rheumatism, Dropty, Heartburn, Heedache arsing from foul stomach, Nauses, Indigestion, Morbid Inaction of the Bowels and pain arising therefrom, Flatulency, Loss of Appetile, all diseases which require an evacuant medicine. They also, by purifying the blood and stimulating the system, care many complaints which it would not be supposed they could reach; such as Dealores, Partial Bilinders, Reuralgia and Nerrous Irritability, Dersagements of the Liver and Kidneys, Gout, and other kinderd complaints arising from a low state of the body, or obstruction of its functions.

Do not be put off by unprincipled dealers with other preparations which they make no profit on Demand Arma, and take no others. The sick want the best aid there is for them, and they should have it.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mass, and sold by all druggists.

THEODORE PARKER'S "LIFE THOUGHTS."

HIS MOST POPULAR WORK! "Lessons from the World of Matter and the World

of Man." BY THEODORE PARKER. Selected from Notes of Unpublished Sermons, by Ruyus OHTON.

Just published—120 pages, tinted paper and illustrated title, with portrait—an mandaux остато чолим: PRICE \$2 50.

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WANTED,

A SITUATION as travelling nurse to walt upon as invalid lady. Good reference on the given. Apply as 57 Joy street, or at the Anti-Slavery office, 224, Washington street, Reston, Mass.

June 9.

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ADDRESS ON THE ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Delivered at the request of the Rhode Island Union League

in the City Hall, Providence, June 1, 1865. BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE UNION LEAGUE CITIZENS OF RHODE ISLAND:

Not seven weeks have elapsed since the assessantion of Abraham Lincoln, the beloved and twice elected President of the United States, was foully consummated in the national capital; yet, during that brief period, the awful intelligence has begin convey h are the wonderful means of c tion-not only to every portion of our vast domains but throughout the civilized world, exciting univer sally such horror and grief, such feelings of bereave ment and heartfelt sympathy, such expressions of nal regard and warm appreciation, as have other human being. In our own country, of its multitudinous cities, towns or hamlets, e pale of loyalty, that has not been draped with in the pair of loyalty, that has not been taped the emblems of woe, as though death had entered every household. The stoutest hearts have been made liquid as water—the strongest men have freely mingled their tears with those of women and chil dren—and the nation has momentarily reeled at the blow. From twice two thousand presses; from thrice usand pulpits; from the best brains and th most eloquent lips; from the bench, the bar, the for rum, the legislative hall, the exchange, the public platform, this terrible atrocity has evoked whatever o ondemnation can be uttered by the human tonguand whatever of eulogy of the character and career of our murdered Chief Magistrate may properly be said The expressions of affection, reverence, gra n, in view of the humble origin, remarkab traits, and sublime achievements of the deceased private and public life has been luminously exhibited every characteristic feature closely scanned, every ac searchingly tested. Nothing but the merest repeti tion, therefore, is left for any one who now takes u theme, however brilliant may be his imagin terly his analytical talent. demonstrations of an all-pervadin

grief and horror have been almost as nun signal as in our own land. From the parliam private club, from the palace to the cottage, from the pulpit and the press, such testimonials of condo-lence, regard and friendship have come forth as to obliterate all national divisions, and cause the tw untries to blend together in one great sorrow, as though they were indeed one people. Good grant they may never meet each other in battle array, nor in may way seek each other's detriment! God gran that they may be so animated by the spirit of justice, good-will sind international amily as ever to rejoice in the prosperity and advancement of each other, and be ready to adjust, without bloodshed or mean exaction, whatever difficulties may exist now or arise hereafter! Confusion and infamy attend the plotters at home and the factious abroad, who shall seek to bring them into deadly conflict, no matter on wha pretence! For, however unsatisfactory has been the attitude of the British Government towards our own since the rebellion broke out, it has been far more unsatisfactory to the rebels as shown in regard bastard Confederacy; and however base, malig nant and unscrupulously partisan has been the Lon don Times in hostility to the North and support of the South it has not at any time represent and feelings of the people at large. If, during the long period that intervened before our Government evinced any disposition to grapple with slavery as the embodiment of the rebellion, and while the strugg our part seemed to be only to restore the Union o the old slaveholding conditions, the English masses were comparatively undemonstrative towards us, we alone are to blame. At no time, however, have the sy mpathized with the rebels, or spoken an approving or apologetical word in their behalf. On the contra ry, they have held public meetings in all parts of the kingdom, since the Proclamation of Emancipation wa issued, and, through addresses, speeches and resolutions, denounced the infamous conduct of the South ern secessionists, and enthusiastically applauded Preident Lincoln and his administration. Their word of

"The bluff, bold men of Runnymede Are with ye still in times like these The shades of England's mighty dead Your cloud of wknesses!

Press on !-- the triumph shall be won Of common rights and equal laws.
The glorious dream of Harrington,
And Sidney's good old cause."

With such a people we are bound, by ten the ties, to keep the peace—and they with us. It is an evil and a bitter thing to say, that there are grier-ances between us that can be redressed only by an appeal to the sword. That is the language of pa and craft, of faisehood and demagogueisn. Be assured, fellow-countrymen, laasmuch as the traitors of the South and their Northern sympathizers have been foiled in their nefarious efforts to permanently disrup the Union, they will leave nothing undone, in order t glut their revenge, to involve this country in a foreign war, especially with England. Let the friends of free dom, on both sides of the Atlantic, be at least as vigil lant and determined that no such machination sha

In France, and elsewhere, on the Continent, if no to the same extent, at least as deeply appreciative en the manifestations of heartfelt sorrow and fraternal feeling, in view of the assassination of ou lamented President. Every where its terrible meaning has been penetrated, its diabolical object perceiv ed, and the same righteous verdict rendered. The deed was intended to serve and perpetuate oppression in the United States; it shall mightly help to crush sion in every land. It was men free institutions on our own soil; it shall help to strengthen them at home, and propagate them abroad It has quickened the march of liberty throughout the Of course, this grand result in no way mit gates the guilt of the assassin; it only furnishes a fresh illustration of the wonderful manner in which God causes the wrath of man to praise bim—taking the counsels of the froward headlong.

Death, in itself, is not an evil, but a good; not a

Death, in Itself, is not an evil, but a good; not a mysterious dispensation of Providence, but the operation of a natural law; not to be deplored as a calamity, but thankfully accepted as a blessing. It came to Mr. Lincoln in an unnatural and murderous form; but, happily, his translation was without conscious suffering; at least, from the moment the fatal bullet entered the brain till he ceased to breathe, he made o sign of recognition, and evidently experience

In the midst of the convulsion occasioned by fall, and the overwhelming emotions to which it has given birth, it is scarcely possible for the most carefu given birth, it is scarcely possible for the most careful and discriminating to pronounce his eulogy without a bias, or to assign to him the place he will permanently occupy in history. No man has ever been more unjustly assailed than himself. Now there is a generous disposition to extol him beyond measure. Undoubtedly he subjected himself, at times, to merited criticism and just rebuke, for he was fallible. Equality is it true that he deserves high praise, and is entitled to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen. Nay, more—he has a claim upon the liberal regard of mankind: and it is already promptly acknowledged.

more—ne mas a cam upon the loveral regard of man-kind; and it is already promptly acknowledged.

Abraham Lincoln was, perhaps, the most remarka-ble product of American democracy (but not in a party sense) which has been presented to the world. It is a long atride from the position of a humble rail-split-ter to that of President of the United States—from

commanding a flat-boat to being the elected head of tige; but, if he had been called to grapple with the a mighty republic. Yet he succeeded in raising himself from one to the other by a straight-forward course of conduct; by the vigor and sagacity of his course of conduct; by the vigo.

mind; by an unselfish and ever active patriotism;
and by a combination of admirable qualities for professional life and civil administration. His simplicity
could alter, no popularity change their essential littleness.

mental and philosophical stature that he could look mental and philosophical stature that he could look mental and philosophical stature shape presented, as only a down upon it, in whatever shape presented, as only a convenient instrumentality to promote the common convenient instrumentality to promote the common weal. No amount of training could have changed his plainness of speech or address. He was emphatically no respecter of persons, yet neither lacking in countesy nor rude in manners. In the "White House" he was as simple in intercourse and easy of access high or low, rich or po in Springfield. Of the vast multitudes that sought his presence or assistance, what one ever left him with ing confidence, affection or respect ! His kindness of disposition was almost an overmastering element. By nature the most genial, humane, tender hearted, peaceable of men, the primal source of his happiness wa others happy; and he cheerfully mad all," in the spirit of humili himself "the servant of all," in the spirit of humi-ty and universal good-will. His love of approbation

was strong and active, but it had no tincture of pe sonal vanity, worldly selfishness, or victous ambition.

If his self-esteem was small, his firmness and conscientiousness were sufficiently large to make him strong and resolute in adhering to the right, as reveal ed to his understanding. To change his position was always to take a step in advance; but his circumspection was so immense that he could not be hurr any conclusion, especially if the public welfare wa involved in it. Hence he was "slow and sure." On a certain occasion he said—"I have been charged with being tardy, and the like. I am also charge with vacillating; but I do not think that charge can be sustained. I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position, I have ever retreated from

whom he was conversing, "that he had been some

what slow in proclaiming equal protection to our col-ored soldiers and prisoners; and he replied that the country needed takking up to that point. He hesitat I to it when he felt that the country was no ready for it. He knew that the colored ma out this country was a despised man, a hated man, an that if he had at first come out with such a proclam tion, all the hatred which was poured out on the head of the negro race would have been visited on his administration. He said that there was preparatory wo needed, and that that preparatory work had now been lass; remember that Milliken's Bend, Port Huds and Fort Wagner are recent events; and that the was reasonable; and I came to the conc while Abraham Lincoln will not go down to posterity is Abraham the Great, or as Abraham the Wise, or as Abraham the Eloquent,—although he is all three wise, great and eloquent,—he will go down to poster ty, if the country is saved, as Honest Abraham; and going down thus, his name may be written anywhere in this wide world of ours side by side with that of Washington, without disparaging the latter." Me Lincoln took the reins of government at a peri-

od of national disintegration through red-handed trea-

son; when everywhere "men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming upon the land"; when the flames of civil war had already made lurid the southern sky, and northern co-operative incendiaries were stealthily eneffect a universal conflagration; wher the boldest held their breath, and the wisest co their inability, and the most far-seeing were in thick darkness; when every step was along the edge of a precipice, and the soil hot with volcanic fires; when the South was compact in rebellion, and the North so divided in allegiance as to make it extremely doubt ful whether any reliable, dominant force could b d to uphold the Government; and when, through in the national treasury, every Northern arsenal had been emptied to supply the South with arms and the munitions of war, the army rendered powerless by its reduction, and a feeble navy scattered to remote parts of the globe. In such appalling circumstances e globe. In such appairing chemical ion and sagacity, what deliberation as to means, what balancing of chances and poswhat caution and asgacity, what defloration as to ways and means, what balancing of chances and pos-sibilities, what unquenchable hope and indomitable courage, what commanding qualities of head and heart were needed to so combine the popular elements and so secure the general approval as to save the republic, and place it on a foundation that could not be shake Abraham Lincoln was thus fortunately endowed, and therefore, the rebellion is no more, and the Union made imperishable on the basis of universal liberty Fortunate indeed was it that he was not a man of l impulse on the one hand, nor a lover of arbitrary power on the other. The crisis demanded neither ned blood nor an iron one-man will, but absolut faith in the people, sound judgment, ready tact, abiding cheerfulness, inflexible sense, strong powers of reasoning, incorruptible inte-rity, and unalloyed patriotism; and it found these tributes in him whose tragical death the civilized world

It is true, Mr. Lincoln was frequently subjected the severest criticism and the most sweeping condem-nation, from different motives, and for very different objects; but, whether the accusations came ! party or another, or whether they were well or ill meant, they were such as measurably to neutralize each other. Now he was accused of being mere driftwood; without insight or decision; passively govern ed by the events of the hour; timidly following in nt; a trifler in stead of boldly leading public sentim spirit and a trickster in policy; this bo in the hands of Blair, the next manipulated and trolled by Seward; "honest" enough, but utterly into be a commander, and too ignorant of the com to be safely entrusted with the helm. Anon he charged with usurping constitutional powers, striking down freedom of speech and of cally suspending the writ of habe ch and of the press, tyrann disregarding popular feeling and sentiment, and in other ways playing the dictator, and deserving im-

One thing is certain : whatever he was at the tim of his assassination, he was after it. The murderou deed made him neither the better nor the worse as t "Never speak ill of the dead," may have been charita-bly observed by those who denounced him while liv-ing, but who are now among his most flattering eu-logists, it can never justify transforming a despot into a patriot of the parest stamp, or an imbecile into one worthy to be associated with Washington!

"O, for an hour of Andrew Jackson!" was a cry often heard to the disparagement of Mr. Lincoln; "for then short work would be made with the rebellion.

as it was with nullification. But the cases are not purallel. Extravaguat credit has been given to Andrew Jackson for his summary dealing with the South Carolina factionists. But what had he to fear? They had no supporters at the North, and scarcely any the South, outside of the limits of that always sedi-tious commonwealth; and within those limits their opponents constituted a formidable minority, able to make themselves both heard and felt. The question related to a tariff, not to slavery. With the whole country to stand by him, it required neither rare courage nor special administrative ability on his part to crush the contemptible nullifytapart to crush the contemptible utilifying junto; yet, in the final settlement of the question, some conces-tions were made to them. True, Andrew Jackson had an iron will, lion-like energy, and a military pres-

Slave Fower in mere resemble and organization independent confederacy, and had nothing but a almost equally divided North to rely upon for support be would have found that he had a very different task to perform, requiring much higher qualities that those of mere pluck and resolution. There is—doubt those of mere pluck and resolution. There is—doubless there will continue to be—an honest difference individual opinion, whether President Lincoln; i view of the appailing difficulties of his situation, and for a time, the almost chaotic state of the nation, coul have successfully or prudently gone farther or faste in his efforts to put down the rebellion; but it mus in his efforts to put down the repetition; but it must be concelled that the collective judgment of the country and of Europe is favorably recorded as to his wisdom and statesmanship, and the excellence of his administration,—culminating, in a comparatively brief period, in crushing the most formidable rebellion recorded in the pages of history, giving. liberty to militume held in herals servitude, and placing the Amerilions held in brutal servitude, and pi can republic, in all that is truly great and glorious, a

Nevertheless, no special claim is to be made in be half of Mr. Lincoln either as a philanthropist or re hatf of Mr. Lincoin either as a paisantinopse or re-former, in a radical sense. He made no such claim for himself, and sought no such distinction. In fair-ness, he is to be judged and compared within the sphere of politics, on the plane of official sation, as President of the United States, restricted by constituional limitation, and bound by his oath to the sovereignty of the Federal Government, and pro-

serve the unity and peace of the republic.

Before his election to the Presidency, he lived in a State where office-seeking was most likely to be successful by assailing the Anti-Slavery cause, and sanctioning whatever pro-slavery concess ty slave oligarchy at the South might demand. Bu was proof against temptation in that direction, and alously espoused the unpopular side, subjecting zealously espoused the unpopular side, sub-himself to much ridicule and reproach, and, for at least, rendering his political prospects anything but flattering. Yet he ultimately was elected to the State Legislature and to Congress. Justly believing the Mexican war to have been waged without ovecation, and for a most iniquitous purpose, seizure of territory for the exouthern slavery,he refused to give it his sanction as a member of the House of Representatives. H steadfastly maintained the right of petition, voting against laying on the table, without consideration, pe-titions in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and against the slave trade. Mr lott, of Pennsylvania, having introduced a resolu tion directing the committee for the District to report a bill abolishing the slave traffic in the District Mr. Lincoln moved an amendment, instructing the introduce a bill for the abolition of slavery within ts limits; but providing compensation to the and requiring the bill to be submitted to the people he District for their acceptance or rejection ably supported the Wilmot Proviso, having voted fo t, "in one way or another," to use his own language about forty times." He resisted to the utmost the

perfidious repeal of the Missouri compromise, and tood by ill fate le with Border Ruffianism and the min Slave Power. In 1856 Mr. Lincoln's name heade Republican Electoral ticket in Illinois, in suppor mination of John C. Fremont for the Pres of the no dency. Whenever or wherever the South attempted to extend her slaveholding away beyond her own lind its and the compromises of the Constitution, he me her with infexible purpose. Yet neither at that time nor at any subsequent period did he assume to be as abolitionist. He never sought to evade, abrogate of slavery guaranties, but was for adhering to the in strument according to its uniform interpretation from the time of its adoption; justifying the act to himself on the ground of preserving the Union as a matter of unt importance, and believing that, by restrict paramount of the participated in the moral blindness and until the participated in the moral blindness and until the participated in the moral blindness and until the participated in the provailed throughout the things of the participation When a candidate for the Senate of the United

States, he made the memorable declaration-"A house divided against itself cannot stand. believe this Government cannot endure permanent balf slave and half free. I do not expect the Unio half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but to be dissolved—I do not expect the hor I do expect it will cease to be divided."

Yet, on his way from Springfield to Washington is States, he could soothingly say to the South

"We mean to leave you alone, and in no way interfere with your institutions—to abide by all an very compromise of the Constitution. Fellow-cit every compromise of the Constitution. Fellow-citi zens, friends, brethren, may I call you in my new position?"

Again, though six slave States had already or ganized themselves into an independent co and every other slave State but Delaware (where slave very had but a nominal existence) was openly taking the initiative steps to follow their treasons ple; and though the "Star of the West," rand of mercy to the starving garrison at Fort Sum-ter, had been ignominiously driven by shot and shell from the harbor of Charleston, and numerous forts, arsenals, custom-houses, post-offices, &c., &., had been treacherously seized by them; yet, in a speech at Steubenville, Ohio, Mr. Lincoln had the fatuity to de-

"I believe the devotion to the Constitution is equal y great on both sides of the river. It is only the lifterent understanding of that instrument that cause the difficulty.

Again, at Pittsburg, Pa., he ignored the n and palpable relation of slavery to the rebellion saying

"Notwithstanding the troubles across the river, (pointing southwardly across the Monongahela, and smiling.) there is no crisis but an artificial one (!)—If the great American people only keep their temper, on both sides of the lines, the troubles will come to an end, and, just as the clouds have cleared away in due time, so will this great nation continue to prosper as heretofore."

Whereas it was an explosion as canic shower of stones and lava-the irrepressible or flict between the forces of freedom and oppression— the inevitable falling of the house because it was divided against itself. It was not a question of temper at all, but of principle—of eternal justice, the rights of human nature, and the sovereignty of God. No peace or prespectly could be predicated of such "covenant with death," but only the "laying up o wrath against the day of wrath." to the ultimate over

At Gereland Ar. Inflow, referring to the save holding lords of the South, said.—'Have they not all their rights now that they ever had? Do they not have their fuglitive slaves returned now as ever.' By 'rights' he meant complete dominion over their as ble victims to deal with them as with cattle and swine; and by his reference to the rendition of fur tive slaves, he indicated no purpose or wish to have in otherwise. Yet, when he reached Philadelphia, ad-dressing the citizens assembled in the old Independ-ence Hall, with singular inconsistency he said—

ence Hall, with singular inconsistency he said—
"All my political warfare has been in favor of the
teachings that came forth from these sacred walls,
within which the Declaration of Independence was
adopted. May my right hand forget its cunning, and
my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if ever i
prove false to those feachings!

If this cohing continuous continuous may be a continuous and
if it cannot be saved upon the principle of the Declaration of Independence, it will be truly awal. But
if it cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assessinated
on this spot than surrender it."

on this spot than surrender it."

Solemn and affecting declaration 1 Yet, six month
later, in a letter to Horace Greeley, Mr. Lincoln aba

later, in a letter to Horace Greeley, Mr. Luncon abandoned this ground by saying—

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if

could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, would also do that. My paramount object is to save e Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery."

Surely, such declarations are not only paradoxica Surely, such declarations are not only paradoxical but utterly irreconcileable. For, in saving the Union with four millions of bondmen still to clank their galling fetters and to pierce the ear of the Lord of sab-ach with their cries, what would it still be but "a house divided sgainst itself," the overthrow of which would be as sure as the law of gravitation? And what would such salvation prove in the end but utter destruction? Three weeks after this letter was written, on th

13th of September, 1862, Mr. Lincoln gave formal audience to a deputation from all the religious denom-inations of the city of Chicago which had been ap on him, and frankly said to th I admit that slavery is at the root of the rebellion or at least its sine qua non. The ambition of politi-cians may have instignted them to act, but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instru-ment." He also admitted that to the issuing, at that time, of an emancipation proclamation, he raised no objections on legal or constitutional grounds; and, more over, that such a proclamation would help us in E and somewhat at the North. Yet-strange de strike at that which confessedly caused the rebell and constituted its vitality; first, because he feared it would be inoperative, "like the Pope's bull against the comet"; next, because it might precipitate the secession of the Border States; next, because it wou difficult to know what to do with the emancipal ed; and, finally, because he could not see " what sible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation." Nevertheless, only nine days after a proclamation." Revertieres, only into a wards, he issued a proclamation, in which, after giving the rebellious States a hundred days' grace in the remained by pardoned, so which to lay down their arms and be par that they could still hold their slaves securely as b er the Constitution, he threatened them, if ot succumb within the time specified, that he would liberate all their slaves—a threat duly exe cuted on the 1st of January, 1863.

Still confused and without a fixed policy, in his an inal message to Congress only one month prior to the ime solemnly decreed by him for the abolition of sla very in the eleven Confederate States, he recon ed to Congress an amendment of the Constitu on, to the effect that every State, loyal or disloys wherein slavery then existed, which sh the same therein before the year 1900, (!) should re eive due compensation; but, in case any State should reintroduce or tolerate slavery therein, a ing compensated, it should refund to the United States bonds so received, and all interest paid thereon Here was an indefinite lease of life given to that aw-ful system, "without which," to borrow the President's language, "the rebellion could never have ex-isted, and without which it could not continue"; nanifestly evincing a most bewildered state of mind on the part of Mr. Lincoln. There was no need of amendment-to say nothing of the impract ability of its adoption—for he had openly admitted freedom to at least three-fourths of the entire slav population. It is difficult to account for such incohrency of reasoning and antagonism of measures

On the 12th of July, in an interview wi nembers of Congress from the Border States, Mr ought them to "consent to substantial ich was sure to be lost in any other event," and added-

"I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large

Two things are here noteworthy: first, that Mr Lincoln did not recognize the right of the oppressed to immediate freedom, and he thus seemingly sand mmediate freedom, and the similar period ded their enslavement for an indefinite period transportation to South America, partly for the absurd that there they would find abundance of room or, inferentially, if they remained, very close quarter here! As if in a state of freedom they would not be able to find easy accommodation in this their native land, which is capable of receiving the population of the globe! And as if they would not all be as much needed to cultivate the soil as ever !

So infested was the mind of Mr. Lincoln with the idea of the desirableness of colonizing the colored population abroad, that it was in consequence of his urgent solicitations Congress, at its session of 1862, good, and shall loathe yourselves in your own sight esed an act placing at his disposal the sum of 8600. 000, to be expended at his discretion in removing, with their own consent, free persons of African descent to some country which they might select as adapted to their condition and circumstances. And this unwarle appropriation was made at a time when the na tional war debt was accumulating at the rate of five hundred millions of dollars a year!

Mr. Lincoln's interview at the White House with a their views on the subject and to state to them hi own, while it was unquestionably well-intended, was equally indicrous and humiliating. It is impossible to read what he said to the deputation, by way of enticeread what he said to the deputation, by way of entice-ment, without losing all gravity of countenance. It seems like a blistering satire upon the scheme proposed, rather than a serious argument in its support But the single disastrous experiment made by th President, soon afterwards, in colonizing a few hun dreds within the Haytien dominion, sufficed to break the spell that bound him, and he abandoned the project entirely. Ascertaining that these emigrants had been cruelly deceived, and were in a suffering condition, by no fault of theirs, the President lost no time in sending a vessel to give them succor and bring them back to their native country. Thus proving that he was actuated by humane, however mistaken 'views, and ready to acknowledge his error as soon as he sa

These reminders of the checkered views and efforts. ressive and unqualified panegyric is neither apprecia-tion nor praise. Be this his charitable extenuation no public man ever occupied so trying a position, c had so many conflicting passions, opinions, interests, prejudices and discords, out of which to bring liberty triumphant. The work to be done, in order to restore peace and save the republic, was the total abolition of slavery. But at the time of Mr. Lincoln's inaugura-tion in 1801, how many, outside of the small band of Abolitionists, saw or were willing to admit that slavery and the rebellion were simply cause and effect, and, therefore, no quarter must be given to the former if the government would see confederate treason over-thrown? What encouragement did the President find in the prevailing sentiment of the North—ay, even of his own party—to warrant him in going then, or at any subsequent period, one step faster than he did in the way of emancipation? Not that he was a trimmer or timidly disposed, or unwilling to assume grave responsibilities or perform unpleasant duties with alacri ty; but only that he was largely endowed with sense to perceive that no decree of his, if either far in ad-vance or hotly in defiance of rus PROPLE'S WILL, could avail anything; especially in such a feverish state of things, when the very elements were melting with fervent heat. He knew that though in the Elecwith fervent heat. He knew that though in the Elec-toral College he received 180 votes, Breckinridge 72, Bell 30, and Douglas 12, yet at the polls he only re-ceived 1,857,510 votes; Douglas 1,285,976; Breckin-ridge 847,953; and Bell 590,531. Making an aggre-gate of the political forces arrayed against him of 2,804,560, and leaving him in a popular minority of 946,390, whose party leanings were entirely with the South. Was that to be strongly coirrenched? Was 2,804,800, and leaving him in apopular minority of several-as was said three thousand years ago, so it shouth. Was that to be strongly entrenched? Was that a working power in such a crisis? Was it not a result to make the boldest pause, and the most imperience of the critical for dellar, blood for blood, torture for result to make the boldest pause, and the most imperience of the critical for dellar, blood for blood, torture for result to make the boldest pause, and the most imperience of the critical for dellar, blood for blood, torture for result to make the boldest pause, and there thousand years ago, so it works and three thousand years ago, so it works are the second of the properties of the properti

be that no man ever did so large a business on so small a capital in the service of freedom and humanity aham Lincoln

to his inauguration, and terminating on the March, 1861:-

March, 1861:—

"Be It received by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring.) That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when the valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said constitution, namely:

ARTICLE 12. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will suthorize or give to Congress the power to aboulsh or interfere, withits any State," with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State."

This humiliating and iniquitous resolution was adopted in the House of Representatives, then largely Republican, by the strong vote of 183 to 65—more than two-thirds in its favor! It was also adopted in

the Senate by a two-thirds vote—24 to 12.

Less than three weeks before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, in the Peace Conference of the several States
assembled at Washinston, it was world 10 to 31 Bhodassembled at Washinston, it was world 10 to 31 Bhodassembled at Washington, it was voted, (9 to 8) Rhode Island in the affirmative—" When any territory north or south of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty or south of the parallel of thirty-ax degrees and unity minutes, within such boundary as Congress may pre-scribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall be admitted into the Union on an equal, footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude as the Constitution of such State may provide." The following

was also adopted [12 to 7]:

"Exertor 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive from labor, in all cases where the marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive was prevented from doing so by violence or intimidation, from mobe or other riotous assemblages, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby deprived of the same; and the acceptance of such payment shall preclude the owner from further claim to such fugitive." Such was the pro-slavery sentiment and purpose of

he country presented to Mr. Lincoln, even by his ow political party, when he entered upon his officia duties, with the Southern confederacy in full opera tion, its corner-stone resting upon the doctrine " that the negro is not equal to the white man; and that sla very, subordination to the white man; and that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition." What here normal condition." What hope was there that the country could be saved?

Even then, however, our noblest bard of freedo

JOHN GREENIESE WHITTIER-could encouragingly sing :-

A bow of promise bends on high and gleams of sunshine, soft and Break through our clouded sky.

East, West, and North, the shout is heard, Of freemen rising for the right: Each valley bath its rallying word— Each hill its signal light.

O'er Massachusetts' rocks of grey The strengthening light of freedom shir Rhode Island's Narraganset Bay, And Vermont's snow-hung pines! From Hudson's frowning palisades To Alleghany's laurelled crest, O'er lakes and prairies, streams and glades, It shines upon the West."

Nevertheless, it was not until eighteen months after the war was declared—eighteen months of hope de-erred, and expectation blasted, and victory indefluite-ty postponed—blood flowing like water, but in vain— that it was deemed safe or expedient to strike a deadly blow at the root of the rebellion, by abolishing slavery throughout the Confederate States. The Emancipe tion Proclamation of January 1, 1863, was the turnin point of the struggle. From that day the doom of Rebeldom was scaled-"the stars in their courses fought against Siscra "—the tide of victory was turned inst the enemy with constantly augmenting power and the nation. rising from its abasement, heard and the nation, rising from its a with trembling and awe a voice from heaven, saying "I will sprinkle clean water-upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. And I will put my spiri within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them. And ye ye shall keep my judgments, and do them. And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you. Then shall ye ren for your iniquities, and for your abou it known unto you; be ashan your own ways, O house of Israel ! In the day that I wastes shall be builded. And the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by. And they shall say, This land that wa ome like the garden of Eden; and the waste, and desolate, and rained cities are become lenced, and are inhabited. I the Lord have spoken it, "Upon this act," said President Lincoln, "sincerely

believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Cor

stitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of erate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God." That favor has since been shown in a marvellous manner, and that judgment pronounce in strains of hosannah. For while " the deep damns ion of his taking off" has powerfully a agination and shocked the sensibilities of Christendom it never would have found such expressions of grie that has sent an electric thrill through the world. Illinois, and will give him immortal historic renown of Mr. Lincoln, in dealing with the terrible question of slavery, are not made to detract aught from his great merits, but solely in the spirit of justice; for exgreat merits and the spirit of justice; for conviction that he was to be an instrument in the hand of God to bring about great and glorious endsto feel strong in his purpose to make no compron with the dark spirit of slavery. His own solen repeated pledge is the sublimest inscription that can be chiselled upon his monument or affixed to his statue—'I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Entancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that Proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an Executive duty to re-enslave such persons, an It an executive duty to recensave such persons, and other, and not I, must be the instrument to perform it. His last official utterance, tob, on this subject, in his grandly phenomenal inaugural address on the 4th of March last, is worthy to be written in starry letter of March last, is worthy to be written in starry letters upon the sky;—"If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the Providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time. He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern there is any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we have ferzenity do we have ferzenity do we have that this mighty in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, ferveatly do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondmen in two hupdred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword—as was said three thousand years ago, so it will must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and interest.

"We hoped for peace: our eyes surrey
The bloed-red dawn of Freedom's day
We prayed for love to loose the chain.
'Tis shorn by battle's axe in twain'

Nor skill nor strength nor real of our liss mined and heared the hostile town Not by our hands is turned the key That sets the sighing captives free.

A redder sea than Egypt's ware Is piled and parted for the slave; A darker cloud moves on in light, A fiercer fire is guide by night!"

Let us adore the justice of God, eren in Let us adore the justice of God, even in our in militation and bereavement, and prelically using that we richly deserve whatever chattlends in have received at his hands. Hitherto, with them, aloned nonulation, our lips have select have received as his binder. Intherto, with remain to our colored population, our lips have seek as and our tongues have muttered perference; a have conceived mischief, and brought forth integer our feet have run to evil, and we have much lines; shed innocent blood; we have groped for the rail like the blind, and stumbled at noon-day is in night; we have spoken oppression and make like the bind, and stumbed at noon-us as is in night; we have spoken oppression and revol, and night; we have spoken oppression and from all there has been no judgment in our goings. On our ways has a righteons God reer

eads.
Where, now, is that satanic Slave Power when Where, now, is that sensure ourse rower vide sought to exalt itself "above all that is called 60!".

Its sceptre is broken, its throne in the dam, here Its sceptre is broated, itself buried in the grave of carnel infamy. Where are the haughty and defi infamy. Where are the naugaly and defant leads of the rebellion? Some are under the tol; other us outlaws and wanderers in foreign clines, shazed is lepers, and carrying the brand of Cain agen this lenlepers, and carrying the orand of this age their len-heads; while others are incarcerated as kloss, brian and assassins, "gnawing their tongues for pin," as and assassing, guardina dom pronounced. The chief of them all—chief in dissimulation are cast, in infernal pride and ambition, in guilt and bertan official station and authority-Jefferson Davis, is in official stated and authority were partial occupying a felon's cell within the strong wils of Fortress Monroe, and trembling for his fate. Whatthat Fortress Monroe, and trembling for his fate. What the fate deserves to be, the colossal crimes of which he has been guilty by the laws of God and by the laws of the land leave no room for doods. It is, be hanged by the neck, on a gallows higher than liber hanged by the neck, on a gallows higher than liber hanged. The first his contained to the latter hand to be contained to the latter hand to be contained to the latter hands of the latter han im be capitally executed, or else let the nation for ever abolish the gallows. Certainly, there is but on thing likely to save him from this ignominion in: and that is his crinoline, and pitiful disguie us por ld woman, running for life in milit old woman, running or me in mutary some. This is the acme of the ludicrous—tragedy, conclusing farce commingled—a thousand steps from the saling to the ridiculous. It may be difficult to hing the poor wretch who is exciting the derision of the world and extorting the guffaw of the universe!

Where is the great and formidable rebellion! lists

s come-broken in pieces like a potter's ver lapsed like a bubble. Grant and She man, and Sher lan, and Thomas have swept through the greenadin South with their victorious "mudsills," irresultes fate, and with the besom of destruction; and Farner, and Porter, and Dupont, and Gillmore have captured all her ports, and reduced all her fortifications by the sea. The star-spangled banner waves victorious from every flag-staff from Maine to Texas, from t Lakes to California. Grant announces the bloody on-fliet closed in favor of Liberty and Right; Sherma has taken farewell of his gallant veteran soldien; mi the Government is sending home, by hundreds thousands, its brave defenders, covered with the sucke and dust of a hundred battle-fields, marked with mar a scar and gaping wound, but crowned with the la-rels of fame—sending them to homes long darked by anxiety and sadness, but now made radiant with hope and vocal with joy. Now, therefore, may the inspiring strain be sung by the shore of the recording Atlantic, and echoed back in thunder-tones from beyond the Rocky Mountains—

6 Hail to the land whereon we tread-Our fondest beart!

The repulcher of mighty dead,
The truest bearts that ever bled,
Who sleep on Glory's brightest bed—
A fearless host:
No slavk is here—our unchained feet
Walk freely as the waves that beat
Our coast."

How strong, now, are our national foundations Through suffering and triumph, through the rable-ing of all chains and the liberation of all the approach our country enters upon a career of property all glory.—if faithful to all the requirements of judic towards all its intuitions.—that shall preliminate in owards all its inhabitants,-that shall culminate in towards all its inhabitants,—that shall culminar a overturning, by the majesty of its greatnes solds aplendor of its example, all the despoisar of he globe, and leading all nations up to the temple of herry and peace. But there must be no compressed the self-evident truths of our Declaration of leftpendence; otherwise there shall again fall apon u the vials of divine retribution. The government must by all, for all, and over all. There must be no conor uy aii, ior ali, and over all. There must be no emplexional proscription, North or South, East or Web, but perfect equality before the law, at the ballother, and in all that pertains to citizenship. We must none people, though made up of all nations—

" Diverse as the billows, yet one as the sea -

with universal enlightenment, perfect toleration, and

with universal enlightenment, perfect tolertion, and our banner flung to the breeze, bearing the glorest motto, of "Liberty, Equality, Fratestittens Brothernood, and God, the Father of each 'Though blavery is forever abolished by the fairly Heaven, and the voice of the people through the amendment of their Constitution, yet the spirit districts the constitution of the property remains around a boyer for eth, is very remains, greatly shorn of fis power for true, but still potent for mischief, and ready to pertrue, but still potent for mischief, and ready perecute and proscribe in every possible manner to
former victims of its cruelly. That demon spir
must be cast out, and allowed no position or powr is
Church for State. The Government must go to the
extreme verge of its constitutional power to inserto the colored population of the South the common
rights and immunities of citizenship. Let there be
no based either in the reconstruction or the readmission. o haste either in the reconstruction of the readmission if the late rebellious States. It is gravest importance, wholly anomalous in our national history, without precedent in the past, and to be with tled with extreme circumspection and communic wisdom, on the basis of universal justice; else it shall have blo islation, anarchy in place of law and

stant complexional feuds.

Peace be to the ashes and honor to the Abraham Lincoln, the martyred President of the listed States! He has died that his county might fer. ted States! He has died that his country migraFrom the lowest obscurity he has rised to a subseallittede in the service of Freedom and Humari.
All nations and peoples shall do homage to his rires
and applied his crowning deeds. No more finitribute can be paid to his character than that before
by an English poet in the following felicious sol
graphic lines:—

"So he grew up, a destined work to de, And lived to do it: four long-sufferin, IB-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived thro And then he heard the hisser changed

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,

And took both with the same unwarering.

Till, as he came on light, from darkling days.

And seemed to touch the goal from where he s

A folon hand, between the goal and him, Reached from behind his back, a trigst re And those perplexed and patient cyle were dia. Those gaunt, long-taboring limbs were laid in

The words of merey were upon his lips.
Forgiveness in his heart and en his pen.
When this wile murderer brought swile eache.
To thoughts of peace on earth, good-sill is gi

The Old World and the New, from sas to set,
Utter one voice of sympathy and share.
Sore heart, no stopped when it at last beat free,
Sad life, out short just as its triumph case. A deed accurst! Strokes have been strok held.

By the assamin's hand, wherefore deed deel.

If more of horer or disgrace they here;

But they foul orime, like Chin's, stands dirthy out.

Vile hand, that brandes murder on a strik.
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and bearejrs,
And with the martyr's grown growness if,
With much to praise, little to be forging.