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WE LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

akes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that size of biling, so for from its being true that the States where shavery exists have the executive management of the subject, me only the Passibarr of rest Jarres Starts, but the Commander of the Asswi-HAS POWER TO ONDER THE UNIVERSAL SMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. From the instant that the shaveholding States become the theory of a war,

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1809.

OVOL. XXXV. NO. 40.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1865.

Selections.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

LETTER FROM JOHN STUART MILL.

LETTER FROM JOHN STUART MILL.

EDS. COM.—Some weeks since, the emanent forcing name of De Tocqueeille was brought into service in behalf of the argument against universal suffage. Opportunity was given for this in his very seasificatory chapter on slavery; unsatisfactory, beaue, while he labors at great length upon the difficulties attending the Southern problem of races, by retatempts no solution of it; and closes what least to say with unavailing reproaches against beauto to say with unavailing reproaches against these who introduced slavery upon this continent, and in the language of despair.

In this connection, it occurred to me, that the views on this subject of the still more eminent forcinger, John Stuart Mill, would be of great service. Therefore wrote him, enclosing General Cox's Oberla letter, with my reply to it, and requested his opinion on the question of negro suffrage, which was the question considered in those letters. I enclose here with is reply, a most luminous exposition, in brief terms, of the whole subject. Let those who read it member that this is not the language of the philespher and statesman merely, but of our constant tems, of the whoie subject. Let those who read it manme that this is not the language of the phileopher and statesman merely, but of our constant fixed, who has the advantage, by reason of his forest postion, of seeing our affairs in somewhat the size light in which they will be viewed by poster-Restricted varies. Respectfully yours, W. M. DICKSON.

Respectfully yours.

Respectfully yours.

W. M. DICKSON.

BLACKHEATH PARK, KENT, Sept. 1, 1865.
DEAR SIR—I am sincerely obliged to you for ging me an opportunity of reading the letter of feeral Cox, and your excellent paper in reply. You sak me for an opinion. I should hesitate try long before obtruding upon any American, and sill more upon the American public, any mere opinion of mine respecting their internal concerns. But it is the concern of all mankind, almost as much as the United States, that the conquests achieved by your great and arduous struggle should not be, in the very hour of victory, carelessly flung away; and the opinion which you do me the honor to ask sone which I share with so many of the nobleat and wisest Americans, that I need have the less scruble in expressing it.

It is certainly some gain to the negroes, and to the principle of freedom, that they have been made teen nominally free. I do not pretend that it is stabing, that they can no longer legally be bought and sold. But this is about the amount of all they will have gained, if the power of legislation over leas is handed over once more to their old masters, and to the mean whites by whom they are despised as much, and probably more, than even by their asters, and who have been fighting these four parts to retain them 'enslaved. If it were not for your State institutions, the case would not be so ressing, for those who have made them free could less them so, the case would not be so ressing, for those who have made them free could less them so, and who have been fighting these four parts to retain them 'enslaved. If it were not for your State institutions, the case would not be so ressing, for those who have made them free could less them so were all their proporties, within an activation of the form and the proporties, and the proporties, within an activation of the state government as state Legislature, chosen by the enemies, from making laws under which, unsakey resid their you so a bly replied, is quite aware of and as a suggest

sed over all the acts, both legislative and adtercised over all the acts, both legislative and administrative, of the State governments; the Federal suborities will, by sailitary coercion, prevent or estable all proceedings calculated to interfere with that equality of civil rights which they are bound by trey consideration, both of duty and of interest, to seare to the freed race. And this military dictability is a subortic to the freed race.

recure to the freed race. And this military dictatenting will have to be continued for a very great
fragth of time; for it is speaking within bounds to
say that two generations must elapse before the
labits and feelings engendered by slavery give place
so see ones—before the stain which the position of
the master burns into the very souls of the privikeyd population can be expected to fade out.
This is the state of things which the policy now
liparently acted on by) the Federal Government
lads to; but I have too high an opinion of the intentions and feelings of the President, and the pracfeel good sease and determination of the Americaa
people, to believe that such a policy will be pesseteed in. It would be nothing less than electing to
rais tyrannically over the whole Southern populaties, in order to avoid depriving the white balf of
that population of the power of tyrannizing over the
last half.
Instead of restoring to the States lately in rabellantead of restoring to the States lately in rabel-

car population of the power of tyrannizing over the black hilf.

Instead of restoring to the States lately in rebellance a nominal self-government which, unless you are saing to scarifice all that has been gained by four years of civil war, cannot be suffered to be real, und it not be better to make the self-government ral, but to grant it only to a mixed community, in which the population who have been corrupted by ricous institutions will be neutralized by black citizens—and white immigrants from the North?

And what is the hindrance to this in the minds of a President and his Cabinet? Is it scruples about spainy? To be acrupulous about exceeding his law-laplay for the community of the proposition of the president of the community of the comm

government of the Union. Think of this one thing —it is but one of many. Every Southern member of Congress elected without negro suffrage is a sure vote for that blackest and most disgraceful breach of faith, which would brand American democracy and nopular government itself with a mark that would

I am, dear sir, yours, very sincerely,
J. S. MILL. HON. JUDGE DICKSON, &c.

LETTER OF GEN. COX REVIEWED.

BY HON. W. M. DICKSON.

Gen. Cox opposes negro suffrage upon the single ground that the white man and the black man cannot live in the same community. The effect of the war has developed "a rooted antagonism" which makes their permanent fusion in one political community an absolute impossibility. The only real solution which I can see is the peaceable separation of the races. What encouragement have we that success will attend a forced political fusion of bitterly hostile races from the antipodes of the hunan

family? It seems manifest to me that there could be no political unity, but rather astrife for the mastery, in which the one or the other would go to the would."

I remark, in the first place, that all this is, and always has been, the Southern theory on this subject, the ground of their action in behalf of slavery and secession. Long ago Calhoun said, "To maintain the existing relations [1837] between the two races inhabiting that section of the Union South is indispensable to the peace and happiness of both. It cannot be subverted without drenching of both in the subverted of the subverted without drenching of the subverted of

the former, why lot of the fourty of the former, why lot of the former doctor prescribes! General, your argument proves too much.

But I deny the existence of any such "rooted a natagonism," and the whole philosophy founded upon it. It is all false. Gen. Cox is a Northern iman, of Northern lineage and association, with no apportunity to observe the master and slave, except that furnished by a four-years' experience amid the clash of arms, and the fierce conflict of angry passions. This was not a favorable one for attodying "rooted antagonisms." The phenomena of the fevered patient are not the same as those of a well man. But I speak from a wider observation, in preservation, in the Southern people; from knowing them in peace and in war. Persons accuriomed to seeing the white child clinging with fond subrace to its black "mammy," in preference to its own white mother, and to see the white and black children playing together, wholly unconscious of any, inc.

must I exclude her from the country in which I live?"

As the conclusion of all this, I claim that the prejudices between the white and black man of the South are of the same nature as other prejudices, and should have the same treatment. And here we have for our guidance the example of our fathers, in their action, when they framed the Government under which we are living.

I can imagine some one of Gen. Cox's mode of reasoning, addressing the Convention which formed our Constitution, thus:—

"I am of the opinion, that, in framing this instrument, we should learn wisdom from the past. History teaches us that the antagonisms of race cannot be overcome, particularly when they are deepened by differences in religious faith. We have seen, that, for ages past, the Jew has refused to amalgament with other nations; he insists on preserving his own creed and nationality; that centuries of common government and political union have not been able to obliterate the distinctions, and even the instinctive eamity, between him and the Christians; that his presence in Europe has, in almost every country, resulted in bloody strife, the end of which was that one or the other party went to the wall. And, furthermore, Mr. President, history teaches us that there is a 'deeply-rooted antagonism' between the Catholic and the Protestant; that they often, and in some countries altogether, refuse to amalgamate; that, when they have been for centuries together in the same country, they have burnt one another at the stake, and drenched the land in blood, until sometimes one and sometimes to the other has gone to the wall. See the bloody seenes in flolland, Germany, France, and England. Mr. President, I believe in these great 'philosophic truths': In the life of nations, that union which is deeper and more powerful,—it is that which results not merely from identity of government and delastive, but from the homogeneity of social ele-

And by decision more embroils the fray.'

"I would, therefore, propose this solution of the difficulty: 'A peaceable separation of these races and religionists on the soil, where they now live.' I would give, say the New England States and New York to the Protestants. New Jersey and Pennsylvania to the Jews, and the rest to the Catholics. Though I am not specially desirous for this particular adjustment of the territory: any other that can be agreed upon would equally suit me."

In all candor, upon the reasoning of Gen. Cox, could this speech have been answered? And, upon this reasoning, if our fathers had acted wisely, would they not have been compelled to make a separation as suggested, or to expel two of the parties from the country?

Fortunately, our fathers had read, history differently, and understood human mature better.

The wars of races and religions grow not out of their differences, but out of the intolerant spirit which sought to force upon another a religion which he did not believe; or out of the spirit of domination, which sought the subordination of one race to another. This being the case, the remedy was obvious. It was simply to constrain the intolerant and the aggressive by securing to all races and religionizes absolute consaint before the law.

another. This being the ease, the remedy was obvious. It was simply to constrain the intolerant and the aggressive by securing to all races and religionsists absolute equality, before the law.

Religiously, this was secured by guaranteeing to each one the freedom to worship God in his own way; politically, by giving to every mas an equal vote. Prejudice is alent before power or interest.

"A" is a young man, a bigoted Protestant Christian, if you please; his education has been narrow; be hater the Catholic; he would like to abuse him, particularly the Catholic Trishman; but he is also ambitious, he desires preferment, and he remembers that the Catholic can vote, and he is silent. Time passes or; be has a wider observation; he becomes sequalated with Catholics who are good ment he reflects that his Protessantian is but an accident;

Thus are the prejudices of race and religion brushed away before the unseen, but felt influences of our government.

Now, I would apply to the solution of the Southern problem the principles of our fathers. I have easily the principles of our fathers. I have easily the said they made all races equal before the law. This was not strictly true. They excepted the negro race. It was then in alwayry; and our fathers, ascening no mode of securing its freedom, permitted this violation of their principles to remain. We have reaped the bitter fruits of this action; but the negro is now free, and the opportunity is given to us to apply to him the principles of our fathers, and thus remove the last exception. Shall we do it? If we do not, we have not the excuse our fathers had; and the greater will be off punishment, in the future.

We have seen how the prejudices between Jaw and Christian, Protestapt and Catholic, have been softened down by the operation of the sublime principles of our Government. Such will be the result of extending those principles to the black race. The negro will feel, having entire equality before the law, the ambition to become a good citzen; and the ambitions white man will respect the power of the negro votes, and endeavor by kind treatment to gain them. Doubtless the former masters will not like this changed condition of things, and occasional disturbances will occur (Know-Nothing riots) but let these be put down by the strong arm of the Government, and ultimately all will acquiesce. Under this policy, I can see a great and happy and prosperous future for the South. But if we take the contrary course; if we are to continue to extend over him our protecting arm, in the sense of treating and using him as a child; if he is to have no power, but to be a poor, helpless being, solution to be a sound of the sublime principles of our Government, the definition of this principle to the investment of the sublime principle to the protection arm, in the sense of treating and using him as a child; if he is

LETTER FROM AN EMINENT GEORGIAN.

SPRING BANK, Aug. 20, 1865.

Spring Bank, Aug. 20, 1865.

The receipt of a letter from a friend, one of our most estimable and distinguished men, has singgested this communication. The tone of that letter was so sad, and it was so similar in sentiment to other utterances from good and true men, that I have thought it night do good, availing myself of the privilege of age, to express in a public form, and over my own name, other views of a more cheerful character in regard to the future of our beloved State.

It is true that we have a prospect of heavy taxation, both State and national; it is true that we have lost our negroes, and that our farms have in many instances been laid waste and devastated; it is true that we are to undergo, in painful and inevitable contact with it, the solution of the most profound problem which has yet been submitted to the minds of statesmen—the sudden lifting up from a state of elavery of four millions of an inferior race to a state of freedom; and, above all, it is true that we have lost thousands of our best and noblest and truest men.

But while these are sad realities, all is not lost.

we have lost thousands of our pest and noncess and treest men.

But while these are sad realities, all is not lost. We have retained our self-respect. No humiliating concessions have been demanded of us. We have been required to pass under no yoke. We have been required to pass under no yoke. We have been defeated, not by equal, but superior, even overwhelming numbers. Nearly every General of distinction in the Federal army has awarded to us, in public assemblages at the North, the character of brave and bonorable adversaries. European nations, without exception, have rendered the same award. We did that which we thought right. We perilled life and property upon the issue. In the hands of an overruling Providence, we were unsuccessful. Let us accept the result with dignified successful. Let us accept the result with dignified successful. Let us accept the result with dignified. Give the colored men the ballo

and manly fortitude, as the exhibition of His will concerning ourselves and our country.

Our Bibles, our churches, our schools, our freedom of thought and speech, our civil rights and immunities as citizens of Georgia, are left undistorhed, saving the comparatively few excepted. When before has there been a conquered people, in any age or in mey portion of the globe, left in a condition so favorable? Think of the "yoke" of the Romans, of the "Var Vicitis" of the Middle Ages, of the spoilation and partition of Poland, of crushed and ruined Hungary, of the miserable fate of the conquered in the successive revolutions which have scourged France, of the more than century of Ireland's deep hunilitation, of the doom of those who suffered in Scotland in the rebellion of 1745, and of the confiscation of property and banishment of those in Georgia, who in the Revolution had taken up arms against the colonies. Contrast these incidents with our condition. But a single step is required of us to place us in a condition quite equal to the most favored citizens of the United States. That step is to swear in all honesty that we will be hereafter loyal to the Government with which we have just been at war. Could less be demanded? Is there any teaching of history which could have induced us to expect so little as a condition precedent to our restoration to our rights and immunities?

If would not be human to forget the terrible scenes of the late war. They are cut upon our memories as with the point of a diamond. Since that war has terminated, it would be unmanaly not to acknowledge, the clemeny and liberality of the condendance of the South. They perient the fell knowledge which we powess of the efforts now being made by radicals at the North to have the deforts now being made by radicals at the North to have the similar propess concerning us, it will be an insanity on our part if we fail to take the most prompt and energetic measures to the congent of the congent of

that, had he been born of Catholic parents, he would have been a Catholic; and he learns that what he supposed was boly wrath, was only bigotry: he is not less a Protestant, but more catholic. Thus are the prejudices of race and religion brashed away before the unseen but felt influences of our government.

Now, I would apply to the solution of the Southern problem the principles of our fathers. I have said they made all races equal before the law. This was not strictly true. They excepted the negro promptness.

industrious, used to a not sun, and low wages.

The change in the system of agriculture proposed is but an adoption of the system practised in Europe from time immemorial, and from which our former system was an unwise and remarkable departure.

Courage, then, my countrymen! With health and strength, with clear consciences and with the blessing of God, we can mould our own future. It is unmanly to repine. It is suicide to sit with folded arms. It is cowardly to run away from a suffering State until all hope is dead. Towards the Government let us be loyal, in the selection of men for

WHY COPPERHEADS OPPOSE NEGRO SUF-

When the colored people of the South are enfranchised, there will be eight hundred thousand votes given for the Republican Union ticket, as not not black in a hundred could be coaxed or coered into voting the Copperbead disunion ticket. People with the company of the Copperbead disunion ticket. hands of an overruling Providence, we were unsuccessful. Let us accept the result with dignified and manly fortitude, as the exhibition of His will concerning ourselves and our country.

Our Bibles, our churches, our schools, our freedom of thought and speech, our civil rights and immunities as citizens of Georgia, are left undisturbed, sawing the comparatively few excepted. When before has there been a conquered people, in any age or in successful to the "yoke" of the Romans, of the "Yar Victis" of the Middle Ages, of the spolistion and partition of Poland, of crushed and rained Hungary, of the miserable fate of the conquered in the North.

taught by the crafty slaveholders to believe that their own rights and position in the scale of society would be imperilled or subverted by letting the norgoes up, and that their assumed superiority to the blacks depended on keeping them down. Therefore they are hostile to the blacks being allowed to better their condition by acquiring wealth or knowledge or political privileges. They are too lazy, shilless and degraded to move forward themselves on the road of improvement, and they can't bear to see the despised blacks passing by them. Hence their bitter resistance to any measure or policy which tends to giving the colored people a fair chance to rise from their prostration, and join even the rear of the column of progress.

But the opposition of the Northern Copperheads to colored suffrage rests on a less respectable foundation than even the miserable caste feeling of the ignorant white rebels, as the Southern blacks in my way compete with them in the labor market, in the school-house or, in social relations. The opposition to them is partism. They would deprive the black citizens of the right of voting, because the blacks, enfranchised, would generally vote the Republican ticket! They insist on letting the rebels vote, because they will all vote the "Democratic "ticket. Some Copperheads give as a cause why the blacks should not enjoy the suffrage, that they are unlettered and ignorant. But if ignorance why the blacks should not enjoy the suffrage, that they are unlettered and ignorant. But if ignorance why the blacks is must also be excluded for why should not the role of intelligence apply to them equally as well as to the blacks? Thus it is seen that the "ignorance" objection is but a shallow pretext—the real reason of the opposition being, as before stated, that the colored men, if enfranchised, would vote the Republican Union and not the Copperhead Secession ticket—Chicago Tribune.

TREASON WILL OUT.

TREASON WILL OUT.

The New York Herald, of the 16th ult., has a leading article entitled "The Southern Statesmen and the Niggerbeads," in which the former are lauded to the skies, and the latter, that is to say the advocates of the truly democratic doctrine of universal suffrage, are consigned to the infernal regions. This article, and many others of the same nort, are intended to ingratiate Bennett with President Johnson, this benighted Scotchman actually believing that his sycophantic utterances will have their effect upon the government of the United States.

President Johnson having, from an impulse of generosity and magnanimity, expressed to a Southern deputation his confidence in the professions of loyalty of those lately in insurrection against the United States, Bennett immediately improves upon the occasion to administer a dose of peradilous flattery, proclaiming, in one of those grandiloquent tissues of falsehood for which the New York Iterald is so notorious, that "the administration of Andrew Johnson, we have every reason to believe, will go down to history in admirable keeping with that of the lamented Abraham Lincoln." This means, in plain English, that if President Johnson continues to place his trust in rebels and copperheads, he will have a glorious place in the history of the United States, as Bennett seeks to make that history. At the same time, the Herald endeavors to make political capital out of what, in its heathenish opinion, it considers just now as agreeable to those high in power, namely: the exaltation of the Southerners

board with their deeds."

Nothing could be more false than this. John B. Floyd was the Secretary of War under President Buchanan, and it is notorious that, in that office, he stealthily availed himself of every opportunity to send arms and ammunition to the South. Howell Cobb was Secretary of the Ireasury under President Buchanan, and feloniously depreciated the securities of the government, in order to give secret aid to the approaching rebellion. Jacob Thompson, another of these "open and above board Southern men," was Secretary of the Interior, in the same administration, and connived at the robbery of that very department of a large amount of bonds belonging to the Indians, all to help forward the schemes of his friend Floyd, and sid the secret conspiracy to overthrow the government in which they were both engaged.

to overthrow the government in which they were both engaged.

Those immortal champions of humanitys whom Bennett, with the characteristic slang of his low nature, nicknames "niggerheads," and charges with hypocrisy, have been "so open and above board in their deeds," that, while the Heraid was supporting Floyd in his stealthy robbery of national armaments, and Cobb and Thompson in their fraudulent depreciation and embezzlement of national funds, the same inflamous sheet was daily revilling those great santi-slavery champions on account of that very openness and boldness of "their proceedings," which the Heraid, in order to court favor again withits former masters, the Southerners, now stigmatizes as hypocrisy. Frightened into seeming patriots during the war, it is now once again at its old work of degrading the country and reviling its faithful sons.

Chicage Tribune.

SECRETARY STANTON.

General Sickles, in a speech at the Institute Pair, paid the following tribute to Mr. Stanton:

General Sickles, in a speech at the institute Pair, paid the following tribute to Mr. Stanton:

"Here let me pause to pay a tribute to one upon whom, more than upon any other public servant, have rested the vast and varied responsibilities which the conduct of our great war imposed. When the rebellion declared itself, toward the close of the administration of President Buchanan, an eminent lawyer, who had neither held office nor been conspicuous as a partisan in politics, was called into the Cabinet, as Attorney General. His presence was instantly felt in the vigorous measures taken to enforce the authority of the Government. At the critical moment which followed the occupation of For Sumter, when it seemed as if the Government would yield to the audacity and vigor of revolutionary pressure, his fearless coursels, his indomitable will, his sturdy, loyal nature, contributed mainly to that modification of the pacific policy of President Buchanan, which was followed by measures to resist the further aggressions of insurgents. Toward evening, on one of the ploomy days in the winter of 1861, the Attoricy General sent, for one of the representatives in Congress from New York, and informed him that, unless the public opinion of the North was instantly manifested, the President would yield to the demand

A BASE AND BASELESS ASSUMPTION.

the service, at length felt there was somebody in au thority to be afraid of.

times when the local was to the Government as not using the war, might assail the Government as pleased and with impunity, it became necessary silence sedition and baffle treason by terror. It

to stemee section and counter treason of was fortunate that the Government possessed a man, urmed with power to enforce his will, who inspired ear enough to recentoree doubtful authority. Not Richolieu himself, when France had no hiding-place

Richolieu himself, when France had no municipal that could conceal, or power that could save one of his victims, was more dreaded than an order of arrest signed by the Secretary of War, after the writ of habeas corpus was suspended. Whatever may be the final judgment of jurists upon the legal questions the same arrests, the effect was salutary.

"They [the radical Republican party North] forget that this is a white man's government, and intended for white men only; and that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the negro is not an American citizen under the Federal Constitution."—Gov. Perry's Message.

The above extract is from the Message of Gov. Perry, Provisional Governor of South Carolina, to the S. C. State Convention. The assertions are not true in point of fact, and the Northern people assent to no such statement, whether made by Gov. Perry, or founded on mere dieta of pro-slavery Judges in their discussion of the Dred Scott case. Abraham Lincoln, in his famous contest with Dougas, with his wonderful power of condensation put he Dred Scott decision in a nut-shell when he said: In Dred Scott decision in a nut-shell when he said:
It is a long opinion, but it is all embodied in this
short statement: 'The Constitution of the United
States forbids Congress to deprive alman of his property, without due process of law; the right of property in slaves is distinctly and expressly affirmed in
that Constitution; therefore, if Congress should undertake to say that a man's slave is no longer his
slave when he crosses a certain line into a territory,
that is depriving him of his property without due
process of law, and is unconstitutional.' That is the
whole Dred Scott decision."

On another occasion Mr. Lincoln made these no-ole remarks, which bear upon the point that this Jovernment was intended for white men only:

Government was intended for white men only:

"These communities (the thirteen colonies) by their representatives in old Independence Hall, said to the world of men: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creafor with certain inalienable rights; that almong these are life, liberty; and the pursuit of happiness. 'This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty; and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creafor to His creatures. Yes, gentlesses, so all His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened, belief, nothing stamped with the Divine image, and likeness was sent into the world to be tradelen on, and degraded, and imbruted by its fellows. They grasped not only the race of men then living, but they resched forward, and seized upon the furthest posteriey. They created a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, area in his bit when some carry in which care in the limbel. some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but Anglo Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of linpiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battles which their fathers began, so that truth, and justice, and mercy, and all the humans and Christian witness, might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit, and circumscribe, the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built."

ples on which the temple of interty was being built.

But Judge Curtis, in his opinion, settled this point
conclusively. 'He affirms that "Of this there can
be no doubt. At the time of the ratification of the
Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhibitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachisatts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolinathough descended from African slaves, were not only
citizens of those States, but such of them as had
the other, necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors, on equal terms with other citizens."

chise of electors, on equal terms with other citigens."

Again, Mr. Justice Curtis says, very distinctly and
emphatically: "It has been often assorted that the
Constitution was made exclusively by and for the
white race. It has already been shown that in five
of the thirteen original States, colored persons then
possessed the elective franchise, and were among
those by whom the Constitution was ordained and
established. "If so, it is not true, in point of fact,
that the Constitution was made exclusively by the
white race. And that it was made exclusively by the
white race, and that it was made exclusively for
the white race is, in my opinion, not only an assumption not warranted by mything in the Constitution,
but contradicted by its opening declaration, that it
was ordained and established by the people of the
United States, for themselves and their posterity.
And as free colored persons were then citizens of at
least five States, and so in every sense part of the
people of the United States, they were among those
for whom and whose posterity the Constitution was
ordained and established.

What is Provinciand Gov. Perry's assertion worth
in comparison with the legal Opinion of Mr. Justice
Gurits, pronounced from the bench of the United
States Supreme Court ?—Saless Register.

As a Senator of the United States, certainly I could consider no State Government republican in form which was at variance with the fundamental principles of our republican institutions; which denied the equality of all men before the law; which set aside the principle that governments justly exist by the consent of the governe, and that taxation and representation must go together. If I am wrong, the Government is wrong. And I am here to say that I could approve of no State government whose constitution or bill of rights does not enry, in express words, this right of a State to secode from the Union, and which does not provide that slavery shall be forever and finally abolished and prohibited, so that not even a root, seed, or grease spot shall remain of this sum of all willames, the accursed system which has been the fountain of all out troubles, and of that fratricidal and bloody war which has desolated the land. (Great cheering.) Again, it should be expressly provided that the leaders of the robellion, who have held offices, civil or military, under the confederate Government, should be distanchised, and forever debarred the right of suffrage, and the right to bold any office of honor or profit under the Government of the United States. (Cheers.) Again, I would confer the right of suffrage, open all loyal men. I will not, by any act of mine, open the portals of the American bailot-box to pardoned rebels, whose hands are stained with treason, and are dripping with the blood of our brave boys, and deny it to the poor colored man who has proven his allegiance to the country by brave and heroic deeds. (Applause.) He has kallied round the flag—he has brought a stalwart arm and a courageous heart to his Government in the hour of its extremity and fearful need; and the would be the shame of the century and the age, if he is to be be disfranchised, and left without a voice to such barbarous legislation as his robel master would frame for him. (Cheers, and cries of "that's sc.") Let me tell politicians that there is many of the free States, and no barm has followed and no complaint is made; why not in the rebe States, especially as they constitute the principa part of the loyal people of those States. If not permitted to vote, every rebel State will send disoval men to Congress, ready and plotting to precipitate the nation into internicine war whenever the South, through Northern cooperation, might deem it seeks and the state of the South, through Northern cooperation, migh deem it safe to strike for their independence.

GEN. BANKS ON RECONSTRUCTION.

On Monday evening last, Gen. Banks, by special invitation of a committee of citizens, delivered an able address in Lawrence, Mass., on Reconstruction, which was very frequently and warmly applauded. General Banks's opening remarks were of an appropriate personal character, after which he proceeded directly to consider the question he was announced to discuss, the best mode of reconstruction of the Southern States, and their re-enstatement in the Union.

the Union.

After some peliminary points, he proceeded to say that the great question to be decided was, as to whose hands we were to place political power in. President Johnson, in his proclamation of last May, regarded this as a fixed and settled fact, that the chiefs and leaders who have brought on the rebelion are not to be entrusted with political power—that no man then in duress, civil or military, in prison or on parole, shall be entitled to vote or hold prison or on parole, shall be entitied to vote of no-office till he has received a personal pardon from

e President.

If this alone was carried out, it would be impos sible for the leaders of the Southern movement to obtain power soon enough to do us any harm. If thousands were pardoned, it still leaves hundreds of thousands of those thus in duress, who would have no power, and the control of the nation would be in the hands of the masses. The President has ven no evidence of a change of opinion. Though has expressed his readiness to submit to the will he has expressed his readiness to submit to the win of the people, yet he has in no sense relinquished his adherence to the proclamation of the 24th of May. He believes still, as we do, that the restora-tion of political power to the hands of the leaders of the rebellion would be the ruin of us all. It is

rous, extending its protection to all other branches of labor.

They gave to the colored as well as to the white the privilege of freemen, because their interests were one. Had they been sustained as they ought to have been, these men would before this have given the right of suffrage to the colored men. The only safety of their country was to place power on the basis of labor. Labor was never in favor of slavery, or of giving to the hands of a few the power that belongs to the masses.

Who, then, were we to trust the fifteen States to? Should it be 'to the masses, or 'should it be to the old leaders who would control them to our hart and the injury of the nation? Should we permit them to annex their debt us that of the Union? Those States, impovershed and crushed, could not do much to pay our debt. Their fall receperation required the power to be placed in the hands of the masses. The latter, in 'time, would control. And if the rebol leaders obtained the upper hand, they would find their tourne of power so slight, that, to secure it, they must seek foreign aid and the annihilation of the blacks.

secure it, they must seek foreign aid and the annihilation of the blacks.

And now we come to consider the question of negro suffrage. Giving a man the right of suffrage
does not make him the equal of another man. Voting is not the test of equality. Power is in the hearts
of men. He that is good and wise will have power
because it is the law of God that he shall have it.
Whether he be white or whether he be black, is immaterial. He has power because it is the law of his
being. The elements of power are not in the hands
of the men who cast the votes. The people of the
United States are controlled by the elements of
power that have no place at the ballot-box. The
press, the pulpit, the public assembly, the farter, the
mother, these are the powers that control the country. The opinions of these who have no vote take
effect on those who de vote. An election is simply
the mode we have adopted of taking the general
sense of the community.

We feel aftest when every man in a community
votes. A small yote is not considered inportant because the whole people are not fairly represented by

SENATOR YATES ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE. it. Now I can trust the negroes, even admitting that they are not equal in intelligence to the whiter t they are not equal in intelligence to the w asse they make a part of that general judg ich constitutes public sentiment.

The Tiberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1865.

SOMETHING MORE.

Major General B. Erank Cheatham, late of the rebel army, says that "Slavery, the sole cause of the war, is gone up, and therefore we of the South laws and ne up, and therefore we of the South have no ing to contend for or quarrel over."

It is to be hoped that there may be a cessation of

Southern quarrelling against the laws of the United States, and the rights of its Government and people. But we of the North have still much to contend for One great wrong has been, to a considerable extent suppressed in the South. But an immense work resuppressed in the South. But an immense work re-mains for us in the establishment of rights, in a region whose people hitherto have been utterly indifferen-to the distinction between right and wrong. The whole South has now to learn, for the first ti pay a decent practical observance to law, and also justice. There was much to be rectified there be sides slavery; and the great work of the next few years must be to bring Southern manners and cur tianity.

One of the hardest things for the Southron will be to understand that rights, the rights of man, the rights of human nature, belong to negroes as well as to white men. He detests the Yankees as much as ever but understands clearly, ever since the war, that their rights are to be respected and conceded. Retaining such dislike of the ex-slaves as the injurer is apt to such dislike of the existance as the injurer is apt to feel towards the injured, he yet understands and admits, for the most part, that they are no longer to be bought, sold or held, as the property of an individual. But he evidently expects still to look down upon the colored race, and permanently to enjoy that superiority over them, which De Bow, and Bledsoe, and Scabura have a confidently eliment. The block and Seabury have so confidently claimed. The blac man is no longer a slave, but he is still to be rated as a "nigger." Free niggers, the slaveholders always man is no longer a stave, but he is still to be rate as a "nigger." Free niggers, the slaveholders alway said, were worse, and worse off, than the slaves; an they now hope to accomplish their own prediction to reduce the whole class of colored people to a state which shall at once accomplish, for the white race the chief purposes of slavery, and seem to corroborat the impudent lie that slavery is the natural and ap propriate condition of the negro.

It must be our part to show the stiff-necked an

unbelieving race of ex slaveholders how greatly they are deceived in this matter. The negro is to have the rights of a man in the South, and those who feel indisposed to consent to such an arrangement may a well emigrate at once. It is a pity that, since ou onizationists, maintaining that blacks and whites car live better apart than together, the idea has not occured to them to deport the slaveholders, as the easie means of accomplishing the separation. We aboli tionists should not favor such a movement (except a the punishment for treason or some other crime) bewhere he was born. If he chooses to leave his cour try for his country's good, that will be the best po sible arrangement, and we wish him, with all or hearts, a prosperous voyage. But if he decides to stay here, he may as well make up his mind that

May. He believes still, as we do, that the restoration of political power to the hands of the leaders of the rebellion would be the ruin of us all. It is not to be permitted that those who can combine the elements of opposition shall be allowed to control the elements of power.

Tresident Lincoln's character and conduct were such as endeared him to us all, (applause,) but the temporary cessation of his policy, caused by his death, was a great injury to the country. He did not, it is true, follow up his policy with that will which others would have shown in a less excellent cause. Had he formed certain State governments as fast as possible, the military and the leaders of the rebels, when they returned to their homes after their defeat, would have found a power there beyond their reach, and not of their making.

Further, Mr. Lincoln sought to divide the South by organizing the masses of the people on certain great lines which should prevent common Southern action. He preserved a government or formed one in all the States bordering on the Ohio and the Mississippi. Those border States always controlled this government, and would till the end of time. All travel, and action, and influence, are along the lines of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Those border States always controlled them. Mr. Lincoln knew this, and acted accordingly in reference to Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, The masses of the people in these States were loyal. (Applause.)

But the people in the imperfectly organized States, Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, because their interests whose majorities consist of measurements and the fatherhood of God. But as a blessing, and the interruption of President Lincoln's plan to that end was an injury too great to be rightly estimated.

When we planted power, we should recognize as above all things the element of labor—black labor as well as white labor. (Applause.) The Constitution of Louisiana, presented to President Lincoln's plan to the defeated on the constitution o reason and candor, that we cannot fairly expect the South to adopt, among the changes accompanying the abolition of slavery, a code or customs more favorable to free negroes than the Northern States them selves allow. The answer to this is, that we do no expect any willing assent of the defeated rebels to movements in this direction. The South being what she is, we do not expect from her the course which would be dictated alike by justice and by penitence. What we do expect is, that the ex-slaveholders will still oppress both blacks and poor whites, to the exstill oppress both blacks and poor whites, to the ex-tent of their ability. Our part is to impose rigid limits upon that ability. Since the fortune of war has given us the power to dictate to them, why should we hesitate to dictate a course which justice and expediency, and the welfare alike of present and futur agree in pointing out? We, the United States, shall stand forever disgraced on the page of history if we do not seize this occasion for the enforcement of a rad Unfortunately, Connecticut, Illinois and other are beyond our political power. If the question wernow to be acted on of their admission to the Union should come nearer beginning to understand the mea ing of equal rights, free institutions, the brotherhood Northern States, we must wait for the slow process of education to effect these changes, all the more d we need an immediate reform in South Carolina and Georgia, that these may exercise a moral influence upon Connecticut and Illinois, and that the contempt ible position at present chosen by the latter States

EQUAL SUFFRAGE. Address from the Colored Citizens of Norfolk, Va., to the People of the United States. Also an account of the agitation among States. Also an account of the a With an Appendix concerning the rights of colored witnesses before the State Courts.—New Bedford, Mass.—E. A. Anthony and Sons, Printers. 1865. -8 vo. pp. 28.

This pemphlet has a long title, and the title page serves also the purpose of an index. All its parts, however, are important, all having relation to the Bayne and other colored gentlemen of Norfolk on be half of their brethren, is a very able one. It skilfully half of their brethren, is a very able one. It skilfully suggests that since slavery has been crushed, with the rebellion to which it gave rise, there is no fair ground for perpetuating the disabilities which were imposed only to protect slavery. Still, however, in Virginia, it is a crime for colored people, or their children, to learn or be taught to read; there is no provision for insuring the legality of their marriages; they have no right to hold real estate; the public streets have no right to hold real estate; the public streets and the exercise of their ordinary occupations are forbidden them except on the condition of showing a pass, or a license; they have no means of enforcing contracts; they are refused admission in court as wit-nesses against a white person; they are taxed without representation; and, as far as legal safeguards of their rights are concerned, they are defenceless be-fore that remise.

their rights are concerned, and fore their enemies.

These are the old grounds of grievance; but the are new ones. The colored people's right of labor interfered with. In many counties of Virginia, commeetings have been held, at which resolutions has been adopted deploring, while accepting, the scolid of slavery, and pledging the planters composing t

plish the purposes named in the Address. The pumphlet ends by a rehearsal of the very important proceedings in regard to the refusal of the testimony of Israel Dorsey, a citizen of Massachusetts, in the case of Graff vs. Howard, in the County Court of the County of Alexandria, Yn., Sept. 7th, 1864; giving also the able "Opinion" of Judge Underwood on his right to testify. These proceedings were printed in the Liberator at the time, about a year ago, but it is well to spread them before the public in as many forms as possible, until these great questions are settled, that is to say, arranged in accordance with right and just tice.-c. K. W.

DESIGNS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Democratic Repudiators of the National Debt, and Negro Suffrage.—New York Day-Book and the Wool-grow

CHARLESTOWN, (N. H.) Sept. 20, 1865.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:
MY FRIEND-The Negro! Ever

day brings forth fresh proof that the negro ballot is now as necessary to save the republic as was the negro bullet four years ago. Chattel slavery, as an institution, is dead; no more to be revivified in this nation. Its spirit still lives, and is just as flereely bent on the destruction of freedom, free labor and free institutions, as it has been the past thirty years. This spirit of hostility to the doctrine that "all men are created equal" is showing itself in the same po-litical garb which it wore in the days of Calhoun, are created equal is shown in the days of Calhoun, able to enjoy the one or experience the other.) have Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan—i. e., in the two camps had in remembrance the duties that of Democracy. The leaders of the Democratic , (N. H.) in Vermont, in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are devoting their energie to effect a complete organization, with a view to the Congressional election of next year, and to the Presi-dential election of 1868. The reports of several of their State Conventions are before me. Not a resolution can be found on their records congratulating the country and the world on the entire suppression of the rebellion, on the abolition of slavery, on the destruction of the military and civil power of the Confederacy, on the abolition of the slave oligarchy, on the prospects of the restoration of the freedmen to their domestic, civil, political, educational and commercial rights, and on the abounding resources of the republic to redeem its pledges to its creditors and its freedmen.

On the contrary, they have said and done all they could to array their followers against paying the na-tional debt, against excluding the rebels from voting and holding office in the Federal Government, against admitting the negro to an equality with themselves before the law in the courts, in the rights of marriage and parentage, of education and ownership of land. In a word, they have virtually made repudiation, inequality of the negro, aristocracy of color, and the payment of the rebel debt the great watchwords of their Democracy. They seek to give over the republic into the hands of those who avow their intention to use their power, to prevent payment of the interest on the national debt. They, in their resolutions, declare that the supreme power of the Government ought, at once, to be placed in the hands have murdered half a million of our sons and brothers, and who now declare their aim to be to destroy it in a war of ballots. At the same time, they avow their intent to exclude from office and suffrage those who, by their blood, have been the means of its salvation The enemies of freedom and free labor they would make the arbitors of our national destiny; and exclude from all participation in the government those " equality before

Their appeal is to the prejudice against the negro and a national debt. I have just given a lecture on the equality of the negro and white man before the law. The leading bully of the repudiation, negroinequality party undertook to make capital for his party, and asked—"Do you mean that the negro has a transfer of the before the law. an equal right to intermerry with the whites?" " "I
do, (I said,) mean that a negro man has just as good a right to marry your daughter as your daughter has to marry him. The rights of both are equal." to marry him. The rights of both are equal."
"But, (he asked,) do you mean that a negro has as
good a right to marry a white as a black person?" I do mean to say that a negro woman has as good a right to marry you as she has to marry a black man provided you love her as a husband and wish to have her as a wife. But what has the question of marriage between you and a negro woman to do with the self-evident truth that 'all men are created equal'? Are you afraid that you and all other white men will love with negro women and marry them, if the negro is allowed the ballot?" This seems to be the one great concern of the repudiation Democrats of this region, judging from their public and private talk and from their Bible-the New York Day-Book once admit that "all men are created equal," and the negroes are allowed to vote, their wives, mothers, daughters and sisters will all fall in with them, and marry them. Will they ? will

By the way, that Day Book plays the mischief with ng Den ocratic repudiator, knowledge one man, a receipt, swepting Demonstrate of wool last year. He was offered one dollar per pound for it. Would not take it. Why? The Day Book—his most Holy Bible-told him every week that within one week the Government would fail, become bankrupt, and its bills and bonds would be worthless. So he concluded to keep the wool rather than sell it, and have two thousand dollars in national currency. Now he sells this wool for 55 cents per pound. He is minus one thousand dollars. His wrath is hot against the Day-Book, and those demagogues who, to win the votes of the rebels, defeated in the war of bullets, insist that the national debt must be repudiated, or the rebel debt accepted. Another wool-grower of my acquaintance has lost five hundred dollars in the same

way on his last year's crop.

Democratic repudiators of the national debi and of negro suffrage are moving heaven and earth to get control of Congress next to get control of Congress next year. They assume that not a man that owned slaves and fought for slavery and lost all, will ever vote to pay the interes principal of that debt, incurred solely to crush nout their slavery and rebellion. The Democratic repudiators of the North will shape their policy to suit the vishes of their repudiating allies of the South, who, as they expect, will be able to control

which of the sects of our religion he forms a part. He back into the Union till that State comes with guarantees to bear its portion of the national debt—to allow the ballot irrespective of color—and never to most the question in Congress of accepting the rebed debt—to allow the ballot irrespective of color—and never to most its certain that those whose plans for a slave empire have been utterly and forever destroyed in the war of ballets, will spare no pains to destroy the republic in uncombat, with all the pacific arms at our disposal, and not hesitate to atrike the hammer of absolute is full of Democratic repudietors and rebets to free-

meeting to employ no negroes, save those formerly sorned by themselves, without a written recommendation from their late employers, and threatening violence towerds any who do thus employ them. They have also agreed to pay their late adult slaves no more than \$50 per year for their labor:

The Address gives three points of advice to the colored people of Virginia and of other States:—first, that they be active in pressing, by public meetings and otherwise, their rights to equality before the law, and to equal rights of suffrage; next, that they form Labor Associations, to regulate, as far as may be, the price of labor; and third, that they become landholders as far as practicable, and form Lend Associations for the better accomplishment of this object.

The accounts, in the second portion of this pamphlet, of meetings held and resolutions passed by the colored people of Norfolk, Va., are very creditable to them. Besides the Association in that city, two others have been formed in Hampton and Williamsburg, to accomplish the purposes named in the Address. The samphlet rad he a subsection of the years in the city, two others have been formed in Hampton and Williamsburg, to accomplish the purposes named in the Address. The samphlet rad he a subsection of the years in the city with politics; because this sedence,

by Mr. Felix Vegeti.

Gentlemen: The constitutive laws of Freemasonry interdict, to this encient eclebrated order, the right
of occupying itself with politics; because this science,
arduous as important, preates always, even by the
difficulties it engenders and raises, elements of discord and division incompatible with the sentiments of
concord, of peace, and of fraternal love, which form
the basis of our association.

Therefore, during the four years of war which the United States has just passed through—a war gigan-tic by the vast extent of its theatre, by the armed multhe treasures of every kind which it has cost, and more by the humanitarian end which it has at--Masonry, in its divers centers of action, was only able to pray that there might be a cessation of human blood poured out in these fratricidal conflicts, and to hope for the triumph of human liberty, and only upon the moral and material wounds which it could discover, pour all the balm which its hands could well as all the advice and all the consola

On the fields of battle, in the camps, in the hospitals of the army, in the prisons with days without end, with nights without sleep, with cares without termination; the numerous masons who have part in the vicissitudes, in the dangers, in the vations, (I do not say in its joys, in its triumphs the combatants in these intestine strifes not being which their condition imposed upon them; and which their control imposed upon them, and the archives as well as the correspondence of nu-merous masonic groups, if it were necessary, would furnish superabundant proof of that fact.

Now the crash of arms has ceased, peace, if not yet concord, seems to reign in the country. Minds are occupied in cicatrizing the wounds, in repairing the evils, in alleviating the sufferings, in turning to profit for future prosperity all the amount of experience acquired at the price of calamities without number, and of every description, heaped up everywhere where war has carried its rage : on every side, in fine he spirit of union endeavors to repair the ruins, to calm, to extinguish resentments, to cause all the races of the tempest to disappear.

In this immense work, in the multitude of objects which it embraces, can Masonry find no task? I do not think so.

not think so.

A society whose object is not only to practise all the virtues which bind men together and render them a whole, but which ought still to give form to the law of these virtues, and to diffuse this law over the world—a society which admits only among its mem-bers men having, besides other qualities, an intelligence sufficient to cultivate their reason usefullyhas, without doubt, a duty to fulfil on this occasion a duty which she cannot escape without proving fals to herself, and without, for her glory, and for her fu ture, fatally isolating herself from the universal move

She ought, then, to collect on the field of battle task noble as its institution, grand as its objects, and which may be a monument of its force and of its wis

It is this task which I attempt to signalize to thi respectable assembly, persuaded that, after having heard the reading of my work with the indulgence which it requires in all respects, this auditory will not be frightened by the grandeur of the work offered to its energy, and that it will accept the burden of this initiative in remembering with happiness that "To do what one can, is to do what one ought."

The four years which have clapsed, in breaking the chains of slaves by the force of arms, have led to a result which an age of discussions, of gropings, and of good wishes would scarce have been able to pro-duce. This result, then, is sudden, and all good minds occupy themselves with the means of conciliating the suddenness of this perturbation, in the social and hu manitary relations of two races with this " Sage len teur" (festina lente) which ordinarily mark each of the steps of human rea

The prejudices of race and of color are to-day as profound and as vivacious as ever. The whites of the North, much more those of the South, (I might in many cases say less than them,) do not wish to see in the black race of men children of the same God, having the same rights as themselves

rous and various workshops in which are elaborated the "chefs d'œuvre" of human industry and intelligence; they are received in them only as laborers. They are repelled from the public vehicles, even in the city of "brotherly love," which lies thus to its name of Philadelphia! They are parked in all the theatres where they are admitted. They have their schools, their temples, and their cemeteries. Death itself cannot draw them near to those who accord to them only with repugnance and stammering an im-mortal soul; and I dare not affirm that prejudice permits their soul to mingle in Paradise with the soul o

Free to-day, what will become of the children of this race ? Who will cause to penetrate u of its readers who worship by its teachings. dark eyelids the future, radiating with wisdom and Who will say to them: Little ones, become great! Those of your race ought, by progress, to make in the world a trace which, from the fatal past, shall avenge all affronts! Who will open to them the redeeming way

Whites! do not fail to fulfil this task, and for near two centuries and a half of griefs and miseries. efface at last the trace of their blood shed under the whip of those we call our brothers, be at last their pro-

Masonal we belong to the group always increasing

of those who, in our day, despise the prejudices of race, of caste, and of color. For us the pariah of In dia, whose contact alone suffices to soil a man o another caste, and who is permitted to kill him fo n alone; the negro, slave, and sold as a vile d the proud descendant of the Abysainian beast, and the proud descen magi, who prostrated himself before the crib of Bethhem, are men and brethren. We do not demand any more of the man who prac-

tices this summary of the tables of the law, God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with al your mind, and your neighbor as yourself," to what ever human race he belongs, than we demand of him if he is an adorer of fire, a follower of Brahma, of Vishnu, of Moses, of Mahomet, or of Christ, nor of which of the sects of our religion he forms a part. He is moral; his forehead reflects the divine ray which tells us his soulls immortal. He believes in the truth;

to remain sufficient vestiges for the future to testify to

their past existence.

On the contrary, let us carry everywhere, and always, the troued and level of reconstruction, of progress, and of well-being, which ought to lead to the gress, and of well-being, and the Son of Man, "Glory o God in the highest; peace on earth, and good will to men."

to men.

Consequently, to arrive at this end, well contined that the light which now shines over us would be under a bushel if it shone only within the walls of our temple; well penetrated also with the truth that or charity is more extensive than the list of one. extensive than the list of our memharry is more the honor to submit to this assembly, to eers; I have the nonor to submit to this assembly, to be communicated to all the globe, the resolution following, that which precedes serving as a preamble:

owing, that which precedes serving as a preamble— ART. 1. The Free Masonic Lodge of Neval.

ART. 2. The Free Masonic Lodge of Neval.

State of New Jersey, United States of America, subcrete and the State of the Representation and Acceptation of all Lodges, its sixtee, expanded over the face of the globes, its sixtee, expanded over the face of the globes, its sixtee, expanded over the face of the globes, its sixtee, and the object of this appeal, the following acceptations:

the motive and the object of this appeal, the following ART. 2. An appeal for funds by way of subrcition, and individual and collective donation, is made preceding article, for the purpose of creating in the United States of America, temporary institution, which shall take the name of The Masone Proceeding article, for the purpose of creating in the United States of America, temporary institution, which shall take the name of The Masone Proceeding article, for the purpose of creating institution and the temporary institution. TRECTORATE OF CHILDREN BY COLD.

ART. 3. The duration of this institution shall be twenty years, and may be prolonged, or the lastitution rendered permanent, according to the result of a color of both sexes manual and industrial professions, which permit them to elevate, at the same time, their moral and social level, and their individual well-being.

Art. 6. The Association ought, to arrive a contraction of the color of the color of the same time, their moral and social level, and their individual well-being.

rell-being.

Ant. 5. The Associatevel, and their individual Ant. 5. The Associate would, to arrive at this result, to do everything which depends on it and on each of its members to overcome the actual repusance of master workmen in receive apprentices of color. It will even open if it is necessary, and it requires the concerned exclusion.

concerted exclusion.

ART. 6. Places of refuge for these apprentices, like those alterady existing for the young renders of newspapers and shoe-blacks, will be established for the children who are orphans, or without parents capable of taking care of them.

ART. 7. Religious, moral, and civil instruction will be given to these children in their asylums every evening.

be given to toese crituren in their asylums every evening.

ART. 8. A committee will be named, as soon as the number of adhesions will permit, to digest general regulations, embracing the organization, the administration, and the discipline of the protectorate; and supply, in a word, everything which he preeding atticles could not indicate in this work. These articles, and the preamble which precedes them, not being able to contain all the necessary developments, and being accessarily confined to the sole indication of the work to be accomplished.

necessarily confined to the sole indication of the work to be accomplished.

ART. 9. The present resolutions and their preamble will be communicated to the periodical press of every language in the city of New York, with the request to translate and publish them.

ART. 10. The Masonic associations of Europe, and of North and South America, are fraternally invited to place themselves in communication with us for the accomplishment of our design, and the periodic press of both hemispheres is respectfully invited to give to this project the inestimable support of its publicity.

city.

Done at Newark, New Jersey, the 9th August, and espectfully submitted.
(Signed,) FELIX VOGELI, of Lyons.

TROUBLES BREWING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON, (S. C.) Sept. 20, 1855. DEAR GARRISON—Things look fearful here in the outh. If I can interpret with any correctness, the lements are preparing for a storm of blood and terror far beyond anything yet experienced. The conflict of races seems almost inevitable. The whites despise and hate the negro. They universally predict his enire disappearance in from ten to twenty-five years and they mean it shall be so. All they tolera resence so short a time for is to supply necessary labor ntil immigration furnishes it.

Some of my old friends here, "Union people," express such utter contempt and hate for those they once pretended to love while in slavery, that I tremble for their depravity. I cannot have patience to report to you facts; but I know from facts that the negro can have no chance, nothing endurable, at their hands

We have asked the ballot for him. I am now fully satisfied that this would be in his hands but a delusire phantom. He could not be allowed to use it. Make as many laws as you please, the white Southron and ne-gro never will go to the same bailot-box. The former would not allow it. I know what I say. It is impossible, utterly impossible for the whites and blacks to hold a free election in this State or Georgia. Hence the sooner we at the North drop this as a pivotal ques tion, the better. What then? Equality before the law? How? Ad-

mit the negro as a witness? This may be. But what is the value of his testimony when everybody assumes that he cannot speak the truth ? Admit him to the jury, then. This will not be allowed where white men are nterested. No white man would submit his case to a "nigger." What then? We must, if possible, by Congress, keep these States under military government; or we must establish in them all United States Courts for the trial of all such cases as either party wish to bring before them. The Constitution guarantees trial by jury and writ of habens corpus. Make this practicable to every citizen in the country. This is favorite idea of Mr. Spooner. I think it is the only refuge for the colored man in the Southern States re stored to the Union. Trial by jury in United States Courts—this, I think, we could get. But I greatly fear we cannot keep the States out of the Union.

You have doubtless heard of the assaults and assas sinations in the 33d regiment. Two officers and two privates killed, two wounded, and many attempts, all at different times, within four or five weeks. The segroes are becoming almost desperate in view of their prospects. If to save a fearful civil war of races only, we have the greatest reasons for continuing military occupation of these States.

When I feel less nervous, I will write you mor almly on this subject

Yours, with the greatest anxiety,
J. H. FOWLER.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for October, is publish ed, and has the conclusion of and a fine complement of fresh articles. The list of ontributions is as follows :-

Saints who have had Bodies, by G. Reynolds; No Time Like the Old Time, by Oliver Wendell Holmer; upon Bonds, II., by J. T. Trowbridge , The Author of "Saul," by Bayard Taylor; Needle and Garden, X.; John Jordan, by Edmund Kirke; Noel, by Henry W. Longfellow; Wilhelm Meisfer's Apprenticrahip, II., by D. A. Wasson; Dr. Johns, IX., by Donald G. Mitchell; Down the River, by Harriet F. Prescott; Abraham Lincoln, by H. H. Brownell; Reviews and dierary Notices.

THE CONDITION OF THE COLORED PROFILE OF GEORGIA: An adjourned meeting of merchants and others, called to hear the statements of Hon. William King, of Georgia, in reference to the condition of the colored people of that State, was held at No. 50 State street Friday. The attendance being small, an infor-

The subject of the best means to be employed to al leviate the sufferings of the poor people at the South was discussed. Remarks were made by Mr. King. Edward S. Tobey, Eag. Rev. Mr. Rice of Charles-Edward S. Tobey, Eaq., Rev. Mr. Rice of Charles-ton, S. C., Rev. Mr. Manning and Rev. Mr. Haven of this city. It was thought that the immediate wants of the people of the South could best be supplied by Mr. King acting under the auspiogs of the "Refuzes". Aid Society," which is an auxility of the American Union Commission; and the subject of calling a future ission, and the subject of calling a future public meeting was left to the Executive Committee f that Society.

The Editor of the Liberator has returned from a very delightful trip to Vermont—"the star that agreet sets "-a sketch of which will be given next THE TREATMENT OF THE FREEDMEN.

Whereas, by the fortunes of war, our former noble and beloved Chief Magistrate, Jefferson Davis, is now languishing in prison, awaiting his trial for treason; and whereas, the fanatics of the North, not satisfied with the wide-spread ruin and desolation which they have caused, are shricking for his blood:

Resolved, That it is the paramount duty of South Carolina, who led the way in our late struggle for independence, and for which struggle he is now suffering, to use every lawful means in her power to avert

sors for plantation labor. Employers must stipution provide audicient food, quarters and medical
medicac for the laborers, and such further compention as may be agreed upon. Such contracts will
a fan upon the crops raised upon plantations, of
the bot more than one half shall be removed until
a syment to the laborers is made, and the contract
model by the agent of the Bureau for plantation
for. Abspinees from labor, without good cause,
the proceeded against as vagrants, and may be set
that on the public roads, or to do other labory of
the orer to the Freedment's Bureau.

Farsons and Gen. Wood have approved of the
start and directed its enforcement.

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riches and Gen. Wood have approved of the stud directed its enforcement.

The stud directed its enforcement.

In the hour at which the stevedores and aborticates, the study of the stevedores and aborticates, the study of the s

e looking to its suppression on with unfeigned satisfaction that we have been fastru nation of this foul blot.

GEN. GRANT ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE. General Grant, both from his position as head of the army and from the prestige he has won, is likely to become as important to our Government for the remainder of his life as the Duke of Wellington in the latter profits public career. His views, therefore, will always he of interest. "General Grant, in conversation with his friends, says that it is too soon to declare that the loyal blacks in the South shall not be allowed to vote. A saide from the abstract right and the legal problem of what authority can confer or withhold the franchise—whether it be Congress or the State—the question may assume the shape of a political necessity. The Government and the people may choose between keeping a standing army of

SITUATION. The Washi

tions by which they are surrounded, was revealed in conversation this morning with a gentleman of considerable wealth before the war began, and the present owner of two large plantations in Georgia. He intends returning home immediately, subdividing his plantations into small lots containing from ten to fifty agree seah, and leasing them out for a number of years to the most reliable and industrious of his former negro servants, at such rates as they will agree to give, and can well afford to pay. In some instances he will give the right to purchase at the expiration of the lease. When the negroes are settled, he will erect a cotton gin and open a country dry goods and grocery store for supplying them with necessaries, and he believes that in ten years his income will quadruple what it was before the war. He is too sensible to be long without followers. The true interest of large Southern landkeders is in this direction. was rejected by a large majority, leaving the clause making the white population alone the basis of repre-sentation.—Salem Register. A DOUBLE-DYED FREND. The trial of Champ Fer-guson, at Nashville, develops fearful pictures of the infernal barbarism of that notorious murderer. The following testimony was given in relation to the assas-sination of an old man named Taylor, who was well known for his attachment to the Union: sination of an old man named Taylor, who was well known for his attachment to the Union:

"Ferguson's men seized Mr. Tabor, and Ferguson dismounted, and went to meet him. Tabor got down, and was brought to us, pleading for his life. Ferguson said, 'Oh! yes, you oughtn't to die: you have done nothing to die for,' at the same time drawing a piatol from his belt, and shot the old man twice—once through the heart, while begging him to desist. He dropped, with his head over a little rising ground. Frank Benedict said to Ferguson, 'Shoot him in the head,' when Ferguson placed his revolver close to Tabor's head, and shot him again. Then he turned to me, and said, 'I am not in favor of killing yoo, 'Thrasher; you have never been bushwhacking or stealing horses. I have killed old Wash Tabor, at de good Christian, and I don't reckon he minds dying.' Just then Tabor's wife and daughter reached the apot, screaming and going on."

POLITICAL. It is estimated that there are two it and colored persons in the State of Connecticut, that the vote denying filem the franchise will si-its thousand majority. The last vote taken in C

The Acurious case of miscegenation has recently secured in South Carolina. Capt. E. J. Scranton 128th colored troops, stationed at Beaufort, has been ried, convicted and sentenced by court martial to be lismissed the service, for cohabiting with in camp and afterward marrying, a colored woman of bad reputation. The sentence has been approved by General

It has been ascertained by the Freedmen's Burea

Major Mahan, in a speech at the

Fanny Jackson, a young colored woman of Washington, D. Co., graduated from the classical ourse of Oberlin College, at the late Commencement. She is the first female college graduate of Mrican descent.

Two hundred slaves have been landed on the

New York, Sept. 29. Printing paper has risen naterially within the past week or two. The price oday is 194 a 20 cents per pound. It is difficult to get an order taken at all. Dealers say there is a carcity, of stock, and that water is short at the mills.

Ann Farrell of Columbus, Indiana, was riding

The Newburyport Heads says that, on Friday, Mr. Jacob Stickney, 9! years old, was performing his daty on State street, as a measurer of charcoal. It was an hour so early that many, people were not out of their beds. This is his 67th consecutive year in town office; and since he was 2! years old, he has been elected to various offices, and taken the official oath 223 times.

The census returns from all the towns of Massachusetts but sixteen indicate a total population of 1,272 000, which is an increase of 41,000 from 1860. There has been a loss in Barnstable, Bristol, Duke's, Plymouth, Franklin and Nantucket. The number of voters is 245,000, against 211,000 in 1857.

To show the gigantic scale on which the war sup-plies were obtained, there remains on hand in one isem 1,500,000 pairs of new shoes. The Quarternias-ter's Department have already sold 89,000 horses and nules, which have produced upwards of six million dollars.

dollars.

An old negro man who attends to Judge Bryan's office accidentally found "his long lost brother" a few days ago. They were sold in Virginia when about ten years old, and separated. They are now upwards of sixty years of age, and made the discovery that they were brothers while in conversation about the changes worked by the war. The last seen of the lold darkies they were going down Cherry street, arm in arm, full of glory.—Naskville Despatch.

An Ohio Democratic editor boasts that Val-landigham will be chosen to the United States Senste by the next Ohio Legislature.

by the next Ohio Legislature.

Harrie Leslie, the rope walker, in a recent exhibition of his feats at Bayfield, C. W., was taken by the people to be the devil, and with cries of "d—in him!" cut the rope! "he was let down a distance of twenty-five feet, tatching at a tree in his fall. His agent was severely beaten, and he narrowly escaped with his life. \$2000 A YEAR

The question of freeing the slaves in Cuba is creating considerable discussion, not only among the people of the Island, but in Spain also.

and at J. S. HOUSKIN.

N. B. Only a portion of the seats in the body of the house (those to the right of the speaker) will be reserved leaving a large number on the lower floor and both balconies to the other ticket-holders.

nual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Horticultural Hall, West Chester, Oct. 27th lay and evening. A more particular notice hereafter.

LESSONS IN ORNITHOLOGY. PARLOR CLASSES.

RACEANNA LEWIS will give Instruction in the NATURAL HISTORY OF BIRDS, to Schools and Private

GRACEANNA LEWIS, Care of Edward Parrisi rest corner of Eighth and South & PHILADELPHIA.

TESTIMONIALS:

DILLWYN PARRISH, HELEN LONGSTRETH, E. H. CLEVELAND, MARGARET J. BURLEIGH J. G. HUNT, M. D., Philadelphia, 7th mo., 1865.

GREAT CHANCE FOR AGENTS. WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT.

COMPLETE History of the War, in one large volume, aphendidly illustrated, with over 125 fine portraits of Generals and Battle scenes. The most candid, incide complete, authentic and reliable history published. It contains reading matter equal to three large octave volumes. Send for circulars, and see our terms. Address.

"JONES, BEOS & CO., Philadelphia., Pa."
Sept. 29.

WM. P. POWELL, ATTORNEY AND SOLICITOR, IN THE ADJUSTMENT AND COLLECTION OF

LAIMS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, Office Nos. 1 and 2, Dover St., New York. OTARY PUBLIC AND COMMISSIONER FOR THE STATES OF VERMONT, MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT.

Passports and Protections Procured.

DR. DIO LEWIS'S PAMILY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES,

TWENTY superior Teachers, among whom are TERODORE D. WELD, formerly Principal of the Engleswood School, New Jersey, and L. N. OALBETON, formerly of Phillips's Academy, Anderer.
Send for Catalogue and Girculars to Dr. Luwis.
August 11.

MADE by any one with \$15. Stencil Tools. No experience necessary. The Presidents, Outsiders and Treastrers of three 1 ants endorse the circular. Sent free with samples. Address the American Stencil Tool. Works, Springfield Vermonts.

October 8. Sm.

onderful Invention of the Age MORRILL'S

PETROLEUM STOVE.

Genius. COOKS, WASHES AND IRONS WITHOUT COAL,

DOES the work easier, quicker, better, and with many little expense as any known method; and in its use, without a radiator, does not perceptibly affect the

"CHALLENGES THE WORLD

MORRILL PETROLEUM STOVE.

READ THE FOLLOWING TESTIMONIALS.

The undersigned have used Morrill's Patent "Brovabotove" in our families, and have thoroughly tested it exities no colonia, and many other families of our acquaint noce have it in use, and are well satisfed with "it." We notice it a very valuable improvements, and ; sheerfully made of the control of the colonial of the very valuable improvements.

E. D. & G. DRAPER. Hopedate, Mass., May 6, 1865.

South Reading, Mass.]
SOUTH READING, Mass., May 29, 1865.
UM STOVE Co.:
clace upon your circular to make the fol-

From Rev. J. P. Cushman, Pastor of Orthodox Con tional Church, Brighton, Mass.]

Six: 1 do certify that, with the informement as freeing point, (37 degrees.) I heated my office (the feet by
seven) with one of Morrill's Petroleum Béoves, in five minutes, to such a degree that I was obligate to spen 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 ever came under my observation.
Yours, &c.,
Yours, &c.,
Yours, &c.,
Telegraph Operator, Summit of Mt. Washington, N. H.

Ayer's Sarsaparilla ...

Ayer's Sarsaparilla.

Is a concentrated extract of the choice root, as combined with other substances of still greater alterative power as to afford an effectual antiblete for diseases Sarsapirilla in equal to a first an effectual antiblete for diseases Sarsapirilla in the work of the still greater alterative power as the first part of the still greater alterative power in the still greater and proves as this har, of immense on part of the still accomplish their care must prove, as this has, of immense proves the composition of the still accomplish their care must prove, as this har, of immense to be found in the following complaints; and the worst case to be found in the following complaints; and the worst served to be found in the following complaints; served to be found in the following complaints; served to be found in the following complaints; served to grant the still greater to grant greater the first of the following complaints; served to grant greater the first of the first of the first greater the first of the first greater the first of the first greater the first in comparative health.

Fenald Diseases are caused by Serofula in the blood, and are often soon cured by this Extract or Sansaparilla.

Do not diseard this invaluable medicine because you have been imposed upon by something pretending to be Sarsaparilla, while it was not. When you have used AYER, then, and not till their, will you know the visitons of Sarsaparilla. For minute particulars of the diseases it cures, we refor you to Ayer's American Alumane, which the agent below named will farmish gratte to all who call for it.

Ayen's Carnararic Pilla, for the cure of Costiveness, Jaundice, Dyproperia, Indignation, Dypenterry, Foul Stonach, Headsche, Piles, Rhoumatism, Heartburn arising from Disordered Stonach, Pala, and More Jumene Pills.

They are sugar-coated, as that the most smallfire can take them pleasantly, and they are the best Aperical in the world for all the purposes of a family object.

Propered by J. C. AYER & CO. Lowell, Mass., a

. For the Liberator, TO THE FREEDMAN.

The crowning fact, the kingliest act

Man of the dark brow, lift thy head As proudly to the light de if, henceth its crisped curls, That brow were marble white. Of Cain's curst mark, if God hath left On human brows a trace, "Tis surely, surely, not on thine

'Tis on the oppressor's face ! What! bow that forehead, cha It bent o'er unpaid industry
For years above the soil?
Mo! let the lordlings of the lash,
Robbers and traitors, bow; Robbers and traitors, bow ; But, in thy wrongs and poverty,

Now star with hope thy midnight eyes, And speak out clear and free ;— Who stormed Fort Wagner? Turned the tide For us at Olustee rican ! True friend !

Brother American ! True friend! Give us thy brave right hand! Now claim thy birth-right—native-box Thine equal right demand!

Thins equal right demand:
Thou need'st not favors;—chaim thy RIGHTS,
(The auction-block, the thongs,
The debt we cannot pay, forgive—
Forget thy thousand wrongs!)
Teach SERREMAN truths keen as his sword,
Teach Cox he doth but dote;—
Demand thy "freedom's crossing fact,"
Which "is the freeman's vote!"
Beston, Sept., 1865. KATY CAR KATY CARLISLE

THE QUESTION.

"Amen!" I have cried in battle-time When my beautiful heroes perished;
"The earth of the Lord shall bloom sublime,
By the blood of his martyrs nourished." Amen ! " I have raid, when limbs were And our wounds were blue and ghastly; The fiesh of a man may fall and awoon, But God shall conquer lastly."

And "Amen !" sang I unto the hymn That rose when our crowned banners Streamed over the hosts whose eyes were dim Because of their hearts' hosanna But I will not basely stab my dead With a poinard-stroke by giving
"Amen!" to the lie that seeks to sp Its black wrong over the living ! If you shake clean hands with Truth, you shall

See life's essential meaning ; And through the apocalyptical Vineyards of Light walk gleaning. tut not in your traffic-mongering marts,
Where you place a market value
the Christward aching of human hearts But not in your traff Hath His angel aught to tell you. You think that your opaque eyes are one

You prate of mercy and-cotton bales ; But I think you are not minded That Justice, holding the awful scales, Being blind, is color-blinded.

Can you patch a cloak for your nakedness Can you paten a croak for your na actions
From shreds of your contriving?
Will your shoddy endure the strain and stress
Of the looms the gods are driving? Behold! the winds of the Lord will tear Our beggarly rags in sunder,
And leave us shivering, shamed and bare.
To the search of his packed thunder.

Shall we drowse our lives with a new pre-Ere our blood is dry in the valleys That were soaked through for the old offence? Must we learn snew what hell is? Do we think that the grapes of God will slip Out of reach when we are rated? Or that of his sovran Mastership One jot will be abated?

From the unsung graves where our comrades died In a regnant scorn of dying;
In a regnant scorn of dying;
From soils that out of the dark have cried,
Through ages of bitter crying;
From the solemn beavens where all must stand,
Calling to every spirit,
A Voice runs warning across the land:
O, brothers! let us hear it.

-N. Y. Evening Post.

THE ANDERSONVILLE POST-OFFICE.

The following touching lines, descriptive of an incident in the pen of prisoners at Andersonville, Ga., are attributed to G. H. Hollister, Eq., of Litchsleld, Ch. The walked yet clicked nothing of sadder interest:

No blanket round his wasted limbs, Under the rainy sky he slept i ground him, Death, the archer, crept. ground him, Death, the archer, crep He dreamed of hunger, and held out His hand to clench a little bread— That the white angel with a torch, Assess the living and the dead, Seemed bearing, smiling as he went: The victor waked him, and he spied The post-boy, followed by a crowd For letters from their friends.

Gasping for breath, he shricked aloud, And, lost in nature's blind colipse, ring amid the suppliant or A guard who followed, red and wroth, And fourishing a rusty braud, Reviled him with a taunting oath, And snatched the letter from his hand And maches the steer room in and.

"First pay the postage, whining wreich !"
Despair has made the prisoner brave:

"Then give me back my money, sir!
I am staphtee not a playe!
You look my money and my clothes;
Take my life soc—but let me know How Mary and the child

And I will bless you ere I go." The very mosalight through his hands, As he stood suppliesting, shone, And his sharp features shaped themselves Into a prayer; and such a tone Of anguish there was in his cry For his wife and shildren, that the guard-Thinking upon his own—passed by,
And left him swooning on the sward:
Beyond the "dead line" fell his head-The eager sentry knew his mark, And with a crash the bullet sped

And with a crash the bullet sped.

Into his brain, and all was dark.

Into when they turned his livid check.

Up alward the light, the pale lips am
Rinsing a picture fair and meek,

That held in either hand a child.

FAREWELL.

Parevell, my son ! O, blessed thought, He cannot go where God is not ; And where He is, there goodness reigns And Love fulfile what Love ordains. On Northern hills, on Southern plains in wintry chills, in summer rains, In deadly conflict—blessed thought, He cannot be where God is not.

The Tiberator. EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN NORFOLK, VA.

Ever since the evacuation of Norfolk by the re-Ever since the evacuation of Norfolk by the rebels and its occupation by the Union army, on May 10th 1862, the colored people of that district have enjoyed the blessings of freedom, and the more than paternal care and protection of the United States government. The facilities afforded them for the acquisition of knowledge, the necessities of their new position and the thousand questions as to the fature arising them to receive the acceptant the same and the thousand questions as to the future arising from it, led many among them to perceive the necessity of organizing for united political action. A good deal of discussion took place privately without arriving at any result, until, in the early part of the year 1805, an attempt was made by part of the loyal white inhabitants of the city to restore civil government, which had been supplanted by a military administration of affairs, under Major General Butler. The col ored people of Norfolk, who by the military author ties had been protected in the full enjoyment of the

rights and liberties of loyal men, naturally with alarm and dissatisfaction on the proposal to restore the civil government on a basis which contemplated no representation of their rights and interests. A Committee was at once formed, under whose an appices a meeting was held in the Mechanica Hall, on the Mechanica Hall spices a meeting was held in the Mechanics, Hall, on Feb. 27, Mr. H. F. Trumble in the chair, and G. W. Cook, Secretary, as which resolutions were adopted protesting against the restoration of civil government until the complete restoration of peace, and the possibility of establishing civil government on a "fayal and equal basis." Copies of the resolutions adopted were sent to President Lincoln, Major-General Ord, nanding the department of Virginia, and Briga commanding the observations of viginal and observed the District, with a report of the proceedings of the meeting, and a memorial on behalf of the meeting, signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

On the 4th of April, 1865, another meeting of the

colored people of Norfolk was held at the Mechanica'
Hall, Rev. Wm. I. Hodges, President, which resulted in the formation of the "Colored Monitor Union Club," the primary object of which, as stated in the Constitution, was to be "to promote union and har-mony among the colored portion of this community, and to enlighten each other on the important, subject of the right of universal suffrage to all loyal men, without distinction of color; to memorialize the Congress of the United States to allow the colored to call frequent meetings, and procure suitable speak ers for the same : to form auxiliary clubs throughou the Eastern District of Virginia; to give publicity to our views all over the country; to assist the pres-ent administration in putting down the enemies of the government; and to protect, strengthen and defend all friends of the Union." The organization of the club was completed April 6th, by the election of Pres ident, Vice Presidents, Treasurer and Secretaries In pursuance of the objects of the club, large and enthusiastic public meetings of the colored citizens of Norfolk were held in the Mechanics' Hall, on Apri 25th May 2d and May 16th, at which much informa disseminated respecting the movement in behalf of negro suffrage.

Besides the discussion of the question by the Color

ed Monitor Union Club, a lively interest was taken in the matter by the larger body of colored people outside the club organization, and a mass meeting was held May 11th, at the Bute Street Baptist Church was held May 11th, at the burst ere inspirate Cinter (colored). The church was crowded, and Dr. Thomas Bayne was chosen President, and A. Portiock, Secretary. After prayer by the President, a Committee on Business was appointed, who reported the following resolutions, to wit:

1st. Resolved. That the rights and interests of the colored citizens of Virginia are more directly, immediately and deeply affected in the restoration of the State to the Federal Union than any other class of citizens; and hence, that we have peculiar claims to be heard in regard to the question of its reconstruc-tion, and that we cannot keep silence without dereliction of duty to ourselves, to our country, and to our

za. Resolved, 1 nat personal servitude naving been abolished in Virginia, it behooves us, and is demanded of us, by every consideration of right and duty, to speak and act as freemen, and, as such, to claim and insist upon equality before the law, and equal rights of suffrage at the ballot-box.

8d. Resolved, That it is a wretched policy, and most

tinctions, on account of color merely, if acquiesced in, or voluntarily submitted to, is inconsistent with our own self-respect, or the respect of others, placing us at great disadvantages, and seriously retarding our ad-vancement or progress in improvement; and that the removal of such disabilities and distinctions is alike manded by sound political economy, patriotism humanity and religion.

5th. Resolved, That we will prove ourselves worthy of the elective franchise by insisting upon it as a right, by not tamely submitting to its deprivation, by never abusing it by voting the State out of the Union, and never using it for purposes of rebellion, treason or

oppression.

6th. Resolved, That the safety of all loyal men,
black and white, in the midst of the recently slaveholding States, requires that all loyal men, black or white, should have equal political and civil rights, and that this is a necessity, as a protection agains the votes of secessionists and disloyal men.

7th. Resolved. That traitors shall not dictate or pre scribe to us the terms or conditions of our citizenship

8th. Resolved, That, as far as in us lies, we will

objects and designs, and that this meetoint a committee of seven to aid in getting ing app

un said Convention. On motion, Lemuel W. Lee, Rev. John M. Brown Rev. Thomas Henson, and Edward W. Williams, were appointed a committee to carry out the objects and designs of the resolutions, and call this meeting again

as soon as practicable. In the meantime, the collapse of the rebellion, and the subsequent recognition by President Johnson of Governor Peirpont as the Governor of the State of Virginia, also the approach of the time appointed by the new so-called Constitution of the State of Virginia for the State and Congressional elections, led to the appearance of several candidates for the honor of nting Norfolk in Congress and the State Legislature. Of the opinions and character of these co dates it is not necessary here to say one wo that most of them were entirely uniavorable to negro suffrage. By proclamation of Gov. Pierpont, the Congressional elections were postponed, owing to the absence of county organizations, but the State elections were authorized to proceed. In view of the ions were authorized to proceed. In view of the position of affairs, a call was issued by a number of white Unionists of the city for a "mass meeting of all loyal citizens, without distinction of birth or color, to be held at the City Hall, May 23d, 1855," to take

by the chair, to take such action as may be deemed desirable, in case of the rejection, by the conductors of the election, of the votes so offered.

Resolved, That, in view of the exigencies of the

times, and the necessity that all men elected to State offices should be men of tried fidelity to the Union, and of liberal sentiments, and that the candidates not before the public are in no way representative of th therefore nominate and pledge ourselves to the support at the polls of the following candidates :-

For the Senate-D. W. Todd, Sr. House of Delegates-Francis De Cordy and Jame

Resolved. That he Secretary be instructed to trans mit the foregoing resolutions to the Secretary of State, with a request that they be laid before the President of the United States, and that copies of the same be sent to those members of Congress who have shown themselves favorable to the elective franchise of the colored man, and the same be published in the local paper, and also sent to the other papers friendly to the cause, with a request for insertion. CALVIN PEPPER, President.

T. L. R. BAKER, Secretaries.

A committee was appointed to request the atten ance of the centlemen named as candidates, who had also previously been nominated by the Union League of white loyal citizens, that the meeting might have an expression of their political views. All the candi dates attended, and, with the exception of Mr. De Cordy, distinctly pledged themselves to vote for the enfranchisement of the colored population, if elected to the State Legislature. It is needless to inform those who know the colored people, that the greatest order and decorum prevailed at the meeting, although the speeches delivered there were by the newspapers of the city characterized as "incendiary."

The above resolutions were also endorsed at a meeting of the "Monitor Union Club," held the same vening at the Bute Street Baptist Church, (colored.)

On the morning of Thursday, May 25th, the day of 3d. Resolved, That it is a wretched policy, and most unwise statemanship, that would withhold from the laboring population of the country any of the rights of clitizenship essential to their well-being, and to their advancement and improvement as citizens.

4th. Resolved, That it is a wretched policy, and most at the outcomes the commencement of the proceedings, which number was afterwards largely in devastment and improvement as citizens.

4th. Resolved, That it is a wretched policy, and most at the outcomes the commencement of the proceedings, which number was afterwards largely in the proceedings, which number was afterwards largely and the proceedings, which number was afterwards largely the chairman of the public meeting, in accordance with the resolution, the Committee proceeded to make with the resolution, the Committee proceeded to make arrangements for conducting the voting by dividing he persons present into four bodies, acc ward in which each lived. It was at first determine to proceed in a body to the polls, and there tender the votes, but lest the obstruction to the polling, caused by the presence of such large bodies of men at the polling place, should afford a pretext for disturbance it was decided to appoint four Committees to proceed to the polling places in each ward, and ascertain, by tendering their own individual votes, whether the vote of colored citizens would be received, either on the polling book, or if not, on the separate list provided by law for contested or disputed votes. The Com

nittees appointed were as follows:
1st Ward-Albert Portlock, Thomas Wisher, and

unius Fraser. 2d Ward-T. F. Paige, Jr., J. T. Wilson, and Peter hepherd. 3d Ward-E. W. Williams, Geo. W. Cook, W

Southall. 4th Ward-Geo. W. Dawley, B. Woodhouse, Rev

Mr. Lewis, and A. Wilson.

The Rev. J. M. Brown was elected Chairman, an

Dr. Thomas Bayne Secretary. on the partonize or hold business relations with those who would deny us our equal rights.

During the absence of the committees appointed as above, the meeting engaged in prayer for the success of their efforts. On their return, the committees Convention be held, for the purpose of carrying out from the 1st, 8d, and 4th wards reported that the conceive the votes of colored people, in any manner whatever, while the committee from the 2d ward alone reported that the conductors of the election in that ward had consented to receive the votes of colored men upon a separate list, as of voters wh tions were a matter of dispute. On this announce ment being made, the whole assembly rose, and, at the instance of the Chairman, sang the hymn, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow."

Arrangements were immediately made by which the colored citizens of that ward should proceed to the polling place, ten at a time, and there tender their votes, and for recording at the Bute Street African Methodiat Church the votes rejected at the other polling places. The names of the voters living in the 1st, 3d and 4th wards were registered, and their votes received by the committees for those wards, before mentioned, and though occupying the whole day, the proceedings were conducted with the most perfect

The results of the day's polling were, at the church The results of the day's polling were, at the church:
Todd, 712 De Cordy, 712 Hall, 712
which, with 354 votes cast for the same candidates, in
the second ward, made the whole number of colored
rotes 1065; no colored vote being class for any other
than the candidates mentioned. The result of the
white voting was widely different, though full of encouragement to the friends of nerro suffrage, since
the candidates pledged to that policy stood second on
the poli, the result of the day's polling being as follows:

Mr. O. S. Belcher testified that he had served in the 16th Illinois Cavalry, and was a prisoner at Andersonville from the 8th of March until September; 1864. He thought that Capt. Wirz assumed command about the 1st of April. On one occasion, Wirz came into the stockade, when a cripple, walking on crutches, approached, and asked to go outside. The request was refused, and the cripple said he would rather be shot than stay there. The witness soon heard Wirz order a sentime to tell that man if he did not go back he would shoot him. The man did not return, when the sentimel fired, and shot him in the jaw. Wirz afterward threatened to shoot the other men, if they did not go away. On another occasion, while the prisoners were being divided into squads of hundreds, one of the men, owing to sickness, did not fall in, and Wirz threatened to shoot him, and did shoot him; the ball went through the man's hat. The prisoners were kept in the sun all day, and not allowed to procure water. If the squad could not give a satisfactory account of any one of their missing number, they were deprived of their rations. This was the case for three days early in July. He had heard Wirz say he was killing more Yankees than those who were serving at the front. Witness had seen twenty or thirty men shot over the "dead line."

The witness gave various instances of men being The witness cave various instances of men being

The witness gave various instances of men being shot; one was shot while in his tent for merely stretching his arm beyond the "dead line"; shother was shot at for treading over the line. He heard Capt. Wirz order the sentinel to shoot the cripple. Some of those shot were killed, and others were taken to the hospital.

James H. Davidson testified that he was a member of the Lorge expelse and taking as a primer to

heard Capt. Wirz order the sentinel to about the cripple. Some of those shot were killed, and oth cripple. Some of those shot were killed, and oth dimer il. Daviden testified that he was a member of the lowa cavalry, and taken as a prisoner to Andersonville on the 8th of March. He described the filthy condition of the prisoners. For a week be drove the dead wagon; sometimes twenty-five men were thrown into the wagon at a time, and on the return, he would bring wood and rations in the same cart. He had seen the rebel goldiers with shirts, blankets and shoes on them that were sent there by the Sanitary Commission for the use of our men. Capt. Wird, he knew, made a breakfast on for understand the contraction of the training left. He was not certain whether the mount of the wagon and the return, he would bring wood and rations in the same cart. He had seen the rebel goldiers with shirts, blankets and shoes on them that were sent there by the Sanitary Commission for the use of our men. Capt. Wird, he knew, made a breakfast on for understand the same cart. He had seen four handred or five hundred bowes at the depot with supplies. They were marked "U.S." It was a common thing for men to be put in the chain-gang. One man died in the chain-gang, with an iron collar around his neck. He had seen the hounds there; there were two kinds, ketch dogs and bull terriers. One of the dogs badly tore the lesh from a man's feg. Another man hanging up his clothes, which he had wanted, to dry; cose of the pieces be wore two deads of the chain of the same cart. It had seen men was hanging up his clothes, which he was shot in the bend. Wirz shot a man a short time after he assumed command of the prison; the bad washed, to dry; cose of the pieces below over the piece, when he was fired upon, and shot in the breast. Another man had reached below of the washed to the pieces when the washed to

White three thousand letters, addressed to Union prisoners. He handed them to Capt. Reed's wife, who was staying there. She took everything out of the letters, such as money, needles, thread, pictures, &c. Bhe laughed at the contents of the letters, making fun of them, and then ordered him to burn them. He had seen the rebels waring the clothing which had been sent to the prisoners. He heard one of the surgeons at Dr. White's eay, "I have poisoned five I ankees to day"; and another would say, "I have poisoned ten." They were laughing and drinking at the time. He also heard surgeons say they were going to vaccinate and take off the arms of the Xankees. They would be frequently laughing about the poison. Mrs. Reed took from the letters four or five hundred dollars, which alse kept in a box until the prison was not up. He did not know what became of the money. Elix de la Baume, of the 79th New York, testified, among other things, of Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water; he saw one of them in a dying condition. Capt. Wirz's firing two shots at two men who were drawing water, and the first two men who were drawing water, he will be seen the same of the min a

THE LIB ERATOR

| Tolipying pressible and freshpiticas were protect, which, after a little discussion, even put to the meet which, after a little discussion, even put to the meet which, after a little discussion, even put to the meet which, after a little discussion even put to the meet which, after a little discussion even put to the meet which, after a little discussion of the little growed with the different protection of the little growed at the poll, there is representative to the Court alteral proposed to he popular the poll being the protection of the little growed the littl

testified as to blankets and pants from the Sanitary Commission having been appropriated by the rebels. Wirz said to him he could "take care of more God damned Yankees than Lee at the front;" Wirz bad damned Yankees than Lee at the front; "Wirz had threatened to shoot the witness for some trivial complaint, and ordered the guard to fire upon a man who had stepped out to pick up a piece of wood; he hastened back to the ranks before the guard could shoot. The witness said, among other things, that prisoners were reduced to skeletons, and would go to the sinks to pick up undigested particles of food. He mentioned several cases of shooting men; one of them, was said by a least twenty count to have of them was said by at least twenty men to have been shot by Captain Wirz himself.

THE WIRZ TRIAL.

At the close of the proceedings in the Wirz trial At the close of the proceedings in the Wirz trial lately, a remarkable scene took place. The witness on the stand, an Indiana cavalryman, named George W. Gray, had been testifying to some outrage on the part of Wirz, that had not been put in evidence betore. He stated that the party of prisoners, in whose company he arrived at Andersonville, were ordered to place their blankets, knapsacks, haversacks, canteens, etc., in one place, when an officer mounted on a gray horse rode up, and told the Confederate soldiers to help themselves, and let the prisoners have the remainder.

The Confederates helped themselves, and there was nothing left. He was not certain whether the mounted officer was Wirz or not. In June or July, 1864, the witness, and a young man named Underwood, of the 7th Indiana Cavalry, went to the sutler's tent.

to be held at the City Hall, May 23d, 1865," to take such action as might be deemed desirable, in view of the coming elections. Although but short notice had been given, the meeting was attended by about 150 white, and over 2000 colored citizens. The meeting was attended by about 150 white, and over 2000 colored citizens. The meeting was organized by the choice of Calvin Pepper, Eg., Chairman, and Mears. Dear, Baker and Palge, as Secretaries. A Committee of seven, five of whom were colored citizens, was appointed to draft resolutions to be submitted to the meetings. Addresses were colored citizens, was appointed to draft resolutions to be submitted to the meetings. Addresses were delivered, during the absence of the Committee on Resolutions, and, on the Committee refurning, the

genteel debauchery holds nightly revel, a person from Buffalo or New York was robbed of all his personal possessions. The character of house and adjoining ones has been such that for some time the proper efforts of the law have been stated the proper efforts of the law have been allowed to fortise the proper efforts of the law have been allowed to fortise the proper efforts of the law have been allowed to fortise the proper efforts of the law have been allowed to fortise the proper efforts of the law have been allowed to fortise the proper efforts of the law have been allowed to fortise the proper efforts of the fall him of the transport of the proper efforts of the fall him of the transport of male visitors to the favorite waterine-placence that money could procure, were the habituly resort of male visitors to the favorite waterine-placence that money could procure, were the habituly resort of male visitors to the favorite waterine-placence that money could procure, were the habituly resort of male visitors to the favorite waterine-placence to the strugging town were almost powerless, socially, to put a stop to the sea-dalows proceedings which transpired immediately beneath their notice, and were per force obliged to outrage was committed, a constable maned had drew Franks, an officer whose bold determination was called upon to exercise the functions of his position. And here a weil of mystery hangs over the was called upon to exercise the functions of his position. And here a weil of mystery hangs over the west to the house alluded to, but that is all, said the next morning, when he was found in the stret, a short distance from the house, with a ballet through his heart.

When the news of the tragedy had spread throughout the place, the indignation of the people knew no bounds. As if by common consent, they roe in their might, and determined to wipe out at one stroke the cause of the foul murder. Shorty after ten o'clock, the people of the village, loth male and fermale, gathered in strength, and surroused th was here on the oxyy or Franks, and the inch offer oped thereat strongly pointed to certain parties be-longing to the houses destroyed. They were all ar-rested, but were subsequently released, and left the place, and came west as far as London, C. W., where they now are. HOW PETROLEUM NASBY CAME TO JOIN

THE DEMOCRACY.

The state of the s

SAINT'S REST, (wich is in the Stait ut)
Noo Gersey.) Aug 20, 1865.

I wuz born a Whig. My parents wuz a member
uv that party, leastways my mother wuz, and she
alluz did the votin, allowin my father, ut coure, to
go through the manual labor uv carin the ballot,
in deference to the laws uv the country, wich does
of permit females or nigners, to whe no matter

go through the manual labor uv castin the ballot, in deference to the laws uv the country, wich does not permit females or niggers to vote, no matter how much intelleck they may hav in 2 em.

In all probability I shood hev cast my lot with that party hed not a insident occurred, in my boyhood days, wich satisfied me that the Dimority wur my approprit and nateral abiding place. It werin this wise:

In a playful mood, wnn nite, I bustid open a grosery, and appropriated, ez a jest, what lose change ther wuz in the drawer, (alars I in these degenerit days uv paper currency, the enterprisin ther hez to steel at 40 per sent. discount,) and sich aber notions ez struck my boyish fancy. I indoost a migger boy, sumwhat younger than myself, to sid me, and when we had bagged the game, I, feelin imy pride ez wun hevin the proud Anglo-Sacken blood a coursin toomulchusly thro his vancs, what Cheef Justice Taney hez since made law, to wit that the nigger hez no rites wich the white man is bound to respeck, whaled him till he resined the entire proceeds uv the speckulashun to me. The degraded wretch, devoid uv every prinsiple uv honor, blowed on me, and we wuz both arrestid.

The Justic of the Pease wuz a Whig, and after a hurried eggsaminashen, he sentenst me! one w his own race! I one uv his own place! I to emprizenment for THIRTY DAYs! on hered and water, and the nigger to only ten, on the

own race! one uv his own blud! uv his own paren-tige! to emprizement for THIRTY DAYS! on bread and water, and the nigger to only ten, on the ground that I wuz the chief offender!

bread and water, and the nigger to only ten, on the ground that I wuz the chief offender? A great of the wipe em up with her gingum apera; that the arrangement might be reversed—the nigger the 30 and I the 10, but no. Cold as a stun, inflexible as iron, bludlis ex a turnip, I wuz inkarseratid, and stayed my time.

Sullenly I emerged from them walls, on the evening uv the 30th day, a changed individuel. Liftin my hands 2 heven, I vowed 3 vows, to wit:

1. That I woold devote my life to the work uv redoosin the African to bis normal speer.

2. That I would adont a perfershin in which I

1. That I wood devote my life to the work or redoosin the African to his normal spec.

2. That I would adopt a perfershin in which I cood steel without being hauled up fer it.

3. That the water I hed consomed while in doorance vile, wuz the last that wood ever find it way, undilooted, into my stummick.

Henz, I jined the Dimocrisy, and wheever eggrammes my record, will find that I mey kep my

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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Jr.,

WOOL COMMISSION MERCHANT, No. 6 Channing Street, Boston.

WITH every facility for selling Wool to the best advantage,—a good store, situated in the center of the Boston trade, and an inteneris exqualitator with manufacturers,—I respectfully solicit consignment.

Non market offere, inducements the We of direct Non this. It is not inducements the We of direct has this. It is not best of the weather than the selling the selling that the selling the selling that the selling the selling that the selling th

WHEN ADVANCES ARE NOT REQUIRED, One per cent. per pound, and one per cent. (and government tax of one-tenth of one per cent.) on sales.

WHEN ADVANCES ARE REQUIRED, WHEN ADVANCES ARE REQUIRED, the per cent. (and government tax) on sales. These charges cover all expenses after the Wool is second ings. If required to carry it covernment and expenses will be charged. Interest on advances and extenses will be charged. Interest on advances and extense will be charged. Interest on advances and other disbursements reckoned at the legal rate of this State. It shall alm to keep my consignors thoroughly interest and all Wool sent to me will be carefully graded to right market. Letters, asking information, will be promptly answered. Address P. O. Box 1861.

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Mesers, HALLOWELL, PRESCOT & Co. New York.
Mesers, DAVIS, Fiss & BANKS, Philadelphia.

Boston, August, 1865. NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

TEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

THE Bighteenth Annual Term of seventeen weeks will commence Nov. 1, 1865. Provessors.—Stephen Tr. Cooke, M. D., Anatomy, also of Physiology and Hygiese Edward Alkun, M. D., Makeria Medica, therapertien and Chemistry. Mineerva C. Meriam, M. D., Oberteents and Diseases of Women and Children; Albert B. Enblisch. D. Principles and Practice of Surgery and Medical Martin Medical Martin Medical Martin Medical Martin Medical Medical

WEST NEWTON

ENGLISH AND CLASSICAL SCHOOL THE next term begins Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1865. In Bept I. ALIEN.