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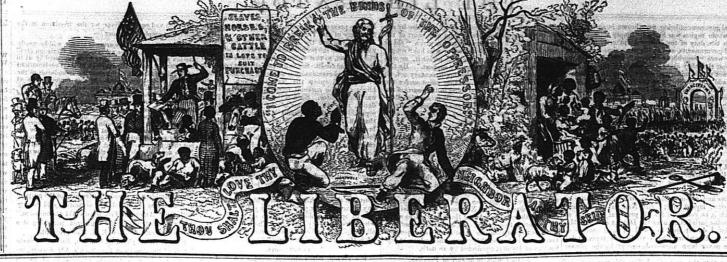
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NOLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

olding States bee

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

lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipatitutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST;

array, the commanders of both armics have power to eman cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. Adams

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VOL. XXXV. NO. 38.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1807.

## Selections.

TILL OF WIRZ -- MORE HORRIBLE DIS-CLOSURES. he following is additional testimony adduced, at trial of Wirz, as to the fiendish barbarities prac-dty him upon the prisoners at Andersonville:—

is Wire, as to the mention of the control of the co

dot, bowever, see or hear Capt. Wirz give the den for the shooting. 
Thent Harry, of the 72d New York Regiment, was a prisoner at Andersonville, having been argred tither about March 1, 1864, testified in shile at Capt. Wirz's heardquarters, he heard for pive orders to have men put in the chain-mand have irons placed around their feet, and a color the guard to shoot the first man who made ross the dead line; Wirz floo threatened to so any man who would not promptly fall into men with the ship of the ship

lyard L. Kellogg, of the 20th New York Cav-uw four men shot for crossing the dead line. day was quite a common occurrence. Witness backed six times because he had failed to reched six times because he had failed to re-man who had escaped; another prisoner was at the same time; bucking consists of first se wrists together, then fastening the arms be knees. The reason why he was bucked the did not comply with the rule for report-who attempted to escape.

cph R. Achull, of the 24th Ohio, a prisoner desconville, testfleet that, having gone out rebel guard, he jumped on the rebel's back, the two prisoners who accompanied him took bit gun; hearing the dogs in chase, he and o companions scattered. The witness ran in-The hounds were not taker him for fitteen minutes, during which time to fight them with his fists; he bad nothing im but a pair of pantaloons made of two wal sacks; he still carried the marks of the his legs; the horn was blown as a signal he bounds off. He was taken before the control of the control of the was taken before the control of the was taken before the control of the was taken before the control of the control of the was taken before the control of the was taken before the control of t He was taken before Capt e bounds off. He was taken before Capt.
o ordered him to be put in the stocks; he
sed to the sun; he was thus punished for
and dering that time had only two drinks
maddy creek. When he spoke to Wirz
treatment, he was told to dry up, or he
we his brains blown out. The witness, afthe treatment, he was told to dry up, or he are his brain blown out. The witness, affig taken out of the stockade, was ironed; as passing round his ankles and legs, were sed by an iron hor 18 inches long; the the witness were sore, and seurry fell into lie was kept 32 days in irons by order of Wirz. It was pretended that the irons were sold by direction of a rebel Surgeon, when the step were afraid of Sherman—baving a step handers out all the time. This was in June 20 the step were afraid of Sherman—baving the step handers out all the time. This was in June 20 the step were afraid to the step the was in June 20 the step the s all the time : this was in J

set sirring or their bottons were pail to gent set of the control of the control

a Georgia soldier. The witness described the character of the sufferings of the prisoners. He applied to Wirz to have the filthy grease stopped from being thrown into the stream, as the water was thus injured. Writz replied that the water was good enough for Yankees, and that the witness did not deserve sosp.

After the deces, Achuff was cross-examined. Witness was in the stockade six months, but was never in the hospital. As to the guard whom he and his two companions overpowered, and whose gun they took away, they did not hurt him, but only choked him a little. The guard ran back to the prison crying murder; he never heard of or saw a soldier in our army placed in irons. Hall-a-dozen other persons accompanied Capt. Wirz when the dead line was laid out.

By the Court.—The witness tlid not hear Wirz.

dead line was laid out.

By the Court—The witness tlid not hear Wirz give orders for taking watches and other valuables from the prisoners; but saw him himself searching the men, and appropriating their possessions. The prisoners were stripped of clothing, jackets, boots and hats, in the presence of Capt. Wirz. He had previously been robbed by Gen. Wheeler of his pocket-book, containing 35 cents and three postage stamps; Major Gen. Hindman also robbed him, taking his hat, and placing it on his own head.

Daniel W. Bussinger testified that when he and

which had lain four days, was too putrid to take out.

Horatio B. Terrill, of the 72d Ohio regiment, testified that he was taken to Andersouville on the 19th of June; Wirz threatened the men, using vile language, and calling them damned Yankees. A man who showed Capt. Wirz his ration of corn bread, and asked whether better could not be furnished, met with the response: "God damn you, I'll give you bullets for bread." There were not sinks enough for one-twentieth of the prisoners; the swamp was more than a foot deep with human excrement. This spoiled the water in the wells. On one occasion, he saw 56 corpses in the deadhouse, and on another 75 or 100. The bodies were thrown into the cart like dead hogs, 15 or 20 being a logid. When the prisoners went there, Wirz cause forward, and read the rules, saying the prisoners would be shot if they entered the dead line, and that any one speaking to a guard would be shot by the guard without halting. Wirz also said if any of the Yankee raded with the guard, and did not get what they bargained for, and then complained to him, he would say: "Good for the Yankee" and "Bully for the guard." They were also informed that if any of the men were found disturbing things, the rations would be cut off till the perpetrators were found and punished. About the middle of March, when an exchange was talked of some of our men by agreement gave money-to the guard, \$20 or less, for the first chance.

On the cross-examination, the witness said he did not know that Capt. Wirz had forbidden the ac-

On the cross-examination, the witness said he did not know that Capt. Wirz had forbidden the ac-

ceptance of money.

Robert Merton, belonging to a Pennsylvania regiment, testified that he had seen Capt. Wirz wearing shirts sent to our prisoners by the Sanitary Commission. It was a common thing for our men to be put into the chain gang, and he had never seen the stocks empty. He saw one man receive 75 lashes for carrying onions into the bospital, and he saw Wirz kick a sick man, and heard the dying statement of a black man who was shot in the back. A young man was shot by a guard, who said he would shoot another if he could get 60 days furlough. Wirz remarked that if he could have his own way, not 24 men on the South side would get away, either by exchange or parole.

On being cross-examined, the witness said rations

THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE NA-TIONAL FAITH.

Guarantees Needed for the National Freeding and the National Creditor.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER, AT THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION,

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

ought together the intelligence, the conscience of Massachusetts, God bless but I obey your will. In what I have to say, shall speak frankly. What has with me become a habit is at this moment more than ever a duty haoit is at this moment more than ever a duty. Who can see peril to his country, and not cry out? Who can see that good ship, which carries the Republic and its fortunes, driving directly upon a les shore, and not shout to the pilot, "Mind your helm"? Apologies or roundabout phrases are out of place when danger threatens.

previously been robbed by Gen. Wheeler of ms pocket-book, containing 35 cents and three postage stemps; Major Gen. Hindman also robbed him, taking his hat, and placing it on his own head.

Daniel W. Bussinger testified that when he and his companions were conveyed to Andersonville, they were during four hours exposed to the burning sun, and some of the men were sun-struck. Wirz was there, and gave orders that it any one stepped out of the line, he should be shot. Wirz also said if any asked for water, they should be shot, accompanying the remark with a denunciation of the damned Yankees. While men lay fainting, Wirz also should be shot, accompanying the remark with a denunciation of the damned Yankees. While men lay fainting, Wirz said that if it was in his power, he would make the victory complete. He saw a man shot early in July, for getting water, although he was not over the dead line; and another man was shot while lying in his tent. The rations of some of the sick men were stopped, and the witness shared his rations with them; three of them died, viz: Hugh Lynch, William Kinger, and William Waterhouse, of the 3d Pennsylvania Cavalry. The distress among the men was great; he had seen prisoners sarching in the filth which had passed through men for particles of undigested food, and for scraps from the raider's camp; he had seen regetables, such as potatoes, onions and peas, and also apples, peaches and melons in the vicinity of the camp. Two men were supplied to the stockade; the body of one, which had lain four days, was too putrid to take out.

Horatio B. Terrill, of the 72d Ohio regiment, testified that he was taken to Andersonville on the 19th of June; Wirz threatened the men, using viel language, and calling them damned Yankees. A langua to any one, that also is granted, without which the thing itself cannot be." So also where a piece of land is granted, which is shut in by the possessions of the grantor, a right of way is implied from common justice and the necessity of the case. And then again, where the reason of a law ceases, the law itself ceases. So, also, where the principle falls to the ground, the incident falls also. But all these unquestionable principles are fatal to the Black Code. The Liberty that has been granted "cannot be" if the Black Code exists. The piece of land that has been granted is uscless without that right of way which is stopped up by the Black Code. The reason for the Black Code is Slavery; and with the cessation of the reason, the whole Black Code itself must cease also. The Black with a certain person that his head

ise by restoring them dead.

Slavery begins by denying the right of a man to himself; and the Black Code fortifies this denial by its cruel exclusions. Every freedman must be secured in this right by his admission to the full panoply of citizenship. Slavery sets at naught the relation of husband and wife: every freedman must be able to call his wife his own. Slavery sets at naught the parental relation: every freedman must be able to call his child his own. Slavery shuts the gates of knowledge: every freedman must be assured all the privileges of education. Slavery shuts the saturation of the saturation. gates of knowledge: every assured all the privileges of takes from its victim the hard

and whipped all over; the man was afterward ironed. He related the circumstance of a white man who had blacked his face and mixed with the gang of colored men, in order to make his escape; the man was discovered and whipped, Wirz saying as the man blacked himself to be a negro, he would give him the negro's law, namely, 39 lashes. The witness had seen 12 men together in this chain-gang is a shocking manner; though nearly dead, the man was put into the stocks, and two days after the witness buried the man; this was in September, 1864. Wirz, while in the graveyard with several of the folicers, said: "We have given the Yankees who see skulls had been sawed off, and the green spearance of the bodies which had been vaccinated taughed at the sight exhibited, and the killing of the men. He had seen 13 of the boxes sent by the Sanitary Commission, and Wirz put on one of the shirts and a pair of pantaloons.

Cross-examined—Witness had seen four or five of the colored prisoners whipped with 39 lashes; the trenches were seven feet long and three deep; the dead men were laid side by side with faces up, and the earth thrown in. A Confederate surgeon superintended the burial, and gave instructions to pack the bodies in close, which was decently done; there were no coffins, nor boards of which to make them.

By the Court—The doctors in the graveyard with Capt. Wirz were speaking about the effects of the vaccination, when Wirz said: "Yes, God dawn them, we gave them the land they came to fight for."

type—by which the rights of the freedmen are secured beyond question. Beginning with the declaration that the freedmen "acquire the rights belonging to the condition of free farmers," they then proceed in formal words to fix and assure their rights, civil and political. By one section, it is provided that "the articles of the Civil Code on the rights and obligations of the family are extended to the freedmen; that, consequently, they acquire the right, without the authorization of the proprietor, to contract marriage, and to make any arrangement tions authorized by the laws, as well with the State as with individuals, on the conditions established for free farmers; that they can inscribe themselves in the guilds, and exercise their trades in the villages; and they can found and conduct factories and establishments of commerce." Another section secures to the freedmen the right of acquiring and alienating property of all kinds, according to the general law, and, besides, guarantees, on certain conditions, "the possession of their homesteads," with the grounds appurtenant. Another section secures to the freedmen complete Equality in the Courts, with "the right of action, whether civilly or criminally, to commence process, and to answer personally or by attorney; to make complaint, and to defend their rights by all the means known to the law; and to appear as wintesses and as bail, conformably to the common law."

Other sections course to the freedment Equation

Other sections secure to the freedmen Equality in political rights, by providing that " on the organization of the towns, they shall be entitled to take part in the meetings and elections for the towns, and to vote on town affairs, and to exercise divers functions;" that they shall also "take part in the assemblies for the district, and shall vote on district affairs, and choose the chairman," and generally to enjoy all rights to choose their local officers, and to be chosen in turn. And still another section authorizes the freedmen "to place their children in the establishments for public education, to embrace the career of instruction, or the scientific career, or to take service in the corps of surveyors." And it is career of instruction, or the scientific career, or was take service in the corps of surveyors." And it is turther provided, that "they cannot lose their rights or be restrained in their exercise, except after judg-ment of the town, according to fixed rules." And still further, that they "cannot be subjected to any punishment, otherwise than by virtue of a judg-ment, or according to the legal decision of the town to which they belong." Such are the safeguards by which Emancipation in Russia has been completed and assured. Such is the lesson of the great Em-

pire to the great Republic. DUTY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In asking that we shall do likewise, I follow the plain suggestions of reason, whether we regard the interest of the freedman or our own. But justice to the freedman is now intimately linked with the national security. Be just, and the Republic will be strong. Be just, and you will erect a barrier against the Rebellion. On this question Massachusetts has a duty to perform. Now, as in times past, her place it in the front. You will not, I trust, be disturbed by criticism, even if it become invective. Throughout the long conflict with Slavery, and the earlier conflict with the mother country, Massachusetts has become accustomed to hard words, and, even at a more ancient day, as far back in colonial history as 1691, we find an ill-tempered critic, with a strange jumble of metaphors, crying out against our fathers, "All the frame of heaven moves upon one axis, and the whole of New English and the strong the strength of the strange in the frame of heaven moves upon one axis, and the whole of New English and the strange in DUTY OF MASSACHUSETTS. out against our fathers, "All the frame of heaven moves upon one axis, and the whole of New England interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motion to be concentric to the Massachusetts tropic. You know who are wont to trot after the Bay horse." If others trot after the Bay horse, it is simply because Massachusetts means always to keep on the right road, and, ceeds oftener from ignorance than from malice. Obyunerring instinct, knows the way. Error proviously, at this moment, the great difficulty is that people do not see clearly what ought to be done.

NATIONAL SECURITY.

sacrifice is an irresistible reason why this should be fixed beyond question, so that no such terrible judgment shall visit us again. Indemnity we renounce; but security noe will have. This is the one thing needful. This is the charity which embraces all other charities. This is the pivot of the future. This is at once the corner-stone and the key-stone of a reconstructed Union, without which the whole fabric must tumble into ruin.

This is at once the corner-stone and the key-stone of a reconstructed Union, without which the whole fabric must tumble into ruin.

NATIONAL PAITH.

There is another object, kindred to security, or, perhaps, embraced in security; and that is the national faith. This, too, must be placed beyond cavil, or even "suspicion." No nation can be powerful enough to disregard this sacred bond. Character, fame, and prosperity itself are all dependent upon its observance. But the national faith is solemly engaged, First, to the national faith is solemly engaged, First, to the national freedmen; and, Secondly, to the national creditors. No undertaking can be more complete and inviolable, because it constituted the consideration for those services and supplies by which the life of the Republic has been preserved. The national faith is pledged to the national freedmen, not only by the act of Emancipation, which in its very essence and from the very nature of the case is a "warranty of title," but also by the plain and positive promises of the Proclamation, that "the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons." Words could not be more binding, and the history of their introduction testifies to their significance and efficacy. They were not in the original draft by President Lincola, but were inserted, at the suggestion of Mr. Soward, when the Proclamation was read to the Cabinett and there they stand, without any limitation of place or time, binding the Republic in its mational character, through its Executive, including the militation of place or time, binding the Republic in its mational draft by President Lincola, but to maintain the freedom of the emancipated date; and this is to be done, not in any special locality, but everywhere, and not for a day or a year, but for all time.

Our obligation to the national creditors is of the same validity, approved by successive sets of Congress, ratified by the popular will, an

ber is the two anke. Here is the proclamation, and here is the treasury note. Look at the signatures and look at the terms. The former is signed by the President himself, Abraham Lincoln; the latter is signed by an unknown clerk, whose name I cannot decipher. The forner is stronger and more positive in its terms than the latter. The treasury note simply says that it is redeemable after a certain date, and that "this debt is authorized by act of Congress." The binding terms of the proclamation, which I have already read, are solemly enforced by that memorable invocation at the close: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon milijustice warranted by the Constitution upon mili-y necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty d." Thus religion comes to confirm the pledge

with sanctions of its own. That pledge is as enduring as the Republic itself.

Such are the supreme objects now at beart—th.

National Security and the National Faith, or the National Security and the National Faith, or two absorbed into one, Security for the Future.

OUR DIKES ARE GUARANTEES.

ELEMENTS OF DANGER.

nes us then carefully to consider the ele-langer—bearing in mind always that a uanger clearly iorescen will not happen, unless pri-dence has ceased to prevail. These elements ma be considered in general and in detail. They ma-be considered in certain general influences, applica-ble to all our relations with the rebellion, or in cet-tain specific points, which obviously require specifi-ourrantees. CONDITION OF REBEL STATES

thus speaks :-"What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal bate,
—And, through experience of this great event,
In arms not worse, is foresight much advanced,
We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcilable to our grand foe."

suffered so long. One of their speakers in Mississippi, at the recent convention, said openly, that
"he was opposed to fighting the General Government or anybody else; that he was ready to submit
to its wishes as he would to a highway robber, shose
power he was not able to resist." Another speaker,
less frank, thought it policy to accept the present
condition of affairs, until the control of the State
is restored into the hands of its people, and "to
submit for a time to evils which cannot be remedied." And still another, much more wily, when
urging a seeming acceptance of the Union, thus
lured his brother conspirators: "If we act wisely,
we shall be joined by what is called the Copperhead
party, and even by many of the Black Republicans."
Such is the plot, and such is the disastrous alliance
plainly foreshadowed. But, thank God I in encoursging his comrades, the conspirator has warned us. aging his comrades, the conspirator has warned us. Forewarned is forearmed.

THE NATIONAL DEBT THREATENED.

From all quarters comes the warning, " Trust not their presents, nor admit the borse!" From all quarters comes the testimony. Military officers returning from the South, public functionaries, intelligent travellers, loyal residents, each and all speak with one voice. By conversation and by letter, I baye gathered the proofs which are complete. Persons who have bad peculiar opportunities unite in the report that the rebel spirit still prevails,—that the treatment of the freedmen is beastly,—and that the national debt is denounced. Two eminent gentlemen, whose official positions bave made them familiar with public opinion in two different States, have expressed to me the conviction that there was not a single ex-rebel who would vote to pay the interest on the publicant did. A trustworthy traveller, who has just

off."

A lovalist from Texas writes: "What we of the South fear is, that President Johnson's course will, by its precipitancy, enable the old set to reorganize themselves into place and power. For Heaven's sake preserve us, if you can, from this calamity," A loyal resident of North Carolina thus writes: "I tell you, sir, the only difference now and one year ago is that the flag is acknowledged as supreme, and there is some fear manifested, and they have no arms. that the flag is acknowledged as suprenes, and there is some fear manifested, and they have no arms. The sentiment is the same. If anything otherwise, more hatred exists towards the government. I know there is more towards Union men, both black and white." It is natural that such a people should already talk of repudiating the national debt. Here is a bit on this vital point. A young man in gray was asked, "Would it be safe to trust white men at the South with the power to repudiate the national debt?" To which he replied at once: "Repudiate! I should hope they would. I'm whipped, and I'll own it; but I'm not so fond of a whipping that I'm going to pay a man's expenses while he gives it to me. Of course, there are not ten men in the whole. South, that wouldn't repudiate!" Thus spoke the rebel uniform. But here are the grave words of a candidate for Congress in Virginia, in his address to the people:

"I am opposed to the Southern States being taxed."

the people:

"I am opposed to the Southern States being taxed for the redemption of this debt, either directly or indirectly; and if elected to Congress, I will oppose all such measures, and I will wost to repeat all laises that have heretofore been passed for that purpose; and, in doing so, I do not consider that I violate any obligation.

"This has been been an aparty. We have sever plight."

IRREVERSIBLE GUARANTEES.

Again, I say, forewarned is forearmed. Surely there can be no limits to our resistance when such spirits are seeking to capture the National Govern-ment; but beyond that general resistance, which

(1.) As the rebellion began with the pretension that a State might withdraw from the Union, it is plain that the Univ of the Republic must be affirmed—not indirectly but directly; not as in Mississippi. this State shall ever remain a member of the American Union; that the people thereof are a part of the American Nation; that every citizen owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States; and that no law or ordinance of this State, in contravention or subversion thereof, can have any binding force." In contrast with this plain redunciation, the proceedings of Mississippi have no more certainty than the common asying, "Large as a piece of chalk." As security for the future, they are nothing—absolutely nothing. And permit me to say, that the whole Conventions of ar as we have been informed, was little better than a rebel conspiracy to obtain political power.

11.—ENFRANCHISEMENT.

(2.) As the Rebellion was waged in denial of the

than a rebel conspiracy to obtain political power.

II.—ENFRANCHISHMENTY.

(2.) As the Rebellion was waged in denial of the Equal Rights of the colored race, it is essential not only that Slavery should be renounced, but also that all men should be hailed as equal before the law, and this enfranchisement must be both civil and political. Unless this is done, the condition of the freedman will be most deplorable. Exposed to all manner of bruility, he will not be heard as a witness against his oppressor. Compelled to pay taxes, he will be excluded from all representation in the government. Without this security, Emancipation is illusory. It is a jack-a-lantern, which the poor slave will pursue in vain. Even if Slavery cease to exist, it will give place to another condition hardly less galling. According to the poet, there are different "eircles" in hell, each with its own terrible torments, and the unhappy African will only escape from one of these into another. And all this will be beyond correction or remedy, if not at the outset guarded against by organic law.

III.—THE NATIONAL DEBT.

ganio law.

(3.) As the national debt was incurred for the suppression of the rebellion, this too must be fixed beyond repeal. Unless this is done, it is evident from reason as well as from testinony, that the representatives from the rebel States will coalesce with others for its repudiation. Mississippi, which leads in the present affort to capture the national capital, is the original author of repudiation. Out of the

legislative halls of this State the monster aprang. There was its birth. It will be simply true to its past history, as well as to its present animosities, when this State leads in the repudation of the national debt. Nothing abort of madness will allow it any such opportunity. No rebel State should be re-admitted unless bound irrevocably to the support of the national debt, and the payment of the interest thereon.

IV .- ASSUMPTION OF THE REBEL DEST MUST BE FORBIDDEN.

FORITOEN.

(4.) The assumption of the rebel debt must be positively forbidden. Already ex-rebels insist upon its payment. Such voices come from Mississippi and Virginia. Ex-rebel newspapers, whose editors have taken the oath of allegiance, uphold this debt. But Congress has already led the way, in denouing it. For a State to assume this criminal obligation would be oppressive to the people, and especially to the freedmen. It would be a drain upon the resources of the State. It would be an insult to the whole country. This debt, whether at home or abroad, has been incurred for the support of the rebellion, and must be treated accordingly. It is a part of the crime. Here, too, there must be a guarantee.

#### V-NATIONAL PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY, OUGH IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

(5.) As the national peace and tranquillity depend essentially upon the overthrow of monopoly and tyranny, here is another occasion for a special guarantee against the whole pretension of color. No rebel State can be re-admitted with this controversy still raging and ready to break forth. So long as it continues, the land will refuse its increase. Agriculture and business of all kinds will be uncertain, and the and business of all kinds will be uncertain, and the country will be handed over to a fearful struggle, with the terrors of St. Domingo to darken the prospect. In shutting out the freedman from his equal rights at the ballot-box, you open the doors of discontent and insurrection. Cavaignae, the patriot President of the French Republic, met the present case, when, speaking for France, he said: "I do not believe repose possible, either in the present or the future, except so far as you found your political condition on universal suffrage, loyally, sincerely, completely accepted and observed." (Moniteur, 2) May, 1850, p. 1761.) It is only impartial suffrage that I claim, without distinction of color, so that there shall be one equal rule for all men. And this too must be placed under the safeguard of constitutional law.

#### VI.-EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

VI.—EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

(6.) As the education of the people is essential to the national welfare, and especially to the development of those principles of justice and morality which constitute the only sure foundation of a "republican government"; and as, according to the census, an immense proportion of the people of the rebel States, without distinction of color, cannot read and write, it is obvious that public schools must be established for the cqual good of all. The example of Massachusetts must be followed, which, after declaring in its Constitution that "wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, are necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, proceeds to direct the legislature and magistrates, in all future periods, "to cherish the interests of licrature and the sciences," and "especially public schools and grammar schools in the towns." All this must enter into our work of reconstruction, and of our guarantees:

NECESSITY OF THESE GUARANTEES.

NECESSITY OF THESE GUARANTEES.

NECESSITY OF THESE GUARANTEES.

Such are the six subjects of special guarantee: the Unity of the Republic; the national obligations to the national creditors; the rejection of the rebel debt; the establishment of national peace and tranquility, so that it cannot be disturbed by any monopoly and tyranny founded on color; and lastly, the education of the people. All these are too important, too transcendent, to be left to the transient will of recent rebels, always ready to be excited; nor can they be left to any vague promise or inference of any kind. They must be fixed in character, clear as the sky and firm as the earth itself. Not require this protection is unpardonable weakness. ter, clear as the sky and firm as the earth itself. Not require this protection is unpardonable weakness. "If Philip dies," said the Athenian orator, "you will soon raise another Philip; since it is now much by his own power, as by your carelessness, that he grow to such greatness"; and so do I say now, even if the rebellion is dead, you will soon raise another, unless you learn to be wise. Believe me that man is dangerous who does not see danger in this rebel Oligarchy, now conspiring to hoist itself into constitutions.

POWER TO ESTABLISH GUARANTEES.

rower to establish Guarantees.

Therefore, I lay down one undeniable, essential principle—that these guarantees must be established; and I appeal to my fellow-citizens throughout the country to insist upon them. As they concern the National Security and the National Faith, it is clear that they should be established by the Nation. The object is National. The power to establish tem is National also. It is a part of that great, instinctive right of self defence, common to nations and to men, which has no limits, except in the benign constraints of a Christian civilization. It is a right not only from the Constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the constitution of the United States, but also from the Constitution of the United States, but also from the Constitution this unquestionable power is to be found? I answer, in the same clauses where you find the power to raise arrived and but them areas the repetitive in the

Do you ask where in the Constitution this unques-tionable power is to be found? I answer, in the same clause where you find the power to raise ar-mies, and hurl them upon the rebel enemy; in the same clause where you find the power to erect for tifications, bastions, and bulwarks for the nationa defence; in the same clause where you find the and; and also in the same clause where Pres Sense; and also in the same clause where Presider, Lincoin Sund the power to emancipate the slave. It is a National power for the protection of the Nation, and it may be exercised to any extent needed the side to say that the war is over, and, therefore the power is suspended. In one sense the war is over, and in another it is not. Battles have ceased but "Security for the Future" has not yet beer obtained, and this security is found only in irreversible guarantees. Look for one moment at the specific sources of this power.

SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE.

(1.) This National power is at this moment in full operation, and as completely constitutional as the power to raise armies. It assumes for the present purpose two forms; first, the power to bold military possession of the rebel States, so long as is required for security, whether months or years; and secondly, the power to affix the terms of peace and restoration. As it is idle to say that the war is over, so it is equally idle to say that the war is over, so it is equally idle to say that the power, in either of its forms, is limited by the Constitution. This same mistake was made by James Buchanan, when, at the beginning of the Rebellion, he weakly declared, that, under the Constitution, he could not "coerce a State," and his Cabinet assented to the fatal pretension. God forbid that now, at another moment not less critical, this same pretension should fatal pretension. God forbid that now, at another moment not less critical, this same pretension should triumph again! Of course, all patriots now see how the golden opportunity was lost at first. May no such golden opportunity was lost at first. May no such golden opportunity be lost again! Nobody now doubts that a State in rebellion may be "coerced." Nobody now doubts that the victories of Grant, the march of Sherman and the charge of Sheridan were strictly constitutional. But this "coercion" must endure just so long as may be needed to obtain "Security for the Future,"—it may be months or years. There is no argument for it at the beginning which is not equally strong for it now. There is nothing in the Constitution against it. Everything in the Constitution is for it. The rules or limitations which the Constitution may establish for a condition of Rebellion in any of its stages, whether at its beginning, its middle or its end—whether at its outbreak, its death-struggle or its defeat. Whatever is needed for the suppression of the Rebellion and the establishment of safeguards against its recurrence, is constitutional. It is the fallier to exercise this power which is unconstitutional. at not less critical, this same pretension sho

Loyal government being overthrown in fact, so that the whole region was like an "empty slate," it became the duty of the National authority to set up loyal governments, and at the same time to see that they were "republican in form," which must mean ey are governments of the majority, minority; and I think I cannot err, if I add that, according to the fundamental princi-ples of the Declaration of Independence, they must be founded on the Equal Rights of all men and the "consent of the governed." It is very clear that in this clause of guarantee there is an inexhaus-tible power, by virtue of which the National au-thority cannot only exact all needfal guarantees, but can mould these rebel communities according to the model of a Christian Commonwealth.

government of the United States," and also by excluding as counsellor-at-law, from any court of the United States, every person who has given "aid or countenance" to the Rebellion, or who has "sought or accepted any office whatever" under it, or who has "yielded to it any voluntary support." By this act, (July 2d, 1862.) and the supplementary act, all rebels are debarred from holding office under the United States, or from practising in the courts of the United States, or from practising in the courts of the United States. This exclusion, thus sacctioned by Congress, must be the pole-star of own national policy. If rebels cannot be officers under our government, they ought not to be voters. They should be politically disfranchised, purely and simply as a measure of self-defence, and in order to prepare the way for those guarantees which we seek. "Vipers cannot use their venom in the cold." These are the words of political wisdom as well as of scientific truth, and a great Italian writer did not hesitate to inculcate from them the same lesson that I do now. Surely recent rebels, who led in secession and held office under the Robellion, are poor engineers to rally these communities to the support of the National freedmen and the National creditors, and generally to the establishment of those guarantees which are essential, to security. Reason and experience warm as to nostone, our frast in any such persons. NECESSITY OF THE CASE. thonal freedmen and the National relations crally to the establishment of those guarant are essential to security. Reason and e-warn as to postpone, our trust in any suc Overcome in battle; they wrap themselv fessions of loyalty, confirmed by an oath,

to the model of a Christian Commonwealth.

\*\*\*XECESSITY OF THE CASE.\*\*

(3.) There is still another source of power under the Constitution; and this is according to the analogies of the territories. Since all loyal government has ceased to exist, the whole region, in all its divisions and sub-divisions, has, from the necessity of the case, lapsed under the National jurisdiction, which is as complete for all practical purposes as the same jurisdiction over the District of Columbia.

But I do not stop to dwell on these sources of power. Elsewhere I have vindicated them, and I have never been answered, except by the phrase that a State cannot go out of the Union; as if, in presence of the fact of rebellion, this was anything more than a phrase. It is indisputable that, in point of fact, the rebel States have ceased to be, as President Lincoln expressed it, "in practical relations with the Union," and still further that, they have long been without any government which we can recognize. Surely this is enough to open the door to the National authority. When loyal government began, whether military or civil, and this jurisdiction still continues, complete in all respects, without any hindrance or limitation from the Constitution. Thus, out of three inexhaustible fountains may the National government derive its authority; first, from the War Power, which does not end except with the establishment of "Security for the Future"; secondly, from the injunction to guarantee a republican form of government, which is at once a power and a duty; and, thirdly, from the necessity of the case, as with outlying territories, which have not other government. Under each and all of these powers the guarantees can be obtained.

PRACTICAL POINTS—WAYS NOT TO OBTAIN.

PRACTICAL POINTS-WAYS NOT TO OBTAIN.
GUARANTEES.

In obtaining guarantees, there are certain practical points which must not be disregarded. Knowing what we need, and satisfied with regard to the powers of the National government, the path will be easy. As there are ways to obtain guarantees, so, also, there are ways not to obtain them.

And, first, of the ways not to obtain them.

(1.) Irreversible guarantees cannot be obtained by haste. No State must be precipitated back into the Union. Precipitation back will be hardly less fatal than that original precipitation which plunged the country into the abyss of war. When a State is readmitted, it becomes practically independent. Therefore prudence, care and watchfulness will be needed to see that the National interests are not imperilled by any sudden transformation.

(2.) Irreversible guarantees cannot be obtained.

(2.) Irreversible guarantees cannot be obtained

mation.

(2) Irreversible guarantees cannot be obtained merely by Executive action. Something more is needed. No President can safely say. "The State—it is 1." He is only a part of the State, and, on this account, there is a new motive to reserve. What he does is subject to the correction of Congress, and therefore cannot be final.

(3.) Irreversible guarantees cannot be obtained by yielding to the prejudice of color, and insisting upon a separation of the races. A voice from the West—God save the West—revives the exploded theory of colonization, partly to divert attention from the great question of Equal Rights. To that voice I reply, first, you ought not to do it, because, besides its intrinsic and fatal injustice, you will thus deprive the country of what it most needs, which is labor. Those freedmen on the spot are better even than mineral wealth. Each is a mine, out of whom riches can be drawn, provided vou let him share the product. And through him that general industry will be established which is better than anything but virtue, and is, indeed, a form of virtue. It is vain to say that this is the country of the "white man." It is the country of Man. Whoever disowns any member of the Human Family as Brother, disowns God as Father, and thus becomes impious as well as inhuman. It is the give practical form to this irresistible principle. If anybody is to be sent away, let it be the guity, and not the innocent. The exile of leading rebels give practical form to this irresistible principle. If anybody is to be sent away, let it be the guilty, and not the innocent. The exile of leading rebels will be a public good. As long as they continue here, they will resist the establishment of guarantees; but it is little short of madness to think of exiling loyal persons, whose strong arms are need not only for the cultivation of the soil, but also

exiling loval persons, whose strong arms are needed, not only for the cultivation of the soil, but also for the protection of the government itself.

(4.) Irreversible guarantees cannot be obtained by oaths. All oaths are uncertain. Political oaths have become a proverb, whether in England or France. They have been taken freely, and have been broken without hesitation. The Milanese, in reply to the Emperor Barbaroses, said, "You had our oath, but we never swore to keep it." Our rebels have been openly taught the same duplicity. They have been openly taught the same duplicity. They have been told authoritatively, that the oath was unconstitutional, and, therefore, not binding; and so they take it easily. But who can find a guarantee in such a performance? A Swedish priest lately poisoned the sacramental wine, and so these counseliors have poisoned this sacred obligation. But if an oath be taken, it must not stop with the support of the Proclamation of Emancipation. It must embrace all those other objects of guarantee, including especially the rights of the National freedmen and of the National creditors. Each of these will be a test of loyalty. But at a moment like the present, at the close of a ferocious robellion, when hatred and passion are oaly pent up and not extinguished, an oath is little better than a cotton thread for a cable to hold a frigate scourged by a north-wester. The Hollanders might as well undertake to swear each individual wave that beats upon their coast. They did better. They made dikes. "Gone to swear a each individual wave that beats upon their coast.

it is an element of change. For thirty years and more this wickedness was maturing. Who can say that the same time will not be needed now to mature the conditions of permanent peace? Who can say that a generation must not elapse before these rebel communities have been so far changed as to become safe associates in a common government? Plainly, this cannot be done at once. Wellington exclaimed, "would that night or Blucher had come!" Time alone was a substitute for a powerful ally. It was more through time than battle that La Vendee was changed into loy alty. Time, therefore, we must have. Through time, all other guarantees may be obtained; but time itself is a guarantee.

PRESENT EXCLUSION OF REBELS FROM POLITICAL

(2.) Meanwhile we must follow Congress in the present exclusion of all rebels from political power. They must not be voted for and they must not vote. On this principle I take my hand. Let them but and sell; let them till the ground; and may they be industrious and successful. These things they may do; but they must not be admitted at once into the co-partnership of our government. As well might do; but they must not be admitted at once into the co-partnership of our government. As well might the respectable Mr. Ketchum re-instate his son at once in the firm which he has betrayed, and invest him sgain with all the powers of a sopartner. The father received his son with parental affection, and forgave him; but he did not invite the criminal to resume his former desk in Wall street. And yet, Edward Ketchum, who had rebbed and forged on an annurecedented easie, is as worthy of trust in the old banking-house as our rebels in the government of the country. A long probation will be needed before either can be admitted to his former fellowship. The state of outlawry is the present condition (2.) But beyond this ample power, there are two other powers in the Constitution, by virtue of which all needed goard goard and respect to the country. A long probable will be needed by the country is that vast untried power under the clause of the Constitution, declaring that "the United States shall goarantee to every State a republican form of government," This power, king dormant, sprang arways with the same franknes, I ask leave to say briefly to the Secretary of Wars—
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tional freedman or a National creditor. So strong is nature. Horace tells us: Drive it out with a pitch-fork, and it will return. Therefore, I insist, do not put political trust in that man who has been engaged in warring upon his country. I do not ask punishment, I would not be harsh. There is nothing humane which I would reject. I am for gentleness. I am for a velvet glove; but I wish the hand for awhile of iron. I confess that I have little sympathy with those hypocrites of magnanimity, whose cry for the rebel master is only a barbarous indifference towards the slave. Pardon if you will. Nobody shall outdo me in elemency. But do not trust the rebel politically. The words of Shakespeare do not picture too strongly the danger of any such attempt:— "— thou might'st hold a serpent by the tongue, A skinless lion by the mortal paw, A fasting tiger by the tooth, As keep in peace that hand which thou dost hold."

"As they who, to be sure of Paradise

But character is not changed in a day, and that "Southern heart," which was "fired against the Union, still preserves its vindictive violence. Even if for a moment controlled, who can tell how long it will continue in this mood? There is an exquisite fable of La Fontaine, where a cat was turned into a

fable of La Fontaine, where a cat was turned into a beautiful woman; but on the right of her marriage, hearing the sound of a mouse on the floot, she sprang from the bed with all her original feline na-

ture; and so a rebel, turned by an oath into a lova ist, will suddenly start in full cry to run down a N tional freedman or a National creditor. So stron is nature. Horace tells us: Drive it out with the feet and it will return. Therefore, I insi-

Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic, Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised."

A fasting tiger by the tooth, As keep in peace that hand which thou dost hold."

(4.) In obtaining guarantees, we must rely upon acts rather than professions, and light our footsteps by "the lamp of experience." Therefore, we turn from recent rebels to constant loyalists. This is only ordinary prudence. As those who have fought for us should be disfranchised, and thus a renovated state will be built secure on an unfaltering and patural loyalty. For awhile the freedman will take the place of the master, thus verifying the saying that the last shall be first, and the first shall be last. In the pious books of the East it is declared, that the greatest mortification at the day of judgment will be when the faithful slave is carried to Paradise, and the wicked master is sent to hell; and this same reversal of conditions appears in the gopel when Divesi exhibited as suffering the pains of damnation while the bergar of other days is sheltered in Abraham's bosom. Therefore, in organizing this change, we follow divine justice. Surely, nobody can doubt that Robert Small, the heroic slave, who carried a rebel steamer to our fleet and then became our pilot, deserves more of the Republic than as South Carolina official, occupied at that very time as Commissioner to regulate impressments in the rebel army. To accept the latter and to reject the former will be not only the beight of injustice, but the height of meanness. It will be a deed "to make heaven weep, allearth amazed."

(5.) Still further, in obtaining guarantees we must former will be not only the height of injustice, but the height of meanness. It will be a deed "to make heaven weep, all earth annazed."

(5.) Still further, in obtaining guarantees we must look confidently to Congress, which has plenary powers over the whole subject. Congress can do everything needful. It has already begun by excluding rebels from office. It must continue its jurisdiction; whether, through the War Powers, or the duty to guarantee a republican form of government, or the necessity of the case as in territories, is a matter of little importance. It is of less importance under which of its powers this is done, than that it is done. Continuing its jurisdiction, Congress must supervise and fix the conditions of order, so that the National Security and National Faith shall not suffer. Here is a sacred obligation which cannot be postponed.

(6) All these guarantees should be completed and crowned by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, especially providing that bereafter

United States, especially providing that hereafter there shall be no denial of the electoral franchise or there shall be no denial of the electoral franchise or any exclusion of any kind, on account of color or acc, but all persons shall be equal before the law. At this moment, under a just interpretation of the Constitution, three-fourths of the States actually cooperating in the National government are sufficient for this change. The words of the Constitution are that amendments shall be valid to all intents and purposes, "when ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of the several States," or, "according to practical sense, by three-fourths of the States that have legislatures. If a State has no legislature, it cannot be counted in determining the quorum of either House of Congress, where precisely this same question occurs. Any other interpretation recognizes the Rebellion and plays into its hands by conceding its power, through rebellions contrivance, to prevent an amendment of the Constitution, essential to the general welfare.

APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT.

of loyalty. But at a moment like the present, at the close of a ferocious rebellion, when hatred and passion are only pent up and not extinguished, an oath is little better than a cotton thread for a cable to hold a frigate securged by a north-wester. The Hollanders might as well undertake to swear each individual wave that beats upon their coast. They did better. They made dikes. "Gone to swear a peace," says Constance, most seconfully, as she denounced an oath of pretended reconciliation. And shall we be content merely when our rebels "swear a peace"."

WAYS TO ONTAIN GUARANTEES.

Such are some of the modes to be rejected. And now, in the second place, consider the ways in which guarantees may be obtained.

(1.) Time is necessary. There must be no precipitation. Time is the surest reformer. Time is a peacemaker. Time is necessary to growth, and it is an element of change. For thirty years and more this wickedness was maturing. Who can say that the same time will not be needed now to mature the conditions of premanent peace? Who can say that the same time will not be needed now to mature the conditions of premanent peace? Who can say that the same time will not be needed now to mature the conditions of premanent peace?

give assurance of security and reconciliation for the inture, or it may scatter uncertainty and distrust, while it postpones that Truce of God which is the longing of our hearts. As your power is vast, so is your responsibility. Act, we entreat you, so that our country may have no fresh corrow. Do not hazard emancipation, which is the day-star of our age, and the special jewel in the crown of your martyred predecessor. Do not put in jeopardy all thit we hold most dear, by any premature attempt to bring back into the copartnership of the National Government any of those ancient associates who have warred upon their country. Let them wait. You have said that tresson is 'a crime,' and not merely a difference of opinion. Do not let the criminals bear sway. Congress has already set the example of excluding them. For the present, follow Congress. Follow the Constitution also, which knows no distinction of color, and do not scarifice a whole race by resuscitating an offensive Black Code, inconsistent with the National Security and the National Faith. There also is the Declaration of Indeed the Constitution of Indeed the Indeed the Constitution of Indeed the Constitution of Indeed the Constitution

Speaking always with the same franknewe to say briefly to the Secretary of W
"Sir, there is room for your energies."

leave to press one controlling consideration upon the Secretary of the Treasury:

"Sir, you are the guardian of the national finances. Use the peculiar influence which belongs to this position, so that nothing shall be done to impair the national credit. See to it especially that no person is may rebel community is admitted to political power who will spurn the National Fatth, sacredly plighted to the national freedman as well as to the national creditor. Such is the ordinance of Providence, that the fortines of the two are joined in separably together. Credit is sensitive. It needs that all the resources of the country should be brought into activity—that agriculture should be fostered—that commerce should be crevived—that emigration should be encouraged; but this cannot be done without that security which is found in equal laws and a contented people. The farmer, the merchant, the enigrant, must each feel secure. I fand, capital and labor are of little value, except on this essential condition. The loyal people, who have contributed so much, and now hold your bonds, rrust that this essential condition will not tail through any falure on your part, and that you will not consent to open a political volcano in a vasi region whose first necessity is peace. There is an order in all things, and any concession to rebels before security is the cart before the horse."

struction and equal suffrage for the freedmen in the following emphatic manner:

"The triumph of the arms of loyalty will be vastly incomplete without the auccess of the Christian civilization which those arms have been supposed by us to have carried, under the auspices of the Proclamation will be reasoned by the Proclamation of the Proclamation of the Proclamation in the following emphatic manner:

"The triumph of the arms of loyalty will be vastly incomplete without the auccess of the Christian civilization will be without the auccess of the Christian civilization will be wastly earlied without the auccess of the Christian civilization will be assumer all things, and any concession to

For myself, fellow-titizens, pardon me if I sa that my course is fixed. Others may besitate others may turn away from those great trut which make the far-reaching brightness of the Re which make the factoring prightness of the Ne-public; others may seek a temporary favor by a temporary surrender. I shall not. The vittory of blood, which has been so painfully won, must be confirmed by a greater victory of ideas, so that the renowned words of Abraham Lincotn may be ful-filled, and "this Nation under God shall have a new birth of Freedom, and government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." To this end I seek no merely by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." To this end I seek no merely formal Union, seething with smothered curess, but a practical, moral, and political Unity, founded on common rights, knit together by common interests, and inspired by a common faith, where our Constitution, interpreted anew, shall be a covenant with life mad a league with Heaven, and Liberty shall be everywhere not only a right, but a duty. John Brown, on his way to the scaffold, where he was to atone with life for a deed of self-sacrifice, stooped to take up a slave-child. That closing act was the legacy of the dying man to his country. That hen-ediction we must continue and fulfil. The last shall be first; and so, in this new order, Equality, long postponed, shall be the master principle of our system, and the very frontispiace of our Constitution. The rebellion was to beat down this principle, by founding a government on the alleged "inferiority of a race." Taking up the gauntlet, I now insist that the insolent assumption of the conspirators shall not prevail. This is not the first time that I have battled with the Barbarism of Slavery. I battle still, as the bloody monster retreats to its last-citadel, and, God willing, I mean to "fight it out on this line, if it takes" what remains to me of life.

# The Tiberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1865.

LONG ARTICLES.

If our present number lacks variety, our readers will find it none the less interesting on that account. The article from The Nation, "Will the freed Negro Race at the South die out?" is as timely as it is cogent and conclusive in refuting the rebel-copper head dogma, that, now that emancipation is pro ed, and the slaves are set free from those who claimed and treated them as chattels personal, there is nothing to expect but the rapid extinction of the colored population of this country! A dogma so malignant in spir and so foolish in prophecy would be utterly undeserv ing serious refutation, were it not that colorphobia is so universal, thus preparing the way for its ready ac centance, without investigation or doubt of its sound ness. The statistics as to other countries, which the article from The Nation furnishes, will be found instructive in relation to the "dying out" theory. In his connection we readily bear testimony to the able and dignified manner in which The Nation has thus far been conducted, to the careful preparation of its leading articles, to the independence and impartiality of its criticisms, as well as to the beauty and excel-lence of its typographical dress; and we are gratified to learn that its subscription list is extending in every direction. On the question of slavery and the right of the freedmen, it is reliable and thorough; and though lacking in dash and passionate declamation, it is true to principle and earnest in vindicating the right. We have no doubt that it will continue to increase in

interest and usefulness.

The speech of Mr. Sumner, Made at the Massac setts Republican State Convention last week, which occupies so large a portion of our paper, is certainly one of his ablest and most effective efforts, in which justice and humanity, statesmanship and philanthropy radicalism and circumspection, logic and eloquence, are most happily blended. It will be read with deep interest at home and abroad, and give strength and impetus to the cause of equal rights in the adjustmen

The Letter of Gerrit Smith is marked by his cha acteristic ingenuousness and straight-forward manner of stating his convictions. It is evident that he re gards the country as in a very critical condition a pertaining to its peace, safety, unity, and the right and immunities of the freedmen of the South, and that his tone is somewhat despondent. While it cannot be denied that there is ground for solicitude, and need of sleepless vigilance on the part of all who are truly loyal and freedom-loving, while the nation is passing through its great transition, yet we believe in the sure triumph of liberty and justice in the end, the universal establishment of free institutions, and the constant advancement of the cause of our colored atrymen, in spite of whatever is adverse to this we are not sorry that we are "old abolitionists "1

MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION. The Republican State Convention assembled on the cedented numbers. A permanent organization was effected by the election of Hon. Charles Summer as President, and two Vice-Presidents from each Consional District, and a large number from the State ler. The several committees on resolutions, finances &c., were appointed, when Mr. Sumner addressed the Convention at length. He spoke about an hour and a half, and was listened to with marked attention and applause. A stirring speech was also made by Gen. Butler; and Messrs, Bullock and Claffin, the nominees for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, acknowledged the honor by appropriate addresses. A serie of excellent resolutions, such as the crisis demands was unanimously adopted. For want of space we bliged to defer their publication week. Among them was the following, which shows strong confidence in the integrity and fidelity of Pres-

Resolved. That Massachusetts, which gave to Abra ham Lincoln a unanimous support in Congress throughout his entire term of office, extends cordial welcome and confidence to his successor, and the representative of his principles, Andrew Johnson, 'Jaithful, Jound, among the faithless,' and piedge-"faithful found among the faithfuls," and plut to him the same unanimous good will and support his efforts to restore order among the communities lately in revolt, and to re-establish government the on the basis of equal and exact justice to all men.

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on the Danis of equal and exact justice to all men.

The following popular State ticket was nominated
with great unanimity as follows: Governor, A. H.
Bullock; Lieut. Governor, Wm. Cladia; Auditor
General, H. S. Briggs, of Pittsfield; State Treasurer,
Lead, H. Lieut.

Jacob H. Loud, of Plymouth, Attorney General, Chester J. Reed, of Taunton; Secretary of State, Oliver-Warner, of Northampton.

Col. Bullock, in the course of his brief but spirited response to his nomination for the Gubernatorial chair, defined his position on the question of recon-

Rev. J. R. Shiphard, of Chicago, read the Consti-tution of the American Freedmen's Aid Society, ac-companied by some remarks explanatory of its obects and the machinery of its working.

in which Messrs. Prof. F. J. After a discussion After a discussion, in which Messrs. Prof. F. 3.
Child, Rev. John Parkman, E. L. Pierce, Esq., W.
L. Garrison, Rev. Chas. Lowe and others, took part,
it was finally voted that the Society, acting as a
branch of the American Freedmen's Union, gives
that Union the power, so far as it has a right to do so
to pair in the "American Freedmen's Aid Commisto unite in the "American Freedmen's Aid Commis sion" as its Eastern Department. The Home Society by this step does not extinguish its organization.

PERSONAL. Secretary Stanton and Surge eral Barnes, of the U. S. Army, arrived in Boston last Friday, and were met at the depot by Samuel Hooper, M. C., whose guests they were during their stay here. Mr. Hooper, with his visitors, made a uplimentary call on Governor Andrew and Sur geon General Dale, and afterwards paid a visit to Fancuil Hall. The distinguished officials subsequent ly visited the Navy Yard, where they were received by Rear Admiral Stringham, and honored with a salute. Secretary Stanton was introduced to many well-known citizens, all of whom expressed no little pleasure with the interview. An ovation would have en tendered him, had he not come for a quiet visit. He left for Washington on Wednesday,

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for September, presents the following table of contents:—Article I. Theism and Christianity. II. Lyman Beecher. III. James Clarence Mangan. IV. Radicalism and Conervatism-(being the Address to the Graduating Class at the Cambridge Divinity School, delivered July 17, 1865, by Orville Dewey, D. D.) V. South Carolina, one of the United States. VI. Horace Mann and Antioch College. VII. Spencer's Social Statics. VIII. State Crimes, and their Penalty

IX. Review of Current Literature.

The Examiner is the organ of no sect in religion and of no party in politics, and conducted with emi nent ability. Terms, \$5 per annum, in advance.

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The Radical, for September, has externally and is issued as the first number of a new ournal in a pampblet form. It discusses several topic of interest, and contains the sermon preached by Rev Robert Collyer, at Cincinnati, before the Unitarian Western Conference. This discourse will well repay a careful reading.

The New Nation has been resuscitated, and an pears as a sixteen page quarto. It was started las year to advocate the cause of General Fremont, bu vas suspended after a temporary existence. General Cluseret, formerly of the staff of Gen. Fremont, is ts editor.

CHAMPLAIN VALLET FAIR. Rev. E. H. Chapin and William Lloyd Garrison have accepted an invita-tion to address the people at the Champlain Valley Fair. to be held at Vergennes, (Vt.) on Thursday next, Sept. 28th.

DEDICATION OF THE NEW CITY HALL. The new city hall building on School street was dedicated on Monday with appropriate ceremonies, which took place in the spacious and elegant Common Council Chamber, on the upper floor. The gallery and the spare seats on the floor were occupied by spectators, and among those on each side of the chair were the Mayors of Charlestown and Roxbury, Hon. A. H. Rice, Hon. Josiah Quincy, R. B. Forbes, and others

GYMNASTIC EXHIBITION. Tremont Temple was rowded on Monday evening to witness the performances of a graduating class of Dr. Dio Lewis's gym three-fourths of whom were ladies, and the program embraced exercises with the wands, dumb bells and rings. A number of diplomas were awarded, and the exercises closed by singing the "Star Spangled Banner." The exhibition was highly satisfactory.

FAIR OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE ME-FAIR OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE SIG-CHARIC ASSOCIATION. The tenth annual exhibition of this Association commenced in Faneull and Quincy Halls on Wednesday. Great preparations have been made to render the Fair successful, and ample facili-ties have been provided for exhibitors. Both halls have been cleared of all incumbrances, and now present an unobstructed area of 43,000 square feet. The two halls are joined by means of a portable bridge. The exhibition room has been divided into nine distinct sections or departments, over each of which a

A COLORED JUROR. At the opening of the Sep tember term of the Brooklyn City Court on Monday, Mr. Robert Johnson, a colored man, was called and impanneled as a juror. He served on one case, and appeared to act quite intelligently. The fact of the

Here is another proof that color-prejudice is vincible. The first colored student at Harvard College, Mr. Richard T. Greener of Boston, entered the Fresh man class on Friday. He is a young man of ability and sterling character, and has the many who are interested in him for his success.

The colored people of Raleigh, N. C., are to hold a State Convention in that city on the 29th inst., for the purpose among others of asking for the restoration of the elective franchise, which they en-loyed in North Carolina up to the year 1880. Extensive preparations are being made for the accommoda-tion of eminent men from abroad, and also for dele-gates now being elected in the different counties. Invitations have been sent to some of the mos inguished men in the country to be present.

The Rochdale Observer, well known to b 10 special organ of John Bright, states that it is not true that the distinguished gentleman is about to pay a visit to America.

Reports at the Freedmen's Bureau that nearly all the abandoned property in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, which was taken possession of by

The colored people of Richmond are money for a sword to present to Gen. Butler. It will cost about \$800.

Charleston papers of the 13th state that ex-lov. Alken received a full and complete pardon from the President on the 11th inst.

LETTER OF GERRIT SMITH TO MR. GAR. RISON AND MR. PHILLIPS.

PETERBORO', September 12, 1865.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON. \
WENDELL PHILLIPS:

MY DEAR FRIENDS—Have you never been tempted to regret that I am one of them.

Such a temptation has assailed me, now and then, when I was very anxious to have the people hear sed ballove, what I had to say. In those instance, I believe what I had to say. In those instance, I could not but feel that, were I not an "old abolitoniat," and therefore in the popular judgment hopeissly fanatical and foolish, the obviously true and y fanatical and foolish, the obviously true and in-neasurably important things I was saying could not all to command attention. I imagine that you loo, who, so much more frequently and carneally is will who, so much more ably than I, have called attention as so much more ably than I, have called atter ose times, when your hearts were breaking to have your words heard, have been tempted to wish that you were not laboring under the odium and disabi-tage of being identified from so early a day, and so inreservedly and devotedly, with the cause of the oppressed. For you must have believed that ten essed. 200 sand ears, fast closed to your wisdom and elethousand ears, last closed to your wisdom and elo-quence, would have quickly opened, could you have presented yourselves as abolitionists of the present instead of the past; as abolitionists made so by events; as abolitionists for the occasion; in a word, as abolitionists on the surface, instead of in the texture and the grain

Some thirty or forty years ago, a good story was often told in this State to explain how it came to pass that, whilst the masses of the Anti-Masons were despised for their Anti-Masonry, Seward, Granger and their other leaders had, nevertheless, an honorable standing. As the story ran, while the cunning leadstanding. As the atory ran, while the cunning lead-ers were, by their only pretending to believe in Anti-Masonry, still, able to preserve their reputation for wisdom and to keep good their claim to the public respect, the silly masses were despised because they "believed in it." Your and my misfortune, realty "believed in it." Your and my misfortune, like that of those masses, is, that we really believe in what we profess. Could we but rise above the weakness of this real belief, and be as flexible and accom-modating reformers as reputation and interest call for; could we be concerned in our reforms but to are; dient and respectable extent, instead of being absorbed in them; then would we be credited with judicious moderation and practical wisdom; and then would we be listened to by those who, because they count earnestness to be vulgar, and sincerity to be silly, and the possessors of these virtues to be objects and contempt rather than of respect and honor, disdain to listen to us. By the way, I should like to compare notes with you,

sometime, in regard to your and my fall; for that we are fallen is quite obvious. I am aware that you were young men of good prospects. Perhaps you are not aware that I, too, was held to be a promising young man. I was a somewhat prominent politician; Lunde political speeches; and, so highly was my political wisdom thought of, that, in some very important political State Conventions, the writing of the Address was assigned to me. But in an "evil hour," as many of my friends thought it, I joined the Temperance Society. It is true that thousands joined it without for-feiting the public confidence in their intelligence; but, alas! I "believed in it." So really did I believe in it, that I soon refused to drink alcohol under any ame or in any mixture, and soon refused to vote for inquor-selling candidates. From that time, though never before, I was called "eccentric." Not long after, I became active in the Anti-Slavery Cause. I lo not forget that many did, without bringing suspido not lorget that many of the control of the contr nat day to this, I have been held to be not merey that day to this, I have been held to be not made with "eccentric," but "crazy." Now, in your self-con-placency, you may flatter yourselves that you have not fallen as low as I have. But let me tell you that, if I may judge by the newspapers and common report, you are neither of you very far behind me either in eccentricity or craziness. And why should it not be so? Both of you have "believed in it." Both of you have believed in Temperance and Anti-Slavery quite as deeply as I have. Why, then, should not the public reproaches fall as abundantly upon your licity and greenness as upon mine?

simplicity and greenness as upon mine?

But to return from this digression:—if it can be said that hitherto, at one time and another, our longings to be heard have been boundless, more emphatically can it be said of our longings to be heard at the present time. For some thirty years we have been going over the country, each of us with the borden that, for the time being, pressed heavier, non-hit that, for the time being, pressed heaviest upon his soul :- and, oh ! what would we not have given to have had the people willing to hear us! For instance, what would not I have given for the public arr when, for ten or twelve years, I was declaring that so great a crime as slavery could not long endure, and that, n crime as slavery could not long the unless soon put away peaceably, it would go out in blood? What would I not have given to have had my fellow-members of Congress listen to the declaramy fellow-members of Congress listen to the deciar-tion? And what, too, would I not have given for a patient, thoughtful hearing when, in the very first get of the war, my motto was: "Whichever party get the negro, gets the victory"? Your message wer no less important than mine. You delivered them, too, with a faithfulness and beavery that no other oo, with a faithfulness and bravery that no other prophets ever surpassed; and you did this, too, not withstanding no other people ever turned away from their prophets more scornfully and angrily than did

yours from you.

Before going any further, let me ask parlon for this bringing in of myself. It is never to my taste, either when writing or speaking. But the spirit of earnestness in which I have this time taken up my pen is quite too deep and controlling to leave me any concern about matters of taste. ncern about matters of taste.

I said that we now, even more than before, long be heard. But we are "old abolitionists," and of rords would, therefore, be too nearly vain. We are Cassandras, and are not to be believed. Even to this day. "Abolitionist," when used to denote an old and one, is the most unpopular and hated name in he land. No name so grates upor racy. No name so loathsome to all who affect refinement and disdain vulgarity. There is no name which ment and disdain vulgarity. There is no name which demagogues wield more freely or with more effect, because there is none so powerful to sit the projuder, meanness and malignity of the popular heart. Subing, however, of all this was it necessary to say, in a nation that, from the first, has seen ruled, educted, debauched by slavery, "A bobitionist" is of course the worst of all names. Now will it cease to be the worst until the nation is "born again." That the "eld abolitionists" deem themselves entitled to be beard, is no proof of their vanity; for with them humas no proof of their vanity; for with them hu rights have been a life-long study :-- and what steents were ever less darkened by the spirit of se

dents were ever less darkened by the spirit of ser-fishness, or less seduced by the objects of ambition.

I have referred to our various former messages to the people. I doubt not that you agree with me that the messages which, far above all others, they now

1st. The nation is perishing, because she persists in no

1st. I he nation is persisting, occurse no per letting the negro into the human family. 2d. The horrors of the worst of wars—a war of reen —ascait the South, in return for the nation's crime of sith holding the ballot from the black man.

The crime of disowning our fellow man is the greatest possible crime against both man and his Makri, and the greatest insult to both. But, although the nation has been guilty of it from her origin, I do not say that she is perishing because of the enormity of the crime. It prefer to say that she is perishing because of the crime. cause she deliberately repeats it, notwithstanding to the has recently suffered on account of it. ents of Heaven have fallen upon her with unex pled severity, and yet she persists in the wickdoor which provoked them. All the treasure, tear as blood expended in this war are the cost of this pre-

cickedness of proscribing one of the com price of the human family—one of the varieties of the human family—one of the varieties of price of the varieties of price of the varieties of price of the varieties of the var edness, and still refuses to open to the negro of the strong-barred and century-rusted gates, and the best but him out from the enjoyment of political that rights. The negro is still an outcast Pariah, sent rights. The negro is still an outcast Pariah is lathsome leper. I repeat, that the nation rading, not so much because of this crime of god's reproof ", as because he "would none of God's reproof". as because to her contempt of His long-suffer

sk-as because to her contempt of 111s long-suffer-sk-adds contempt of His judgments also. In justify my position, that the nation persists in grine of shutting the negro out of the human strike of shutting the numberless wrongs and sub, I seed not refer to the numberless wrongs and which he suffers at every turn and corner o ness which he sumers at every turn and corner of the relations and human intercourse. Nor need I the the continued threats to colonize him, and exterminate him, and to the continu this is the white man's country. All this, and s that this is the winte man a country. All this, and namic spirit of all this, is told in the fact, that, is spirit of all this, is told in the fact, that, is spirit of the conque serion of our country, the negro is left out. N horse or the ox has he in tha I do not forget that the denial to pero of all part in the Government is justified or pand of his ignorance. But, even were he as intirely ignorant as he is said to be—but which would, surely, be safer to trust ignoran by than intelligent disloyalty—a good heart tha

the nation's former excuse for not recognizing the The attion's former excuse for not recognizing the satheol of the negro was, that it was not in her serve do so; but the conquering of the South took the stress entirely away. Nevertheless, the nation, seed one demanding that there be no longer any served now demanding that there be no longer any thereon in political rights on account of difference in the server i or origin, deliberately puts the Southern black of the hands of the Southern white man. And to the this, too, notwithstanding that the form seculty proved himself to be her friend and savior needly proved numbers to be new triend and savior, of the latter her enemy and purposed destroyer! for whate an instance not only of the basest in-proper and crucilest oppression, but also of the worst

are at atheism. less on to that other waiting, which you and it will be so glad to sound in the cars of the nation, it will be sould deign to listen to "old abolitionists." that she would, by putting the ballot into the hand at the would, by putting the bands a war of racer black man, save the South from a war of racer in no other way can the South be saved from it thing which the South needs to save be on this fate is the confidence of her blacks; and some fetting the many by giving them the ballot. Not solithey have the ballot will the sense that they are mered pass away. Moreover, not until they have with whites treat them with the respect due to the said which all, whom we would make safe gere, and we would be a supported by the support of outh continue to fear their resentment, ay, and south continue to lear their trage. Scoff at it as men ereterready-to-burst-out rage. Scoff at it as men is petertheless, until the ballot is given to her the a war of races will be the great imminent peril ade South. But in such a war, would not Northern no sympathize, as of old, with the oppressors as your, many inasmuch as her past punishment r improbably, inasmuch as her past punishment a set sufficed to bring her to penitence and decency, North might be drawn into this Southern war. her where, however, outside of America, the symper sneet, nowever, outside in Jersey, and sym-phy would be with the oppressed. But would the sheek how how to carry on a war! They have been tening this very fast, during the last four years, feesinty years ago, it did not take the blacks of St. ong time to learn how to exterminate

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withat the blacks must have the ballot ere the this will respect them. I add, that they must have this will respect them. I add, that they must have this will case from those outrages pa them, which cannot fail to provoke fire and med: I hesitate not to say that the condition of the helmen, if deprived of the ballot, will be worse than until condition in slavery. In slavery, they had mally the protection, and, not unfrequently, the also of their masters; but, henceforth, until ten, they will get from others very little either o ction or affection. From the enslaved race, they become the hated race; and how the South ther Southern prisons. But the worse the con n of the blacks, the more burning their revenge is, their property will be a prey to greed, and er vives and daughters and sisters to lust; and is, caring not to put their life to any other use, the are no very unhappy results at the North from tenons upon the right of suffrage ? But, while tours of the North vote for their families, friends srighbors, the preëminent object of voting at the h, if voting be confined to the whites, will be t at more and more effectually the helpless blacks Nevertheless, I will say a few thing

that, as a general proposition, I would-an nes too. I see no reason whatever in calling rty are natural, then, also, must the rig official guardians of those rights To vay that we have rights, whilst others to of ourselves choose who shall control say nonsense. Of course, I admit that other rights, may be forfeited. They forwho take up arms against their country. It be restored; but it should not be without ample itence and trustworthiness.

Would I, then, insist that all the loyal men of th out, black and white, shall have the ballot ? I would Savery brought nearly all the people there into ion so unnatural, that even the loyal amongst them te lardly competent to exercise all natural rights he insane man cannot exercise all. Nor can they, hegally slaveholders and slaves. Nor hardly they though not sustaining the relation, were nevertrees three years from the perverting and unnathe being for that time under the nature-restoring bridges of the Common School, the great majority of the logal at the South will have become, in a good type, natural enough to exercise the natural right traing. For the present, let the ballot at the South confect to the loyal who can read. In the light what I have said, it can be but a small part even of the who are eminently fit to cust it.

But it, and the there exort not to be allowed

But it is said that the blacks ought not to be allowed a is and that the blacks ought not to an anaters here, because they would vote as their old masters have. Why should they not? For when the blacks as possessed of the ballot, they will be respected by a white, and will be advised by them to but what is more than the ballot of the black. ectable. Thus the ballot in the hand of the black hyciable. Thus the ballot in the hand of the black in well gain for him the respect of the white man; at a in return for this respect. will be the confidence of be black man in the white man. And so full will be the confidence, that he will follow the superior indiques of the white man at the polls as well as elsewher. Say not that he will follow it to wrong. For a pating of the ballot into the hand of the black as will extensively have the effect to bring the black man in consecrate that superior intelligence to his man to consecrate that superior intelligence to right. It is by this way, far more than by any ber, that the Southern white man can be brought thins a just man. The ballot in the hands of the ct man! The ballot in the hands of the black man bow many points of view, this is the only few this Southern rain! In how many points of yiew, this can bring salvation to the nation!

We abolitionists are charged with desiring and lot for the black man because we hate the South. Is, that the They who charge it count the whites the South. We has the count in the blacks also. Nevertheless, the rights and her people over. It is a white are as dear to us as are those over. We abolitionists are charged with desiring the bal- One excuse for the terms of the "Reconstruction"

great reason why we hated slavery was, that we love the slavery-cursed South. And it still suits them t repeat the ridiculous but nevertheless effective false d that we, the abolitionists, caused the war. I can hardly yet stop shaking with laughter when I remem-ber that, in the first year of the war, a man, whose means were reduced by it, declined paying me his debt on the ground that I had got up the war. So far s the opposition of a handful of men to slavery—an pposition depending for its success on changing the leart, and not on killing the body—is responsible for getting up the war, so far, and only so far, are the abolitionists responsible for it. Of like extent and character is the responsibility of Jesus Christ for the wars which grew out of his preaching of righteous -ay, and his responsibility even for his ow Moreover, Northern demagogues would

have it believed that it is the abolitionists who call for the punishment of the South. They, especially "the old abolitionists," are the last men to call for it. They generally hold that, in respect to the causes of the war, the North is particeps criminis with the South, and is therefore morally disqualified to inflict punishment upon the South. They hold, too, that the South has already suffered enough, and too much; and that she is an object, not for our revenge, but for our pity and love. Some of them not only deny their disposition to punish her, but the right of the Government to arraign any one of the rebels, even Davis himself, for treason. They argue that such arraignment would be not only a stapendous breach of faith, but an example which despots, the world over, would plead with mighty effect, when claiming their right to shed the blood of captives in civil war. They hold that, thanks to the progress of civilization! the law of civil war, as interreted by the eminent modern of civil war, as interpreted by the eminent modern publicists, knows no treason: and that it is, therefore, only the crimes forbidden by that law, such, for instance, as the assassination of the President and the starvation of the prisoners, that we are to punish.

This reference to the starvation of the prisoners brings to mind the trial of Wirz. I trust that the Government does not contemplate his very severe punishment. I should have thought almost as soon of putting his dogs as himself on trial. Little more responsible is he than they for the crimes of Ander sonville. They served his purpose; and he, well-nigh as mere a brute as they, was picked up to serve the purpose of his masters. I trust that he is put on trial purpose of his masters. I trust that he is put on tria track of the monsters, who, because he was a brute, chose him to do their monetrous work. It is these monsters who committed the crimes of Andersonville. Their tools, be they dogs or men, are of little account. It is their employers who are responsible for this wickedness, which, amongst the wickednesses of all the earth and all the ages, stands preëminent.

I said that the leaving out of the negro from al and that the leaving out of the negro from any part in the work of "Reconstruction" is, of itself, sufficient proof of the shutting of him out of the human family. It is, however, held by many that the "Reconstruction" will not be persevered in. But the bare fact that the national sentiment was such as to permit the entering upon it—such, too, as to permi the already great progress in the boundless wickedness and boundless folly-is enough to forbid nearly al hope of retreat—nearly all hope of return to reason and righteousness. The simple truth is, that the "Reconstruction" but fairly reflects the hatred and contempt of the negro, which still reign in the popular heart. That the stone-hardness of this heart has been broken by the war is but a fancy. That such a war-a war so full of God's loudest calls to repentance, and so abounding in those brave and beautiful and sublime deeds by which the negro earned our love and gratitude and admira tion-should be followed by such a "Reconstruction" tion toward the negro no better than it was before th war, but, if possible, worse. It is not enough to in spire the hope of our salvation, that some Democrati and many Republicans are for justice to the black man : no, nor enough that, but for the trammels of party, a majority of the voters would be that way The nation is lost if, over its whole length and breadth, there shall not be a blaze of indignation against the infamous and infernal " Reconstruction.

It is argued that it is better to delay justice to the negro until the "Reconstruction" is consummated. Then will it never be granted. It will, indeed, be gotten—for the negro will bare his stalwart arm to get it. But it will not be granted:—for the sin of post-poning a duty increases, instead of overcoming, the poning a duty increases, instead of overcoming, the guilty indisposition to do the duty. All srguments for delaying justice are groundless. It was a false and atheistic philosophy which held back the great and good. Abraham Lincoln from meeting the war of slavery, at the very ontset, with a Proclamation of Freedom to the Slave. But the people were not then prepared for it! Nevertheless, God was. Moreover, the doing of the duty by the ruler is the great means of preparing the people for it. It is this, which, more than aught else, educates them up to the level of the duty, inspires their confidence in the duty, and their admiration of the integrity, wisdom and bravery of him who leads in doing it. The timely issuing of such a Proclamation would have lifted up the America people to a mountain-height above their present de ement. The delay in issuing it demoralized them. The demoralization is still going on. Nor, from prespedients, bring us under the regenerating and ennobling application of principles!

The delaying of justice is no less a misjudgment than a sin. It assumes that men are not prepared for it, and would not welcome it. They are prepared for it; and scarcely would they get it ere they would rejoice in their experience of it. It is injustice that they are not prepared for. President Lincoln thought that the people were not yet prepared for so right country is alvation. Nevertheless, they were. Even that least healthy part of the people, represented by such newspapers as the New York Herald, welcomed it. Had that Proclamation been silowed to live, and to hasten the issuing of similar. Froclamations, it would have mightily educated the people, and greatly shortened the war. The mere assuming that the people are prepared for the right goes far to prepare them for it. They are ashamed to prove themselves to be less than they are taken to be. On the other hand, to assume that they are not for the right is to put it into their heads to be with the people are proportion to the right is to put it into their heads to be with the people are proportion to the right goes far to prepare them for it. They are ashamed to prove themselves to be less than they are taken to be. On the other hand, to assume that they are not for the right is to put it into their heads to be The delaying of justice is no less a misjudgment

is, that the Rebel State, as well as the Loyal State, has the constitutional right to determine the status of They who charge it count the whites the South. We count in the blacks siso. Nevertheless, the rights and happiness of the whites are as dear to as as are those of the blacks. A common humanity forbids that they be dearer. It is because we love the South, that we would have ther blacks vote. I add, that one reason why we would have them rote is, that it will make it safe to shorten the time ere which her white masses may be allowed to vote. When the million blacks may be allowed to vote. When the million blacks and to the wording of those whose loyalty has hitherto been doubted.

It still suits Northern demagognes to infer that we hated the South because we hated her slavery; but a great reason why we hated slavery was, that we loved the slavery cursed South. And it still suits them to much so the should be more rather than less absolute.

seem to in such case should be more rather than less absolute.

A disposition to repudiate the national debt is manifested in some quarters. Indeed, there has already emem-been legislative action, and that too in New England, whose which is a step toward its repudiation. In the light of our present temper and tendencies, and especially of the unprincipledness and insanity of the plan of pudiated. Let that plan go into effect, and let there be no negro vote to counteract the rebel vote, and no negro friendship to counteract rebel enuity, and it cannot be long ere the bonds of the Government will have little or no value. True is it that, in every point of view and in respect to her every interest, the na-tion must not only not incur the hostility, but must have the friendship of the negro. Humiliang to our impenitent hearts was our recent dependence upon him. Humiliating is our continued dependence upon him. Nevertheless, we must accept it as a part of the penalty of our ages of scorn for him.

If the whites are to be the only voters of the South, It the whites are to be the only voters or the count, then will they, combined with a repudiating party which will spring up in the North, soon be able to accomplish the repudiation of the national debt. For whilst the Southern negro looks proudly upon that debt as the price of his freedom, in the eyes of the Southern ship was the the most baseful monagent. of Southern degradation.

On our ability to pay the national debt, and on our On our ability to pay the hational deet, and on our sense of justice, must rest the expectation that it will be paid. The ability is unquestionable; but what reliance can be placed upon our sense of justice, after we have stripped millions of our innocent countrymen of all the rights of citizenship and manhood! Will not, however, our gratitude to those who lent us the moneys to carry on the war and save the country, impel us to pay the debt? No, not if our gratitude be so feeble and spurious as to forget our immeasurably stronger obligations to that patriotic, generous, affectionate and sublimely forgiving race, who helped us, far more meritoriously than those lenders, to carry on the war and save the country. To all, who ask me whether the national debt will be paid, I return the same short answer: "It will be, if the black man has the ballot; otherwise not."

I spoke of "rebel enmity." I do not mean that the South will necessarily be our enemy. We can win her by loving her. It is, I am aware, saying but little for her to say that she is as good as the North. By the way, laughable as is the idea now, LOVE By the way, laughable as is the idea now, Love will yet have play even in the province of statemanship. Even there, as well as everywhere else, it will be "the fulfilling of the law." We must forgive the South for the Rebellion—especially since we ourselves share so largely in the guilt of it. We must not wrong, wound and degrade her by trying her for treason. We must not try her rulers for it—since that would be trying herself in them. We proposition to would be trying herself in them. My proposition to win her by love is not a proposition to win her by hu-moring her prejudices and flattering her vices. This she would see through and despise us for. She will suspect all the demonstrations of our love for her, un-less sie also sees our allegiance to impartial justion and our devotion to human rights. Moreover, how surely would her sight of such allegiance and devotion serve to lift her up out of errors in which our previous example had helped to sink her, because it was an example of the grossest partiality, and of ut-ter contempt for human rights in the persons of the

oppressed and outcast.

But I am making too long a letter; and I must has ten to a close. Our country has seen many dark days, but the darkest of them all is upon her now. For a policy has now been inaugurated, not to say established, which is to make vain her sacrifice of a million lives and ten thousand millions of dollars. The costly victory in this war is, after all, not to prove a victo y for righteousness and freedom; but it is to be ransmuted by this man-dishonoring and God-defying Reconstruction" into a victory for unrighteousne and slavery. This unrighteousness, not to speak o its other deeds, puts the loyal of the South, white as well as black, under the feet of the disloyal, and makes a full surrender of our friends to our foes. And that even slavery is to share in this transmuted victory is but too manifest. Some of its technicalities may disappear; but its substance will all remain. A

eonage, or serfdom, or some other form of bondage, which the sufferers shall experience more than the usual tortures and less than the usual alleviations of slavery, is to be the condition of that people, to whom, considering the wrongs we have, for ages, done them, and the unagnanimous services which they have not withstanding rendered us, we owe far more than to any other people on the face of the earth. I said that this is to be their condition. The hard fate is a lready upon portions of them.

Surely, surely, then, in the light of what is passing.

it is not extravagant to say that the nation is perish-ing; nor extravagant to say that the way is fast pre-paring for a war of races. Well, after all, we "old abolitionists" have no rea-

on to be the unhappiest of men. It is true that the refusal of the nation to reap the fruits of its hard-earned victory, and to bless herself with the reign of impartial justice and universal freedom, brings to us a bitterer disappointment than to any other class of persons—for longer and more earnestly than any other had we looked for that reign. But if our disappointment is peculiarly great, so also is our consol ent appearances, will it cease to go on, until we shall have reached the bottom line of national baseness. Is dawn, and this too after all she has suffered to Our great intelligence and great numbers and vast resources will not save us. They will but serve to accelerate our downward speed. Oh, when shall our rise we did, not only before the war, but also in the rulers, instead of humoring and debasing us with exwar. In that great peril of our country, our lips and pens and purses were consecrated to her service. Not even our sons-nay, nor even an only son-did we withhold from the bloody strife.

New York Herald, welcomed it. Had that Proclams, to be to be the same of similar Proclamations, it would have mightily educated the people, and greatly shortened the war. The mere assuming that the people are prepared for the right goes far to prepare them for it. They are ashamed to prove themselves to be less than they are taken to be. On the other hand, to assume that they are not for the right is to put it into their heads to be wrong. Had our Government, on the final surrender of the Confederate forces, assumed that the American people were, at last, ready to recognize the human brotherhood, and to recognize the human brotherhood, and to recognize human rights, as well under one color of the skin as another, not the North only, but the South also, would have been prompt to justiff, and honor the assumption. But, alsa! the Government has, as foolishly as wickedly, put it into our heads that we must, notwithstanding our recent terrible lessous to the contrary, keep on shutting the black man out of the human family; and so we do keep on in the folly and wickedness.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE RADICALS.

[Special Depatch to the Pablic Ledger.]

Washington. The President will fight his radical war to the bitter end. Within one month after the inauguration of our new President, I advised you on high authority, that in no event would the radical element be favored, and the whole course of Mr. Johnson since has proved the correctness of that assertion. There is no colder quarter of the city to the destructive faction than the White House. Representatives, therefrom have called and called, sent. in card after card, but in most cases the President is too "busy" to attend to them! he is "engaged!" Their calls are less frequent of late, and they have opened the war outside.

It will be fulle, though not without probable serious.

less frequent of late, and they have opened the waroutside.

It will be fulle, though not without probable serious
embarrassment to the President in carrying out the
work of "restoration" he has so nobly commenced.
This is the "new danger that threatens us." As long
ago as the 4th of July, the Executive saw the cloud of
opposition to the policy rising, and then used the
shore words. His sagacity—far-seeing and penetrating—saw it all. To meet the contrest he armed at once,
and planted himself squarely on the bulwark of the
Constitution. To a well-known Southerner last week,
he said, "My chart is the Constitution; I shall not deviate a hair's breadth if I can help it. On that Consituation the States must be restored, and the privileges which it confers must be theirs. They are entitled to them, and they shall have them.

The President is fairly anchored there, and it is because he has so fast a hold upon the helm of the national ship that the waves of fanatician and discord
dash about him. They would beat him from his position, but it will be "thus far and no farther," and
they who think otherwise do not know the pilot they
are dealing with.

The list of radical composition thus far made out.

The list of radical composition to the far made out.

8d. The free exercise of the pardoning power rherein were included many who should have been

anged.

4th. The introduction of arms into the Souther

4th. The introduction of arms into the Southern States.
5th. The disbanding of the colored regiments.
6th. The refusal to order a sweeping confiscation.
7th. The refusal to order a sweeping confiscation.
7th. The restoration of the Southern churches.
8th. The refusals to arraign Lee, the leader of the rebel hosts, after he had been indicted for treason.
9th. The refusals to try Davis by a military court.
10th. The apathy shown in the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine as applicable to Mexico.
Such is the list so far, and there is no disputing that it is quite formidable; but, I repeat, the President is trady, not only for the opening gup, but for all the terrific fire that is expected to follow. That the conservative masses—those who love their country and their whole country—will sustain him in solid column, there can be no question, and this is all the President asks. Grant him this support, and he will hand his name down to posterity a second Washington.

THE PRESIDENT ON FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION Senator Wilson, at a Republican meeting in Philadel phia, on Saturday night, said:

pins, on Saturany night, said:

"A day or two ago, I said to President Johnson, there are differences of opinion in regard to negro suffrage. In my State, we are all one way. We are all for security for the future. We do not ask any indemnity for the past. There is no indemnity for the 232,000 dead heroes who lie under the sod of South-

demnity for the past. There is no indemnity for the past. There is no indemnity for the past. There is no indemnity for widows and orphans—none! We can forgive their murderers; but we want security that our sons shall not be murdered in the future. We want loyal men to govern America for exermore. I asked the President if he made any discrimination smong the men who elected him on account of their views on suffrage or on reconstruction. The President said he never had made any such distinctions, and never intended making any in the future-that he was in favor of the freest and fullest discussion of all the questions now arising before us. And so long as we have broad toleration and free discussion, we can go right on, shoulder to shoulder, argoing, discussing and examining these questions that are before us to be solved; and I believe now, as I did during the war, that we will solve these questions right, and that our country will come out in the future glorious and free."

Whene Did it Come From? It will be remembered that the associated press' report of President Johnson's speech to the Southern delegation contained the following sentence:

"He did not believe the sensation letter-writers and the did not believe the sensation letter-writers and the did not believe the sensation to create the impression."

editors who were endeavoring to create the impression that there exists in the South disaffection and disattisfaction, for the presence of so many eminent and distinguished gentlemen, representing such a large constituency, fully disproved the fact, and gave the lie to their pestilent and malignant uterances."

Now neither the full report that was sent on the night of the address to the New York Herald, nor the report revised by the President himself, which has since appeared in the Washington Chronicle, contains anything like the above extract. Where, then, did it come from I—Boston-Journal.

DISLOYAL DEMOCRACY. ong the resolutions adopted by the Union Stat ntion of Pennsylvania was the following:

Among the resolutions adopted by the Union State Convention of Pennsylvania was the following:

12. That the leaders of the Democratic party stand arraigned before the people of Pennsylvania for constantly obstructing the efforts of the constitutional authorities to maintain the life of the Republic. They did this,

By inflaming the passions of their ignorant followers against the legally elected officers of the Federal Government, and refraining from all reproach against treason or armed traitors.

By procuring a decision from the Democratic judges of our Supreme Court, denying the right of the Government to the services of the citizens of this State for the defences of their imperilled country.

By discouraging men from volunteering into the armies of the Union; thus rendering it necessary to succumb to treason, or to pay large bounties, and so burdening every ward, towaship and borough in the State with debt, to fill the ranks of our armies.

By opposing the enlistment of negroes for our defence, although one white man less was required for every black one who could be enlisted, and this at the very moment when the battle of Gettysburg was raging on the soil of Pennsylvania, and the result of that decisive battle was uncertain.

By denying to our soldiers the right to vote while, fighting for the flag of our fathers, on the plea that

that decisive battle was uncertain.

By denying to our soldiers the right to vote while fighting for the flag of our fathers, on the plea that such rights were not allowed by our constitution, and by opposing an amendment which removed their objections, and relieved our brave soldiers from its dis-

ability.

By exaggerating the public indebtedness, dethe public credit, and teaching that the financisources of the North were unequal to the supprof the rebellion.

of the rebellion.

By a shameful opposition to measures for extending relief to the families of Union soldiers, and by a malignant effort by these means to secure the success of the rebels in the field, or such a protraction of the war as would exhaust the nation in its efforts to subdue their friends.

By now heaping abuse upon the Government for munishing assassing and their accomplices: by de-

punishing assassins and their accomplices; by de-manding the release of leading traitors; by frowning down all attempts to bring to punishment the flends who starved our soldiers; and by assuring rebels that neither in person or property shall they be punished for their crimes.

THE SOUTHERN BLACKS. Tharfeston News of the 4th Inst. has a long fully considered leader, urging a prompt and a sequiescence by the newly chosen South Convention in the act of Emancipation. It The Charles

thereough acquiescence by the newly chosen South Carolina Convention in the act of Emancipation. It closes thus:

"Under the circumstances, therefore, we think there can be no ground to question the propriety of immediate emancipation by the convention. We end the controversy—terminate suspense—enter at once upon the measures necessary to our further action—avoid the peril of intervention by the Government, or the still greater peril of domestic insurrection; inspire the confidence that will trust to us the further fortness of the race among us; and, possessed of this subject, there is much ground for the assurance that we can set upon it. Our people are well inclined to the negro. They realize his condition better than the does—two that much be does oftensive is the result of facts the could not, if he would, control. The negroes are the meselves most estimable. They present a record which, for service and order, is without a parallel; and now, turned headlong into freedom, without preparation, without premonition—by men at war with their masters—and told that they have been wronged and have a heritage of vengence, they exhibit in their distinct the end of the contract the laboring opulation of any State in Europe; and if there have been discorders, misconceptions, vero, man. As people have ever here so tired, none have so stood rial; it like canses would incite to outrage the laboring opulation of any State in Europe; and if there have been discorders, misconceptions, vero, man. As people have ever here so tired, none have so stood rial; the like canses would incite to outrage the laboring opulation of any State in Europe; and if there have been discorders, misconceptions, vero, man. As people have ever here so the form the result of the converse. With such a people, if not maddened by injudicious treation that they should have been the limit to their cocurrence. With such a people, if not maddened by injudicious treations and the converse of the converse of man. As people have ever here so the form of the co

THE PRESIDENT AND THE RADICALS. THE BLAIR FAMILY. Thaddens Stevens deliverpolicy of reconstruction, in the course of which he al-leded incidentally to the Blair family, in return for the notice which Montgomery gave to him in his re-cent tirade somewhere in Maryland. Mr. Stevens is unusually mild in this instance, and apparently thinks the game is not worth the shot. He says:

unusually mild in this instance, and apparently thinks the game is not worth the shot. He says:

"It is far easier and more beneficial to exile 70,000 proud, bloated and defiant rebels than to expatriate 4,000,000 of laborers, native to the soil and loyal to the government. This latter scheme was a favorite plan of the Blairs, with which they had for awhile innoculated our late sainted President. But a single experiment made him discard it and find advisers. Since I have mentioned the Blairs, I may say a word more of these persistent apologists of the Bouth. For, when the virus of slavery has one entered the veins of its slaveholder, no subsequent effort seems capable of wholly eradicating it. They are a family of considerable power, some merit, of admirable audacity and excerable selfashness. With impetuous alacrity they seize the White House, and hold possession of it, as in the late administration, until shaken off by the overpowering force of public indignation. Their persiclous counsel had well night defeated the re-election of Abraham Lincoln; and if it should prevail with the present administration, pure and patriotic as President Johnson is admitted to be, it will render him the most unpopular executive—save one—that ever occupied the Presidential chair. But there is no fear of that. He will soon say, as Mr. Lincoln did: "Your Time mas conket."

"Your time has come!"

Mr. Blair professes to have been always an antislavery man, but he discloses the hateful caste prejudice which influences him when he charges "the imperialists," as he calls them, with "propagating the deathat the safety of the country requires the exclusion from Congress of representatives from the South, and thus contributing to fix the conviction upon the public mind that it is necessary to subvert the rule of the table sain in the South before that region can be restored to a share in the government." Here is the true end and aim of all his philliples. It is to preserve an aristocratio "white rule" that he labors. It is for the sake of blotting out the colored man from the roll of citizenship that he pleads in behalf of traitors. He would rather again put power into the hands of Davis, Lee and Stephens, than allow any encroachment upon the exclusive privilege of the whites to rule. Shame upon such loyalty! Such a man has none of the elements of republicanism in him. If he is not a traitor to his government, he is a traitor to the rights of humanity. He wants to deprive the blacks of the only means by which their liberty can be preserved; and then, as he knows very well, the old slaveholders will make their condition so intolers. ouaces of the only means by which their liberty can be preserved; and then, as he knows very well, the old slaveholders will make their condition so intolerable that they will be forced to fly the country. It is just as well for us to understand that this is the grand object at which the efforts of the whole school of Blairs, Coxes, Fullers, Holdens, Perrys and Sharkeys are driving.—American Baptist.

SOUTH CAROLINA. The election of delegates to the constitutional convention took place throughout South Carolina last week. In the city of Charleston, though several tickets were voted for, no distinct issue was presented. The technical "Union ticket" was

though several tickets were voted for, no distinct issue was presented. The technical "Union ticket" was defeated by a very large majority, the canvass being controlled by the old managers of local politics. Twenty delegates were closen, of whom ten are recorded as avowed secessionists or "cooperationists before the war.

Among those chosen were Charles Macbeth, mayor during the rebellion, Alfred Huger, many years postmaster of Charleston, Rev. P. N. Lynch, Catholic bishop of South Carolina, lately pardoned by the President, Col. Gaillard, who lost an arm in the rebel service, Gen. Conner, who lost a leg in the same cause, Col. Simonton of the Twenty-fifth South Carolina regiment. With these, of course, were some who have performed less conspicuous service against us, and a few who claim to have been loyal from the start. Dr. Mackay, the most outspoken and decided Unionist of them all, was defeated.

In other districts, the names of many persons occur among the members elect who have been recommended for pardon by Gov. Perry, but whose cases have not been acted upon. Wade Hampton leads the delegation from Columbia.

The Charleston Courier announces a satisfactory interview at Columbia between Generals Meade and Gillimore and Governor Perry. The interview resulted in the partial restoration of the civil power throughout the State by the full and complete establishment of the civil courts for the trial of all cases, except those of persons of color.

The latter are to continue for the present under the cognizance of Provost Marshal Courts. The Civil Courts are to be opened under the direction of the Governor, and civil and municipal officers are to be permitted to resume their official duties and discharge them without interruption.

A circular from the Freedman's Bureau having advised legal marriages between the freed blacks, the Clerk of the Probate Court of Pike country, Missispipi, has written to Col. Thomas, Assistant Commissioner for that State, expressing his desire to assist in carrying out the provisions of that circular, and also in making written contracts between freedmen and their employers. There are many freedmen who are making verbal contracts, choosing rather to run the risk of loss than to undergo the expense or trouble of foot travel to the nearest location of a bureau office. Col. Thomas replies in a telegraphic order granting the permission, commending the spirit the writer manifests toward his freedmen neighbors in their new position, adding that such a disposition on the part of civil officers of the bureau of immense labor and responsibility, and would be the first step toward doing away with the necessity for such a military organization.

Wirz, the Andersonville butcher of Union the consoling company of two priests. His request has been granted by the War Department, and of course everybody knows what the villain meant when he solicited such consolation. His guilty soul begins to sicken at the approach of his doom, and as he cannot escape the punishment of men, he intends to elude, if possible, the grip of the devil.—Harrisburg Telegraph.

Yesterday as Wirz was on his way from the court room to the Old Capitol, a respectably dressed lady, between fifty and sixty years old, who had been waiting for the opportunity, asked the guard if that was the Andersonville butcher? On receiving an affirmative answer, she, in a frenzy of passion, endeavored to strike Wirz with her umbrella saying. "You mydered my son at Anwertch! you hutcher! you mydered my son at Anwertch! one was with some difficulty restrained, and the pris-oner conveyed to his quariers. It seems that the old lady was an Ohlo widow, who had come on here to get back pay of her sons, all of whom have belonged to the army. One was killed in battle, one murdered at Andersonville, another rendered hopelessly insane by his sufferings in the same also the control of the by his sufferings in the same slaughter-pen, only returned to his home at the close of the Washington corr.

AUGUSTA, Me., Sept. 17. The most destructive fire that ever occurred in Maine passed over this city this morning. The entire business portion of the city, extending from the passenger bridge to Windowski and the city, the capture of the portion of the city, the express and telegraph offices, all the dry goods stores, bookstores and clothing establishments in the city, the United States Quartermasters. The commissary and Pension offices, the new depot not finished, the Age newspaper office, and many other buildings—in the whole numbering more than a bundred individuals and firms—were burned. Many saved portions or the whole of their stocks of goods, while others lost everything. The banks succeeded in saving sall their papers and treasure. The fire was undoubtedly the work of an incendiary. The losses cannot now be estimated, but cannot fall short of half a million of dollars. No estimate of the insurance has as yet been made.

This Fire at New York. Four million of dol.

as yet been made.

THE FREAT NEW YORK. Four million of dollars is the estimated loss of the contents of the bond-dwarehouse which was destroyed by fire at New York on the night of the 18th inst. The following is a correct list of the goods destroyed—9000 bales, oction, 2000 bales of rags, 20,000 bushes of salt, 3500 bales Manitla hemp, 1700 bales gunny cloth, 1500 bales wood, 15,000 bags sugar, 18,000 bides, and 4000 bushels wheat.

NEW YORK, Sept. 12. The Post's special Washington dispatch contains the following:

New York; sept. In the following:

The order mustering out the colored troops enlisted in the Northern States is simply a measure to 
reduce the army expenses. This order has no effect 
upon the organization of colored troops which were 
enlisted in the Southern States by Gen. Ultima not 
enlisted in the Southern States by Gen.

The Tribund Raleigh correspondent states that the giving of rations to white, will cause on the Jath. Notwithstanding they have immense trops in the Jath. Notwithstanding they have immense trops in the field, they continually ory to the Government to "give," There are no colored people in Raleigh receiving rations, they providing for themselves. A good many whitee have either sold their actions given them by the Government, or fattened high hogs on them.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in Quincy, Sunday,

MARRIED—In this city, September 7, by Rev. Gilbert Haven, Licut. Persar Vocassand to Miss Maria M. Ds Grasss, both of Brooklyn, N. Y.

WANTED—For a Physician, lately returned from service in the U. S. Army, board in a private family in a pleasant location in the country, and where a physician is wanted. Accommodation for a horse and carriage will be required, and the whole at a moderate price. Partnership with a physician in good practice would be acceptable. Address, with terms, description of place, population, &c., "Docron," care of Rogers T. Wallety, Req., Liberator Office. 21 Washington street. Boston.

rator Office, 221 Washington street, Boston.

The Most Wonderful Invention of the Age! MORRILL'S

### PETROLEUM STOVE.

One of the Most Brilliant Triumphs of American Genius.

T COOKS, WASHES AND IRONS WITHOUT COAL

MOOD, OR GAS!

WOOD, OR GAS!

Dittle expense as any known method; and in its use, without a radiator, does not perceptibly affect the temperature of the room, while it may be used with a radiator to heat a room in a very short time. It is also perfectly free from soot, ashes and marke, and makes no

Warerooms No. 36 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass

Baking in these stoves, instead of the old imperfect pro-cess, is rendered a certainty; the bread comes out of the oren in thirty minutes, with a fair brown crust, neither burnt nor dough, for the Acr can be instantaneously reg-ulated. Potatoes and large joints of meat are "done to a turn."

Broiling ;-Mr. Morrill, the inventor, to use his ow "CHALLENGES THE WORLD

language. "CHALLENGES THE WORLD
to produce a method by which a steak can be broiled that will compare with the Patent Broiler," which always leaves the steak july, making erea a toigh one tender. Not a drop of the fat er pisice can possibly be seasted, although it is broiled by the pure weet blase coming in actual contact with the meat. Ironing is accomplished quite as satisfactivity, the heat being communicated to the interior of the iron, there is no roughness of dirt to trouble, as in Irons heated on the face; and in the sammer the heat is confined to the iron alone, instead of sweltering the ironer. Washing-day is bereft of half its troubles,—the store, light and portable, can be carried out-doors even, ingo dweather, and the steam and disagreeables of washing in the house avoided. In fact, every kind of household labor can be accomplished with more certainty and economy, and with far less labor, than with coal or wood. To those confined to reoms requiring ecoking done at home, these stores must prove an invainable blessing, the Petroleum costing less by one fourth than gas at two dollars per thousand feet, while the work is performed infinitely better. Young men out all day, wanting a quick heat on returning to their rooms,—families with children needing instant fire at night,—mechanics wanting early breakfasts, and nor niscurrs in thirty minutes' time after lighting the fire,—housekeepers wanting heat in rooms without flace,—country houses,—in fact, all who value their time or mongy, or the health, comfort and coavenience of themselves, wives and families, must eventually buy these stoves.

MORRILL PETROLEUM STOVE.

MORRILL PETROLEUM STOVE.

From Mesers. E. D. and G. Draper, Manufacturers, Hopedale, Mass.]

The undersigned have used Most? Patent "Ærovapor Stove" in our families, and have thoroughly tested its merits in cooking, and many other families of our sequantiance have it in use, and are well estified with it. We consider it a very valuable improvement, and, therfully recommend it for general use, especially for a summer cook-stove. We think it has never been surpassed for broiling and baking meats and baking bread; and is the best stove for heating flats for ironing we ever saw.

E. D. & G. DRAPER.

Hopedale, Mass., May 6, 1865.

[From Dr. J Cherver, of Charlestown, Mass.]
CHARLESTOWN, May 24, 1865.
MR. MOORE—Having fully tested the Ærovaper CookingStove purchased of you two months since, and promised at
that time to give you my opinion of it, after becomin grilly satisfied with its merits or demerits, as the case may
prove, I now, without besitation, pronounce it far suprior to any cooking appearates Lâme eur seen. It not only
proves to be all you recommended, but infinitely more, for
not half of its advantages were manned. In fact, it does
not fall in any particular in being all that can be reasonably desired by any one after acquiring a little experience
in its use. [ From Dr. J Cheever, of Charlestown, Mass.]

JOSEPH CHEEVER, M. D.

[From Mr. Edward Perkins, Proprietor of the large Estin Establishment, Nos. 37 and 39, Congress Street, Boston.] Bostons, May 77, 1865. To the Agent of the Mourille Personation Stove Go.: Dean Sin-Having fully tested the new Peterlew Stove made by your Company, I am happy to bear testim

TO THE AGENT OF THE MORRILL PERFOLUCE STOKE OF.

DEAR SIR—Having fully tested the new Petrpleum
Stove made by your Company, I am happy to bear testimon
y to its merits. I have them in use in my eating Johns,
and find them superior to anything I know of for cooking
purposes. It bakes biscults and broils steaks spiendidly,
and indeed performs most admirably all that is claimed

it.
Wishing you every success, 1 remain yours, truly,
PRIVARD PERKIT EDWARD PERKINS

From Rev. T. C. Potter, Pastor of the Methodist E. Church South Reading, Mass.

SOUTH READING, Mass., May 29, 1865.
TO THE PETROLEUS STOVE Co.:
Allow me a place upon your circular to make the fol-

To the Petholeum Stove Co.:

Allow me a place upon your circular to make the following statement:

For several weeks my family have been testing the user and conomy of your "single burners," and find that for the common purposes of a family it excels everything also of the kind we have ever seen. In point of comomy, it has cost us ires then one and one-fourth cents per hour. My wife can do her ironig in less time than with a common stove, and avoid the necessity of being tortared with excessive heat. We have absented ourselves from the house for hours, and returned to find, our beef or beans nicely baked, and ready for the table; and for baking all kinds of pastry, steaming, broiling, and toasting, I do not hesitate to say that I dever have seen its equal. I intend in one it as a heater for my study, sparing, it to the kitchen a short time when called for to prepare our meals. I have had no experience in the use of the "double burner," but should judge its utility must be in a corresponding ratio.

Paster of N. E. Church.

Виситох, June 2, 1865.

O. F. Monnill : O. F. MORRILL:

DRAS SIR—After a brief exparience with your stove,
it gives me pleasure to say that it gives great estifactions.

For baking, it answers better than any stove or result,
which we are acquainted: for broiling, it is pephape
unsurpassed, and the arrangement for ironing prove very
convenient, while the escape from the heat given out by
an ordinary fire must, in the summer, make your stove a
great connert in the kitchen. J. P. CUSHMAN.

MESSAS. MORRILL & CO.:

GENTLEMEN—I am often asked how I like my "Petroloum Stove." I would here state that it works admirably, and like it much. I have been a housekeeper more than forty years, and have, during that time, used nearly half the same number of cooking apparatus, such as ranges, cook-stove, &c., but have never, found any thing equal to this for summer use, and see no reason why they may not be used equally as well in winter. We can get breakfast with in—wis: boil tea-kettle, make tea, and cook steak, while a person would be building a fer in a range. We have used our since early in June, and have never found the least difficulty whatever. Certainly there is sothing that equals it in baking bleedt, bread, or pleat.

Yours, truly.

MOUNT WASHINGTON, August 12, 1885.
Sin: I do certify that, with the thermometer at frees-

Moury Washington, August 23, 1865.
Sin: I do certify that, with the thermometer at freesing point, 132 degrees,) I heated my office (ten feet by seven) with one of Morrilli Perforem Stoves, in five sintest, to each, a degree that I was obliged to open the office door. And I would recommend them as the best and cheapest, most portable and safest stove for warming offices or small rooms that over came under my observation.

Yours, 40...
S. A. BATISON,
Telegraph Operator, Summit of Mt. Weshington, N. H.

WANE WENGLAND AS FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE

FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

[THE Righteenth Annual Term of seventeen weeks will commence New 1, 1865. Programsons—Stephen Tracy, M. D., Theory and Fractice of Medicine; frances S. Coke, M. D., Anatoiny, also of Physiology and Hydene; Edward Alken, M. D., Materia Medica, Therapouties und Chemistry; Miners G. Meriam, M. D., Obsorbre and Diseases of Women and Children; Albert B. Robinson, M. D., Frincipies and Practice of Surgary and Medical Jurisprudence; Mercis H. Dyes, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy. Tuition feets to the six Processors and Demonstrators, \$65—free to students needing sid.

SAMUEL GREGORY, Secretary, 2010, Canton Street, Boston, Man., Sept. 8.

WEST NEWTON - and and of

ENGLISH AND CLASSICAL SCHOOL.
THE next term begins Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1865. For particular, address NATH'L T. ALLEN.

I IN A SAN SON PEACE.

BY JOHN B. MORRISON.

From deeds of war To see the quiet way of peace, And sheathe the sword, Too long adored,

Now let the pen Resume again mind and heart its regal sway,

To cure the blind, To teach mankind How, where, to find life's better way ;

To right the wrong,
To swell the throng
Who know the right and dare maintain,
Till far and wide, O'er land and tide, Justice and truth and pe

Till men shall know The wind shall reap the whirlwind fruit ; That right is might, That bears no tinsel substitute

All history long Has rampant wrong Turned human weal to human woe, And all the years Are wet with tears
Of anguish in perennial flow;

And yet to-day We shun the way Of peace that lies turns,
While God and truth, And love and ruth, Can give no more, and take no less. New York, Aug. 20, 1865.

LITANY.

BT FRANK JACKSON From all the turmoil of this busy life,

From all its vain delusions,
From all its vain delusions,
From all the billows of its care and strife,
Its battles and confusions,
My weary heart would turn, O Lord, and rest In sweet repose upon Thy loving breast. Up through the sin-clouds drifting o'er my head,

Up through the sin-clouds dritting our my bark, dismal, and appalling.
Up from these gloomy caverns of the dead
From which Try\_solve is calling,
My soul is struggling, gracious God, to be
Nearer the cross, to Jerus, and to Thee.

Out of the atmosphere and breath of sin, Out of the waves of passion, Out of the death that Satan sendeth in My soul for hell to fashion Lord, bring me forth into Thy life, to be From death and hell and sin forever free!

Far as the east is from the distant west, To meet and mingle never To meet an image in the first remove my sins, and let me rest In Thee, my God, forever;
Begin a state of holy living here,
To be perfected in that glorious sphere.

Thus let my iffe be hid with Christ in God, In living and in dying, Thus sanctify me whally by the blood Thus searctify me when y oy.

That works my purifying,
That all my being may by faith be given
That all my being may by faith be given
To serve Thee here, and worship Thee in heavon.

N. Y. Independent

AFTER ALL.

The apples are ripe in the orehard,
And the work of the reaper is done,
And the golden woodlands redden And the golden woodlands redden In the blood of the dying sun.

At the cottage door the grandsire Sits pale in his easy chair; While the gentle wind of twilight Plays with his silver hair.

an is kneeling beside him A fair young head is presend, In the first passion of sorrow, Against his aged breast.

And far from over the distance The faltering echoes come, Or the dying blast of trumpet, And the rattling roll of drum.

And the grandsire speaks in a whisper-"The end no man can see ; But we gave him to his country, And we gave our prayers to Thee."

The violets star the meadows, The rose-bads fringe the door, And over the grassy orehard The pink-white blossoms pour.

But the grandsire's chair is empty, The cottage is dark and still There's a nameless grave on the battle field, And a new one under the hill.

And a pallid, tearless woman By the cold earth sits alone, And the old clock in the corner Ticks on with a steady drone

ARRAWAM LINCOLN.

BY GRONGE H. BOKER.

[Extract from a Posen delivered before the Harvard Phi Kappa Society at its last anniversary.] Nor in your prayers forget the martyred Chief, Fallen for the gospel of your own belief,
Who, ere he mounted to the people's throne,
Asked for your prayers, and joined in them his own.
I knew the man. I see him, as he stands With gifts of mercy in his out A kindly light within his gentle eyes,
Sad as the toll in which his heart grew wise;
His lips half parted with the constant smile
That kindled truth, but foiled the deepest guile His head bent forward, and his willing ear Divinely patient, right and wrong to hear: Great in his goodness, humble in his state, Firm in his purpose, yet not passionate He led his people with a tender hand, And won by love a sway beyond comma And won by love a sway beyond command. Summoned by lot to mitigate a time Frentied with rage, unscrupulous with crime, He bore his mission with so meek a heart That Heaven itself took up his people's part; And when he faltered, helped hint are he fell, Eking his efforts out by mirsele. 1 No king this man, by grace of God's intent; No, something better, freeman—President! ed on a higher plan, Lord of himself, an inborn gentleman.

AT BAY RIDGE, LONG ISLAND. MOINTENE COLLEGE.

September Atlantic Monthly.

Peasant it is to lie smid the gram
Under these shady locusts, half the day,
Watching the ships reflected on the Hay;
Oppmant and shroad, as in a wisard's glass; Depends and shroud, as in a witard's glass;
To see the happy-hearted martins pais,
Brinking the dew-drops from the lilia-spray;
Or eles to hang enamored eler some lay
Of hary regions; or to muss, slass!
On Dante, willed, journeying outworn;
On patient Hilton's norrowfulget eyes,
Shat from the splenders of the Night and Morn;
To think that now, beneath the Italian inties,
In such alear air as this, by Thora wave,
Daintes are trambiling over Kasies grave.

—September Atlantic Mentify.

The Tiberator.

HATRED OF THE NEGRO.

The (London) Special correspondent at New York, which endeavors to justify the prejudice felt by the white people of the United States against negroes. It disclaims all purpose to justify or excuse the overt acts of persecution to which this prejudice gives rise, yet represents the repugnance as natural and inevita-ble, and even as "an active moral force among the people of this country." This aversion (he says in another place) " is one of the great moral forces, nay, is the great moral force, which must be taken into tion in the restoration of this country to consideration in the restoration of this country to tranquillity and prosperity." The deceptive repre-sentation, that a hearty dislike of one's neighbor is natural and necessary, is practically a help to the per-secution in question as effective as a formal justifica-

The editor of the Spectator declares his dissent from in the following paragraph :--

the statements and conclusions of his correspondent in the following paragraph:

"We publish, though with regret, a letter from our able 'Yankee' correspondent, expressing in full measure the harted felt by many persons in the North towards the negro. As a sketch of opinion it is valuable, but we can endorse neither his facts nor arguments. He says the 'louthing' between the two races is ode-pe-seated that amalgamation is impossible; we say that one third of the slaves are, as "pricers from their color, the result of that amalgamation. He says the the hierose irritation created by the marriage of a white woman to a negro—under which term he includes quadroons—proves a natural satipathy; we say that the same irritation is felt in India, where solt races are Caucasian, sind where no one talks of instinctive antipathies. Indeed, precisely the same difference between the sexes is made in England. If a man marries his housemaid he is thought silly, but there is no forgiveness for a woman who marries her footman. Besides, the assumption that if the negroes enjoy the suffrage they will internarry with whites is entirely baseless. In India Sudras and Brahmins have identical civil rights, but relations between them, lielt or illicit, are simply impossible."

sides those above correctly alluded to and answered by the editor. It seeks to gain favor with the British public for those whose repugnance to the negro it de-clares to be a natural and necessary fact—namely, the mass of the Northern people—by assuming that the detestation of slavery felt by the North was its reason for engaging in the war. Nothing could be more false. The United States took arms because a war was begun against them by an armed force, having numerous and es, which had already seized a portion of this nation's territory, and was going on to seize more with the expressed intention of taking possession o It was a war, on our side, simply of selfdefence, without any other moral element, at the beginning, than the instinctive desire to maintain ou own right position against assault. In the course of the war, "military necessity" caused other considera-tions to be mixed with this. But for the war movements of the United States for the first year, this was

The "Yankee" who writes to the Speciator assume also, as a settled matter, that freedom, (real freedom be it understood, and not the wretched instalments of it or enbetitutes for it that we have given.) would be to the great majority of negroes of the present gene ration, "a boon only in name." Here there is a com plete ignoring of the shameful delays and opposition by our Government and people to the gift of full and universal liberty to all the slaves, and the evil effects of this refusal of justice on our part, are impudently passed to the discredit of liberty itself.

When "Yankee" proceeds to assert that the an-tipathy of which he speaks "exists here quite as strongly among the anti-slavery people, even the abolitionists, as among those who defend slavery," he does not merely make a mis-statement, he tells a lie.

Any considerable acquaintance with abolitionists. even a habit of attending anti-slavery meetings, would have made such a mistake impossible to an hones man; and without such acquaintance, the correspondent of the Speciator had no right to make such an

When he says that "this feeling pervades all classes here, without being affected at all by culture or posi tion," there is a certain degree of truth in the statement, because this base prejudice is found alike among high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant. But yet, in this sasertion, he ignores and conceals the fact that "this feeling," instead of being a natural one, has been created as well as perpetuated "by culture."
The slaveholding class, especially their literary men (and women) and their clergy, have made special efforts to teach this doctrine, (of the impossibility of accepting negroes as the equals of white people,) and the literati and clergy of the North have accepted

It is said that the writer of this infamous letter is Rev. Richard Grant White, the accomplished editor of Shakespeare, and author of "The New Gospel of Peace." I trust, for his credit, that this may be an incorrect report.-c. x. w.

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

Congress must decide who shall Vote in the Federal Gov ernment-Equality before the Law-Saved by the Ne

UNITY, (N. H.,) Sept. 12, 1865.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

My Friend—I wrote to you from Ludlow and Bethel, Vt., giving an account of my labors in those places. Since then, I have lectured six times in Lebanon, Enfield and vicinity in this State, and twice in this place, making Equality before God and the Law my theme. My great text is—"ALL MEN ARE GREATED EQUAL" I am in one of the most pro-slavery Democratic Districts of the State. It is good to be here. There are those, in this region, as there are here. There are those, in this region, as there are all over the North, who, when brought to the test. deny this great "self-evident truth" that, in theory, deny this great "self-evident truit that, in the state of the plant of

the President) has a Constitutional right to say who shall take part as voters in administering the Federal Government. The States have a right to decide who shall vote in administering State Government; but Congress alone is empowered to say who shall use the ballot in electing the law-makers and law-executors of the Federal Government. Congress can, also, say whether a State, sueing for admission into the Union, nstitutional qualifications for ad-

At the last anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-

of their assumption, nor of their voting down the resolutions. I then thought and still think that this is the work to be done by the true friends of justice and freedom. The surest and specdiest way to settle the great questions that now threaten the peace and permanence of the republic is for Congress, by a mendment of the Constitution, or by positive enactment or declaration, to decide, once for all, that color shall not enter into the qualifications of electors and office-holders in the Federal Government. This Congress has an andispated right to do. Also, that no State shall ever be admitted with a Constitution basing the

session, in one year the people of all classes in the North, would rejoice in it. They would fee relieved from a heavy burden of conacious wrong and outrage; for there is a conaciousness of injus ice pervading the North, and will be, so long a the negro, who has saved the republic by his bullet and his blood, is deprived of the privilege of siding to administer it by his ballot and his loyalty. Let Congress tell the nation and the world what is hereafter to be meant by the phrase, "a republican government." Is class legislation, based on color, consistent with such a Government? Is "equality befor the law" the one essential item of the America port a government which excludes them from all par ticipation and representation in it, because of their color or their sex? "Taxation without Representa-tion"! Is this the type and the basis of American democracy? If so, let it be known to all the world let the line be drawn. The American Republic d mands the property and life of the negro, to save the Government. Will it now deny him representation because God made him black? Will it seize the property of all the women to sustain the Government, as then deny them representation because God made them women;—while it admits drunkards, drunkard-makers, traitors, robbers, murderers, and those who have butchered half a million of our sons and broth ers to representation, to be voters and office-hold-ers because they are white men?

It is true of nations as of individuals—we find what

we carry. As a nation, we have carried in our bo-some this great and fatal wrong. We have found the result in the conflict of bullets the past four years. Shall we continue to carry this murderous spirit of foul injustice to the negro? If so, we shall surely, at

It is also true of nations as of individuals—we FIND WHAT WE DESERVE. Through its compromises with and which makes it to be regarded as the hope of na tions—as "the land of the free and the home of the oppressed of all lands." Never on earth have crimer so deep and horrible been justified by law, and such injustice and cruelty controlled the legislative, judi-cial and executive branches of a government. Civil war never before visited a nation in such gigantic and bloody proportions as it has visited us. We have deserved it all; and in this four years of blood and anguish, we have found only what we deserved.

Now, in the reconstruction of our national fabric let us beware how we burden our posterity with a load of crime and blood such as our fathers left to us. To this end, let all who can wield influence by tongue or type, or by both, go to work to bring a power to bear on Congress next session that shall compel it to enact a rule, that henceforth the Federal Government shall be administered on "the self-evident truth that

all men are created equal."

How terribly true has the experience of the past four years proved to be the warning of Jefferson to this republic: "God is just, and his justice will not sleep forever!" Let us call on Congress to remem ber this fact in its reconstruction policy: The repub lic has been saved by the negro bullet. Now it mus be saved, if saved it is to be, by the negro ballot. Give the negro the ballot as the white man has it, and this Messiah of Nations will live. Deny it to him be cause of his color, and thus legalize this hatred and injustice to the negro, and the republic must surely die. God save the American republic as based on the self-evident truth that "ALL MEN ARE CREATER EQUAL"! HENRY C. WRIGHT.

WILL THE FREED NEGRO RACE AT THE SOUTH DIE OUT?

"Now that the negroes will be no longer cared for and protected by their masters, they will soon die out before civilization and competition, just as the Indians hace." Such, in substance, is the predicfor and protected by their masters, they will soon die out before civilization and competition, just as the Indians hare." Such, in substance, is the prediction which for the last two months has been so generally in the mouth of the whites of the South, and which has found its way into almost every letter from that quarter of the country. It has chimed in with the prejudices and preconceptions of a large class at the North, and has gone quite the round of the press, unchallenged even where it ought to have been summarily arrested and condemoned. The origin and prevalence of this opinion at the South are readily accounted for. The mortality among the blacks has been lately quite striking. The paternity of the thought, also, it is not difficult to trace to the wish, and to the father's partial eyes no flaw is ever seen in the child. If the emancipation of the negro is destined to result only in his extinction, "the sacred institution" is justified in its name, and its overthrow is not a blessing but a carse. The extinction of the race would cut the Gordian knot of the negro problem. With some it is the solacing grumble in which they vent their feelings as they yield to the inevitable necessity of emancipation, with others, we fear, from acts that have lately been reported, the origin of the prediction was not merely a devout wish to behold that particular consummation, but also a determined purpose to help it on themselves. The prophecy, it is evident, will be of use in the future to explain and justify the desired result as a natural one, whatever means have been actually employed to bring it about.

But we must resort to other reasons to explain the belief in the coming doom of the negro, which is held by such patriots as Gov. Brownlow, for example. The same prediction has been expressed, also, in a place whence it derives persons, a kind of official authority, and where it may call for examination, as the assertion of private persons would not, viz, in the Ceasas Report of the United States for 180. We therefo

dented mortality among the negroes during the last nine months. But this has been owing to temporary causes, to the hardships and exposure, to disease which the negroes have suffered in following our armies, and in the quarters of the large cities where they have congregated to escape from their old masters, and gain the protection of the Union garrisons; to the disturbance in their habits which the change in their condition has effected; and to the general destitution and suffering which the ravages of war have caused for a time in the South. Similar causes have produced a great mortality among the white population, also, of the South, as well among those who have not been on battle-fields and in camps, as among those that have. When society is again settled, this exceptional causes. When At the last anniversary of the Massachusetts AntiSlatery Society, held in Boston, Jan. 26 and 27, I
moved that "the Society petition Congress to propose an amendment of the Constitution prohibiting all
distinctions among the people of the different States,
based on race or color, in regard to the use of the ballot, and of helding office." This was voted down.
I then offered another resolution, that "the Executive
Committee be instructed at once to prepare, and forward to Congress a memorial asking that it forthwith
adopt a rule that neither Louisians nor any other
State shall ever be selutied into the Usion, except
out the basis of equality, as to the right of suffrage,
without regard to color.

This was also voted down by these who controlled
the meeting, assuming all the while that they were
the special friends of "Imparital justice and equal
rights." I have never been able to see the Justice;

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support themselves if they are given any approach to a fair chance of doing so.

Bit "\* Lef 'the poor Indian '—in his past see the latter of the negro,' our prophete cry.' "The coristator of a more cavinated with a less crilined rate is inevitably fatal to the latter,' they say with a see included the same and the latter,' they say with a see in the same and the latter,' they say with a see in the same and the latter,' they say with a see in the same and the latter of the long accepted the same and the latter of the long accepted the same accessarily fatal to the latter,' they are said to girl, and of different grades of crilination, is by no means accessarily fatal to the citizen. They may mine together, as the Celite and Tentonic nations with the Romana, or as the Greeks and the Tarks; or they may live seed by side for centuries, each filling their separate place in the State, as the light Caucassian Hindoes and the black. Turnian tribes in Hindoetha. The rade Saxon personal and the presents and burgless not only held out against the supremany and oppression of the polished Norman lords, against kenjedly skill and strength, and priestly and legal learning, but eventually, by force of industry and commercial enterprise, regained ascendancy. And where the conflict of races has been ended only by the elimination of one of the antagonistic elements, as many instances, we think, might be addeced where the rugged vigor of the lower race has trampled the higher civilized infer consumed the saves. In Malacce and the lower has been ended only by the elimination of root of the antagonistic elements, as many instances, we think, might be addiced where the rugged vigor of the lower race has trampled the higher civilized infer consumed the saves. The license of semi-civilized life has often aspoil to the first of the consumed the saves. The papeal to the fate of the Indian i

foot and out of existence, as where the lower has melted away before the skill and intollect of civilization.

The license of semi-civilized life has often sapped the morale and vital power of cultivated races, as well as the vices of civilized life consumed the savage. In Malacca and Eastern Africa, the Portuguese have become more degrasled than the natives among whom they live, and whom they once held as conquered subjects. The same phenomenon is exhibited by the Arabs in Nubia. In South America, the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors are dwindling away, and seem destined to yield the predominance to the mixed races.

The appeal it the fate of the Indian is a good illustration of the attractions which historical analogies have as arguments, and the readiness with which they are accepted as trusted evidence, in spite of their well-known liability to fail in bolding good. The fact that history is proverbially our teacher and guide as respects the future, gives an immediate authority to whatever lesson is assumed to be drawn from it, just as the boliness of a medisaval sanctuary afforded protection and even an odor of sanctity to the rascality of all who get within its walls. For what particular reasons, and in what particular ways, has the contact of the Indian and the white race been fatal to the Indian? Because, as a little reflection will tell every one, the Indian will not be coaxed, and cannot be forced, for any length of time, to steady labor and the peaceful pursuits of civilized life; because he had rather perish than give up his savage independence; because of these qualities; because, in too great part, we fear, of the merciless covetoosness and hatred of our own suits of civilized life; because he had rather perish than give up his savage independence; because of his defant pride and passionate vindictiveness, and the incessant hostilities that have been the result of these qualities; because, in too great part, we fear, of the merciless covetosmess and hatred of our own race; and, lastly, because all the good tendencies of his nature and those of civilized life are antagonistic, and only in vice does he easily assimilate himself to its members. It has never been found possible to make a useful slave of the Indian. The attempt war made in the West Indies, and failed; and the importation of negro slaves was then first commenced, precisely because it was found impossible to make a slave of the Indian. The negro and the Indian are, porhaps, more opposite in character than any two other races on the earth. The qualities of which the Indian is destitute, and the lack of which unfits him for civilization—docility, patience under injury, respect for superiors, desire of the praise of others, local attachments, aptitude for steady pursuits—the negro possesses in a high degree. It was these virtues that made his long enslavement possible, and they naturally fit him for a place in civilized society. The vice of intemperance, which has made such havoc among the Indians, has never been prevalent in the African race.

The capability of the negro to bear hardships is much greater than that of the Indian. Of the causes, then, that worked the destruction of the Indian, there is only one that is liable to act on the negro, and that is, the excessive and undeserved hatred and cruelty of his white superior. Will those who prophesy a coming fate for the negro, or from the natural workings of the contact and competition of the two races, that affords reason to expect for the negro, now that be is freed, a similar fate to that which is overtaking the Indian. We cannot reason from the history of the Indian to the probable history of the negro, because of the opposition in character and situa

In 1800, 82,28 per cent. In 1840, 20,87 per cents 1810, 72,00 "1850, 12,46 "1820, 25,23 "1860, 12,32 "1830, 36,87 "

slavery.

The slow increase of our free colored population in the last few decades—slow, that is, in comparison in the last few decades—slow, that is, in comparison in the last few decades—slow, that is, in comparison in the last few decades—slow, that is, in comparison in the last few decades—slow, that is, in comparison in the last few decades—slow, that is, in comparison of the legal disabilities, social persecutions, physical hardships, and frequent personal violence to which the influence of slavery and the slave power exposed them; and, especially, to the great mortality resulting among them from the incongenial climate of the Northern States in which large numbers had to take refuge. In the Report of a Commission appointed by the Secretary of War in 1863 on the condition of the Freedmen, a table of deaths in six Northern and five Southern cities is given, which shows that the mortality in Northern cities is much greater among the colored than among the whites, while in Southern cities the average is about the same. The fact that the falling off of the rate of increase immediately, followed that period (about 1830) when the change in public feeling toward the negro took place, is significant of the true causes which contributed, though in a less depret, to the same result may be mentioned. A disproportionate part of the free colored were beyond the productive age, the reason of which was probably the preference shown to the aged slaves in manumission—a reason which also explains the otherwise strange contradiction that while the mortality among the free colored was also greater. The temporary accession of this class made the increase of the permanent body of the free colored seem less. There was also an injurious inequality between the sexes. The amonunce ment of Gov. Andrew some little while ago, that there was an excess of 40,000 females in the State of Massachusetts excited considerable attention. In the free colored population of the Southern States, in 1860, the excess of females was even greater in The average of these per-centages is 37,43, and the lowest 12,32. But this increase, it may be said, is in great part artificial, caused merely by the number of alaves who have been manumitted or escaped from their masters. Let us see to what extent the lowest rate of increase, that, namely, during the last ten years, will be reduced by separating these artificial elements from the natural increase or the gain of the transparence of the property of the prope lowest rate of increase, that, namely, during the last ten years, will be reduced by separating these articinal elements from the natural increase or the gain of hirths over deaths. The number of slaves many mitted in the last ten years is estimated, in the Census Report of 1860, at 20,000. From the data which are there given about fugitive slaves, 8,000 may be coinsidered a large estimate for the number of those fogitives who were either numbered among the free colored, population or escaped to Canada. The neural increase of 58,521 from 1850 to 1860, given by the Census Report, must, then, be diminished by the Census Report, must, then, be diminished by the constant of the country by the Colorization Society, and by the number who haverpremoved from the country by the Colorization Society, and by the number who haverpremoved to Canada during the last ten years. The former number is about 5,000. The latter number cannot be estimated at less than 15,000, for by the Parlisamentary retart for 1851, the colored inhabitants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were only 5,585; upper and Lower Canada they amounted in the same provinces a colored population of \$4,257. The natural increase, then, of our free colored population of \$4,257. The natural increase of the state population of \$4,257. The natural increase may seem low who compared with that of the white op only the Census Report - 1850 and 184,410, or an increase of 10.5 per cent. This per cent. of increase may seem low who compared with that of the white or former slave population of the save population as 23.59 per cent. Ocrected, however, for the 2,200,000 immigrants that have weekled the increase of the salve population has been diminished, the natural increase of the white population as 23.59 per cent. Corrected, however, for the 2,200,000 immigrants that have weekled the increase of the salve population in his, constry, but wish the movement of the residual product of white population as 23.59 per cent. Garden and the population as 23.59 per cent. The increa

where can only one made to point to these conclusions by very ingenious twisting.

We find that the proportion of the mulattoes to the total free colored population throughout the United States has diminished, instead of increased, in the last decennial period. In the Northern States,

in the last decennial period. In the Northern States, it is true, the proportion of the mulattoes to the whole free colored population of those States in 1860 is 2 per cent, more than in 1850. But such a small gain in ten years is totally inadequate to account for the 30 per cent, of mulattoes among the

The slow increase of our free colored population

of the freed negro race at the South, as an excuse for doing what they can to bring that result about, how that the pretext will not avail them; and we would have the country know to what cause that result, if it does take place, will have to be assigned.—The Notion, New York.

EQUAL REPRESENTATION,

The National Constitution provides (Art. 1, Sec. 3), that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in the Union, according to their respective the whole number of free persons, including those how hole number of free persons, including those ludinary of the provision to see twenty or thirty members of Congress representing the slaves, but chosen by their provision to see twenty or thirty members of Congress representing the slaves, but chosen by their to tighten and perpetuate the shackles upon their owner, and explain the slaves that the constitution, and perpetuate the shackles upon their when, under the President's Proclamation, the slaves became "free persons," they were entitled to full and equal representation in Congress and in the electoral college, with the most tavored of our population. The apportionment of representatives is made every ten years, and was made in 1861; for the present, the freedmen will have only the three-fifths representation to which have only the three-fifths representation to which have only the three-fifths representation to which have only the three-fifths representation. If the freed population shall number for untillions, and the State of New York shall contain four millions of inhabitants, both will be entitled to the same number of representatives in Congress, and in the electoral college. There is an apparent exception in the matter of Senators, and Senatorial electors, but as the freedemen will exceed the population of any single State, they will stand for more than one State's representation in the Senate. Under the present provisions of the National Constitution, therefore, the freedmen will exceed the population of any single State, they will stand for more than one State's representation in the Senate. Under the present provisions of the National Constitution, therefore, the freedmen will exceed the population of any single State, they will stand for more than one State's representation in Congress and the cent. less than the rate of increase in the ten years previous.

In the Census Report of 1860, the slow increase in the free colored population of the Northern States is maintained to be due in great part to "their indifference as a class to virtuous moral restraint," a fact which is shown beyond all doubt, by the presence of the large proportion of 36.22 per cent. of mulattoes among the whole free colored population. "This development of the Census," it is said furthermore, "indicates with unerring certainty the gradual extinction of the race, in proportion as, whether free or slave, they become more diffused among the dominant race," as they will be, it is added below, by the extinction of slavery. This inscinceous cause and the fatal result which "with these lights before us we need not look forward to centuries to develop," are expaniated on at length. But when we turn to the tables that give the proportion of the mulattoes to the total free colored population, which are the luminaries that we are told will reveal these shadows of coming events, we find a set of facts which can only be made to point to these conclusions by very ingenious twisting.

We find that the proportion of the mulattoes to

North?

For this is the real question. Shall the whites of the South have a greater voice in the National Legislature than the same number of people in New England and New York? In many of the 1860 is 2 per cent, more than in 1850. But such a small gain in ten years is totally inadequate to account for the 30 per cent of mulattoes among the free colored population of the Northern States; and in the Southern States, where the proportion of mulattoes among the free colored is 40.77 per cent., the proportion of minished 2.18 per cent. If the great proportion of mulattoes among our free colored population is due to "an unfavorable moral condition among them" at any time, the diminution of the proportion of mulattoes since 1850 shows that this condition has ceased to exist in any but a very trifling degree; and the fact, which is exhibited by these same tables, that the proportion of the mulattoes among the slaves increased over 3 per cent. in the last decennial period, shows that this "unfavorable moral condition" is certainly amended by the transition of the race from slavery to freedom. The simple explanation of the great proportion of the mulattoes among the free colored is that, from the superior intelligence and spirit of the mulattoes, from their more generally holding the position of houses servants, and sometimes from peculiar relations to their masters, a much greater proportion of them have gained manumission or made their escape from slavery.

The slow increase of our free colored population Southern districts, the freed population will equal the whites in numbers—and if the former are not admitted to the ballot, the latter will, in such case, count just twice as much as their peers at the North. The vote of a congressional district at the North is from twenty-five to thirty thousand; count the freedmen under the Constitution, but deny them

The vote of a congressional district at the North is from twenty-five to thirty thousand; count the freedmen under the Constitution, but deny then votes, and one-half as many electors would be required at the South to choose a congressman. This is not a forced supposition, even under the three fifths role. In the Raleigh (N. C.) district—[in 1852, the latest at hand for comparison)—14,853 voters elected a congressman, while, in New York, the votes ranged from 25,000 to 30,000 in each district; and yet in these counties in North Carolina there were 5,686 male whites over twenty years of age, who could not read and write. The population of the disorganized States will be about eight millions of whites and four millions colored. After counting in the latter as a basis of representation, two whites at the South will have the same value and force at the ballot-box, as three of the most intelligent and worthy loyal men at the North.

Is this to be endured? It is not a question of negro equality. It concerns our own rights and honor—the rights and bonor of every loyal citizen in the North. We accept the constitutional rule of equal representation. But we demand that the people lately in rebellions shall have no superior privileges over us. Grant that their votes are signoid as those of men who have never struck with red hands at the nation's life. The same number of electors shall stand for no more in South Carolina than in Massachusetts. We have a right to insist on our own equality, and to establish it nan plan of restoration on a firm and sure basis. Vote North shall count as "much ar rotes South, to dee Congressmen or Presidents. There is a plain and just method to secure this result. In one way or another it must be secured, and the sooner the spirit of the Constitution is embodied in suffrage, the better for the united and restored country.—Unca Herald.

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