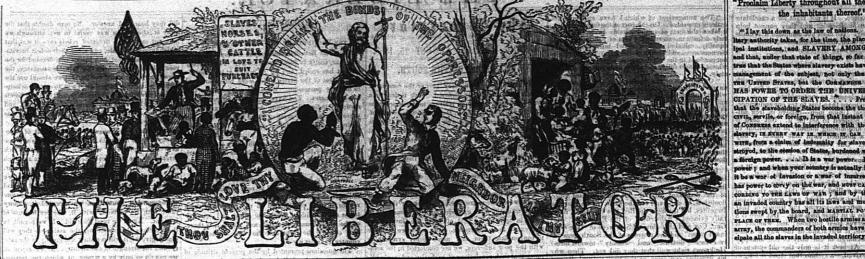
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WE LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printer

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

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

VOL. XXXV. NO. 34.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1865. WHOLE NO. 1803.

# Selections.

# SUFFRAGE IN FREE STATES.

MAINE,

Constitution adopted October 29th, 1819 the ballot to every maje citizen of the Online of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, sing paupers, persons under guardianship and as not taxed, having resided in the State three he. But persons in the military, naval, or se service, quartered in the State, and students ting a sentiagry of learning, do not acquire a snee thereby. (Includes negroes.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE,

NEW HAMSHIER,
Constitution, adopted 1792, gives the ballot
ry male inhabitant." of twenty-one years,
paupers and persons excused from paying
their own request. Freehold property quala were formerly required for office-holders,
se are abolished. New Hampsbire\*never
I colored men from voting or holding office.
VERMONT. VERMONT,

h sabolished slavery by her Constitution, sted July 4th, 1793, declared in her Bill of its that "all freemen, having sufficient evidence common interest with an attachment to the comhave a right to elect officers and be electe nit, have a right to elect officers and be elected office." By article 21, "every man" twenty-years of age, who has resided one year in the fe, who behaves himself quietly and peaceably, who will take an oath to vote "so as in your science you shall judge will most conduce to the good" of the State, may vote. In Verniont, refore, "a white man is as good as a negro, if he ares himself as well"—not otherwise.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

persons who shall be sixty years of at the time this amendment shall ffect." Massachusetts, therefore, never ex-any man from voting on account of color.

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RHODE ISLAND, Constitution of 1842, gives the right of suf-

State, six months in the town, owning real lite worth \$134, or renting for \$7 per annum. To every native male citizen of full age, years in the State, six months in the town, who lay registered, who has paid \$1 tax, or done distributed in the state, six months in the town, who lay registered, who has paid \$1 tax, or done distributed in the state within the year. Hence in Rhode and a native negro votes without a property qualitien, while a foreign-born white citizen cannot.

# CONNECTICUT

connecticut to all persons, white or black, who emen at the adoption of her Constitution, and subsequently to "every white male cities United States," of full age, resident six a the town, and owning a freehold of the ralue of \$7, or who shall have performed uty, paid a State tax, and sustained a good arracter within the year. This was amend 435 by striking out the property and tax-qualifications, and fixing the residence at in the State and six months in the long those negroes have voted in Connecturere admitted freemen prior to 1818.

s to the suffrage "every male citizen," of full who shall have been ten days a citizen, one in the State, four months in the county, and days in the district. But no man of color

by her Constitution of 1847, gives the vote to "every white male citizen" of full age residing one year in the State, and "every white male inhabitant" who was a resident of the State at the adoption of this Constitution. Like provisions to those of Indiana exist here relative to soldiers, seamen, marines, and persons in the service of the United States.

MISSOURI. by her recent Free-State Constitution, excludes from voting.

MICHIGAN,

by her Constitution adopted 1850, gives the ballot to every white male citizen, to every white male inhabitant residing in the State June 24, 1865, and to every white male inhabitant residing in the State Jan, 1, 1850, who has declared his intentions, &c., or who has resided two and a half years in the State
and declared his intentions, and to every civilized
male Indian inhabitant not a member of any tribe.
But no person shall vote unless of full age, and a
resident three months in the State and ten days in
the town. Like provisions as to persons in military

Every "white male citizen" of the United States, of full age, resident six months in the State, sixty days in the county (with like exceptions of persons in military or naval service, idiots, insane persons and criminals).

WISCONSIN.

Every male person of full age, resident one year in the State, and being either,—1. A white citizen of the United States; 2. A white alien who has declared his intentions; 3. A person of Indian blood who has onee been declared a citizen by act of Congress; 4. Civilized persons of Indian descent not members of any tribe. (With like exceptions of felons, insane persons, and soldiers, &c., stationed in the State.)

Every white male citizen of the United States (or of Mexico who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States under treaty of Queretaro) of full age, resident six months in the State and thirty days in the district. The legislature has power to extend the right to Indians and their descendants. (Like sundry provisions as above.)

MINNESOTA.

Every male person of full age, resident one year the United States and four months in the State, in the United States and four months in the State, and being either.—1. A white citizen of the United States; 2. A white alien who have declared his intentions; 3. Civilized persons of mixed white and Indian blood; 4. Civilized Indians certified by a district court to be fit for citizenship. (Like sundry provisions as above.)

# OREGON

Every white male citizen of full age, six month a resident in the State, and every white male alien of full age, resident in the United States one year who has declared his intentions, may vote, but "no negro, Chinaman, or mulatto."

KANSAS gives the ballot to every white male adult, resident six months in the State and thirty days in the town who is either a citizen or has delared his intentions

WEST VIRGINIA.

Every white male citizen (except minors, lunatics and felous), resident one year in the State and
thirty days in the county. WEST VIRGINIA.

thirty days in the county.

The results sum up thus: Of the twenty-one free States enumerated, eight permit negro suffrage to a greater or less extent. These are the New England States, New York and Ohio. Of the remainder, two—New Jersey and Pennsylvania—are strongly "Democratic," and the rest framed their constitutions and applied for admission at a time when slavery ruled Congress and the nation. Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas and Illinois (seven) admit as voters those not yet citizens; and beside the New England States, four—to wit: Michigan, Wisconsin, California and Minnesota—provide for voting by Indians. One (Massachusette) excludes the ignorant, and one (Oregon) excludes Chinamen.—Chicago Tribune.

# ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS.

The best nearly received from Energy (and phase). The perfold was a fine most in the present of the contract o

one year in the United States and six months preceding the election in the State, and who has declared his intentions to become a citizen. No soldier or marine shall acquire a vote by being quartered in the State, nor shall any person lose his yote by absence in the service of the State or by absence in the service of the State or by absence in the service of the State or by absence in the service of the State or by absence in the service of the State or by absence in the service of the State or by a special property of the State or by a special property of the State or by a special property of the four English companies established for carrying on the African's Slave trade. Some Queen Elizabeth shared profits with the first part who engaged in it; while the last two of the mal Stuart monarchy, (Charles II. and James II.) wer members of one of the four English companies estat lished for carrying on the African Slave trade. Som

lished for carrying on the African Slave trade. Some of the colonies remonstrated against it, but it was supported by England. The first abolition movement was made about the time when the Declaration of Independence was drawn up and signed. Our Continental Congress resolved, in 1776, that the importation of slaves should cease: but in 1788, this was taken back, and the year 1808 fixed as the period when it must terminate. We need not here repeat the particulars of the battle which has been carried on among ourselves, during the last fifty years, to abolish slavery—which was finally done during the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln. It may not be without interest, however, to give the dates of its abolition elsewhere.

The first sten in the Rebish Decided in the support of the control of the sten of the ste

its abolition elsewhere.

The first step in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was taken in 1788, when a petition, signed by Quakers, was presented. Pit and Fox, the great political rivals, soon joined the abolition movement. Effort after effort, succeeding a petition, signed by Quakers, was presented. Tit, and Fox, the great political rivals, soon joined the abolition movement. Effort after effort, succeeding in one House and failing in the other, was almost annually made. At last, when Fox was last in office, in 1806, the Government brought on abolition as their own measure, and it was passed, in 1807, after the death of Fox. Still, this only abolished the slave trade. Steps were then taken, the movement being still headed by Wilberforce and Clarkson, to mitigate and abolish Slavery itself; and, in 1833, this was done, by act of Parliament, \$100,000,000 being paid as compensation to the slave-sowners, out of the public treasury. This emancipation virtually took place on August 1, 1834. France, which was interested in the slave-trade, abolished it in 1791, but Napoleon restored it, and again abolished it in 1815; it was recinated by Louis XVIII. in that same year, but wholly ceased in 1820. The property in slaves in the French colonies was abolished eit in 1846, it was reinacted by Louis XVIII. in that same year, but wholly ceased in 1820. The property in slaves in the French colonies was abolished in 1818; in Sweden, in 1846-7; in Denmark, in 1848; in Holland, in 1860. Spain promised, in 1814, that she would abolish slavery in 1820. She kept her word as badly as Brazil, which passed a law against it in 1826, but still continues it. Portugal, which had not given any pledge upon the subject, now volunteers, using her King as the medium for announcing it, that the accurred system shall cease, forever, under her flag.

"Spain and Brazil, therefore, are the only contries claiming to be civilized, which continue legal protection to "property" in human flesh and blood, by their citizens held in bondage. It is impossible that this can continue much longer. The rulers of these countries are professedly Christians, and holding kidnapped human beings in perpetual and oftentimes most cruel slavery is not to be reconciled—whatever Bishop Hopkins may pretend—with the mild ten

it is now stated that Spain and Brazil have resolv to abolish slavery.—Philadelphia Press.

# STATE OF THINGS "DOWN SOUTH."

NORTH CAROLINA, July 18th, 1865. North Carolina, July 18th, 1865.

Probably some of your readers would like to hea from the "down-South" country. It is a land if which your people felt an interest in times past and much more so now, since it is understood the dark pall of slavery is about to be rolled away from its far and sunny face forever. But I fear unless more decisive and energetic measures are adopted by the Government to carry out in good faith the intentions of the deceased President, and of the

ceeded in keeping their black people away altogether from the thurch. Now all this is done in a country which is supposed to be free, and where the bayonets of the United States, which have freed the coloned man, are almost within halling distance. These great coercive agents are now powerless, since the State has been handed over to the civil authorities, who are composed of slave-owners. The result is just what would be expected. The black man is left to the tender mercies of those who have no sympathy for his condition. Is this state of things to continue? If so, it would be the greatest mercy on the part of the National Government to order at once all the freedmen of the South back into slavery. By these means the blacks would have, at all events, the protection of the masters property interest in their persons, which would insure them kind treatment, and comfortable houses to live in.

sure' them kind treatment, and comfortable houses to live in.

What can be done for these people? your readers may ask. I reply, make them "free indeed!" Let the lever of the ballot-box be at once put into the hand of the freed African. Make him feel that he is truly a man, and an American clitzen, if you intend him to be free in the sense in which Abraham Lincoln, and the people of the United States, intended he should be. To avoid future difficulties that are every day becoming more imminent and threatening, and which may at any time aweep away the entire fabric of society in the South—let this question be solved. Now is the time to settle forever the political status of the negro, and so secure his freedom, and the permanency of the Union of these States.

Not many weeks ago, during a sojourn of a few days in your State, I opposed, with all my might, the extension of suffrage to the negro; but, since my return home, and observing calmly the practical workings of the quasi-freedom which the armies of the United States have secured to the blacks, I am convinced that, without endowing them with all the

the United States have secured to the blacks, I am convinced that, without endowing them with all the rights and privileges which belong to the white American citizen, the whole thing is a farce. The argument usually employed against giving the black man the privilege of voting is, that he is not sufficiently intelligent for so great and impor-tant a trust. But when will be become sufficiently intelligent when his former masters oncose every tant a trust. But when will be become summen, intelligent, when his former masters oppose every effort which is made to supply him with the necessary amount of that intelligence? The thing is simply absurd, and the slaveholders know it.

Veritas.

-Corr. Pittsburgh Presbyterian Banner.

# AFRICAN PEONAGE.

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press:

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press:

Sin: It is not enough that the Southern States should agree to no slavery in its old forms. The shrewdest of their slave-owners have long been anxious to give that up for another, (and worse,) more profitable to the planter.

They have long since seen that he who was compelled to feed, clothe, nurse, and doctor all those who are too young, too feeble, too sick, and too old to work, as well as the laborers themselves, was paying a round price for his labor done, and have been anxious to exchange it for allother system, free from these heavy drawbacks.

It is a fact that no country but one of limitless fertility, whose products are of world-wide demand and limited growth, can support, the slave system, unless it be in breeding regions. The extreme Southern States have been able to get rich undersuch a system; but it was only because of their great fertility and peculiar products; and they have not been slow to see that there might be another far more advantageous to their interests adopted by

them.

But they hesitated in its adoption because the reprobation of the world would have fallen upon them with crushing effect. But now this old plot is being revived, and the Southern leaders look upon this as a propitious time to lay the foundations of its eventual adoption. They think the work half done already to their hands; and so it is, upless guarded against.

work half done arready to their damps, and we re-unless guarded against.

The plot now is, if compelled to do so, to ac-knowledge involuntary servitude ended—alavery dead—but to keep the old slave material still in ignorance and degradation, as timber for the new

But what is the antidote? Simply this. Let n

State return until its slave code is abolished, the Constitutional amendment agreed to, and its own Constitution altered, forever discarding all species of peopage, and securing an education to all classes, both white and black; and containing a provision against any change in these respects for twenty years to come. By that time, the negro being both free and educated can take care of his own interests.

GLOVER.

## COX AND THE NEGROES.

Gen. Cox, the Union candidate for Governor Gen. Cox, the Union candidate for Governor oo Ohio, has elicited the applause of the democracy by the expression of the opinion that the whites and blacks of the South cannot live peacefully together Atthough the opinion contradicts the previous no tions of the democrats and of pro-slavery men, bott North and South, all these accept it as sound with cordial approbation. Now, one of two things must be true: Either these men have been utterly wron, in what they have asserted of the negroes hitherto

the white men of that State had perished. Th the white men of that State had persen proportion of loss in the other States is not smaller. Restoration and material growt upon the restoration of this vitality. therefore, be an act of superlative folly to the black laborers from the Southern S

Gen. Cox has fallen into the con the past four years, have brought him in pecontact with the people of the South, he is

We might go even farther than the Tribe

given us no trouble. It is not right for a candidate to thus burden his friends; and they cannot help feeling it keenly. He must not complain if it chills their ardor and quenches the esthesiasm with which the election might have been carried in the strong anti-davery, which are also the strong Union districts. Next to the worst thing in politics is the offering of a seminar for your seasons for the strong the stro

prospect of carrying through the campage, in anything but pleasant to contemplate.

But we have more than this to try our endurance. We—the radical Union men—believe in free suffrage, and are pledged to act for it. But here is our candidate announcing himself in opposition to it, except in a modified form that makes it anything but free. Our votes for him are therefore liable to be counted against our principles. The authority of our leading candidate—whatever his motives, or fairness, or impartiality may be—will be quoted against free suffrage by all who incline to the pro-davery side. Already the entire conservative interest has rallied around this new theory of his. At first they were silent, and carrely dared to oppose free suffrage, leaving the friends of that idea to promote it in their own way. But here is a scheme that serves their purpose; and whether it succeeds or fails, it will stand in the way of a just and faithful discharge of our duty to the unhappy colored race. At best it is only the old system of colonization revived,—a system that stoods olong in the way of Emancipation. It will case the concolonization revived.—a system lit will ease the con-sciences of all who rather prefer not to do the negro justice, while it will nurture and cherish the fiendish justice, while it will nurture and chersh the member prejudice against the negro, on which slavery builds all its excuses, and is our standing disgrace before God and man. It will stand in the ray of the progress to which we are pledged as a nation preventing, as far as its effects extend, the full work

of emancipation.

But to the plan itself: its author betrays his own doubt of its practicability by showing how it might work, in a contingency which he imagines. As to its justice, we trust he will never assert that. By quotations from bistory, and the known antagonism between the negro and his oppressors, and a supposed incompatibility of the races, he attempts to prove a necessity for giving the negro his rights in a modified degree, instead of fully, as they were promised him when we asked him to help us in this war. The tyrant's plea of necessity is the argument upon which this theory rests; and this argument is supported by mis-read history, and the known parpose of every unjust man in the nation to deprive the negro should have his rights "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," where he was born—where God placed him. We promised him that, in the Emancipation Proclamation; he has fought for it, and assisted us in our battles. Shall we, because the wicked and unjust object, and threaten to wrong him, tell him that we will not stand by him till he surrenders his birthright, and agrees to some Utopian experiment of ours, in which he may lose his all?

Then, however speciously Gen. Cox may have But to the plan itself: its author betrays his own

Then, however speciously Gen. Cox may have gilded his project with the philosophy of history, and dazzled himself with the false light he has felicted, it is only a duty to tell him that the men of this "benighted region" see it very differently; and while they may give him their votes as the Union mominee, they uterly repudiate his plan of negro colonization, and solembly protest against their votes for him being counted as evidence of any lack of confidence with them, in the doctrine that the consent of the government is the government. lack of connectice with their in the describe class the consent of the government its just power over them; and that the fact that a man has been oppressed, and that others design to oppress him, is only the stronger reason why he should have a voice in saying how he should be

oppress him, is only the stronger reason why the should be governed.

Were Gen. Cox a candidate for Congress in this district, he would have found a call for a new convention staring him in the face before this time; and whatever personal respect the people might yield him, he would not get their votes. The right to his opinion and the free expression thereof is unquestioned, and will always be freely yielded by this people; but as Union men we complain that this issue and the necessity of protesting against a false position have been forced upon us. We must make this protest, or reject the candidate. All things considered, we prefer to do the former. When our County and District conventions meet, the people, by their delegates, will be very apt to express themselves on this subject so as not to be misunderstood, and in a manner that will show Mr. Cox that he could not represent us in the Legislature; while we think it doubtful if he could so represent any County in the Congressional District.

The General tells us that he treats this subject as an anti-slavery man. Could he see himsell in this new position, we think the vision might not flatter him. Could he see, a regiment of Copperheads gloating over his letter with the malignant delight is affords them; every man that "hates a nigger" rising in admiration; every fellow of the baser sort, who stands ready to mob the blacks because they are delenceless, hailing it as something just into his hand; while fossilized conservatism exclaims—/

w much older art thou than thy looks !"

nd every interest, except the anti-slavery, clustering around his plan—be would surely doubt his nii-slavery sentiment, or fear that it had forsaker ing around sentiment and should ren andi-alavery sentiment, or fear that it had torsaken him. He should remember that great wrongs are not to be conquered by performing small ones in their stead. The rebellion was not put down by yielding to secession; and the spirit of Slavery is not to be driven from among as by yielding to the prejudice against the blacks, and oppressing them till they take shelter in the surrender of their Godgiven rights.—Ashtabula Sentinet.

Gen. Jacob D. Cox, Union candidate for Gover-nor of Chio, was lately asked, by a most respecta-ble committee of citizens of Oberlin, to answe-these exportant questions:

1. Are you in favor of modifying our Constitution so as to give the Elective Franchise to colore

Men 3 2. "In the re-organization of the Southern States aboutd the Elective Franchise be secured to the Colored People 1"

ored People's"
To these questions, Gen. Cox returns a decided negative, in a long and not very courteous letter. Were this a partisan journal, it would probably follow the course usually prescribed to the class. and keep silence with regard to any uttorances of representative mean of its party which it cannot approve; but, being in nature as well as name The Independent, we. deem it incumbent on us to re-

The first of these which deset forth by him as follows:

"You, judging from this distance, say, 'Deliver the four millions of freed people into the hands of their former oppressors, now embittered by their defeat, and they will make their condition worse than before, I, starting from the same principles, and after four years of close and thoughful observation of the races where they are, say I am unwillingly forced to the conviction that the effect of the war has not been simply to 'embitter' their relations, but to develop a rooted sattagonism, which makes their permanent usion in one political community an absolute 'impossibility.' The sole difference between us, then, is in the degree of hostility we find existing between the races, and its probable permanence. You assume that the extension of the Right of Suffrage to, the blacks, leaving them intermixed with the whites, will cure all the trouble. I believe that it would rather be like the decisions in that outer darkness of which Milton speaks, where

"Chao umpire its,

And by decision more embroits the firy."

And by decision more embroils the fray."

Gen. Cox's assumption of superior facilities for forming a correct judgment is unfounded. The eithers of Oberlin are quite as well acquainted with the negro character as he is. For more than awanty pears their village has been a refuge from the slave-hunter, and their honored seminary has proferred all its advantages to seekers of learning and knowledge, regardless of color. Those citizens have, therefore, been constantly familiar with negroes in their lowest and rudest estate—that of "field hands" just escaped from bitter beedage—and with that more fortunate class who have long esough enjoyed the blessings of freedom to have developed an earness desire to supplement them with those of selucation. If whites must, necessarily evince, in greater or less degree, "hostility" to free blacks, Oberlin must be quite as well aware of that hideous fact as Gen. Cox. If his judgment in the premises is of more worth than hers, it must be so by reason of his exalted wisdom, not of his peculiar experience, nor of his special opportunities. Gree. Ook gives his idea a fuller expression in the following passage.

"The antagonism of which I have spoken is not entirely one-sided. On the part of the former master, it takes the form of an indomitable pride, which ut-terly refuses to entertain the idea of political or social equality, mingled with a hatred intensified by the circumstances and results of the war. This feeling is not confined to the slave-owners alone, but the por whites share it fully, and often show it more passion-siely.

Is this fair? Is it true? Did Gen. Cox, while aversing the South in Sherman's grand march is time tair least true? Did Gen. Cos, while traversing the South in Sherman's grand march, find the blacks always or usually evineing "distrust of the dominant race"? Of the dominant caste, doubtless, he did—and for the same reason that the Israelites, led through the Red Sea by Moses, naturally evineed a "distrust" of the Egyptians. But Gen. Cox and his fellow-solders were of "the dominant race:" did the negroes of the South generally evinee "distrust" and "emmity" toward them? He knows right well that they did not "Them—b. He knows right well that they did not. Then why his juggling confusion of the very natural distrus

his juggling confusion of the very natural of their enslavers, felt by persons just rel war from life-long, bitter bondage, with of, and enmity for, the "race" to which war from life-long, bitter bondage, with distrust of, and enmity for the "race" to which they be-longed—of their liberators as well as their taskmas-ters?

Then consider his abuse of the fact that the ex-Shen consuer in a noise of the fact and the ex-slaves spoke of themselves as a distinct "people." When and where have these poor victims been al-lowed to regard or speak of themselves as a portion of our people? "Give them half a chance to con-sider themselves Americans before you use to their disadvantage the fact so dexterously manipulated

disadvantage the fact so dexterously manipulated by Gen. Cox.

And here let us pause to protest against the undisguised heathenism of Gen. Cox's talk of race hatred "and "repulsion," which he so oracularly pronounces "implacable." Who feels this hatred? Does Gen. Cox? We do not, and never did. Why should we? "Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us?" Does not our Bible teach that God has made us of one blood? That we are redeemed by a common Savior? and destined, if saved at all, to spend an eternity in one common heaven? Has Gen. Cox ever pondered that awful, searching question—"If a man love not his brother, whom he has not seen?" In behalf of our faith and our humanity, we protest against his harsh, pagan, stony-hearted philosophy. It is a shame to Christian;

Christian.

Gen. Cox proposes "a peaceable separation of the races." In what essential does this differ from the "peaceable socession" inaugurated by Ruffin and Jeff. Davis? That was entirely "peaceable," so long as no one saw fit to resist it: so will this be. so long as no one saw fit to resist it: so will this be. But how are you to make room within our country for four millions of blacks, supposing them ready to be "peaceably" colonized? And right well do be "peaceably "colonized? And right well do you know that they will never be "peaceably" ex-pelled from the land fertilized by their sweat, their tears, their blood. The Moors of Spain were not tears, their blood. The Moors of Spain were not half so many not diffused over a tithe of the territory: the exiled Huguenots of France were but a handful in comparison; what did the expulsion of these cost? How did it affect the countries they left? And what does history say of those who expelled them? Has Gen. Cox thought of these things?

It is a sufficient objection to any project that its

is a sufficient objection to any project that its realization is utterly impracticable even of Florida, could not be boug realization is utterly impracticative, aven of Florida, could not be bought out save at an enormous cost; and that State could not readily shelter and subsist half our blacks. And how can be appropriately be induced to shelter and subsist half our blacks. And how can this already heavily taxed country be induced to tax herself doubly to defray the cost of this stupendous transplantation of four millions of people from places where they are needed and useful, to new and distant homes, adapted not to their needs or wishes, but to a supposed exigency of Gen. Cox? The scheme is a sheer, transparent delusion.

We close with a word of warning for all those who are contriving new fetters and new brands for the negro, without consulting the negro himself, or deeming his consent of any moment, which we extract from the philosophic speculations of the calm and sagacious De Tocqueville:

"So long as the negro remains a slave, he may be

"So long as the negro remains a slave, he may be ept in a condition not far removed from that of the kept in a condition not far removed from that of the brutes; but, with his liberty, he cannot but sequire a degree of instruction which will enable him to appreciate his misfortunes, and to discern a remedy for them. Moreover, there exists a singular principle of relative justice, which is firmly implanted in the human heart. Men are much more forcibly struck by those inequalities which exist within the same class, than with those which may be remarked between different classes. One can understand Slavery; but how allow several millions of citizens to exist under a load of eternal infamy and hereditary wretchedness?" New York

Will not the thoughtful consider ?- New York

GENERAL Cox's LETTER. We have read the letter from General Cox with profound regret. It is a mistake in principle and in policy. This, we are persuaded, the General will live to see. The idea of colonizing our people, whether in another land or in this land, is, we would have the General understand, a product of slavery. Nobody proposes to colonize any other class. It is because we have been ensigned; it is because we have been a subject class; it is because the dominant races have for ages been unjustly disposing of our destinies, that such a thing is talked of. Who proposes to send the Germans, or the Irish, or Swedes to some foreign land, or to set off several States for them in this country? Nobody; and why? Simply because they have not been chattels,—have not for centuries been subject to masters. They have been in the habit of disposing of their own destiny; of deciding for themselves where they would live, and pursue their own happiness. This is the reason. They have had no masters to decide this for them. And now, as we have in the good providence of God. GENERAL COX'S LETTER. We have read the And now, as we have in the good providence of God, and by the proclamations of the martyred President, ceased to be a subject class; as we henceforth have no masters; as, from necessity, we fall into the relations of other races and other citizens, we expect to be left with others, and, like others, to decide where we will cast our lot, and prosecute our enjoyment.
This, we maintain, is our purchased right; for with
our blood we have bought it. And a concession of an Old Fogy. 18. Monthly Record of Events.
this two-fold right makes every thing easy. The whole difficulty, as we conceive, of re-constr whole dimently, as we concerve, or re-construction springs from an unwillingness to carry out demo-cratic principles. This causes the tug of war. Be simply democratic, gentlemen, and all is easy. In our next, we will show that the General's plan drives him on to the very rock he seeks to escape. — Cincinnan Colored Citten.

DIRECT FROM NORTH CAROLINA. We have before us a private letter from an original and constant Unionst of this State, which gives a most discouraging view. The writer proceeds to say that in the approaching convention "the rebels will have the majority; that they have got the control of Holden." "The North Carolina Standard, Gov. Holden's organ, calls upon the Union men, to stand firm in opposition to what is called, negro suffrage." He then adds as follows:

"Suffrage is the only thing that will give the and the secessionists are just as much in power a though the South had gained berindependence, am a candidate for the convention, and if elected intend to introduce negro suffrage if it costs me m life. From the prospect, there is no chance for an intend to introduce negro sutrage if it costs me m [f]. From the prospect, there is no chance for an but a secessionist; and I would rather go through with four years more of war than submit to the rule. Three-fourths of the civil appointments mad are of the secession class. The police appointed are two-thirds disloyal; and many of the magin rates are of the sa

of the same class. The appointment of W. W. Holden as Provisional Governor was very objectionable, because he had done more for the disunion party than any other man in the State.

A man who went in the United States army from North Carolina is looked upon as being unworthy any office from the fact that he was a Buffalo, as they term it. The officers of these police use this

argument.

This is a kind of loyalty I cannot understand. I don't know what to make out of such management is we have here in North Carolina by the civil authorities."—Boston Transcript.

The Biberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1865. THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH.

The intelligence from every part of the conquered cough still rebelliously disposed South is daily of a is in robellously disposed South as using rowing nature, in relation to the marderous per pertrated upon the defenceless and unoffreedmen by those who formerly held absolute when the beginning of the beginning fending freedmen by those who fermerly neit associated dominion over them, or by the degraded and bruta "poor whites," who are themselves the victims of that hellish slave system which, though happily me longer in legal operation, still curses that section to the country with its mercileus spirit. These stroitie excite in us no surprise; they only confirm what we have a thousand times asserted as to the barbarou condition of the South, and her infernalized table of a thousand times asserted as mind towards the negro rate. We look for their re-etition on a still more extended scale for some time to come, in spite of the best efforts of the Governmen to prevent their recurrence. But, while we shudde to prevent their recurrence. But, while we shudde to contemplate them, and most deeply sympathiz with the poor sufferers, we are comforted in the assu nation will help to consolidate the loyal sentiment position to any relaxation of the strong arm of the General Government in that se evolted States into the Union for an indefinite period "Forewarned, forearmed." In the nature of things,

is morally impossible for the people of the South e just, humane or decent towar ation. The present generation must pass off the n such a case. The brain is too mi blood too much poisoned, to admit of a cure. Every effort must be made, and on the broadest scale of lib erality, on the part of the North, to bring under edu cational training the rising generation of the Sc without regard to complexional distinctions. ourse, this will be madly, and in many instances ferociously opposed by all oligarchy; but the safety and repose of the nation can-not be found in any other direction, and it must be persisted in, at all hazards, under the strong arm of the national government, until the system schools is recognized and approved in every Souther State. No worse treatment, no other needed in the settlement of this questi-No worse treatment, no other retaliation is sublime mission of the people of the North to return good for evil, and blessing for cursing; and this, we are sure, they are universally disposed to do. At no time in our national history have they been inimical to the rights and interests of the people of the South though always insulted, betrayed, and treated mos contemptuously in return. What they desire is the general welfare, irrespective of geographical bounds ries ; but that can be secured only by making the in stitutions of both North and South homogeneous, or

'An Old Georgian " writes a letter fro to the New York Commercial Advertiser, in which he declares that, as soon as the soldiers are withdrawn from that region, all Union white men will have to leave, or be subjected to the cruel control of the wors of rebels. His opinion is that three-fourths of the people there are honestly desirous of accepting quiet-ly the changed state of affairs, and abiding faithfully other fourth part, made up of men who naugurated the rebellion are sullen and dissatisfied. and only wait for a good opportunity to try their hands at a new rebellion

"Could you only sit, with me one hour under the oaks in front of the Pulaski Ilouse," says the writer, "you would not deem this opinion harsh. You would ear the chivalry of the South revelling in curses and their all. They sit here, these gallant scions of chiv alry, neither doing nor trying to do anything, cursing the Government, because it permits the negro to work ble and worthless fellows that they are." they not held in check by the military power," con-cludes the correspondent, "two hundred men of the above named class would ride rough shod over the cit izens of Savannah.'

RECONSTRUCTION. The cogent and elaborate Let er to the President of the United States on the que ion of Reconstruction, which occupies a considerable ortion of this page, was prepared by a Committe reld at the rooms of the Board of Trade in Boston Its main purpose is to request a sufficient delay in a final settlement of the mode of Reconstruction, until the country, North and South, is better prepared tha it now can be to determine wisely and safely the various questions presented, especially in the matte of suffrage. We have faith to believe that Presiden of suffrage. We have faith to believe that President Johnson will give due consideration to its wise sug restions and patriotic appeals; but, wherein he may be found wanting, we shall confidently look to the next Congress to be impregnable as Gibraltar agains making any concessions, on the application of any late rebel State for admission into the Union, which shall leave the loyal black population helplessly deprived of the elective franchise

Hipper's Magazine, for September, is full of in teresting reading, and, as usual, graphic illustrations.

The following is the table of contents:—I. Septem per. 2. A Trip to Bodie Bluff and the Dead Sea o the West. 3. Love in a Hospital. 4. Miss Pink's First Season. 5. Niagara in Spring. 6. Sketches of Social Life in China. 7. Tom Mallory's Revenge. 8. Anasthesia. 9. The Pond House. 10. Milfort. 11 Armadale by Wilkie Collins 12 The Helmi man. 13. Street Education. 14. Margaret Brons. 15. Hannah Fanthorn's Sweet-Heart. 16. Our M

This Monthly is edited with remarkable tact and ability, always furnishing a large amount of instruc-tive and entertaining reading at a very cheap rate. For sale by A. Williams & Co., 100 Washington Street, Boston

CHILDREN'S PROGRESSIVE LYCEUM. Bela Marsh 14 Bromfield street, has just published in a neat lit volume, "The Children's Progressive Lyceum management of Sunday Schools, adapted to the bodie and minds of the young; and containing rules, methods, exercises, marches, lessons, questions and an swers, invocations, all ver-chain recitations, hymns and as songs, original and selected. By Andrew Jackson Davis."

FINE PICTURE. Childs & Jenks have been pointed the sgeuts in this city of Powell & Co.'s pho-tograph of President Lincoln, Vice-President Hamlin and the Senators and Representatives who voted 'Aye" on the Constitutional Amendment prohibit ing slavery. The features are given with most re narkable accuracy and truthfulness, and are easily ecognized. It is a splendid specim en of ph nd has a historic significance which makes it very valuable picture.

OFFICERS OF COLORED REGIMENTS. Under date Aug. 10, Major General Gillmore, commanding the separtment, of South Carolina, issues an order resetting the commanding officers of the 54th and 55th assachusetts, and 26th, 52d and 102d United States Department of a Massachusetts, and 25th, 52d and 102d United States Colored Troops, about to be mustered out, to nominate to his headquarters such officers of their commands as are in their opinions deserving appointments in other colored regiments. No assurance can be given in regard to the appointment of those recommended to a higher grade than that of Second Lieutenant, but recommendations for all meritorious officers are requested.

RECONSTRUCTION.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Sin-The Rebellion forced upon the loyal Sb long war, costly in blood and treasure. The mi conflict has ended, and we all rejoice at its terconflict has ended, and we all rejoice at its ter-tion. Most of the States which were rebels ar-in military possession. We abali rejoice who in military possession. We shall rejoice when this also terminates. You have repeatedly expressed and distinctly indicated a strong desire to relax and remove your military grasp of those States. With this desire we have the fullest sympathy. The sooner peace, with all its relations and with all its blessings, can be established, the sooner will every part of this great country be active in promoting its own prosperity, and the prosperity of every other part of the whole.

you do, that peace itself will be only an illusion and a muschief, and not that peace over which we may all rejoice, if it be precipitated to the neglect of those terms and conditions which the safety and security onditions which the safety and security country demand, and which it is there fore equally the right and the duty of the whol

country to insist upon.

The questions presented by the present attitude of the States which rebelled against the nation are numerous, and have many aspects. We have no doubt that they, and whatever may be suggested to you in relation to them, will receive from you due con the safety; the prosperity and the good faith of the

The National Constitution gave to the white men of those States votes for three-fifths of the slaves It was there, a compact: the free States admitted binding force, and would never have interfered with the exercise of this right in those States had they not voluntarily renounced by rebellion this and all their constitutional rights. But we cannot think it would be either just or prudent to restore to them now those three-fifths, and at the same time make them a present of the other two fifths. All reason upon the principles of free and equal repub itican institutions are against this; and, finstead of a necessity for doing it, the whole country appears to us to be under that necessity which a due regard to our safety and security creates, not to do it.

the United States. They must therefore all, at the next and subsequent apportionments of representa the right of national representation. It might be ed. Would it be right,-we ask now only would it safe,-to permit all the votes of these colored men to be cast, but to require that all their be cast for them by the white men living by their There would be injustice, and we think there votes; but a hundred men in one of the disloyal States shall cast two hundred votes, because there live among dred men in that State will cast, it is true, but one bundred votes; but it is equally true that they will be that those hundred voters will, through their repre sentation in Congress, exert the same influence over the national legislation or the national policy as the two hundred voters who reside in the other States For example, let us compare some of the South

States which come somewhat near them in population on the basis of the last census. If we take the whole ures the right of representation, and suppose that the white men alone of the Southern States cast the votes of the States, a brief calculation will show that every hundred of the white inhabitants of olina will have as much power through their repre sentatives as two hundred and forty of the people of Iowa; one hundred white men in Mississi equal two hundred and twenty-three men in sin : one hundred white men in Louisiana will equa one hundred and ninety-eight in Maine; one hundred white men in Alabama will equal one hundred and eighty-three in Connecticut; and one hundred en in Alabama and Louisiana together will equa one hundred and eighty-nine in Indiana. It is there fore apparent that if, as the Co nstitution requires, th colord men of the South are all counted in to me the right of representation, and are then all disfran-chised, this must operate a proportional disfranchise ment of the people of the Northi and West. How long can it be believed that this inequality will be red? On what right or reason does it rest? If be that the colored race of the South are all wholly disfranchised because wholly unfit for the right of su frage, is it also true that the white voters of South Carolina are about two and a half times better fitted to exercise this right wisely and patriotically than the

people of Iown? In the above estimate, it has been assumed that the number of white voters bears about the same propor-tion to the whole number of the white population in all the States. The results above stat omewhat affected in some of the Free States by the fact that in them colored persons who do not vote are enumerated to determine the number of representatives : but in none of them is their number sufficier ke a material difference-probably not enough to offset the larger proportionate loss of the white men of the South than of the colored men in the

The class from whom we should withhold the right to cast their votes are enthusiastically loyal; and the class whom alone we should permit to vote, and to whom we also give the votes of the other class, have maintained with marvellous unanimity, and with re morseless determination, broken only by utter defeat war which had for its single object escape from tha Union which they hated. And we are now asked by this last class to withhold all political right and power from that class whose loyalty is certain, who will vot by its inspiration on the great national questions of fered to them, and especially as to the great burden of our debt, which they can never forget was the price of their freedom. And we are asked not merely to con-fine the privilege of voting to the disloyal class, but to invest them with the votes of the disfranchised; and thus to double the political strength of that class so lately, in flerce rebellion, and which cannot be ex-must wait until they are better private that they should be the private that th their freedom. And we are asked not merely to c ected, if human nature is with them what it is every here, to be now, or very soon, animated by a love of on country; and especially, in regard to our great debt, must be expected to feel it, not as a burde only, but a burden a thousand fold heavier because t was incurred for their defeat; and therefore, it must be feared, will be disposed to asset it through all the years that it may rest upon us; to assail the debt, the avation pecessary to sustain it, and so the credit, and good faith, and prosperity of the country.

It would be a strange thing if we had no

thing if we had not the right to be more just than to do so great a wrong, and more wise than to expose the country to such dangers. Was it wrong in the Government to abolish slavery? and is it wrong now in you to insist upon its aboli-tion? Certainly, unless we had and have a right to do so. But what right can any one imagine, excepting that which arose from our military power, coupl ith our necessity, or a due regard to our security? The right thus founded was and is a perfect rigit And the Government has, and you, as its military a crecutive head, bave an equally perfect right, resting on precisely the same foundations, and of precisely the same extent, to require and to insist that political rights in those States shall not be determined by race color, if the safety and security of the country re

did they hear and answer. No man doubts that the of colored men was useful to us; although we not say as the defeated rebels say—it was that h turned the scale, and made their defeat inevitable. If we ask what does justice now demand for the race which rendered us this valuable assistance, the victory which they belped us to win to cast them belp less and powerless by disfranchisement into the hands of those who were the enemies of the Union, and

diency is quite as certain. There are conflict as well as conflicts of war. In the conflic threaten us, we shall need their ballots quite as much as we needed their bullets in the conflicts of war The questions are curiously sir came with it: certainly with it, whether because of it or not. Again we need their aid. If we permit, in the conflicts that await us, the assistance they will gladly give us, it will certainly add greatly to the safe ty and the strength of our country. If we reject it, we can do so only by a wrong, of which the retribudanger, and, may be, to defeat and destroy the erests upon which the prosperity and the good faith f the country are founded; to defeat and destroy those interests, because we see fit to take from the loyal the force which of right belongs to them, and ive it all to the disloyal, to increase their strength let it be said that we cannot be sure that the colored voters will not be led in the exercise of their

ights by the whites. For, in the first place, it is cer ain that they will not all be so led. Men, whether on or patriotism, will be candidates on the side of the national honor and the national and will seek the votes of colored men; and Slavery s not there to prevent the use of sufficient means fo acquainting the voters with the true nature of the nuestions before them. If white men control the rotes of colored men, then, if the whites are divided, the colored men will be divided; and, if the whites vote all together, they will be no stronger if all th colored men vote with them. On large plantations the relations of employer and employed may some extent, to give to the owner some undue c the laborers. So it has been said that our large mil ers, and others employing many workmen, held them n political bondage. If this mischief existed in any places, or to any extent, it has certainly been greatly exaggerated in some minds, but he who thought the of it never imagined that he found in it a rea son for disfranchising any class of our laboring men The white men of the South know better than we can, whether, if the colored men vote, white men can control their votes; and if they really believe that they shall effectually control them, their determined opposition to freedman suffrage indicates an indiffe ce to their own power, and a willingness to lose what would be an instrument in their hands, which is,

to say the least, very remarkable.

We have had and exercised a perfect right to emancipate the slaves, growing out of our necessity; but this gave us no right whatever to emancipate them for our own security and to their danger, for ou own benefit and perhaps to their destruction. And who can deny that a new danger, and an appalling one, hangs over that race, if, on the one hand, we take one, hangs over that race, if, on the one hand, we take in Slavery, while it made it the interest of their own-ers to take care of them, and on the other take from them by disfranchisement all power of self-protection and self-defence? Already we see, and by no means dimly, in the measures adopted or proposed in some of those States, while still held in strict military possession, what kind of legislation over and agains the colored race must be expected when the nation has abandoned all power to annul or check it, and has nonest, or prudent, or safe? Can we endure the dis grace of calling on that race to go with our own loyal ldiers to peril and to death, and, after they have ought our battles, leave them utterly disfranchi It is to be hoped that commercial relations and com-

percial intercourse may be fully established between the South and the North, and, as connected with this nd necessary to it, free and kindly social and personal All must remember have stood for many years. Liberty of speech wholly lost. Whoever went from a free State to a Slave State, went in peril of his life; a peril, it is true, to be easily guarded against by one to whom it was easy to conceal his thoughts or falsify them; or by one whose opinions and feelings could be molded his interests, and who, coming from a home of and so purchase his safety, and with it the conti of the better class among them who tolerated him Instances which cannot be forgotten prove that, for the Northern man, there was no freedon or of the press, or of the courts. All this, it may b caused by Slavery, and Slavery is gone. But if Slavery has left behind it vast tinctions; if to the master-class is left the whole power of legislating to preserve and deepen these disnctions; to the same class which will possess the power of molding society and all its feelings and usages into that form which shall give the utmost posible force and permanence to these distinctions an the political supremacy they confer,—is it not certain that what has been will return again? that the abyss between the thought and feeling of the Free and of the Slave States, which no man could pass over, will still be open and kept open? Is it not cer-tain that both social and commercial intercourse will be hampered and obstructed? Is it not sad, that ongh of treasure and of blood have been cast nto this abyss to close it, and this country has but to say this day, let it be closed, and it will there can be danger that we may say, No, let it still be open, still be the barrier that it has been ?

We suppose there are in the Free States few who disfranchised. We hear and read only that they are now wholly unfit for the right to suffrage; and we must wait until they are better prepared, and then re-reive it. But we would sak them what preparation, what improvement can be hoped for, when the wh ower of legislation, and the whole power of deter nining the relations between these classes, is given tion that they retain this supremacy only so long as they can prevent all preparation and all improvement?
Distant, very distant will that generation be which sees the race enfranchised, if we leave them disfranchised! And, viewing the question in its most general form

is it not plain that the nation cannot do so great a wrong without exposing itself to an equal penalty Slavery was protected by the Constitution : we endured it, and we had much excuse for enduring it dured it, and we had much excuse for enduring it; we could reach it only by breaking down the law; and the reverence for law in our country is as just and salutary as it is powerful; and in this instance it was, or was thought to be, fortified by interest. Now all this barrier has gone. The right, the justice, the expediency, are all united. We have said, by that right, Slavery shall be no more, and it is no more. We have but to say in the same right, Slavery shall not leave behind it disrupblement, and it; will not not leave behind it disfranchisement; and it will not How can we say instead, Slavery shall not die, but shall only change its skin, and live on with all its quire such a provision.

Justice is always the most expedient thing we can do, although it may not always be possible to see how do it is expedient. In the present case we can. We have passed through a war marked by the most deadly conflicts of history. We needed absolutely, and we will accept disfunciolisement, and permit it to do the work of slavery? How can we say, this and to the very principle of our have passed through a war marked by the most deadly conflicts of history. We needed absolutely, and we feeling which has been gradually growing for generat ast yielded to the necessity of asking, military aid from the colored race; and when we asked it, gladly Bellion? How can we say this and do this, and not

be sure that we leave to our children abiding sold strous conflicts and probable convulsion?

But, while we think that the imports But, such as inexpressible, we admit that in dissellent in the restance of the population of the red &

great reparedness of the population of the rebel & per to resume their old rights; or to exercise either to resume their viol 1860s, or to tarries a rights, safely for themselves or for the coarry, present, and certainly not without patient and coarry pon those rights are requisite and propon these reason is the unpreparedness of the Free to o decide at once, and finally, this great two which has sprung upon us by the sudden, the Rebellion. Public opinion is rapidly from It is beginning to see that the true question is also er, in such a country as this, political rights. be dependent on race or color. Men are man the man be themselves on one side or other of this question. not merely to decide this general questic clearly the details and consequence wh any determination of it. The inference any determination of the certain and absolute necessity of delay, of per calm, and sufficient delay, bef to such practical conclusions as will take had whole country all power to retrace its steps or take o such practical conclufor when those States are related eir constitutional rights, their can be us fe ther interference with their internal conc rights remain unimpaired, just what they were fact, although not what some thought they were

Those States do not now possess and those rights. You have, most properly in the july ment of all men, appointed Provision them; although, if a State has any right at all, it is them; although, it is clear man my right at all, it is to elect its own Governor. You have prescribed who shall vote at the election of a Convention and have interfered in important particulars with the right of suffrage. You did all this because you had the poet autrage. And decause the safety and security of the country required you to do it, and gare you a security required you to do it, and gare you a security required you to do it. We do not see how it can b fect right to do it. doubted that you have both the power and the to interfere further, and on the same grounds, rid ne same right of suffrage, either by restriction or h enlargement. Let us compare the possible harm with the mi

ble good of delay, and even, should it be necessar, a somewhat protracted delay. The authorities you have provided, and who will act under your commenter sight, will do nothing to obstruct or retard the nun-ing prosperity of those States. All their judie and municipal institutions may be reorganized to made operative. Let time do its beneficial work mi your power be exerted, if need be, to pretent ren tions or practices certainly wrongful, and all the das-nels of trade will be opened and filled, the series tions between the inhabitants of those Suites, we the new rights they give and the new duties they pose, will be understood and acknowledged La will be encouraged, compensated and made protoc employer and employed. Where war has passed along, leaving behind it destruction the repower of peace will cover the traces of descript, and the wounds of war, if they do not whelly bei rill at least ache less. If you now permitthese Sun o resume the full exercise of all their former ich nd give up those rights to white men, you gire then men accustomed not to labor, but to despise labor to men whose contempt and dislike of that mention country which had not their peculiar institution has been exasperated to intensity by a ferce and design tive war, ending with total defeat. Let time be prated them to become less passionate in their armin begin, at least, to forget an irra-coverable past understand, and make the best use of circuns which cannot be changed. And the colored no vil the mean time, have learned practically that the reedom given them is the freed apport. Education, which many of them seek predand habits of care for themselves, and in those or whom they are bound to care; the possession of property by some; the possibility and the hope of a quiring it with more; all these, and other causes, wi raise them far above their present condition. Asi classes of the inhabitants of those States better pro pared than they now can be, to have and to exercise Il political rights, with advantage to themselves, as with safety to the country. We have no desire for and we have no thought of, vengeance or punishment It may, however, be said, when we remember the past, that those States, if dealt with so mildy, lare o right to complain.

You have taken the ground that those States have now either no constitutions, or none which the cus-try can recognize; and you require them to long you new constitutions. We cannot, for a moses, you new constitutions. We cannot, for a moses, suppose that the new constitutions they will offer will be regarded by you as going at once into feer it their own power and efficacy, if only they are right licen, as judged by the standard of any Sute that did not entire into each tile in for when the midst include. not an junged by the stimuted of any cust have not enter into rebellion; for then they might teich, by the example of Kentucky and Delsars, ere Slavery. It would seem to be certain that they and first be passed upon, adjudicated, and approved. Asl it would seem to make the states be for it would seem equally certain, that, whatever be the tribunal which judges of them, if they do not conta the provisions, and all the provisions, which the nice and security of the whole country require, they are be rejected, and the States retained within military ossession until such constitutions are presented.

Over the loyal States the country has 20 performance. over the loyal States the county as and no right, and no desire to exercise any port. Over the rebel States we have both port and right our duty must be commensurate with our port affect, and both must be measured by the regiment; and both must be measured by the regiment.

ients of the best interests of the country. And, a offering these views for your cor leave to express our confidence in your judgment your firmness, and your fidelity to duty. JOHN B. ALLET, R. H. DANA, F. NATH'L THAYER, J. M. FORBES, PELEG W. CHANDLES, HEXEY WILLARD PRILLIPS, LANE, LANGOS & CO.

JARED SPARE. S. FROTHINGHAM, jri, THEOPHILUS PARSONS, WASHBURNE, SANCEL G. WARD,

TRUST.

CHARLES G. LORING,

and 200 others.

A writer in the Daily Advertises, co facts brought out in the excellent Southers Core pondence of that paper, tells us that.— The Society people, not only the freedmen, but those who with contly their masters, are our brethrea and criftle and we ought truly to trust them as see." ]
writer in question proceeds to refer to the confer Samaritan as giving us an appropria example for the present case.

example for the present case.

No doubt these people are our "breibred for "neighbors." So are the convicts discharged for our jails, and our State Prison. Both Christan and worldly wisdom call upon us to extend #5 and worldly wisdom call upon us to extend #5. pathy and material aid to both these classes. We even to trust them both; to the extent of giving the property of the extent of giving the giving the extent of giving the giving an opportunity to commence an honest life an opportunity to confinence an honest life by metricus self-support. But, as the correspondent of Advertiser would hardly carry his trust in one of latter class to the extent of asking him to their fall with each better than the confinence of the with each bit. inter class to the extent of asking him to use of his wife and his strong-box while he wratten age ney, so we may, well besitate to trust the ex-starching with the opportunity again to yield to their series to the extension of the companion of tomed temptation; to commit their "besettis, They have abused the right of self-government Incy have abused the right of self-government fearfully, under pretence of exercising this right have so grossly violated all rights of their neighbours and white, that, for their sakes as well as own, it has become needful that we take measure is their welfare, and the general welfare, without much frust in them.—c. x. w. much trust in them .- c. x. w.

## GOLORED SOLDIERS NO LONGER WANTED TO GUARD REBELS.

TO GUARD REBELS.

DEAR FRIEND GARRHON—The papers tell us that, deference to the tender feelings of rebels in Richmod, the colored troops are to be removed. Intimacompanying extracts from recent letters of Sargeant
barks W. Lenox, of the Massachusetts 64th, help
confirm that impression, besides imparting other
to interesting to Liberator readers, which, though
colorisated by the author, I'vield to the tempts. acts interpretated by the author, Lyield to the tempts n of asking you to copy.

Boston, Oct. 11, 1865. W. C. N.

CHARLESTON, (S. C.) July 20, 1865. CHARLESTON, (S. C.) July 20, 1865.
Two years ago to day, (the 18th inst.) since the charge at Wagner. Late Sargeant Frank Welch, of the side, is officer of the day in this famed city. He side his horse, and sports his sash and lleutenant's Where is the Southern heart ? Is it fired ! where is the South of the were possible that he could Calhoun say if it were possible that he could of his grave, and walk up King street, meet a colored man and regimental officer, and the streets patrolled by colored soldiers, and Massa. ts ones at that! All the result of his pet doc-secssion. Have we not some retaliation for misfortune at Wagner ?

Peter Voglesang, of New York, is now Lieutenan ter. Voglesang, of the regiment. He is acting Quartermaster of the regiment. He is a vesteemed by all. He has always been a kind intimate friend of mine; but, in conformity to ary custom, we shall not probably be so much

military custom, we shall not probably be so much together. It makes no difference to him personally; he wear the honors modestly.

I think some one must have enlarged the part I have taken in being color-bearer. I only tried to keep up the reputation of old Massachusetts.

August 6.

Our regiment is now scattered about-only two

companies in the citadel.

The Zouaves that were here created an ill-feeling between some of the citizens and our regiment : there hetween some or the citizens and our regiment; there have been street riots frequently. The Charleston Central Tays it all to the colored soldiers. They seem determined to keep it up until they get us ordered A colored voter og a colored soldier is a horri the eight to a South Carolinian.

### A MILITARY OPINION OF NEGRO SUF-FRAGE.

occedings of a meeting of the officers of the 1st.
C. Artiflery, (heavy.) that met pursuant to the arment of a meeting held on, the evening of July which Lieut. Col. J. E. McGowan was 5, 1865, at which Lieut. Con. J. H. B. Correll was suppointed Secretary. After which, on motion of Captin J. B. Charles, a Committee, to consist of kin J. B. Charles, a Chair and five other officers, was appointed to draft lutions expressive of the views of the officers rel-to the proper status and legal rights of the freed-South to wit : Lieut.-Col. J. E. McGow James W. Johnson and O. M. Gross Captains J. B. Charles, Ed. F. Brown and W. R. ory, which Committee reported the following pre-able and resolutions, which were unanimously

Whereas. The statesmen of the country are endeaving to determine the status of the freedmen of the
onth; and whereas, the question of Negro Suffrage,
likely to inflict on the country unnecessary and
inchierous agitation, which will be seized upon as
hobby, whereon unprincipled political demagogues
ay ride into pikee and power; and whereas, we the
flors of this regiment have had an experience in
rating with the freed slave, extending over our whole
dilitary career; therefore.

Rended 1. That we see of the opinion that the

ilitary career; therefore, Recoverd, I. That we are of the opinion that the can under our command, and the colored freedmen a mass, are as well qualified to wield the elective archive understandingly, and with safety to the Government, as a large majority of the white men in the to-called Southern Confederacy.

2 We believe it to be the height of cowardly meanment that refuses him citizenship.

3, We believe it to be a well-established principle, are overment electronic between the property of the command of the property of the white property of the safety of the property of the prop

After the adoption of the resolution, remarks were ade by several of the officers, which met with un ualified approbation—that it was not the intention of his action to embroil them in the squabbles of political parties, but simply to give expression to views form and entertained under circumstances that entitled

n to some weight with the public.

If with one voice deprecated any discussion upon matter of mere party politics. They viewed the bject from a higher stand-point, and had only their ontry to serve in this, as they had faithfully endeav-ed to serve her in assisting to put down the Slave-elders' Rebellion. They believed it to be the interet of the South to extend the right of suffrage to the credmen, to the end that their labor be not lost to the outh, as, in their opinion, men who had carried a susket in defence of a Government will acquire they have not already, too much spirit to live in y portion of that Government, the local laws of nich deny them the rights that are accorded to the cancet and most realignant rebels and oppressors of their race, provided they have subscribed an oath promising they will not again blacken their souls with

strictest military discipline, and criticise the policy of the Government they have been fighting to main-tain, but they believe the interests of that Government ould best be in thoroughly loyal hands; and they ini no faith in the theory that the black man, were he enfranchised, would be a supple tool in the hands of the Rebellion. Their experience was, that the blacks then slaves, knew their friends, and that they were not likely to forget to whom they owe their new pri vileges; and that if occasional abuses grow out of rance, the census would show that such abuses were mach more likely to occur with the lately disbanded men of the rebei army, when actual facts existing in trery Provo Marshal's office in the South show that not one in five of them can either read or write.

After the remarks, on motion of Capt. Ed. F. Brown,

it was ordered by the meeting that copies of these proceedings he sent to at least one loyal paper in each of the Northern and Southern leading cities.

No turther business being before the meeting, on

motion of Major Gross, it adjourned sine die.

Lieut.-Col. McGOWAN, Chairman.
T. H. R. CARRELL, Capt. 1st U. S. C. Art., Socy.

Greenville, Tenn., July 6, 1865. BEWARE OF HIM!-We would caution the public

spinst giving any aid to a colored man, now in this vicinity, calling himself John Johnson, and pretending to have been the body-servant of Gen. Robert E. Lee, of Virginia, for the last six years. We and others have given him pecuniary assistance, supposing him to be destitute and unable to find employment; but we have a supposing him to be destitute and unable to find employment; but we have sufficient proof to satisfy us that he is utterly devoid of honesty and veracity, and that he is getting money under false pretences. He is apparent-ly about 28 years old, 5 feet 7 inches in height, alim y assut 28 years old, 5 feet 7 inches in neign, must in person, of a mulatto color, and very finent in Peech. If any other persons have been imposed upon by him, we should like to be apprised of the fact. We hope other papers will publish this caution.

Gov. Andrew President of Antioca College. tor. ANDREW PRESIDENT OF ANTIOCH COLLEGE. It appears to be authoritatively announced that the Trailers of Antioch College in Ohio have invited Governor Andrew to become the President of that institution, and that he will probably accept the appearament. We know not how to spare him.

THE CONVENTION AT NASHVILLE.

THE CONVENTION AT NASH I HAVE ON THE CONVENTION AT NASH I HAVE ON THE CONVENTION WAS IN season in Nashville, Tena, representing the freedmen of that State. It was composed of one hundred and Sun delegates, seventy of whom were to alwery, and released by the war, we sently had surchased the freedom, and the vert were born free. Mr. Walker, a colored barber of Nashville, presided. The fact, as colored barber of Nashville, presided. The fact, and the regard to such gatherings, the spirit displayed, and the

"Earnesiness of purpose, a clear cor what they were after, a desire to do fair

The convention is said to have compared favorably with any similar body of working men. One noticeable feature was the presence of some of the most well-known and aristocratic nature in Tennessee. About one-third were mixed blood, and the remainder clear black. Many ourrages were reported from East Tennessee, and the immediate presence of a compe-About one-third were mixed blood, and the remainder clear black. Many outrages were reported from East Tennessee, and the immediate presence of a competent authority is to be ordered in that section. Gea. Fiske addressed the convention in a speech which, though radical to the core, was yet tempered with practical wisdom and good sense. The proceedings were well directed; a State central and auxiliary county committee were organized, who, in addition to other duties, are to gather all facts in relation to the condition of the people for publication—facts that show how much land is cultivated by negroes, how many are attending school, how many own property, &c. The address to the colored people of the State, by Mr. T. J. White, is a temperate document, and displays a knowledge of the situation and its requirements certainly as good as any which we have seen from other sources, white or black. We call attention to that part which touches on the immediate practical duty of the laborers:

"We must not understand that our newly acquired

tion to that part which toocenes on the immediate practical duty of the laborers:

"We must not understand that our newly acquired freedom gives us the privilege to roam about the country as common idlers and rowdies, without any fixed labitation or apparent means of support, committing depredations, or using insulting language to any one. But freedom means, in the opinion of this Convention, that we work carnestly for honest support, so that our families be respectably cared for; that our children may be properly educated, by which means they may be useful members to any society in which they may live and move. We must exercise forbearance, and endure as far as practicable the many petty differences between us and the whites or between ourselves. It is our duty to eradicate past differences from our memorics, and commence the work of harmonizing; and to accomplish this end we must combine all our efforts. There is a great 'guif between us and the whites, almost as great in dimensions as the one said to have existed between Lazaros and Dives. Neither politicians nor Congressmencan bridge this chasm. Nor is it in the power of any Orthe one side we ree arrayed the Anglo-Saxon with

The use of such language, and the evident understanding of its import, would carry conviction to most candid minds that the black man is not unworthy of the highest favor that is claimed for him.—Boston

COLORED CONVENTION. A Convention of colored men, from all parts of the State, has just closed its sittings here, after being in session four or five days. The main subject of discussion was the best mode to be adopted in securing to the negro the privilege of the elective franchise. Some forcible and telling speeches were made, and resolutions adopted, looking be adopted in securing to the negro the privilege of the elective franchise. Some forcible and telling speeches were made, and resolutions adopted, looking to the agitation of the subject among white and black until their object was accomplished. While listening to the earnest and eloquent language of some of the speakers, and looking at the large number dressed in army blue, an impartial observer could hardly fail to pity or condemn the prejudice of any man, professing to be loyal, who would extend the ballot to returned rebels, and deny it to those before him because of the color of their skin. A Bohemian, whose associations and antecedents were strictly "democratic," after hearing one of the colored orators, in a gush of enthusiasm, and after trying hard to recall some white Domosthenes as his compeer, gave it up, and conceded that the sable brother belore him was far ahead of anything he ever heard. Gen. Fisk made a telling and sensible speech, earnestly encouraging the practice of industry, and steady application after knowledge. These he considered first in order, and political suffrage was sure to follow. The next session of the Legislature will be compelled to take some action in the premises.—Nashville Corr. of Tribuse.

# FREEDMEN'S AID ASSOCIATION.

The meeting of that Association, on Tuesday the, was one of the most interesting ever held since Association has been organized. It will be remembed that, on the 18th of June last, a young woman, tonging to the proscribed race, fell needdentally into Mississippi, and was only rescued by the efforts of the manual control of the proscribed race, fell needdentally into the situation of the name of W. McDowell, who distributed the form of the name of W. McDowell, who distributed the form of the name of the na

death of Joe Hamilton, who was thrown overboard and drowned, last winter, by a white brute, nearly at the same spot.

The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans made inquiries to discover, the noble rescuer of the young woman, and after some delay, Mr. W. McDowell was found, all the facts were ascertained, and a medal was voted to that philanthropist. It was on Toesday last that the medal was delivered, in a public assembly of the Association. The medal is of gold, of the size of a silver Mexican dollar, and bears the following inscriptions:—on one side, "The Freedmen's Ald Association of New Orleans to Wan. McDowell:" and on the other, "Token of admiration, for his noble conduct in saving the life of a colored woman in June, 1895." The medal was presented to Mr. McDowell by Hon. Th. J. Durant, who made a brief and very appropriate speech, which deeply moved the whole assembly.

This token of admiration—though well earned—was entirely unexpected by the perpetrator of the noble deed—showing that the day of justice is dawning, and that nobility of heart, courage, and devotion to humanity, are not entirely unappreciated in our so long slaveholding community.

Another matter of interest was brought before the Association; we mean the Colored Lincoln Monument. We shall give, at an early day, the history of that move, which originated with a "poor negro woman," of the name of Charlotte Scott, living in Marietta, Ohio; but which is, in fact, the common expression of the gratitude of a whole race. We publish to day, on the other page, under the heading of "Freedmen's Memorial," the call of the Western Sanitary Commission, on behalf of sald Monument. The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans

Sanitary Commission, on behalf of said Monumer.

The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans passed, on that subject, the following resolutions, of circed by Hon. Th. J. Durant:

Ord people are hiding in the woods, living on berries, order to except the furry of their former masters.

These statements were made by intelligent, candid colored men, before an audience of several hundred, last right.

rered by Hon. Th. J. Durant:

"Resolved, That this Association cherishes with the deepest veneration the memory of Abraham Lincoln, the martyr President; who gave the death-blow to the cruel system of human slavery in our country.
"Resolved, That as a just expression of love and affection to this illustrious man, the lamented victim of the slaveholders' conspiracy, we cordially recommend to the freed people of Louisiana to subscribe to the monument to be erveted to him by the citizens of African descent, at the National Capital, Washington City."

An experiment of the erselt of him by the citizens of African descent, at the National Capital, Washington City."

The Association received also a very interesting letter, communicating the result of an experiment of free labor, made on the principle of associating the laborers with the planter, for a fourth of the net proceeds of the crop. The letter, which was ordered to be printed, will be found on the other page. We are not surprised at the results mentioned in the letter; we believe human nature to be everywhere one and the same. We therefore expect to find in the freedmen, when permitted to use their free will and their liberty the same common sense and the same application to remuerative work that may be observed in any other race or people.—New Orleans Tribune.

AN EXPERIMENT OF FREE LABOR.

AN EXPERIMENT OF FREE LABOR.

IDENTILE PARISH, La., Aug. 1, 1865.

To the Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans:

GRENTIANISE—I am a planter of twelve years existing the carried or people.—New Orleans Tribune.

The Wilmington (N. C.) Herald, of the 10th save and the same application of New Orleans.

The Wilmington (N. C.) Herald, of the 10th save and the same applied of the 10th save and the same applied to the crops of the provisional government occur continually, and the officers of the crops were withdrawn from Esysteville, but the results mentioned the continual of this city, recently from Payetteville and a merchant of this city, recently from Payetteville.

BEAUFORT, N. C., Aug. 14. Mr. Adrian Dickinson, a merchant of this city, recently from Payetteville.

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BEAUFORT, N. C., Aug. 14. Mr. Adrian Dickinson, a

ing good common sense; they are honest and true is their family. Besides the crop in common, they have raised for their private account small crops of corn and vegetables. They have poultry, etc. of their own. Not a single difficulty has occurred among them since they have agreed to work on my farm.

I remain, gendemen,
respectfully yours,

SCENE IN A FREEDMAN'S COURT. We find the following narration in the Nashville orrespondence of the Cincinnati Grazete, showing nat it is very difficult for the white men of Tennes to learn that colored men have rights which they re bound to respect, and that they are receiving less ones from courts of justice established by Gen. Fisk, assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau.

"An old and highly respected citizen of Giles couny, named Abernethy—a good Methodist, by the way
refused to pay his colored laborers the wages he
ad agreed to pay them, and, as a last resort, two of
he most intelligent of his employed, came into the
freedmen's Court, made outh to the contract and to
he fact of non-payment, and an order was accordingly
saud to bring the venerable patriarch into court to
naver. When the order reached the old gentlemen
was assonished beyond mesanes, and doubtlemen

Irous bosoms. Arrived at head-quarters:
Abernethy—Is this General Fisk?
Gen. F.—Yes, sir.
A.—I should like to know what I am brought here
or?
Very wall give me your name, and I can

A.—I should like to know what I am brought here for I
Gen.—Very well, give me your name, and I can probably inform you.
A.—My name is Abernethy. Str. Gen.—Abernethy. Yea, I remember. Two citizens of Giles county, neighbors of yours, Mr. A., have appeared and made oath to a very grave complaint against you.
A.—Citizens of Giles county! Neighbors of mine! Good heavens, who can it be!!!
'I will read the declaration,' said the General, as he took the document from a pigeon hole, and began: Joseph and Paul Abernethy, of the county of Giles, in the State of Tennessee, being duly sworn, do testify,' etc., etc. As the reading proceeded, the old gentleman's eyes fairly bulged out, and he looked the very picture of amazement. At length, unable to restrain himself any longer, he exclaimed, 'Lor' bless we soul, General, them smr't my neighbors, them's

The old gentleman came down at once, asknowledged the debt, and prosted the adventure and conserved his face with his hands, bowing his head for some time. At length he said: 'Well, General, what are you going to do about it?' I am going to do justice,' he replied. 'Do you owe these men the amount they clain? I fyou do, you must pay it.'

The old gentleman came down at once, asknowledged the debt, and promised to call and settle it the next day. The next day he came, paid the debt in full, and entered into a written contract with his employes for the future.'

AWFUL STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ALABAMA

AWFUL STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ALABAMA.
Months, July 31, 1865.
Messus. Editors—The colored people in Clark
county are treated shannefully. Men are hanged for
saying that they are free, and tied hog-fashion, and
thrown over in the river and drowned. Women are
shut up in chicken-cops, and thrown in the river.
All these things are done, and no person to protect
them. There is not a federal soldier in twenty miles
of the place. One Mr. Odom is the principal actor in
perpotrating these outrages. A woman that was put

and, with his cars cut off by two paroled soldiers, who said, when they committed the act, that five thousand of them had formed a clan to kill every negro that they could without detection; that if the negro was to be free, he should not live in this country; that the tariff that the Government has established for wages was too small for a man to live on; therefore, in order to obtain more, the negroes must be banished, so that they could get high wages.

The colored men are treated in the above mentioned manner all over this State. They are even driven off of plantalions twenty-five miles from the river without anything to increase.

manner an over this State. They are even driven for plantations twenty-five miles from the river, ithout anything to transport their baggage on; and omen, men, and a large number of children are presented from getting on the boats, even when having oney to pay their way.—Corr. N. O. Tribune.

HORRIBLE CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN IN ALA-AMA. The Chicago Tribane publishes a letter writ-en by one of the teachers of the Northwestern Freed-nen's Aid Commission, at Mobile, which makes the following startling statements. They are almost too

"A meeting was held here last night, before which tatements were made as to the treatment of colored by white people in the interior of the State, which would make you sick of life. One hundred and this would make you sick of life. One hundred and this yet three dead hodies were counted in the woods, five bookies were seen floating in the river; two white men were seen to pull a negro down across a log, and cut his head off with an axe. Women and children were life to see the booked was and the river.

colored men, before an audience of several hundred, last night.

In Mobile, through the connivance of somebody, churches and negro iouses are burned, women set to work cleaning the streets, men and women arrested in bed and taken to the guard house, fined or sent to the work house, &c. Last night there was a heavy fire in which three or four squares, mostly of negro quarters, were burnt. Men were heard to say that before they were done, they would burn every negro quarter and school-house in Mobile. These things might be remedied."

AN EXPERIMENT OF FREE LABOR.

The Writch Parish, La., Aug. 1, 1865.

To the Freedmen's Ald Association of New Orleans:
Gravithing—I am a planter of twelve years' experience. This year I am working twelve hands, six user and six women; my laborers are to get one fourth of the net proceeds of the crops. They hard fall understanding of their interest in the said crops. Our contract was made on the last of February last, and the result so far is a complete success; we have to day 85 arpents of cotton; 25 arpents of sort, all in perfect sondition. I don't mention the vegetable-crops.

Under the old gracer ten appears to the hand was considered a fair result, and more than three-fourths of the plantaritosis failed to come to that strategral.

My labores are all good people, behaving well, have been of speedy development. The National technicies from the closest or part of twelve years expense to gration from the laboration of the complete success. The Wilmington (N. C.) Herold, of the 10th, asya the investigation made by Generals American Duran, and Col. Donellan, above that the negions in the result and the negions and Duran, and Col. Donellan, above that the negions in the present of the plantarities failed in the said crops. The Wilmington (N. C.) Herold, of the 10th, asya the investigation made by Generals American Duran, and Col. Donellan, above that the negions in the next perfect will, have been cruelly recalled by not only civilians, but the tivil authorities. Two negroes were tied up and publicly whipped by the Sheriff, others were left thed until a storm present of the plantarities failed in come to that standard.

It is also said some of the negroes have been cruelly included the production of the negroes are present to the complete search of the plantarities failed in come to that three-fourths are the present of the plantarities failed in come to that standard.

My labores are all good people, behaving well, have been cruelly included the production of the plantarities failed in come to the said crops.

THE CHIVINGTON MASSACRE. The Atchison (Kanwith his personal Aid, Major Bates, and other members of his staff, reached Atchison from the West of the 9th, and among other matters has investigated the "Chivington massacre." A recital of the atrocitie

of odin sears, and manner.

The United States were disgraced by acts of flori lab barberity, so revolting in their details that a trul ful account cannot be published in a respectable jou nal, without giving offence to decency. And all the atrocities were committed on a band of Indians were committed to a band of Indians with the search of the search diy, hese Indians were under the leadership of 'Black le,' a chief whose friendship for the

These indians were under the reacersing of Discrete Rettle, a chief whose 'friendship for the whites had been proverbial for years. ! He had been in the wen ploy of our Government as a scout; had been engaged by Lieut. Col. Tappan of the list Colorado, to keep a watch upon the Stoux and other hostile tribes; has was repaid by indiscriminate massere: his frie was rewarded by outrage on the living and di-ment of, the dead, his confidence requited by al, by rapine, by murder, so sickening in its for it passes all understanding to imagine how any he either man or devil, could have executed it.

GEN. SCHENCE ON THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY. I

Schenck is reported to have said:

"Only ten days ago, in a full and free interview with him, the President said he regarded, the local Governments set up in the rebellious States as temporary experiments, simply to give the people an opportunity to show whether they will develop the fight aprit and policy necessary for a full restoration to their proper position under the Government While regarding them as experiments, he intends that the military power of the Government shall hold them in check, so that if they be found straying back intrebellious ways, the military will be there to preven them from again making the trouble they have here tofore caused.

The President, in this conversation, referred to the course that had just been pursued in reference to the

course that had just been pursued in reference to the Richmond election, where the citizens manifeste their rebellious spirit by electing to office the ver-men who had recently been in arms against the Gov men who had recently been in arms against the Go ernment. It was wilk his sanction that the military a tharities had set aside that election, and he gave this an example of what might be expected in other cas of a similar kind."

POMPOUS VIRGINIANS SNUBBED BY THE PRES

"A number of clitzens of Richmond have been here for several days, with the object of calling on the President as a delegation in behalf of themselves and others concerning pardons. Yesterday the self-constituted delegation went up to the White House, and, after the President had concluded the business then before him was added. after the President had concluded the business then before him, was addressed by him in a friendly way, with the inquiry where they were from. A member of the delegation in a pompous tone replied, 'Wo are proud to say that we are from the city of Richmond.' The President remarked that he did not see any occasion for pride in that fact, and turning his back, devoted his attention to other matters. Thus ended the interview."

HOBACE GREELEY. A friend of Mr. Greeley lately addressed him a letter, inquiring if there was any truth in the report that he was about to leave the Tribune. The reply is very characteristic. We quote:

"We elect an editor of the *Tribuse* annually by ock vote (one hundred shares, one vote each, nee, many years ago, two votes were east against m editor—none before nor since. I have never hear Once, many years ago, two votes were cast, against me for editor—none before nor since. I have never heard that any stockholders desired my withdrawaf from the Tribune. I mean to reduce my work on it at the earliest moment, and have so, stated to all who have a right to know. I am overwhelmed with labor. I grow old, and want rest and comfort. My idea is to get somebody else to take the laboring oar, recite the kicks and cuffs, and let me farm a little, fish some and write when in the spirit. Such is my dream! I hope to realize at least a part of it during the year 1805; but I may not till some time later. You know how circumstances control everything. At present I am writing about an average of two columns per day for the Tribune—too much; I mean to, write less whenever I,can. That's all I know about the matter. Perhaps they know more at the Herald office. Vol. II. (of the 'History of the Great American Conflict'), I grive to say, does not go on so fast as it should. I have too much other work, a very sick wife, and am out very well myself, and the weather is good for corn and turnips, but bal for history."

FREEDMEN COMING NORTH. The telegraph report FREEDMEN COMING NORTH. The telegraph report, the arrival at New York of a party of colored people from the South, en route for Rhode Island. It appears that they came from Washington, and were sen by request of the Providence Freedmen's Bureau The party, says the Evening Post, consisted of thirty were persons, and comprised whole families, though few of the children are very young. Nearly all of the party were men and women not more that wenty-five or thirty years of age, and children of tet to fifteen years. They were all bright looking, am more intelligent than the masses of their race, and

"You will see a good deal of nonsense originating in a Southern paper about General Lee's reasons for applying for a pardon. It is all stuff. General Lee's application for a pardon was drawn off and submitted to his friends in this city two months before he left for the contint. It is a very long document, over eightners. excuse any act of his by pretending that it is done for the benefit of others. By the by, speaking of him re-minds me that he does not intend to return to this city to reside. The house on Franklin street, where he lived, is now occupied by a Hebrew family."

Failure to Raise the Cable. The cable parted Wednesday, 21 inst. in 1950 fathoms of water. They grappled it three different times, and raised 1200, 900 and 690 fathoms respectively. Each time the grappling broke, but on no account broke the cable in grappling. The Great Eastern has gone for more and better grap.

grapping. The Great Eastern has gone for more and better gear.

Mr. Varley writes very encouragingly. He says he found no difficulty in grappling the cable whatever, even in the greatest depth, and that probably as soon as proper tackle is prepared, he will grapple the cable one hundred miles east of the break, where the water is only fifteen hundred fathoms deep. The buoy has rode the gales well, being fastened by pieces of condenined cable.

denined cable.

Mr. Canning, Chief Engineer, Capt. Anderson, Mr. Gootb, Director of the Telegraph Construction Company, and Mesers. Varley. De. Sasty. Thompson and Ciliford, electricians, unite in expressing the opinion that the Great Eastern can carry and any an Atlantic telegraph cable in any weather; that the present cable is the best manufactured; and that with better machinery and stronger tackle, there is a possibility of recovering the lost end of the cable.

John Baidut. Mesara. Tilton & Co., of Boston, having sent to John Bright a volume of sermons of the death of Abraham Lincoln and a report of the Conspiracy Trials, received from him a letter of thanks, in which he says: "I feet much happier now than I did a year ago, for your great way was a great burden on my spirit. I think all men should feel thankful to God that it a ended, and that the main cause of it is ended with it. Henceforth you are free people, and a great future is opening to you."

The Laborar Cfft of Essex. Lawrence has at length resched this position, numbering 21,660 inhables the procurs the means of carrying on their enterprises.

JEEP. DAVIS'S FAMILY IN ASBANY. Two sons and a daughter of Jeff. Davis passed through Albany on Tuesday, en route for Montreal, in charge of the mother of Mrs. Davis and two servants. The Journal says a large growd was attracted to the Delawan Bloues, where quite a disgusting scene took place. A number

A PERDICION VERIFIED. It is related of Cameron, that, in talking with Jeff. Davis abo Cameron, that, in talking with Jeff. Davis about secession in 1800, he told Davis that if the Southern States seceded rain would follow them, slavery be abolished and he would with his own hands plant corn in the streets of Charleston; that less apring Mr. Camero planted the corn in Charleston, as he predicted, like a soldier to attend to Br, and has lately received four ears of train as the product.

We remind our friends that Major-Gen. Canby said, in his letter to the civil Governor: "The said, in his letter to the civil Governor.

In tempt to enforce police law or regulations that criminate against the negroes by reason of color, not be permitted." The star car rule has been brown to be permitted." not be permitted. The star car rule has been done by virtue of these instructions. Colored men have bettered the "no star" cars since two or three day and the drivers have been unable to procure it assistance of the police to help them out. Polic officers have no longer any right to interfere in aucrases, and they know it. Let everybody get free into all the public conveyances.—N. Q. Tribuse.

The Enise Washington despatch says that at a re-cent political meeting in Charles county, Md. is, no gro, for cheering, a speaker, who endorsed the Union was beaten by a large number of citizens, including among them a magistrate insued Frederick Dent, Dr Geo, Mudd, brother of the assassis, and others: Dent

The A Canada, correspondent of the New York Herild says Marble, of the New York World, and one of the proprietors of the Journal of Commerce, are at Montreal, and have already acought interviews with Sanders and Tucker. Yery probable. Like seeks the control of the New York Sanders and Tucker.

like.

"Agate," of the Cincinnati Gazatle, furnishes that paper with a table showing the amount of pay and mileage drawn by Southern Senators during the last session of Congress. The total amount which these gentlemen drew from the Treasury of the Union for a session in which they apent all the time in destroying the Union was \$650,787. Some people would call this robbery—but we cannot think of applying the term to any act of such honorable and "chivalrous" gentlemen.

CONVAITOUS MENTEURN. The Louisville Journal says, that the anti-amendment element in Kentucky in the secession, rebel element. Every robel in the State voted and electioneered against the amendment. If, only a titizens had voted, it would have been carried fifteen or twenty to one, adds the Journal. This opposition to the second and the second against the second and the second and the second against the second and the second against the second ag

constitution was headed by Garrett Davis.

The Evansville Journal says a host of colored people on the old Kentucky shore, opposite Newberg agreed among themselves that they would cease to la offer the conservatives, if they did not vote the square out Union-Ticket. The morning after the election, accordingly; the conservatives, who boaste of having voted the "unscratched," found themselve without a single son of Ham to look after their growing crop of corn, potatoes and tobacco.

A correspondent, who has travelled through Nort Carolina, says the worthlessness of the negroes, whom such complaints are made, consists in the fa-table they are not disposed to work for nothing. An their impudence consists in not bowing as low as the once did to those who have always maltreated them

Discharged soldiers cannot have it too frequently impressed upon them to keep their discharge apers. The brokers and speculators who buy them

We regret to learn from the Anglo-African that Misses Ada Howard and Edmonia Lewis, of Boston, had their trunks taken from their boarding-house in Richmond, conveyed to a vacant lot, and rifled of their contents. The young ladies were left without a change. Miss Lewis is the gifted sculptress, whose bast of Col. Shaw did her so much credit. Agents are in Richmond engaging negroes to proceed to Cayuga County, New York, for the purpose of felling timber. They had already seemed a large number, agreeing to pay them one dollar a day and their board.

The building on Long Wharf, Newport, R. I., belonging to the Bay State Steamboat Company, and used as a storphouse, was destroyed by fire Monday evening, with about \$70,000 worth of furniture, bedding, &c., belonging to the different boats of the line.

St. Roch, one of the suburbs of Quebec, was visited the 17th inst. by an extensive conflagration, which destroyed between sixty and eighty buildings. 15 It is said that the President has ordered the pay-ment of \$821,000 to Massachusetts, toward the settle-ment of the total amount due on her war debt, which is expected to be about \$3,000,000.

Arrangements are on foot to erect a monument in betroit to fallen heroes. The association is formed, and \$250,000 in subscriptions obtained. The corner tone will be laid with great ceremonies:

Mr. W. L. G Greene, formerly of the Bons become connected with the Washington to become connected with the Washington Republics, e is a man of perseverance, considerable industry id shillty, and is likely to make his mark at the na-mal capitol.

tional capitol.

COLORED VISITORS AND THE PRESIDENT. The proportion of blacks who visit the Executive Mansion, to see the President on business, is not more than one to 500, as compared with the whites.

Snow fell at the White Mountains, Wednesday, notwithstanding the warm weather hereabouts. At Bradford, Vt., there was a very severe hall storm about noon, and some garlens were about destroyed. The hall stones remained on the ground till 6 o'clock that evening.

The Paris correspondent of the London Starsays the popular subscription of the centimes for a gold medal for Mrs. Lincoln is still progressing. The number of subscribers already obtained is 25,000, and the committee has made an appeal to raise the number to 100,000.

New Haven, Conn.; Aug. 21. William Grimes, better known as "Old. Grimes," a quaint darkey; once a slave, known to all our citizens and to thousands of Yale College graduates, died in this city yesterday, at the advanced age probably of ninety years. New York, 18th. The World says the total loss by the Ketchum forgeries will amount to four millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

PRESENTATION. Rev. L. A. Grimes, paster of the 12th Baptist Church, Boston, for the past eighteen

years, has been presented with a handsu service by the members of his church. service by the members of bis church.

The entire number of soldiers who died in the
Washington hospitals was 20,722. Of these 15,000
were white, including nearly 7200 natives of this
country, 213 from England, 660 from Ireland, 363
from Germany, and 167 from Canada, and about 30
other nationalities in small proportions are represented.
The unknown whites number about 5000; unknown
blacks 5700. The centerries are kept in good condition, and the names of the deceased, as far as known,
are inscribed on the headboards of the graves.

are insertices on the neanboards of the graves.

New York, 18th. The Tribunds Tyler (Pexis) correspondent deacribes the infamous rebel prison pen at Camp Ford, near that place, where so many Union prisoners languished through starvation and brutality for two years. The place rivalled that at Andersonville.

OPPOSITION TO SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHIDDREN.
The Times. Washington, dispatch says the secession-ints here have entered a protest against establishing schools for colored children in the aristocrafte locality of Fourth street, assigning, among other reasons, that it will depreciate the value of property.

The School Board of St. Paul, Minesons, have vo-ted to exclude negroes from the schools. There is an existing State lew, imposing a fine of \$50 on irrastors and teachers who refuse them admission, and the friends of the colored people are determined to enforce is. The excitement, consequently, runs high.

THE NATION,
SELECT JOURNAL OF POLITICE, LITERATURE,
SCIENCE AND ART,
AND AND ART.

Will be published July 6, 1865.

Its main objects will be discussion of the topics of the day, and, ab--The economical and constitutional questions, with acy and moderation than are now to be found

aciples in society and government, and the ad illustration of whatever in legislation or in m ms likely to promote a more equal distribution

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

Third—The earnest and persistent consideration of the condition of the laboring classes at the South, as a matter of vital interest to the mation 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, the securing to the progression and inside can de it, of an equal

chance in the race of life, which is the factor of the destribe 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 laft in francation.

they are left in ignorance and degradation.

Fith—The fixing of public attention upon the political
importance of popular education, and the dangers which
is gritem like ours runs from the neglect of it in any pora of our territory.

ern States, the openings they offer to capital and kind of labor which can be obtained i the progress made by the colored population in acquiring the habits and desires of civilized life.

Seventh-Sound and impartial criticism of books and

or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnes to bring to the discussion of political and social que critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of exaggeration and misrepresentation, by which so

a really critical spiris, and to wage was upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation, by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred.

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 finance treated every week by a writer whose positions and character will give his articles an exceptional value, and character will give his articles an exceptional value, and

nder them a safe and trustworthy guide.

render them a sake and transverse years.

A special correspondent, who has been selected for his work with some care, is about to start in a few days for a journey through the South. His letters will appear every week, and he is charged with the duty of simply reporting what he sees and hears, leaving the public as far as possile to draw its own inferences.

The following writers, among others, have been secured, ither as regular or occasional contributors :

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, " SAMUEL ELIOT, (Ex-Pres. Trin. College, Hartford,) Prof. Tonney, (Harvard,) Dr. FRANCIS LIEBER, Prof. CHILD, (Harvard,)
CHARLES E. NORTON,
Judge BOND, (Baltimore,) EDMUND QUINCY, Prof. W. D. WHITNEY, (Yale,) Prof. D. C. GILMAN, (Yale,) Judge Dalt,
Prof. Dwight, (Columbia College,) Judgo WAYLAND, FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, Rev. Dr. McCLINTOCK, Rev. Dr. Thompson,
Rev. Phillips Brooks,
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Boston, July 14, 1865.

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Is a concentrated extract of the choice roots, as combined with other substances of still greater alterality power as to afford an effectiant antidote for diseaser Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure. Such a remedy is surely wanted by those who suffer from Strumons complaints; and that one which will accomplish their cure must prove, as this has, of immense service to this large class of our sufficient for the substances of immense service to this large class of our sufficient fill has been proven by experiment on many of the worst cases to be found in the following complaints;—

Sorofilas Serofilous Sredlings and Sores, Skin Dissaces, Pimples, Pustules, Blotches, Empliens, St. Authony's Figs. Rose or Expirigels, Tetter or Sall Rouam, Scall Head, Ringworm, &c.

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They are sugar-coacked, to that the most sentitive can take them pleasantly, and thy are the best Ap

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# gpetry.

THE CHAIN OF THE BONDMAN.

Amen! Alloluish! The conflict is e'e:

The chain of the bondman, all reaking with gore,
Is finally broken! our country is free!

No longer the black man, with suppliant knee,
Ehall crouch at the feet of his tyramous lord,
Nor tremblingly start at the sound of his word.

The black sin of seridom, our nation's high crime, Which videned, and despensed, and darkened with tim No more, like a polsomous mist from the sas, Shall blight the fair fruit of our Liberty Tree.

That hiot is erased from our nation's fair scroll,
That orine washed away from her ponison soul,
By the deep crimeos pool on the battle's dread plain
And tears that were shed e'er the innocent slain.

That cursed word San year, which boldly has stood On our national ensign, deep written in blood,
With a pen impurisonared at Stavery's forge,
And ink from the veins of the slave neath the scourge, No longer its place on our flag shall maintain, Nor a star in that flag shall it darken again.

The chain of the bondman !—Ah, who can disclose
The angulah of sonl, the life-blighting woes,
And the blood and the tears that distilled on the turf,
While it shackled the body and soul of the ear?

Its sable-ckinned victim it chained to the sod, Forbidding his soul to commune with his God ; And true to lis work as the steel to the pole, It rivsted hell to the slave-dealer's soul.

But Slavery, foul Slavery, was destined to fall ; We saw "the hand-writing," its doom, on the wall And welcomed, yet dreaded, the Red Sea of woe, Neath the billows of which, for a time, we must go

But the Angel of Liberty lifted his wand, And back rolled the deluge of wos from our land; Our nation, baptized in the blood of the slain, Comes forth from its perils, washed free from its stain

Then hall to the era that dawns o'er the world? All hall to our banner of freedom unfurled! All hall to the advent of justice and light! All hall to the exit of bondage and night

Amen.! Allcluish! The conflict is o'er!
The stare-chain is broke, to be welded no more;
The block and the hammer, the whip and the post,
In the grave of Secession are buried at last.

Now, high in the journals of heaven above May the hand of Jehovah, in infinite love Erase those dark records of bondage and crime, And grant as salvation from sin throughout time

## PEACE.

BY CALES DUNN.

The cloud that dimmed the Southern sky Floats, shattered, o'er the nation's head; Its riven mists, dissolving, fly, For Peace is born, and War is dead.

See yonder where the cross of blood Leaned, frowning, 'gainst the gloomy skies, The old flag, with new life imbued, From Sunter's battered walls arise!

more the cannon's angry speech Is heard to cheer the fie No more the battle's deadly breach Lies yawning by the road of fate.

Through every vale the burden sweeps
. Of combats ended, peace begun,
And up and down our country's steeps The blessed, welcome tidings run.

Bright as a star the peaceful dove Wings her free flight above the scene, And halls the full, new birth of fove In hearts where hate too long hath been

Give thanks to Him, O land and sea! Breathe ye, O pines! your pealm of praise Chant ye, O waves! triumphantly, Your grandest anthemed chorus raise!

Strike from the country's heart the notes Of jubilee, O rivers wide! And from your gleaming, silvery throats,
O streamlets! pour your songful tide.

O swiftest wind! the tidings bear To fields of carnage, fields of blood; To fields of carnage, fields of And on the soft and vibrant air Throw ye, O bells ! your wildest flood

O ransomed people! sing the praise Of Him, and bless His hallowed no And from your hearts' rejoicing raise The thankful nation's loud acclaim;

For over Sumter's repts and scars
The symbol shines that war shall cease, And mid our country's bannered stars Appears the blessed star of Peace. -Gazlay's Pacific Monthly

LINES. Written on the occasion of the Funeral of Seward, of Auburn, N. Y.

Only a few grief-laden weeks have passed Since through the world that requiem was ring, At which remotest nations stood aghast, For which our own with sable clouds was hung.

The echo of that dirge comes back to-day, And peals around thy tomb, oh loving wife ! While we commit unto its kindred clay This second victim of the assassin's knife.

We little thought what heart that blow would r Which Heaven ordained its loftier mark should miss Yet there were some who whispered, each to each, With pallid lips, of such a grief as this.

Who knew thee best, knew how, through war's long nig Waiting the dawn, thy heart lis vigils kept, And how, with love intense and tripartite, For country, husband, sons, thou watched and wept. I see "sweet Auburn" hushed and dark to-day,

(From far, with vision purified and strong.) Dark with the erape-clouds that o'erhang the way Where that and pageant slowly winds along. I see St. Peter's walls and turret brown ;

I hear the solemn music of her choirs, ler fun'ral bell, that vibrates through the town, And wakes a sad response from sister spires. I see, Fort Hill! thy portals open wide.

Those gates where mourners bid farewell to bliss

And pouring through, a long and living tide Rolls onward to you high Necropolis. Room for a sister, here! Make room
For virtue, goodness, unpretending worth
For ye can spare amid these aisles of gloom
Tis all she asks—a little spot of earth.

A little spot, beneath these heavens clear. These ancient trees, with overshadowing bough, Where song birds come, such as she asked to hear When the death-damps were gathering on her brow

Oh God ! we bless Thee, even while we grieve, And tenderly return this cust so.

To but the rained temple, here we leave;
The rancon'd spirit walks among the just.

N. Y. These

GOD'S VOICE Li God a fool through fools to speak?

Not so; who seek their own are fools;
Those stabbern purpose. He will break,
And thwart the ends of cunning rules.

II; by the prattle of a child, God proves this He can speak and hear, And sharer are from in beguiled, Shall priests, whose hearts have falled them, spec ?

# The Tiberator.

THE SAFEGUARDS OF PERSONAL LIBERTY

Extract from a capital Address on "The Safe guards of Personal Liberty," delivered at Concer Hail, Philadelphia, by Hou. William D. Kelley, and published by the Social, Civil and Statistical Associa-tion of Colored People of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, to bring her Government into har-mony with these principles, in March 1780, less than four years after the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed the emancipation of her slaves, having previously secured by constitutional provision the right of suffrage to every freedman without regard to

Had all the States of the Union been organized o Had all the States of the Union been organized on these principles, there never would have been a day when you could not have written a letter announcing the general doctrines of the Gospel into any State, without bringing its recipient into bodily danger, which is the country of the Gospel into any State, without bringing its recipient into bodily danger, because those doctrines would have prevailed in the South as well as in the North. If the equality of man had been recognized all over the country, there would have been no war during the last four years, because no man, not even the pardoned rebel, denies that the war was made to perpetuate slavery and secure the degradation of the laboring masses.

No man will tell you that our newspapers were e cluded from Southern mails for any than that it was feared they would endanger the sys tem of inequality that prevailed and was cherished in the South. It was this that made it dangerous for in the South. It was this that made it dangerous tor us to travel there; it was this that fired Pennsylvania Hall; it was this that mobbed William Lloyd Garrison, and disgraced Boston by disclosing the fact that Leverett Street jail was the only place in that city strong enough for his protection. It was this doctrine of human inequality, this violation of the principles that underlie our government, this want of harmony between our wave and prejudices on the one harmony between our usage and prejudices on the on hand, and the theories which animate our governmen and which we all profess to believe, on the other, that disgraced us before the world, and converted what should have been our peaceful life into a restless sea of agitation, in which Constitutional safeguards were

abandoned or disregarded. Let me show you how thoroughly we, in Philade phia, are governed to-day by a concession we made to the South years ago, in the vain hope of securing peace and prosperity by promoting injustice and inequality; let me show you how completely we allo our prejudices, not natural, but thus engendered, to override the law of Pennsylvania; how who are in this hall join in demanding that the State shall accept our prejudices as its supreme law. There is not, within the wide limits of Pennsylvania, a juris of standing who will risk his professional characte by denying that, according to the law of Pennsylva nia, every man or woman who is well behaved, and can pay the fare, has a right to ride in our street cars. That is the law of the Commonwealth, as ex-pounded by our courts; no professional man of reputation will dispute it.

are a liberal people; as I have shown, most cherished traditions indicate our love of human freedom and equality. We are a patriotic people; we have sent our sons and brothers, we have gone ourselves, to the war. We are a benevolent people we have fed the soldiers of every State as they pass ed through our city, going to or returning from the field, and our hospitals have been attended faithfully by women (God bless them !) and by men, doing all they could for the relief of the soldier. We are a ful people, as is evinced by the fact that we have ered homes to two generals, and have made pro visions for the families of some who have died. And we are a religious people, being most of us what the world calls orthodox, believing that the unconverted soul is punished after death; but, notwithstanding high qualities, the majority of the people Philadelphia would rather, during the whole war, have seen the colored population so justly indignant, that, instead of the eleven regiments they gave us at camp William Penn, (applause,) they would not have given us a man; would rather see the sick and wounded suf fer; would rather be branded by the world as harshly ungrateful to the maimed soldiers of the republic and would rather see the yawning pit of hell swarn with new-born demons, than that the sanctity of ou street cars should be profaned by the pres colored clergyman hastening to baptize a dying infant, or a plous wife or mother hurrying to a hospital to tify the last moments of her dying husband o

son ! (Applause.)

This is the melancholy truth. There is no denying it; there is no concealing it. There is not a mar us—unless it be one like myself, who has ccustomed to riding in the cars of other cities, where all racea ride together—who does not feel some-thing of a prejudice on this subject. If you come to Washington, the capital of your country, you will ge used to riding in the cars with God's children of every complexion. I make no arraignment of my native city. I love her. I cherish her for all her virtues I boast of Philadelphia at all times; but I cannot help is immensely hypocritical when she talks about the importance of getting religious instruction to ignorant and dying people, and will allow every white strumpet and thief whose crime fruishes them with the means of paying a fare to ride in a car, and will, as she has so recently done, turn out the colored clergyman and other plous people hastening on the holiest errand of philanthropy and Christianity. (Applause.) Are we not, in all this, traitors to our own cause

and principles? Are we not giving aid and comfor to our enemies,—those who are not yet willing to accept the truths of the Declaration of Independence or be citizens of truly democratic States ? I pray you reform it altogether, and secure your own rights by protecting those of the humblest citizen of the nonwealth. Make him secure, and your own rights can never be infringed.

This is not a mere abstract suggestion. It is the estion of the day. The go the insurgent districts are to be reorganized. When States are organized, they must be districted upon the census of 1860, and they can only be restored to "their practical relations to the Union" (to borrow an expression from our late lamented President) by on of their representatives into the Co gress of the United States; and the only manner in which you can maintain your right to citizenship and to free travel over the million of square miles of territory, is to see that their governments are organized in harmony with the truth that all men are equal before the law, and those provisions of the Constitution which guarantee the right of citizenship to the cit-zens of each and every State, and the right of freedom

of speech and of the press. Can we do this? Yes! But you say that President Johnson has called upor the white people only of the insurrectionary district to reorganize State governments. I grant it; while I do not on that account doubt his patrio or assert that he has made a mistake, I know that I or ascert that no has made a mistake, I know that I would not have done just so. (Applause.) If the people to whom he has committed the charge have the wisdom and sense to frame truly republican constitutions, they will not only vindicate his wisdom, but gralify his personal wishes, for, his democracy is broad enough to embrace mankind. But you sak, broad enough to embrace mankind. But you ask, what would you have done? I would have maintained military government long enough to have come to understand the people, and let them understand their heavy claims to the government, somewhat. I would, at the proper time, have had an eurolment of the peo-I would have had the oath add to the whole people, and in doubtful cases would have to the whole people, and in doubtuit cases would nave taken testimony as to the loyalty of those who took the oath. When I had ascertained who were loyal, I would either, in accordance with Congressional pro-vision to be made in the meanwhile, or in the meth-od which has been adopted by President Johnson,

have called upon the loyal people to elect delegates to a convention to frame a constitution. This would

a convention to frame a constitution. This would have been in accordance with ancient precedent, so far as precedent exists, for the Fathers recognized every man who fought, and paid taxes, as a citizen. You can no betre find in the Constitution anything like a discrimination between white and black. When it was adopted, the colored freeman was a voter in every State in the Union except South Carolina. It is desired that he was such in Virginia and Delgware, where the exercise of auffrage was regulated by legislative provision; but their Bill of Rights covered the case, and I have proof, abundant and perfect, that negro suffrage was practised in Delaware. It never was meant by our fathers of the Revolutionary and Constitutional era that freemen should be excluded from the exercise of suffrage by reason of color. I would, therefore, have gone back to Revolutionary times for my precedent; I would have taken the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States as my guide; and would have althe United States as my guide; and would have allowed all loyal men over twenty-one years of age to

You may say that the President has submitted the I on may say that the I resident has somitted the question to the pardoned rebels. I grant you that he has, and I fear, as I have already said, that in this he has made a mistake; but, if so, it is not necessarily a fatal one. If those gentlemen should be so fir enlightened as to fashion constitutions giving the suffrage to every man, white or colored, who can read or read and write, I shall take no exception, because any man among them who has any ability can, in on year, learn to read and write. The colored people sit with humility at the feet of any child, or man woman, who will teach them. If the whites who have been reared in ignorance, and taught that all labor is disgraceful and education unnecessary, will not learn, let them be excluded with black men who may

If the colored citizens do not learn when the op-portunity shall be offered, let them be excluded, but let the law be just, and its restrictions apply equally to all. Men who are ignorant can learn; men who are poor, if we secure their right to acquire land by purchase under the homestead law in the South can and will acquire wealth. Whatever, therefore, be the rule, let it, I repeat, apply equally to all. (Applause.) I would, were the matter submitted to me, give the poor and ignorant the right to vote; the strong, the wise, the wealthy man can take care of himself. It is the poor and the ignorant who need the suffrage to protect themselves.

Again, throw the mass of the poor and ignorant people into the voting population, and the wise, the wealthy, the powerful, will see that they must estab lish a system of public education; for if they allow ignorance and vice to prevail around them, ignorance and vice may legislate away their rights and proper ty. Thus it is said that the North takes its poor chil dren from the gutters and the purlieus of the city and educates them; and those who enter our sche in poverty and weakness often leave with minds lightened and enlarged, and finally go to the grave me of wealth, their names and honorable achievement recorded in history. I would say, give the suffrage all over the country to the poor and the ignorant, and so constrain the wealthy and powerful to look to the

welfare of the poor and the ignorant.

And still again, I would, as a purely selfish measure, take the poor blacks into our political family. Let me illustrate my meaning. You are sick, bleeding, torn; thieves and robbers have been upon you, as they have been upon our country for four years. You have two persons to choose between. On the one hand, you have a friend—black, poor, ignorant, but who knows there is a God, and who fears his punish-ments—who instinctively clung to you all the time when the robbers were stripping and assailing youwho, in spite of his poverty and ignorance, has been willing to lay down his life to save yours. On the other hand, you may seek the aid of a man stronger than you are, of greater intelligence and learning acute, powerful, unscrupulous,—feating neither God, man, nor the devil. You must put your life in the hands of one or the other. Which will you choose? I would take the poor and ignorant friend, and would try, with his aid, to keep the powerful enemy off; and that is what you must do in the South. (Ap-plause.) You must either take the poor, ignorant who, during the war, have been your friends, have fed you in hospitals, have released you from prisons, have piloted you by night through marshes and woods, and have been ready to lay down their the brothers and friends and associates of John C. Breckinridge and Jefferson Davis as your rulers; for such, by the aid of Northern sympathizers, they will be. For such, as God is my judge, I will never con-sciously cast a vote in the American Congress that shall favor the admission of a representative reconstructed State under an oligarchic or aristocrati Constitution. (Great and long-continued applause.)

# MR. BARNUM ON MUSEUMS.

MR. BARNUM ON MUSEUMS.

BRIDGEFORT, Conn., July 29, 1865.

To the Editor of the Nation:

"The Nation" is just the journal our "nation" needed, and it delights thousands besides my humble self. But the article on "Museums" in the last number exhibits a little of the slashing style of the London Saturday Review, or else I am blinded by my prejudices or interests.

I am not this skinned, and I know my Museum was not so refined or classic or scientifically arranged as the foreign governmental institutions; for mine had to support my family, while those require annually from the government thousands of pounds.

"That class for which it [my Museum] would seem to have been originally intended" would not support a proper museum pecuniarily. More's the piy—but such is the stern fact. Hence, to make it self-supporting, I was obliged to popularize it, and while I still held on to the "million of curiosities," millions of persons were only induced to see them because, at the same time, they could see whales, giants, dwarfs, Ablinoes, dog shows, et cetera. But it is a great error to state that I ever permitted "vulgar sensation dramas." No vulgar word or gesture, and not a profane expression, was ever allowed on my stage. Even in Shakespear's plays. gesture, and not a profane expression, was eer allowed on my, stago. Even in Shakespeare's plays, I unflinchingly and invariably cut out vulgarity and profanity. It is equally incorrect that "respectable citizens did not take their wives and daughters" to see a play on that stage." Your writer doubtless supposed he was stating facts, but let him enquire, and he will find that nothing could be further from the truth. I am sensitive on these points, because I was always extremely squeamish in my determination to allow nothing objectionable on my stage. esture, and not a profane expre sion, was ever al

cause I was always extremely squeemash in my determination to allow nothing objectionable on my stage.

I permitted no intoxicating liquors in the Museum. I would not even allow my visitors to "go out to drink," and return again, without paying the second time, and this reconciled them to the "ice water" which was always profuse and free on each floor of the Museum. I could not personally or by proxy examine into the character of every visitor, but I continually had ball a score of detectives dressed in plain clothes, who incontinently turned into the street every person of either sex whose actions indicated loose habits. My interest even depended upon my keeping a good reputation for my Museum, and I did it to a greater degree than one out of ten could attain who had charge of a free museum, or even a free picture gallery. Now, I beg of you to submit the above to the writer of the article in question, and ask him, as an eat of justice, to set me right before the public. Humbug with me has had its day, and although I always gave the money's worth of that which was not demoralizing, I often grieved that the taste of the million was not clevated. But now, having made my "million" nearly twice told, I really aspire to do a good and great thing, and I sak hereby the aid of you and your writer in accomplishing it. Distention of the proof; 20 It will be almost infinitely superior in do a good and great thing, and I ask hereby the aid of you and your writer in accomplishing it. Disten:

If I build another meseum—ist, It will be fireproof; 2d, It will be almost infinitely superior in 
its collections and its classifications and accommodations to the old one; 3d, When I build a new 
American Museum, I shall also erect a large wing, 
or an additional adjacent building the contents of 
which shall form and be a Kree National Museum. 
There I will place classified specimens of natural

features, which will be an honor to our country. Here, too, will be placed all free contributions of novelties from eerybody, including missionaries, ship-owners, foreign persons of distinction, and foreign unseems. The Smitheonian Institution can loan its duplicates, the Patent Office, War and Nayy Departments can lend their trophics, models, etc.; genliemen can loan their statasty and other objects, and myself, my heirs or assigns, shall always exhibit the whole free (I paying expenses by means of rent of stores and out of my own pocket), and whoever we fall to do so, every article not loaned by individuals to the Free Museum is vested in the General Government, and may be removed to a suitable building in Central Park or elsewhere. Indeed, if my paying Museum prospers as I expect, myself or beins will eventually treet and present to the public the land, and a proper building containing these curlosities, which in ten or twenty years will have accumulated to an amazing extent if properly pushed and cencuarged. I have tried to hire Bayard Taylor to soour Europe with me to make purchases and obtain contributions of duplicates from institutions abroad. He will go next cates from institutions abroad. He will go nex summer; but this summer I want an educated, in-telligent gentleman, like the writer of that article on Museums, and will pay bim liberally to aid me; for, after all, his taste, so far as a Free Museum is concerned, exactly coincides with mine. I know Europe pretty well, and for the Free Museum is shall be manfully backed up by the leading officials of our Government at home and abroad, and, with shall be manfully backed up by the leading officof our Government at home and abroad, and, we
we experience and vim, I can in a single year
complish more in this line for "The Nation"
mean the American people; than the sleepy I
torical Society could do in half a century. At
events, at the least I can form a magnificent
cleus for a Governmental Free Museum. I o
the youth of this nation, a debt of gratitude, and
an anxious to pay it, at least partially. I he
that the fire of the late Museum will have fumigat
and burned out the humber. me justice. If he will, at the same time, lend in helping hand in the way of counsel, he will con-a great favor on myself, which I will endeavor transfer for the benefit of my countrymen.

In great haste, truly yours,

—The Nation.

P. T. BARNUM.

## THE NEGROES OF NEW YORK.

The New York Citizen contains a long and elaborate article on the colored population of the me-tropolis, their habits, residences, places of resorts and wealth, from which we extract the following personal information:

personal information:

Among the colored citizens is Mr. Thomas Downing. His long connection with the restaurant business in one spot—at the corner of Wall and Broad street—bas given him a reputation which many of his brethren who are in the same business covet. Mr. Downing is now about seventy-five years of age, and is worth about fifty thousand dollars.

George Downing is the oldest son of Thomas Downing, and is a man of remarkable talents, fine education, and has devoted a great deal of his time to the elevation of his race. His opposition to the school question some years ago in Rhode Island, when an attempt was made to exclude his children from the public school, has given him the reputation of being a representative man.

James McCune Smith, M. D., is the most wealthy colored man in New York city, being worth about

James McCune Smith, M. D., is the most wealthy colored man in New York city, being worth about \$100,000\$. He was educated at Glasgow, Scotland, where he received his diploma of M. D. He has been a practitioner in the metropolis for about thirty years. As an orator he is eloquent, and at times brilliant, but always clear and to the point. He has been for six years chief of the editorial staff of the Anglo-African, which position he has filled very acceptably. Dr. Smith is of good personal appearance, has a fine and well developed head, broad and lofly brow, round and full face, firm mouth, and a bright eye. His complexion is nearly Angle-Saxon. He resides at No. 162 South Third street, Williamsburg.

Williamsburg.

Dr. J. F. Chaveau is a native of South Carolina, and is of French extraction. When quite young his parents removed to Port an Prince, Hayt, where the Doctor was educated. He came to the United States about the year 1854, and commenced to practice medicine, meeting with much success. His residence is at 118 Laurens street, and his par-lors are very neatly furnished, while his library con-tains many valuable works. He is worth about

tains many valuable works. He is worth about \$20,000.

Peter A. Williams, one of the best known colored men of New York, has a residence on the corner of Putnam and Franklin avenues. Brooklyn, finely furnished. His daughter ranks among the most accomplished of the dusky belles, and is a leader of sable fashion. Williams is worth about twenty-five thousand dollars, and is a hair-dresser by profession. Some four weeks ago a grand fete was given at his residence to the officers of the Haytien frigate, 23d of December, which was the most recherche affair ever gotten up here by the colored people. The Williamses spend the summer at Kewport, R. I. George Lawrence, Jr., is one of the Secretaries to the Haytien legation. He has a fine education, and has translated seyral French works into English. He was at one time the editor of the "Pine and Palm," which position he held with much ability. His complexion is nearly white. Residence, 50 Wooster street.

Samuel J. Howard is one of the wealthy colored citizens. He is said to be worth about seventy thousand dollars. He is engaged in the real estate business, and in trading with the South. He is also a prominent member of Old Zion, and attends church very regularly. He resides in Fleet street, Brooklyn.

Robert Watson is doing an extensive business

church very regularly. Brooklyn.

Brooklyn.

Robert Watson is doing an extensive business at public waiting, and owns a number of houses in Sullivan street. The interior of his own house is very carefully furnished, and contains many oil paintings. Estimated worth about \$75,000. Residence, Sullivan street.

Charles L. Reason has for many years been con Charles L. Reason has for many years been con-nected with the educational institutions of New York and Philadelphia. In 1849 he was Professor of mathematics and belies lettres in the Central College at McGrawville. This position he held for a number of years, after which he went to Phila-delphia, and thence came to New York city. His school is at the corner of Broadway and Thirty-Several portraits of prominent anti-slavery person-

history, paintings, statuary, armor (especially that worn by historical personages), old weapons of war, musical instruments, costumes and furniture of the middle ages, and a thousand other useful and novel features, which will be an honor to our country. Here, too, will be placed all free contributions of novelties from eserybody, including missionaries, subjectively to one hundred men subjectively persons of distinction, and who were here when the war broke out, that six full regiments of infantry, two or three of cavalry, and averal batteries were raised in this district, and chiefly in our city. From several different members of these organizations, we are informed that out of over one thousand men, each, they have come out of the war with only fifty to one hundred men to each regiment. We are further told that all of these regiments recruited from three to four hundred men during the war. These six regiments were numbered respectively the 1st, 2d, 4th, 10th, 11th and 20th.

Ith and 20th.

The 1st regiment went out in command of Col. Geo. D. Maney, who was promoted to brigadier-general, and having served through the war has safely returned to his home in this city. This regiment embraced the famous flock City Guards, comprising three companies of the most wealthy, talented and distinguished young men of the city. They were unmistakably the flower of our youth-replete in education and genteel accomplishments. At the battle of Perry lile [the 1st regiment suffered a frightful loss. It was completely demoished, and out of three hundred of the Rock City Guards and out of three hundred of the Rock City Guards. and out of three hundred of the Rock City Guards only about seventy came out of the deadly conflict. They only mustered thirty men when the regiment, which was with Johnson's army, surrendered its skeleton. Out of this fine body of brilliant young men, but little more than a corporal's guard have returned to their native city. The terrible fatality to this regiment has cast a gloom over many families in this city, whose fondest hopes and affections were centred in their noble boys, who they thought would one day be the pride of their old age.

The 2d regiment went out in command of Col. W. B. Bate, who soon won distinction, and attained the rank of major-general. He has also passed through the storm of lead, having been severely wounded, and be is now smoking "the pipe of peace" in Huntaville. The 2d regiment wasted away like snow under a mid-summer sun. They were engaged in nearly all the great battles, and fought like tigers.

The 4th regiment was commanded by Colonel Churchwell, of East Tennessee. He died at Knoxville, from disease contracted in the war, in 1862. The same fatality attended this regiment, and but lew have returned.

The 40th regiment, better known at the same fatality attended this regiment, and but lew have returned.

The same fatality attended this regiment, and but few have returned.

The 10th regiment, better known as the Irish, was in command of Col. Hieman, a distinguished architect of this city. He dlied in 1862. We have failed to find a member of this regiment, to learn anything relating to its fate.

The 11th regiment was in command of Colonel James E. Raines, formerly Attorney-General of this judicial circuit. He was promoted before the battle of Stone River to brigadier general, and was killed in the battle of Murfreesboro, while charging the headquarters of General Rosecrans. It was a fine regiment, and composed of intelligent business men.

The 20th regiment was commanded by Colonel

gent business men.

The 20th regiment was commanded by Colonel
Joel A. Battle for about a year, when he was appointed State Treasurer under the Harris government. It was subsequently commanded by Colonel Smith. The regiment was terribly cut up at
Fishing Creek, and, like the others, there are but
very few members left to tell its history.

Such has been the fate of the six regiments of
infantly raised in the Nashville district.

The cavalry and artillars commanies from this

The cavalry and artillery companies from this district have nearly all passed away. They were handsomely equipped and comprised good metal.—Nashville (Tenn.) Dispatch.

### THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

The New York Post publishes a letter from the The New Lork Post publishes a letter from the counsel for Capt. Wertz, asking the public to desist from forming an opinion of his client before trial. Immediately following this letter is one from a Georgia planter, who is to appear as a witness in this case. His description of the den of horrors at Andersonville is enough to make the stoutest heart. Andersonville is enough to make the stoutest heart shudder. After giving a description of the prison from its building by Capt. Winder, he describes in a measure the sufferings of the prisoners. He says the position was selected by Capt. Winder, who, when it was suggested to him that the trees be left standing for the shade of the prisoners, replied: "That was just what he was not going to do; he was going to make a pen for the d—d Yankees, where they could not faster than they could be sent there."

was going to make a pen tor the d——d x ankees, where they could rot laster than they could be sent there."

He says that Winder and Wertz were regularly engaged in swindling the prisoners out of their proper food. As the greed of gain grew upon these men, the corn-bread was reduced in its quanty, being then manufactured of equal proportion of ground field peas and corn, unbotled, unsifted, uncleansed, indeed, from the dirt and trash which peas naturally accumulate; and at last, when the number of prisoners increased to over thirty-seven thousand, the meat rations per week were reduced to a piece of bacon for each man about three inches long and two wide, with one pone of the bread above described per day. Then, also, the custom of carrying the prisoners' food into the stockade in wagons was abolished. They drove up to the gates, which were slightly opened, and the scanty food, fool; and unhealthy as it was, was thrown inside by the guard to be scrambled for by the wretched prisoners, the strongest and those nearest the gate getting the largest share, the weak and sickly getting none. If the remnant, who were finally allowed to pass out of this military Golgotha, were not wild beasts, unwashed, befouled devils, no thanks are to be given to Henry Wertz for lack of effort to produce such a consummation.

When it rained, as it does almost continually in that climate during the spring and fall months, the soil within the enclosure was one mass of soft med.

When it rained, as it does almost continually in that climate during the spring and fall months, the soil within the enclosure was one mass of soft mud, at least fifteen inches in depth, through which stalked the starved, balf-clad forms of our Union soldiers. The stench from the prison could be perceived for two miles, and farmers living in the neighborhood began to fear for the health of their families. As a consequence, the hospitals—facetious was Wertz in his horrible humanity—were crowded with the emaciated and diseased men who were trundled into them. The hospitals were constructed of logs, unhewed; the crevices unfilled and open, admitting the rain, without floors, cots, bunks, or blankets, filthy and fetid with the festering putrid bodies of the sick, the dying, and the dead. Words fail to describe these dens of disease and death. I once mustered the courage, impelled by death. I once mustered the courage, impelled the carnest entreaties of a Northern friend, to ent idence, Sullivan street.

Edward V. Clark, a popular caterer, is still doen tenderly reared. I have what I deemed to be human wretchedness in its worst forms. It bought I could witness mortal agony and wretchesta, and is adorned by two accomplished daughters. Residence, 217 Sullivan street. Worth about before my eyes to prepare me for the ordeal, they would have failed to realize the facts as I saw them

face to face.

I will not pollute any page, save the records of the court that must try the culprit for the crime of torture by disease and filth, with the details of that caravansary of horrible, intentional slaughter.

# COLORED SCHOOLS IN EASTERN MARY-

delphia, and thence came to New York city. His school is at the corner of Broadway and Thirty-Seventh street. He resides at 118 Laurens street. Several portraits of prominent anti-slavery personages adorn the walls of his parlor, among which are noticed Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Susan B. Anthony, Charles Sumner, John A. Andrew, Windley Hollings, and Theodore Tilton. He is a man of fair education and superior intelligence, and of such light complexion that he would very readily pass for an Anglo-Saxon.

Theodore Duplessa, a rising young colored American, is considered the best ice-cream maker in the city. His establishment is at 110 Thomson street. He is unmarried, and lives with his mother. His parlor is very elegant, the album on the "whatnot" containing cards of many colored personages, including distinguished colored British officers from Nassau, New Frovidence. Several beautiful landscape paintings adorn the walls.

THE REBEL REGIMENTS FROM THE NASH-VILLE DISTRIOT.

The last gun of the war has been fired, and the Southern boys are silently returning to their homes with heavy hearts. They return in poverty and humiliation to their deeds of valor and heroits of the past, and the Southern sold and recollections of the past, and the Southern sold are rest under a signal if he publishes it to the world. Buth is a defeat in war.

It will be remembered by those of our citizens trivations and the remembered by those of our citizens privations as they suffered.

Lewis Douglass writes that the freedome are say early anxious that their children shall cap a caraly anxious that their children shall cap a caraly anxious that their children shall cap a caraly anxious the shall cap a cap and a cap a

# THE NEGROES AND THE CHIEF JUSTICE

"Agate" of the Cincinnati Gazett, slows panied Chief Justice Chase on his late South tour, gives an interesting account of an interesting account of an interest between the Chief Justice and a delegation of all ored men, in which the talk turned principally as the soffrage question, as follows:

between the Chief Justice and a delegation of a sterior ored men, in which the talk turned of a sterior ored men, in which the talk turned of a sterior ored men, in which the talk turned of a sterior ored men, in which the talk turned of a sterior ored men, in which the talk turned or the sterior ored men, in which the talk turned to tote, set if the sterior or th

themselves.

Sir,' he continued, 'the white populain a Georgia is five hundred thousand, and of that mober fifty thousand, or one in ten, earl real as write. Give us three years to work in, and more our younger adults the proportion who cance real and write will be no greater. But it, these white don't read and write because they den't want to you prompt don't because the law and abble faster. on read and write because the law and public feling our people don't because the law and public feling were against it. The ignorant whites had ever chance to learn, but didn't; we had ever classe to remain ignorant, and many of us leared in size of them."

# SOLDIERS' OUTRAGE UPON A NEGRO BOT.

A passenger who came up on the steame Genel Buell, yesterday morning, has informed so it and inhuman act that was committed by some sidem of the 3d Ohio Cavalry, upon a negro had is the command, which resulted in his death. During the night it was discovered that this boy, whose tase we could not learn, some seven year old, had propriated a bundle of clothing which had been the property of a soldier who had lost his life by drivening in a Southern river. He was assailed as beaten by several of the soldiers, the whole repement, seven or eight hundred in number, being a board, and all who could get hear ecoch witnessing the performance. When thes resident almost helpess, he was taken by two three of the soldiers. board, and messing the performance. When this restored almost helpiess, he was taken by two or three of them and deliberately pitched overboard, while the vessel was under full headway, about four mile be vesset was mader in locations, another interfers to prevent the fiendish outrage, and when his low went under, some of them said: "Here one nor nigger out of the way." His hands were sen to come up out of the water, as if seeking for sen one or some thing to save him; but the pablic of the wheel struck him, and carried him out of ight come up out of the water, as if seeking for some or some thing to save him; but the paddled the wheel struck him, and carried him out of sight and out of trouble. Afterward, when our informant, having learned of the fact, and see of them why they threw him over, or why they dish have the boat stopped and rescue him, they rufsed threateningly: "Who cares for a d—d nigger I as "We care on more for the nigger worksper that we do for the niggers." Such wanton destruction of life should not be allowed to pass without a effort being made to ferret out and possible the offenders.—Cincinnati Gazette.

# "BLIND TOM."

It will be remembered by the lovers of mose ral novelty, that a year or two before the war, a kind box made a tour through the border slave States, giving concerts as a pianist. He was a slave sliven years old, and besides being blind was idnor; yet his skill as a perfogner on the piano was workful, if not miraculous. He had acquired the art instinct as it were, and it was a passion with his the exercise of which he could not restrain. At fix years of age, blind and stunid as he was, he had the exercise of which he could not restrain. The joy years of age, blind and stupid as he was, he had climbed up on the stool beside his mistrest, and intrastively played a harmonious second to the percise was performing. From this time on he had sought the piano as the child its mother, and without any struction, for the reason that he could not comprehend it. He had acquired such a store of muscal compositions, that he could play the liveleg drawthout repeating himself. His performances were confined to the slave States, for the reason that he master (cared that somehody would a star him, and confined to the slave States, for the reason that master feared that somebody would "stall" bin, and make a fortune out of bigs. During the war be latticed in his inaster's family, near (Solumbes, for the still further increasing the extent of bit acceptable ments. The war having closed and he become time morthward for the purpose of exhibiting his protein and entertaining the music-loving community with series of concerts. They are now in the city, as will soon be presented to the public in Moart list. We spent an hour with him last evening in corpus with a number of others, and feel bound to struck he is truly a prodigy.—Cincinnati Colered Crizes.

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

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has renewed from

NO. 31 WINTER STREET,
where she will attend to all disease of the Hair.
She is sure to cure in nine cases of the Hair.
She is sure to cure in nine cases of the that have a seen to the case of the many pears made the hair her study, and is such as for many pears made the hair her study, and is such as seen one to excel her in producing any governed hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one sie, lest made from the roots and herbs of next, which we have the same of the same should be such as the sa

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The Agents of the American, American sects, Penn-is, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are just to receive subscriptions for The Lizerator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financia

The introduced production constitute the Financia bility, but are not responsible for any debts of the production of the

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers

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

n as the law of nations. I say that mil-

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

VOL. XXXV. NO. 35.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1804.

array, the commanders of both armies he cipate all the slaves in the invaded territo

# Selections.

## THE PROGRESS OF EMANGIPATION IN RUSSIA.

We have the grateful privilege of laying before est readers a letter from a veteran philanthropist-grhaps, if we except Lord Brougham, the earliest pressp. ii re except sons morganin in carried initing advocate of emancipation. Monsieur Tourgue-sef ledongs by birth to the Russian nobility. He strikipated in the closing campaigns of the final lition against Napoleon I., and afterwards held a high office in the state department of his native coun-try, and was the intimate and respected adviser of Assander I. When that well-meaning but feeblewild monarch died in 1825, there was an emute in siled monarch died in 1625, there was a brown of a constitutional government which was promptly and bloodily suppressed by Nicholas. M. Torrgeneff, who was at that time abroad for his regreement, was most unjustly implicated in this attempt, and capitally condemned.—From that time till 1967, as he states below, he lived an exile, for some time in and but chiefly in France, his real cause of see being not his political views which were indeed beral, but his conspicuous zeal in behalf of his un-internate countrymen, who languished in serfdom. In 1817 he published a work entitled "Russia and the in three volumes, in which he both gave i setch of his own life and efforts in behalf of emanci ation, and discussed at length the plan which, in his re judgment, would be most successful for that durable end. He there expressed his conviction that be deliverer of the serfs could be no other than the atternt himself, and events have approved his sa-A few weeks ago, we wrote to congratulate this on the accomplishment of his heart's desire, and to express the hope that he might favor The Nation, and through it the people of the United States, with observations of the workings of emancipation in Rania. The following is his response. It is doubly reliable from its direct and indirect bearing upon the so great questions that concern the freedmen o ca-land and suffrage .- Ed. Nation.]

## To the Editor of The Nation :

Total register that the proposition of the serial satisfaction I felt in seeing, by the emancipation of the serial Russia, the wishes of my whole felialist. After thirty-three years of absence, it was given me to see my native land again. It was 1857, the memorable moment when the Emperor Alexander first raised the question of emancipation, red declared it was time for it to be accomplished. A might have been expected, the idea of emancipation met with great opposition from different see. Yet, I must say, the opposition from different see. Yet, I must say, the opposition was directed sto much against the personal emancipation of seria sa against the appropriation to them, when betted, of the land they held. The proprietors, assembled in different committees which were established all over the empire to discuss they matter, redel even by giving up their right of possersion in the person of the serf, and, mentioning only their right to the land occupied by the peasants, claimed presentary indemnities if that land were delivered them. The honorable gentlemen whom the Emperor entrusted with this important task, forming a committee ad hoc, declared from the first as a principle that the emancipated peasants must have land, then the same quantity as they had hitherto excepted, en condition of a pocuniary indemnity to

search with the more than the first as a prinple that the emancipated peasants must have land,
but in the same quantity as they had hitherto
copied, en condition of a pecuniary indemnity to
pull to the proprietors. That principle prealled thanks to the Emperor's firmness.

Dang the discussion of that question in Russia,
pulsands everal writings on the matter. My
have purpose and warmest desire being to secure
with peacants as soon as possible their personal
sendon and complete liberty of labor, I proposed a
complete fiberty of labor, I proposed a
complete

Meanwhie, I inherited a small landed property, I shirted by about four bundred persons of both its. I hastened to Russia, and put in practice method. I abandoned one-third of the land, lading their bouse, to the peasants, and let them two remaining thirds for a certain sum of eqs. In my agreement with them it was settled it, if the emancipation which the Government apreparing (1859) turned out more advantageto them, they were to accept it in preference to see. It is needless to add, that when the official macipation was proclaimed, the peasants and myfound it more advantageous, and adopted it. case. It is needless to add, that when the official cancipation was proclaimed, the peasants and myself found it more advantageous, and adopted it. If were to compare the two methods, I should say fat mine tended chiefly to the liberty of the peasants person and labor, and that of the Government between an quantity of land sufficient for their absatence. The great inconvenience of this last sethod is, that it obliges the peasants to pay a beny rent to redeem their land, and that during fatt-nine years! Nevertheless, their passion to peases land is so strong that they cheerfully subset to such hard conditions. The redeeming rent freat de rachaily must be paid by the peasants either in money, according to an estimation fixed by law, why work done by the proprietor, i. e., by correfes. This last mode of payment, sanctioned by law only for a short period, disappears more and more every day, so that the majority of the peasants even now do not work for the proprietors, but pay their rent in money. I can say more: about two millions of passants are now entirely liberated with regard to the proprietors, thanks to an immediate payment of the redeeming rent. In such cases their annual ret (redecance) is capitalized, and the Government gives the proprietor an obligation for the thousand of the capital, which bears five per centiaterst, and will by redeemed in the course of farty-nine years by annual drawings (firages). The passants then pay their redeeming rent to Government, and thus become free and independent proficiates, and agreements of this kind become more and sore frequent every day.

I can handly say how happy I was when I saw, at the same of the capital was the law. and agreements of the annual frequent every day, can hardly say how happy I was when I saw, year, for the first time, my dear, beloved, and

"l'organisation des hiesa des Apunages, en vue de massipation des payans seigneuriaux." [Aug., 1857.] Kar., 1857.] Kar., 1858.] Poras des disposition basées sur le reserit impérial du breubte, 1857. [Mar., 1858.] "In question de maniquim et la question de l'administration des pay-las." [Oct., 1858.] "In dernier moi sur l'émancipation au seris en Rassie." [180.] Besides munerous artisea. Ed. Nation.

on, of Starodoub. - Ed. Nation.

desplysespected. Ressian peasants free at last, and sincere interest. In all that has been going on inperpension of the land they had till then eitherts of the street of the land they had till then eitherts of their surface, are now men, conscious of their surface, as serfs! What a change! The same creatures, serfs yesterlay, are now men, conscious of their sunal good scene, they have preserved their immand dignity; their aspect, their language, are those of free men. In the meanwhile, in getting rid of their serfdom, they have preserved their immand good sergence whatever, can be detected in them, they are full of self-respect, yet polite. I saw them discussing with the authorities some busines, the server of the server they were used to, thanks to the ancient organiza-tion of the Russian commune—but the general affairs of a whole district also. Do not think, howaffairs of a whole district also. Do not think, how-ever, that their modesty reaches total abnegation. In one district the nobles, full of the projudices which are now so absurd, showed some displeasure in finding themselves side by side with peasants, acting the same part as they, voting with them, and so on. There the peasants knew how to maintain their rights and independence, and voted for men of their own class.

All the district assemblies, after having voted, the

of their own class.

All the district assemblies, after having voted, the formation of the administrative committee, name the deputies for the larger assembly in the chief town in the province, which, of its turn, chooses among its own members the members for the provincial administrative committee. The central committee seems to interest the peasants less than those of the districts, and this too is owing to their modesty and moderation. In the course of time they will learn that they, as well as the nobles, can play a part in the general committees.

Another field is offered by the new law to the activity of the peasants in the local or municipal tribunals. The law unites several rural communes in one canton (wolost). Each canton, each commune, chooses an ancient, assisted by a concell. In every canton is a tribunal to judge the peasants affairs. Ancients and judges are elected by peasants; noblemen are not submitted to these tribunals, but it has happened that some of them preferred having their difficulties with peasants settled by municipal judges rather than by the usual tribunals. This jurisdiction, established merely for peasants, has great importance, owing chiefly to the privilege of deciding, not only according to general law, but also according to local customs. Opportunities have not been wanting for the good sense of the neasants to show itself in these municipal tribunities.

nities have not been wanting for the good sense of the peasants to show itself in these municipal tribute has and councils, and the success of the institution is clear to every one.

After expatiating at such length on the Russian emancipation, allow me, sir, to say a few words about another emancipation also accomplished by the Russian Government. I am the more desirous because it seems to me to be little known in Europe, and to be appreciated in a very insufficient and erroneous manner. I mean the emaucipation in the Kingdom of Poland. The Polish peasants in the grand duchy of Warsaw were, it is true, proclaimed personally free by a decree of Napoleon I, and the introduction of the French code civil; but, in fact, they remained in the same condition as before, on account of the law which united in the hands of the proprietor the judicial and executive power, with the right of corporal punishment. The possants were always unhappy in Poland: the Polish peasants in the decrease of the possants contributed most of the proprietor the judicial and executive power, with the right of corporal punishment. The possants were always unhappy in Poland: the Polish peasants in the decrease of the proprietor the judicial and executive proposed to be proposed to be

efficacious means must be employed to change turnstate; and nothing can be better than the right of
suffrage, elevating them at once to the same levelwith the whites. Prejudices alone would then remain to be deplored and fought against; the law
would be free from all repreach, the legislator would
have done all he could possibly do.

Under the impression of what is going on in my
own country, I cannot help wishing that the Americans would give the freedmen some land, not, of
course, in sending them to settle far away as colons,
but in allowing them to settle far away as colons,
but in allowing them to settle therever they canshave some land of their own. Then only will they
feel and appreciate the advantages of a free and
independent life. Then only will they try to inlerease their welfare, and that would certainly give
hands to the great proprietors for cultivating their
cotton. The freedman, when once he has understood the advantages of working on his small bit of
land, will not be satisfied with it alone: he will go
and look for other work, in order to make his life
more and more easy and happy.

Accept, sir, my best compliments and kind rework points. July 14, 1865.

best compliments and kind .

N. TOURGUENEFF. Vert-Bois, July 14, 1865.

# SPEECH OF GEN. SCHENCK.

Gen. Schenck delivered an address at Portsmout Ohio, on the 18th inst., in which he repeated the declarations concerning the President's policy made in his Chillicothe speech. At Portsmouth the Gen-

# THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

time they, b, can play
law to the municipal communes cach communicipal communes cach commoncel. In may be allowed to say here, that I had an interview with the President just before I left Washington, some ten days ago, before coming home to meet my fellow-citizens in the canvass for the approaching election. I sought that interview for the special purpose of informing myself as to his proferred settled by side of the special purpose as to the restoration of the rebetater, his devotion to the executive power, and his general purpose as to the restoration of the rebetater, his devotion to the country, the energy with which, having determined in his own mind what is sual tribusy for peasing the tribust of the Senate in the commencement of this struggle, denouncing the traitors as they deserved; and I knew that, though he might make some mistake, does not sense of

law, but also according to local customs. Opportunities have not been wanting for the good sense of the production where could be no mistake about his patriotism, and the peasants to show itself in these municipal tribunals and councils, and the success of the institution is clear to every one.

After expatiating at such length on the Russian emancipation, allow me, sir, to say a few words about another emancipation also accomplished by the Russian Government. I am the more desirous because it seems to me to be little known in Europe, and to be appreciated in a very insufficient and erroneous manner. I mean the emaucipation in the Kingdom of Poland. The Polish peasants in the Kingdom of Poland. The Polish peasants in the Kingdom of Poland. The Polish peasants in the Kingdom of Warsaw were it is true necessaries.

owe from by arwed force is consecuted, he pointed to what had taken place in Richmond, Virginia, and assured me that where they acted in bad faith by selecting men for office because they were rebels, the military would be ready to sweep away their work. [Cheers]

With this understanding. I for one, as a citizen of Ohio, and representing a portion of her people, stand here to-day, giving my unqualified support to the course pursued now by our President, intending to wait and see what will be the outcome of this erring people.

o wait and erring people.

Everybody knows how, during the progress of this rebellion, we have had to contrast black patriots with white rebels. Everybody knows that while the white people of the South have nearly unanimously lifted their parricidal hands to strike down our national flag and destroy the government it represents, the poor, oppressed and down-trodden black men, even the slaves upon their plantations, have sympathized with our Union soldiers, and served them in every possible way. Everybody knows that not only has this been their universal disposition toward the Union cause, but that in the dark hours of the nation's trial, when the struggle was so evenly balanced that the worst fate was feared for our cause, these blacks were called upon to furnish their arms, their hearts, their lifeblood, in the contest that was to settle our common destiny. And this day we have more than 100,000 of them bearing their muskets, under the stars and stripes of our country. Something, therefore, is due to them; how it shall be paid is a question yet to be decided. The President has thought it well, in attempting to lead these insurrectionary States back, to interfere as little as possible with the laws of their several States. He has, therefore, when calling upon them to present Constitutions that shall be satisfactory to the rest of the nation, asked that

back, to interfere as little as possible with the laws of their several States. He has, therefore, when calling upon them to present Constitutions that shall be satisfactory to the rest of the nation, asked that they be presented as coming from those who possessed the right of suffrage before the rebellion, and were willing now to purge themselves of the disabilities to which they have recently been subjected.

We know not what sort of Constitution they may present; whether they will provide for the enfranchisement of their late slaves, or whether they become to deny it to them. But I take the bold stand here, and am prepared to maintain it, that when they present their Constitutions, whether they provide for negroes voting or not, until a further condition is complied with I shall oppose their readmission to the privileges of the other States. As far as voting is concerned, I am free to admit that I would rather have the vote of a black man with a white heart than the vote of a white man with a black and rebellious heart. [Cheera.] But I am not willing to receive either of them yet. [Renewed cheers.] I am for keeping all of them out yet washile. I am for waiting until the work is finished—until I have proof of such disposition on the part of the rebels as will insure that no other rebellion will again break out, and destroy our peace and prosperity. prosperity.

THE QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE-A PROPOSITION THE QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE—A PROPOSITION.

• • If, no other representative of the people makes the proposition before me, I pledge to you my promise that early in the next Congress I will propose this further amendment, that from this time for all the States alike, the Constitution of the United States shall be so changed as that representation shall be founded upon voters, and not upon population. [Applause.]

Let us look into this matter, and I especially ask the attention of any Democrats who may be present, for I want them to answer whether there is anything anti-democratic or anti-republican in this proposition. By the present three-fifths rule, supposing the slaves still remain in bondage, the following are some of the results:

Maine, by the census of 1860, had a population of 626,959, and on this population was allowed five representatives.

representatives.

Alabama had a population of 526,431, just 100,000 less than Maine, but she was allowed, under
the three-fifths rule, seven members—two more than

Maine.
Vermont had a population of 314,389, upon which she was allowed three representatives.
South Carolina had a population of 291,385—20,000 less than Vermont—and upon that, because of the large number of her slaves, she was allowed six representatives—twice as many as Vermont,

Pennsylvania, with a population of 2,849,266, is allowed twenty-four representatives; while North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Flori-

General Schenck, in his Obio speech, takes the ground that selfrage and representation should be identical; and while he is willing that the rebel States should exclude the blacks from voting, he insists that they should not be counted in the basis of representation. This scheme would deprive the late slave States of thirty members of the House of Representatives and thirty electors for President, which they would have if the blacks as well as whites were counted; and it would do away with one of the gravest objections to the present plan of reconstruction—that it at once deprives the negroes of the most important privilege of citizenship, while it makes their mere presence in their respective localities a source of immense political power to their late masters. This power is great enough to give in some places a voter recently in arms against the Government twice, and in other places thrice, the influence in the election of President and members of the House of Representatives, which is enjoyed by a voter in Ohio and New York.

But General Schenck's scheme requires an amendment to the Constitution before it can go into effect, and it seems to us impossible that such an amendment should receive the assent of three-fourths of the State, as General Schenck would include in the enumeration all the rebel communities, whose basis of representation it would affect. The Democratic party in the free States would oppose it, and so would a large portion of the Republican party. The Republicans would be inclined to think that a State could not be said to have that "republican form of government" which the Constitution guarantees, where one-half of the free citizens were excluded from the right of suffrage.

But the most damaging objection to the scheme, from a republican point of view, would be its effect in delivering over the black population, bound band and foot, to the tender mercies of State legislation. Forming no part of the national political power of the States in which threy dwelt. They would be counted out, not General Schenck, in his Ohio speech, takes the

# SPEECH OF GEN. HOWARD.

Extract from an interesting speech delivered by Gen. Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, at a re-cent meeting of the Maine Freedmen's Relief Soci-I see that it is stated that Gen. Cox, who is

ety:—

I see that it is stated that Gen. Cox, who is a candidate for Governor of Ohio, has given it as the result of his experience and observation, that the white and black races cannot permanently live together in the country. Now, I have the highest respect for Gen. Cox. I esteem him as a thorough soldier, a true patriot, a Christian gentleman. But my experience leads me to a conclusion diametrically opposite. If my individual likes and dislikes may be referred to, I know that I can employ a negro, and he and I can live together; and, if that is the case, there is no reason why another two cannot do so likewise. It shows that it is not a natural, instinctive repugnance in us against the blacks. Forther, I am conscious that I could employ twenty-five negroes on a farm, and live with them, not only without hating them, but could love each and every one of them. I will use that strong term. But you say, "that is not social equality. Social equality is an absurdity. It does not exist anywhere, not here in Augusta. But, "in talking of employing negroes, you suppose the white man was superior." Perhaps in the average he is, But "would you like to see white men employed by negroes?" In answer I would say, that in Washington one of the weathlets; citizens is a colored man; and he employs white clerks, who cannot only expendent the tegradation, but are very glad of the employment. He transacts a very large business at home and in the West. This may seem to you an anomaly—an absurdity. It is not; it is simply uncoment. He transacts a very large business at home and in the West. This may seem to you an anomaly—an absurdity. It is not; it is simply uncomen. There is a prejudice, and there is a conventionalism sgainst it, but the prejudice is not radical nor instinctive, and all conventionalisms are liable to change.

ical nor instinctive, and another the control of solving the problem—how to rid ourselves of this prejudice. It is get more of the spirit of Christ. That will substitute love for hate in our prejudices. But you will substitute love for hate in our prejudices. But you will substitute love for hate in our prejudices. But you will have "this is not practical; the love of Christ is no thisty-nine representatives—fifteen more than the same population in a free State.

But let the Constitution of the United States stand unchanged, slavery being extinguished, and what will follow? Why, that the other two-fifts will be represented: and how many of these are there in the slave States? 1,380,212 more will be represented; and how many of these are there in the slave States? 1,380,212 more will be represented, when you come to add the other two-fifts. This will give to the South, in addition to the great advantage she already has, fourteen more votes in Congress. Then the Souther is states I have mentioned in connection with Pennsylvania will have ing only the same voting population.

By the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution that I propose, it is true that, it may be come a question with the people of Ohio whether they will, in case the South enfranchises its black population in order to get a representation for them, do the same for the colored people. For myself, I am willing to meet the South on this ground, and the same for the colored people. For myself, I am willing to meet the South on this ground. But this is a question for the future, and I shall not discuss it now. Let us amend the Constitution so as to make it to the interest of the Southers and the same for the many thanks and the same for the colored people. For myself, I am willing to meet the South on this ground. But this is a question for the future, and I shall not discuss the new Let us amend the Constitution so as to make it to the interest of the Southers they only the same of the colored people. For myself, I am willing to meet the Population for the future, and I shall not discuss the question whether we had force to give it to our thomanda. But this is a question for the future, and I shall not discuss the question whether we had force the shall force on make it to the interest of the Southers to the South on this ground. This is a question of the future, and I shall not discuss the question whether we have a supp

chewhere, but these are individual cares and new the rule. The work is going on comparatively well, I think; and, while we should be prepared for any contingency, we have a right to be sanguine. I believe that when God sent us forth to liberate this oppressed race, he did not mean that they should be free, and free to some purpose. If we attempt to recinslave them, or to bind any heavy burdens upon them, He will chastise us again and again. The signs of the times are that God meant that we shall do right.

The Bureau has to depend upon voluntary as sociations for a great deal of its work for sending teachers into the field, and partially to relieve the poor and distressed. No appropriation was made by Congress for the work before us; and when money once gets into the treasury, we cannot get it out again without special appropriation. When Congress meets, I shall lay our wants before it. Unit then we must depend, to some extent, on the associations already formed. Of this society (the Maine Freedmen's Relief Society) you know something. Its officers are generally personally known to you, and you are also aware that it is an auxiliary to one of the great national associations which give the Bureau material aid.

I am opposed to a permanent establishment in Washington, for the purposes for which the Bereau labors. I think our only efforts should be with a view to an end of all this. The subjects are entirely matters for State control; and when any State shows that it is able and willing to undertake

tirely matters for State control; and when any State shows that it is able and willing to undertake the work—willing to take care of its own poor, and to deal justly by its colored people—we shall be dis-posed to let them. Not until then. The Bureau over which I have been placed is a

The Bureau over which I have been presented by the responsible post, and in its administration I need your earnest support. Yet it is a work that especially needs the Divine blessing. It is God's lt is a benevolent department of the Government. pecially needs the Divine blessing. It is God's work. It is a benevolent department of the Government, placed at Washington, that the Christian churches and voluntary benevolent societies, and all lovers of justice, may have a friend near the head of the Government. They can rest assured that their interests will be cared for, so far as it is in the power of the Bureau to do it. The responsibilities of the administration are yours and the country's, as well as mine; and if we discharge them in the fear of God, doing what is right in His sight, and dealing justly with the people for whose benefit the Bureau was established, we may truly make our nation what we all wish it to be—"a nation whose God is the Lord."

### THE PRESIDENT AND REBEL SUITORS FOR PARDON.

The scene at the White House on Tuesday, when the fire-eaters had a piece of the Executive mind, is thus described in the Washington Republican of that are in the control of the Control that evening :

some fifty persons were present, most of them seeking pardons. A Mr. Keitt of South Carolina, (not Lawrence M., he having been killed by a loyal bullet at Fort Wagner,) approached the President, and informed him that he desired a pardon. "What have you done?" asked Mr. Johnson. "Topposed secession until my State decided to go out of the Union, then I determined to go with it. I never joined the army. I did nothing to bring on the rebellion," was the reply. "You," rejoined the President, "are like all the rest; you did nothing. Now," he added, "my experience is, that men who didn't join the rebell army, but who acquiesced in rebellion," dent, "are like all the rest; you did nothing. Now," he added, "my experience is, that men who didn't join the rebel army, but who acquiesced in rebellion, were the most mischievous and dangerous men we had. I cannot pardon you, sir." Mr. Keit made several other efforts. Among other things be reminded the President that he had come all the way from South Carolina, and had been in Washington some time; that hotel living here was very high, and altogether his daily expenses were extravagantly large, and that he would like to get away as soon as he could go.

tor and could not extrict ficulties he complained of account of them. The answer was a finality, member of the late rebnext approached the Prepardon. Similar question President as were asked I swers it appears?

parton. Similar questions were put to him by the answers it appeared that Birch did nothing, only, as a member of the Virginia Legislature, in obedience to instructions, he voted that Virginia should secode from the Union of the United States. That is all be did; that was "nothing." The President self-legislature in obedience to instructions, he voted that Virginia should secode from the Union of the United States. That is all be did; that was "nothing." The President self-legislature in the president to grant him a pardon. "What great in have you committed that you come here in clerical robes to crave Executive pardon?" "I was a rebel," was the answer, "and I desire your Excellenged to be used to support and live under the Government of the United States." "You rebel preschers, responded the President, "have done the Government a great deal of harm. You have preclaimed devillah doctrines and misfed the people. You forget that it was your duty to yield to the powers that be. You must rest availle upon the stool of repentance. I decline to grant you pardon at present." Exit reb. clergyman.

The President here remarked, addressing the entire crowd in the room, that it was a little singular that most of the non-combatants who had come here from the South for pardon assert that they did nothing, were opposed to the rebellion at the beginning, only acquiesced, and thought the rebel government ought to have surrendered earlier and stopped bloodshed; yet not one of them took advantage of the amnessy preclamation offered by Mr. Lincoln, an act which would have shown sincerity on their park, and contributed so much toward saving the enormous expenditure of life and treasure. "I will grant no more pardons for the present," was the emphatic conclusion of the President, and turning to Col. Browning, he directed him to issue the order to the Attorney-General.

23 The Tribure's despatch mays, General Grant remarked recently, that sufficient avidence had been addresed, during the late conspirery, trial and since, to convict Jeff. Davis of complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln, and that the fate of the conspirators settled that of Jeff.