- 17-IN WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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Advertisements or a square and over inserted three ten coats per line; Iers than a square, \$1.50 for gettion. Yearly and half yearly advertisements on reasonable terms. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penr

Obio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

addrived to receive successful for the Libertator.

If The following gentlemen constitute the Financia comilite, but are not responsible for any debts of the more time. We super. Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Edmy, time. We super. Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Edmy, Jaccon, and William L. Garrison, Jr.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

MARSES

PRES. LINCOLN ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE. The following is an extract from an unpublished letter

th, taking strong ground in favor of universal sufworth, f.age :-

"You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by a loyal and
cheerful submission of the South, if universal amnesty
should not be accompanied by universal suffrage.

Now, since you know my private inclinations arto what
terms should be granted to the South, in the contingency
mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus
be realized, followed by such desired results, I can 't seeif universal amnesty is granted—how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage,
or, at least, suffrage on the basis of intelligence and mills

How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attended my serious and careful attention; hence I think I am clear and decided as lo what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding it as a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these records who have so heroically vindicated their manheed it as a religious duty, as the nations guarant or these people who have to heroically vindicated their manheed on the battle-field, where, in assisting to more the life of the republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended."

J. B. YERRINTON & BON, Printers.

OVOL. XXXV. NO. 41.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1865.

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

WHOLE NO. 1810.

Selections.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

The question, says the New York Independent, where the affirmative action of the Legislatures three-fourths of the logal States amounts to a learning to the constitution of the Amendment lately proposed (logares to the Constitution of the United ance-the logal States so acting being less than rec-fourths of all the States embraced in the ion before the rebellion—is certainly one of whiterest in itself, and, in a by no means imselbe contingency, it may become of great prace-disportance. It is a question of law, worthy tax the judicial intellect of the country. With-day present expressing any opinion ourselves, we all tooly just to our readers to give a conspicular place to the following letter from Mr. Sunner, enceding his argument to their serious and candattention:

Is the Editors of the Evening Post :

I the Editors of the Evening Post:

As a hithful reader of the Evening Post for many pars, I have perused your article insisting that all possent effort for guaranties of national security relational faith must be postponed, in order to detain the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment, by which slavery is abolished throughout the Eggel States. If the Constitutional Amendment were not already ratified by the requisite number of Sates, I should doubt if even this most desirable diet rould be a sufficient excuse for leaving the sates, I should doubt if even this most desirable et could be a sufficient excuse for leaving the saaf freedman and the national creditor expos to peril, when our exertions now can save them allow me to inquire if you do not forget that efficit the usage of the national governmen salogous cases, this amendment has been already d by the requisite number of States, so th affed by the requisite number of States, so that this moment, it is valid, to all intents and purover, as a part of the Constitution? There was a
either once who looked everywhere for his knife
spetting that he held it then between his teeth
bere also was Southey's good "Doctor," who was
love without knowing it; and you have laughed
ms sure, at the story to illustrate this condition
where the traveller, asking how far it was to a
time saller. "The Pan." was answered, "You be lled "The Pan," was answered, "You be Pan now." It seems to me that, like the t, the doctor, and the butcher, you already what you desire; so that, even according to programme, the way is clear for insisting upon things embraced under "Security for the Fu

mose tungs emoraced under "Security for the Future."

The Constitution of the United States decides
that "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both
Hungs shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution, which shall be valid, to
dilatents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths
of the serveral States." On these words the simple
section arises, What constitutes the quorum?

But the usage of the national government in antigous cases has determined that the quorum is
isanded on the States actually participating in the
sermment. This has been decided in both houses
of Congress. The House of Representatives led
the way in fixing its quorum according to actual
typecatalion, or, in other words, at a majority of
the members elected and qualified. The Senate,
followed in establishing a similar rule. The Constational Amendment was originally adopted in
beth houses organized according to this rule. The
sulvanal debt has been sanctioned by both houses
star organized. Treaties, also, with foreign powers,
have been sanctioned in the Senate thus organized.
Applying this rule, the quorum of States requisite for the ratification of the Constitutional Amendent is plainly three-fourths of the States actually
pericipating in the government; or, in other words,
three ourths of the States having "legislatures,"
Where 2 State has no "legislature," it may be still
1 State but it cannot be practically counted in
the organizacism of Congress; and I submit that
the same rule must prevail in the ratification of
the Constitution of trebellion: You concede
to a matimoon State the power to arrest, it may be,
the organization of Congress; or, it may be, amendand the Constitution important to the general
value. This is not reasonable. Therefore, on
Two desired cases are submitted to the constitution important to the general is not reasonable. Therefore, con as well as usage, I prefer the ac

7, it would find it in the declared opinion of one of our best law-writers, who is cited with respect in a the courts of the country. I refer to Mr. Bish-who in the third edition of his Commentaries on h who in the third edition of his Commentaries on Criminal Law, (vol. I., p. 776,) published within few days, discusses this question at length. In a few days, discusses this question at length. In the course of his remarks he uses the following language: "If the matter were one relating to any other subject than slavery, no legal person would terr doobt that, when there are States with legislatures and States without legislatures, and the Constation submits a question to the determination of the legislatures of three-fourths of the several Scales, the meaning is, three-fourths of the States which there legislatures. In fact it does not require either the plants of the States when the plants of the States when the plants. In fact, it does not require either wisdom or legal acumen to see this, provided ook at the point disconnected from the peculiar ect of slavery." The learned author then propose to illustrate this statement in a manner to the learner of the statement of the statement of the statement in a manner to the learner of the statement of the statem

subject of slavery." The learned author then proceeds to illustrate this statement in a manner to which I can see no answer.

To my mind, all this seems op plain that I am offenced to ask pardon for arguing it. Of course, there is no question whether a State is in the Union or out of the Union. It is enough that it is without a legislature, and on this point there can, be no spection. Being without a legislature, it cannot be causted in determining the quorum.

Therefore, unless I greatly err, the Constitutional mendment has been already ratified by the requisite number of States; so that slavery is now abolished in name—first, by the proclamation of President Lincoln; and, secondly, by Constitutional Amendment. It remains that we should provide applementary safeguards, and complete the good work that has been begun, by taking care that starry is abolished in fact as well as in name, and that the freedmen are protected by irreversible sparantes. Without this further provision, I see small prospect of that peace and reconciliation which is the object so near our hearts.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, CHARLES SUMNER.

Boston, Sept. 28, 1865.

Boston, Sept. 28, 1865.

Es Governor Sharkey has given the opinion that unpardoned legislators will not be able to take sats. This will make Gen. Humphreys, the candidate for Governor, jueigible. Tresident Johnson will probably pardon tien. Humphreys.

A WORD TO THE SOLDIERS.

In view of the fact that some returned soldiers are permitted their names to be used as candidates or office by the so-called Democratic party, the resumption must be that these soldiers have forten the treasonable record of that party with sference to the late infamous rebellion.

An impartial review of the events of the past we years establishes the following propositions as tots beyond dispute in the mind of any man of orinary intelligence:

facts beyond dispute in the mind of any man of or-dinary intelligence:

That the leaders and controllers of that party. North and South, labored constantly and earnestly for years to "fire the Southern heart." for rebellion and war.

tor years to "here the Southern heart." for rebellion and war.

That they published the threat throughout the land, that the South would not remain in the Union if Mr. Lincoln were elected.

That they declared through political meetings and conventions in all sections of the country, that the General Government could not and should not "coerce" a State to obedience if it saw fit to break up the Union; thus inviting the South to light the torch of civil war.

That mades the administration of the old traiter.

of civil war.

That under the administration of the old traitor, Buchanan, they permitted no less than six States to withdraw from the Union, and set up and organize a new government under the name of "Confederate States of America," with that infamous villain, Jeffergon Davia, as President.

That in this manner they brought about those acts of war upon the Government which resulted in that dreadful struggle, which for more than four years deluged our land in the blood of its best citizens.

dreadill struggle, which for more than four years deluged our land in the blood of its best citizens.

That during this dark and bloody period in our nation's history, whatever influence they possessed as a party was given in favor of Treason, and against the Government of the Union.

the Government of the Union.

They denounced and opposed the first cali for troops as wrong and "unconstitutional."

In Baltimore they attacked the first troops that moved forward to defend our Capital.

They obstructed the operations of our forces against the rebels whenever and wherever they possibly could.

They encouraged the rebels to persevere by con-stantly declaring that we "could never conquer the

South."

They spoke and wrote of the rebels as "our erring Southern brethren," and of the Union soldiers as "Lincoln's birelings."

as "Lincoln's hirelings."

They discouraged volunteering, thus rendering drafts necessary to fill the ranks of the army.

They opposed the enforcement of the draft, and raised armed mobs which destroyed property and human life with fiendish barbarity.

They encouraged and aided thousands to desert from the Union armies, and when United States officers and soldiers attempted to arrest deserters, they were resisted by armed men—members of this so-called Democratic party.

They ambuscaded and murdered United States

called Democratic party.

They ambuscaded and murdered United States officers and soldiers in various parts of the Northern States ates. They raised bodies of armed men in Ohio, Indiana linois and other States to resist the authority of the

Illing United States.

They openly advocated the formation of a "North western Confederacy," to weaken and destroy the

They instituted secret treasonable societies, with

That the soldier who accepts the political caresse of the so-called Democratic party must be eit totally lost to every sentiment of honest patrioti or totally ignorant of the political history of

Seventh: That the negro is naturally an appear coward, but
Eighth: That he is a most dangerous creature, capable of rising and murdering a community double his numbers, and with a hundred times his strength in arms, and all preparations for defence. Ninth: That the negro can only live in a warm climate, like that of the Southern States, but Tenth: That now he is set free there, he will im-mediately rush North, and take the bread out of the mouths of the white workingmen here.

Eleventh: That white men cannot work in the Southern fields, which can be cultivated only by ne-groes, but

Southern fields, which can be cultivated only by ne-groes, but
Twelfth: That the negroes ought all to be col-onized in Africa, or driven off to some remote corner of this continent.
Thirteenth: That the freedmen are so stupid and

norant as to be dangerous to the Republic, but Fourteenth: That they ought not to be instructed r permitted to acquire knowledge. Fifteenth: That it would be a curse to Northern workingmen to have the negroes flock into thes

States, but
Sixteenth: That Northern workingmen ought
not to favor a policy which would make the negroes
controlled to remain in the South.
Seventeenth: That the workingmen of the North-

ern States are the most intelligent, the most capable the most industrious, and the most virtuous in the world, but

Eighteenth: That they will inevitably be ruine Engateenth: That they will inevitably be ruined and deprived of work by the competition of ignorant and idle negroes.

Nineteenth: That the presence of the blacks among us will always be a source of difficulty and trouble, but

Twentieth: That the emancipation act is wrong, chiefly because, under its operation, the negro race is likely to die out, like the Indians.

TRUE TO THEIR FRIENDS.

The Albany Argus, copperhead, indignantly The Albany Argus, coppernean, magazan scouts the imputation that the action of the N York State Convention was unfriendly or disco teous to the democrats of other States, and says:

"The proceedings of the Convention attest, wha this present will confirm, that not one word of thought ininical to the Democracy of any part of the Union, North or South, was uttered by that body, of by any one of its members."

To this the Buffalo Express replies :

To this the Butlalo Express replies:

"Every body will acquit the New York Democ of manifesting any other than the kindest, most dial, friendly, fraternal, sympathetic, fellow-fec towards either Jeff. Davis, Breckinriège, Ge Sanders, Vallandigham, Long, Bowles, Milligan, Richardson, Isaac Toucey, or Chauncey C. F. Their present attitude and profession must not be struct by their brethren of the Confedèracy and Goldon Circles as indicative of the slightest aller.

struct by their brethren of the Confederacy and the Golden Circle as indicative of the slightest alteration in their former sympathies and feelings."

The New York like the Maine copperheads are true to their friends. It was declared by one of the speakers in the State Convention of the party in this city,—and the statement was received with vociferous cheers,—that when the confederates laid down their arms, and surrendered to Grant and down their arms, and surrendered to Grant and Sherman, they fell back on democratic principles, and that the late revolted States were now reliable demthat the late re ocratic States! In other words, rebellion was not in

They were slow to believe reports.

cesses, but readily believed rebel reports.

disasters.

They based all their hopes of political success on their confident belief that the rebellion must triumph.

They denounced our Generals—Grant, Sherman, Butler and others—as "butchers," "brutes" and "busks; "but spoke and wrote of Jeff. Davis, Lee, Johnston, and their co-traitors, as the highest types of Christian gentlemen!

They unvariably denied the right of soldiers to vice in the field, and frequently adopted as their motto, "Not another man nor another dollar for motto, "Not another man nor another dollar for motto, "Not another man nor another dollar for motto," Not another man nor another dollar for the sist upon gistature.

Finally, they met in their National Convention at Chicago in August, 1864, and in the most solemn gistature, "failure" on our part, and of course a success on the sist upon gistature, "The matter of the part of the rebels.

Northern Democrat, was the natural result of the so-called Democratic party, North and South the so-called Democratic party, North and South the so-called Democratic party, North and South the solelled Democratic party, North and South the so-called Democratic party, North and South the so-called Democratic party, North and South the so-called Democratic party, North and South the solelled Democratic party, North and South the

Peace. So let her for a while be arrogant, deflant, disloyal, impertinent—the worse, the better! "Give more madness, Lord!"

Meanwhile, the Ship of State is temporarily aground on the shoals of Alabama. That State has decreed, through her Convention, by 59 to 16, that the negro shall not testify in courts of justice; and, having passed this infamous measure, she has had the effrontery to demand of President Johnson ageneral amnesty, and pardon to all the Southern people, and his withdrawal of all the Federal troops from that State.

Such is the reconstruction which the Southern

That the soldier who accepts the political careases of the so-called Democratic party must be either totally lost to every sentiment of bonest partiotism, or totally ignorant of the political history of the past five years!

That every true soldier will reject with scorn the political favors of those who stabbed at his back when he was facing his country's enemies in the field.—Chicago Tribune.

WHO ARE THE OOPPERHEADS?

The New York Evening Post has occasionally some very good articles. Here is a list of pro-slavery and copperhead contradictions, which hits the virtue in answer to articles which appeared in a robel organ, the Duily Neus, and called out a reply from that State.

WHO are THE OOPPERHEADS?

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Such is the reconstruction which the Southern people, and his withdrawal of all the Federal troops from that State.

Such is the reconstruction which the Southern backs, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the favor of readjustment which the United States, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the favor of readjustment which the United States, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the favor of readjustment which the United States, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the favor of readjustment which the United States, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the favor of readjustment which the United States, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the favor of readjustment which the United States, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the favor of readjustment which the United States left to revenie to the Country will will appear to the Post's accusations:

I First: That the free negro will not work at all, but

Second: That be will work so much be left to work the such proposed in the proposed in the propo

Seventh: That the negro is naturally an abject covard, but

Eighth: That he is a most dangerous creature, apable of rising and murdering a community double his numbers, and with a hundred times his trength in arms, and all preparations for defence.

Ninth: That the negro can only live in a warm with the Federal Government in an eaviable light? Does the President's policy; considered as a trength in arms, and all preparations for defence.

Ninth: That the negro can only live in a warm limate, like that of the Southern States, but

Tenth: That now he is set free there, he will imnediately rush North, and take the bread out of the neuths of the white workingmen here.

Eleventh: That white men cannot work in the southern fields, which can be cultivated only by nevees, but

Twelfth: That the negroes ought all to be colaized in Africa, or driven off to some remote corner of the Union, that we may governed it in the past." Such is the present juncture of reconstruction? Does it exhibit the Federal Government in an eaviable light? Does the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed success? If the President's policy; considered as a commentary, read like a blatery of forecredianed succ

Deny the negro his oath in the courts? If any Deny the negro as oats in the cours? It any mouth is to be slut against swearing at the bar of justice, shall it not be the Southern white man's, who has heretofore broken his oats, rather than the Southern black man's, who has heretofore kept them? Poblish an annesty to the whole South? Not till the South cases to commit offences which cannot be annestied. When the South shall have given a central annesty to the wholes, we will ask the

Not till the South ceases to commit offences which cannot be amnestied. When the South shall have given a general amnesty to the negroes, we swill ask the Government to consider a general annesty to the South—never before! When the negroes shall announce to the President, saying, "We are safe; we fear no white man's face; we suffer no tyranny from our former masters; we have the self-protection of the ballot?"—then the Federal Government may consider an amnesty, and withdraw the Union troops—but not till then.

The South seems ambitious to come off the field a victor in something. Beaten by the North, nothing remains for the vanquished chivalry except to conquer the negro. But the former slaves, if now left to the unrestricted will of their former masters, would suffer a tyranny and cruelty at which the world would shudder. Pity the free negro under the rod of the slaveholder who once whipped him as a slave!

The Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, when it declared the slaves free, made a covenant with every man and woman whom it liberated, pledging the army and the navy to the maintenance of their freedom henceforth and forever. Moreover, the Government of the United States, in summoning the black man to be a citizen, morally bound itself thereby to see him possessed of whatever belongs to a citizen. Now, every citizen is entitled specially and supremely to protection. This is, therefore, the claim which 4,000,000 loyal citizens at the South make upon the successor of Abraham Lincoln, Meanwhile, Mr. Johnson stands in adoubtful attitude, make upon the successor of Abraham Lincoln Meanwhile, Mr. Johnson stands in adoubtful attitude Meanwhile, Mr. Johnson stands in adoubtful attitude, at a juncture where doubt is danger. Justice at his right hand, and Humanity at his left, both cry into his en, "Protect the negro against his master;" but, instead of heeding, the President appears to have been all the while waiting to know what such States as Alabama would do—till at last Alabama. proposes, as her plan, to exclude the only loyal citi-zen of the South from her courts of justice, and to banish the only trusty soldier of the Union from place on her ramparts. Such is the bitter fruit that grows on the stalk of the President's policy!

We groan in spirit, and ask, When will Congress meet?—N. Y. Independent.

MÉRCY TO THE MERCIFUL.

The late rebels plead for mercy. With constant importunity they solicit the pardon of Jeff. Davis. The effort in his behalf is made with especial vigor. The women in many States have sure petitions to the President, lauding the virtues of their beloved, and praying that he be released from imprisonment, to gladden their corrowful hearts. In some States the gladien their sorrowth nearth. In some states the conventions for the reorganization of State governments have, in an informal manner, uttered the same prayer. We suppose the President will be besieged by these petitions for their late leader, as well as for themselves, till their prayers be granted, or the great traitor be effectually disposed of in

well as for themselves, till their prayers be granted, or the great traitor be effectually disposed of in some other way than they wish.

The epirit of these pardon seekers is rather truchent for men who have no rights except those which are accorded to them by the magnanimity of the people whom they sue for mercy. They affect humility, but their real spirit crops out in their acts and speech. They poorly requite elemency which is shown them. Their spirit is exemplified in one of the incidents of the South Carolina Convention. Mr. William Wallace, one of the delegates, offered a resolution, declaring that since "our former noble and adored Chief Magistrate, Jefferson Davis," by the fortunes of war, is now languishing in prison, awaiting his trial for treason, and since "the fanatics of the North, not satisfied with the widespread ruin and desolation which they with the widespread rain and desolation which are caused, are shricking for his blood, be it ed that South Carolina, who led the way stroggle for independence," ought to use ever ful means in her power to avert the doom

KID GLOVES FOR THE REBELS.

The editor of the Washington Chronicle is a re-arkably facile man. He can accommodate his arkably facile man. He can accommodate his pinions to almost any necessity—at least, while wors pour in upon him to swell his basket and

lavors pour in upon min to seem as ceased.

No man has said severer things of the rebels than Col. Forney; no one has done better service than he for the Union cause; but all of a sudden he seems smitten with a merciful spirit, so that he seems willing, to accommodate the men whose hands were but recently upon the nation's throat, to forgive all that is past, and to bend in the attitude of apology before the autocrats of the late whip and thumb-screw. Noticing the recent message of Gov. Perry of South Carolina,—one of the most insulting documents to the loyal men of the North that has yet emanated from a reformed (!) rebel,—the Chronicle says:

emanated from a reformed () rebel,—the Chronicle says:

"We accept what he offers, as not only a good be-ginning, but a first rate example to others. He comes up to the demands of the hour with a manly spirit, and suggests such reform in the old Constitution of South Carolina as will make the ghosts of her arisouth Carolina as will make the ghosts of her ariseracy shrick through their abodes."

torracy shrick through their abode."
How mild! How condescending! How decidedly abject! "We accept what he affers!" The conquerors of a gigantic rebellion "accept" "The conqueronquered rebel! Disgraceful servility to a spavined, wind-broken, yet insolent oligarchy! After drenching the land with loyal blood and spending thousands of millions of treasure to overcome and put down South Carolina treasure, we are to "accept" what ing the land with loyal blood and spending thousands of millions of treasure to overcome and put down South Carolina treason, we are to "accept" what is offered to us by the authors of all our troubles! Out upon such abject servility to a false idea of right! The Government is strong enough and has reason enough to dictate terms to all rebels, and it should do it. Less than this is derogatory to its dignity.—Majne State Press.

WHAT THE REBELS MUST BE TAUGHT.

WHAT THE REBELS MUST BE TAUGHT.

"The war," says the Boston Herald, "has not only broken the iron bands which bound the black man in chains, but it has scattered and destroyed the men who sought to fasten this foul stain more strongly upon the American people. It has impoverished its authors, and dragged them down to perdition. They are now outcasts from society, and will be despised in the future, and looked upon as a disgrace to the age in which they lived. We must regenerate Southern society, and drive out from it that barbarism which slavery has fostered, nutrured and created. Southerners must be taught to respect public opinion, and given to understand that they cannot practise cruelty with impunity, either upon the black or white race. They are in a way now to find out that they have certain duties to perform to society which cannot be avoided, and that they can no longer crack the whip over the slave or control public opinion. They must remodel their society to correspond with that existing in every land of freedom. They must cultivate the artisand sciences, and become refined themselves. They must cultivate the Christian graces, and study the attributes of Deity. This we believe they will do in time, and that a wonderful change will yet take place among those who have heretofore been grovelling in darkness and wickedness, disregarding the Divine injunction to do unto them. We must not expect this great change will take place in a day, or a year. It may take many years; yet, that it will be done, we have not the slightest doobt. God has so ordained it, and His will cannot be stayed by human power."

THE GREATEST OF ADSURDITIES. Of all the absurdities in which the human intellect has been involved, the greatest is that which opens the ballot to the free use of the late rebels, to help in settling the questions that have been at issue between the loyal and the disloyal during the past five years. To merely mention it should be enough to excite a feeling of disgust, modified somewhat by the ludicrous. Look at it. The Southern people, a majority of them, rebelled. The Northern people, a majority of them, rebelled. The Northern people, a majority of them, took the responsibility of crushing the rebellion and saving the nation. A minority of the Northern people were opposed to the majority in this work, and hence the double task of holding the refractory at home in check, and of whipping the traitors, was imposed upon the loyal. We have been successful in the appeal to battle, and have succeeded to all the rights of conquerors, the chief of which is the right of dictating the terms of settlement.

And now what? It is proposed to permit the

thement.

And now what? It is proposed to permit the conquered rebels and these enemies in our midst to come together, and if, on the count, they should prove to be the majority, to dictate to us the terms of settlement! That is, the conquered may prescribe, adopt and carry into effect the terms for settling a dispute which existed before the war was brought to the arbitrament of arms, and the decision given against them!—Cincinnati Gazette.

fluence of Connecticut in depriving 800,000 loyal men at the South of the right to vote is a fact, the practical importance of which cannot yet be calculated. Wrong is sometimes to be measured, not by the spirit that prompted it, but by the consequences that follow. Injustice to the black race has cost this nation dearly. It has dug the graves of its first-born and its travest. If we have not yet learned to be wise, there are other lessons in store for us to make us wiser. Connecticut, like Alabams, turns her eyes backward to the old days of Slavery and Overseership, and in so doing assures Alabama that her struggle for lost dominion is not without hope. It is a recreancy for which the price must be paid, if this act of Connecticut is not stamped with universal reprobation.—N. Y. Tribune.

A BATTLE LOST.

Connecticut sits in the shadow of shame. She has done an act at home at which her many sons abroad will justly blush. By a majority of 0,000, her white citizens have deliberately denied to her black that equal right of suffrage which should be common to all. So few in number are these estracised citizens—not more than 2,000 in the whole State; whose only hope of justice, therefore, is not in their own strength, but altogether in the magnaminity of the overwhelming majority of their white countrymen—that this unmanly vote is like the act of a strong man striking a lame child. The disfranchised class, even if permitted to vote, would never change the result of an ordinary election in that State. This denial of their right to the ballot-box is not from any political reason, but a mere unpardonable indulgence in an unchristian prejudice—a subserviency to the ungentlemanly spirit of caste—a subserviency to the ungentlemanly spirit of half-victory of the defeated rebellion.

subservency to the ungeneurant space.

All victory of the defeated rebellion.

Nor is it the Democratic, but the Republican party, that must stand responsible for this injustice. Democrats were expected to vote against equal rights, but the intelligent Republicans of a New England State knew better than so to trife away a more controlled to the rights and the rights and the rights. rights, but the intelligent Republicans of a New England State knew better than so to trifle away a just cause—affecting the rights not only of 2,000 black men, who asked to vote in Connecticut, but of 750,000 of their brethren, who ask to vote in the South. Moreover, we speak no more than the plain and sad truth when we say that the Republicans of Connecticut divide with the President of the nation the blame of this injury to a defenceless handful of humble men. If Mr. Johnson had said to the Republican party of that State, "Gentlemen, my policy of reconstruction will be aided by a vote for equal suffrage in Connecticut," noe solemnly assert that Connecticut would have trumphantly given such a vote. No well-informed man can deny this fact. During the last four years, the great majority of the loyal people of the North have accustomed themselves to say, "We must sustain the Government, and therefore, whatever policy the Government finds it expedient to adopt, that is the policy, we vote for." Accordingly, if the administration had chosen a policy of justice, instead of injustice, and had asked from the people a verdict in favor of equal suffrage as a basis of permanent peace, the response would have been a sweeping approval throughout the North. On the contrary, the President virtually invited Connecticut to join with Alabama in denying the negro his rights. It is a lamentable sign of the times to see the alacrity with which the Republican and the Democratic parties in some of the States are trying to outvie each other in praises of Mr. Johnson's unpraissworthy policy. In view of this ill-boding coalition, it becomes more than ever the duty of the radicals—and of all men who love. Justice more than Party, and Liberty more than the Administration—to take warning from the multiply. Justice more than Party, and Liberty more than the Administration—to take warning from the multiply-ing perils of the country, and to watch with re-newed vigilance that the Republic receives no detri-ment.—N. Y. Independent.

AN EVIL DECISION.

Connecticut's decision against the extension

Connecticut s decision against the extension of suffrage to persons of color, though it does not much surprise us, is annoying. It helps strengthen the cause of bigotry and intolerance everywhere, and it will be especially serviceable to those politicians whose principal object it is to prevent Southern freedmen from becoming citizens. To such men ern freedmen from becoming this exhibition of meanness on the part of a Nev England State will be of priceless value, quotable in support of slavery, prejudice, justice, which form the sum of their politic and in their combination are known as Den We cannot deny that the decision is a blow cause of equal rights, but that cause is acc to receive blows, and much heavier oner the competent for deliver, and was and recasts in the power to avert the doom which threatens him; be it also resolved, proposed wat lace, that a deputation be sent to the Treatent from this body, to ask him "It obove the same cleme eavy towards the Hon. Jefferson Davis as he has shown to us, who are equally sharers of his guilty of the proposition o

aking an effort to get rid of it. Were they but four hundred thousand in number, we might area ourselves to the luxury of oppression without the risk of exciting insurrections; but four millions are other figures, and indicate possession of that strength which causes the oppressed to rise. Our revolution ary ancestors were not three millions when they on connected the whole power of England, rather than arry ancestors were not three millions when they encountered the whole power of England, rather that allow their legal rights to be imperilled. Four millions of negroes would become as dangerous to the country as were about the same number of Irish men to England; and as the Irish extorted Cathlic emancipation from the English government, the blacks might be able to extort political freedor from is. Would it not be the part of wisdom treat them justly from the beginning, and to avoid humiliation bereafter?—Boston Traveller.

THE VOTE OF CONNECTICUT.

Connecticut not only disgraced herself, but deep injured the cause of the country, by her decision Connecticut not only disgraced herself, but deeply injured the cause of the country, by her decision yesterday against negro suffrage. She solemnly, by the votes of a majority of her people, endorsed an unchristian and unrepublican prejudice, at a time when that prejudice threatens to render vain and useless all the sacrifices of the war. She has gone for the principle that "this is a white man's government," which really means that this is a country to be governed by Southern white men. She has entered her protest against "higger equality," which means that she goes heart and soul for Southern predominance. Her meanness will be historic; from the State of the rengades; and ittwill never be forgotten that, in a great crisis of descended to be the control of the communities of New England would at least remain united,

"She alone broke from the van and the freemen, She alone sank to the rear and the slaves."

She alone sank to the rear and the slaves."

The moral effect of the defeat of the principle of impartial suffrage in Connecticut cannot be exaggerated, though probably the victory for exclassion has been obtained by the votes of those whom any rigorous principle of restricted suffrage would exclude. The decision will be quoted all over the country as a Paritan endorsement of a Pagan prejudice. "How," every Copperhead will exultingly exclaim," can you expect negro suffrage at the South, when it will not be tolerated in New England?" From the stump speech to the congresy exclaim, "can you expected in New Eng-south, when it will not be tolerated in New Eng-land?" From the stump speech to the congres-sional harangue, we shall have no end of variations on this tune; every low-minded demagogue that has the impudence to call himself a Democrat will scream with delight over this great triumph of the aristocracy of skin; and if the "nigger" is only down, there are many who will not care even if

down, there are many who will not care even if Davis is up.

But the truth is, the prudent and selfish argument for impartial suffrage, the argument drawn from considerations of national safety, the argument which ishould influence the mind of every holder of the U. S. debt, whether he holds a hundred dollars or a hundred thousand, remains unaffected by the apostacy of Connecticut. The number of negroes in the free States is small; in the apportionment of representatives to Congress it is per of negroes in the free States is man, in the ap-portionment of representatives to Congress it is scarcely felt; but in the South the blacks constitute more than a third of the population, and represent a political power equal to thirty members of the House of Representatives, and thirty presidential

a political power equal to thirty members of the House of Representatives, and thirty presidential electors. Now, aman may detest negroes as much as he pleases; but, if he has any stake in the country, if he does not desire to see the late rebels masters of the U. S. Government, and wielding all its military and naval resources, he will be opposed to putting this political power-into the hands of persons who have proved their enmity to the country by drenching it in blood.

The game of the Copperheads is plain. They count on so stimulating prejudices, that, to gratify them, men will sacrifice their interests; and they hope to restore the parricides and liberticides, the Sumter traitors and the Andersonville jailors, to political power, by getting up a hue and ery against the right of the negro to vote. If, after the experience of the war, the loyal people of the free States are such diots as to be caught in such a palpable trap, they will richly deserve their fate.

For how, in the simple matter of the national debt, does the question present itself to every rational man? The Southern people have lost, by the war, at least three thousand million of dollars. Their share in the U. S. debt, a debt incurred in putting down their insurrection, will be eight hundred millions of dollars. They hold none of the securities of this debt, and would lose nothing by its repudiation. They necessarily consider it not follostry, but as a sign of their humiliation and conquest. Can anybody who knows anything of human nature doubt that the Sonth would repudiate this debt if is, had the power? But give it representation in Congress according to its population, while over a third of its population is excluded from voting, and it only needs, the alliance of a small portion of our Northern representatives; it requires only the addition of a sixth of the House, elected from Northern constituencies, to give it the colytol of the U. S. Government. And this it will gotain, if Northern constituencies, to give it the control of the U. S. Government. And this it will obtain, if the Northern people are mad enough to sacrifice their interests and their honor to a foolish prejudice

TO THE REAR. The proposed amendment to the Connecticut State Constitution has been rejected by a majority of not less than six thousand. To say that the State as disgraced itself by this action, is to express but a small part of the indignation which it has inspired into itself by this action, is to express but as mall part of the indignation which it has inspired into itself by the indignation which it has inspired into the says of viewing it: One as it affects the observed citizens of Connecticut, the other as it will direct national issues. In one respect it its supremey lesse, in the other an act of palpable folly, a sin gainst light, for which the State will yet repent neofrow. There are said to be two thousand men in solvow. There are said to be two thousand men in Consecticut, every way qualified to vote, except points of somplexion. They shade on the wrong color. They have been resident in the State the required time. They have attained the required standard of intelligence. They have kept themselvès out of the courts, and have lived at peace with their neighbors. They have paid their taxes without grumbling, and have had a larger proportion of representatives in the Union armies than their enfranchised white fellow-citizens. Yet this magnanimous white aristocracy, like a great bully whipping a cripple in the streets, decides that these two thousand men shall remain under the stigma of unjust laws, compelled to bear the burdens and responsibility, of citizenship without a taste or a There are said to be two the whipping a cripple in the streets, decides that these two thousand men shall remain under the stigma of unjust laws, compelled to bear the burdens and responsibility of citizenship without a taste or a hope of its rewards. It was expected that the "democratic" party would meet this question with united opposition. That party in Connecticut has been reliable at least in this: that it has treated colored men with consistent and devoted hardred, varying in intensity with their intelligence, their patriotism, and their general claims to public respect. But it was not thought possible that five thousand republicans, who have lived through the experiences of the last five years, could be found, even in Connecticut, to join in this wicked and insensate cry. They at least had nothing to fear from the passage of this amendment. It could not have barmed them in their persons, nor in their social or political relations. They had it in their power to do a just and magnanimous thing, which would have benefited many, and harmed no human being or institution on the face of the earth. They refused. This defection of "conservative republicans" was utterly disgraceful, and the odium which will allways attack to this act of baseness and folly belongs chiefly to them. Ordinarily, such a vote as this would have no special interest beyond the persons immediately affected by it. It would be judged simply as the work of men blind with party passion, or the bigotry of caste, and sure to correct itself in time. But at this time there are large public interests involved, which ought to have mitigated party hostility, and softened the prejudices of men who are not accustomed to withstand them. We are asking the white ruiting class in South Carolina to extend the right of suffrage to their black fellow-citizens, who may be eligible in all other respects. The blacks are the only loyal people there, and there is no security for liberty or the Union, so far as the power of South Carolina extends, except in a uniform and impartial enfranchisem

their intention to keep them so, appeal triumphantly to the starved republicanism of Connecticut for their apology and defence. And every State which has wronged the government by rebellion, and outraged humanity by oppression, will strengthen itself, not for good ends, by the example of the Philander Buttons, who upon this vital issue have placed Connecticut by their side.—Worcester Spy.

"CONSERVATIVE" REPUBLICANS.

The majority vote by which Connecticut placed berself in the position of the meanest of the States was larger than the first accounts led us to imagine It amounted to 6000; a result, says the telegraph. "which is largely owing to the Conservative Re-rublicane."

It amounted to 6000; a result, says the telegraph, "which is largely owing to the Conservative Republicans."

We should suppose from this announcement that a Conservative Republican denotes in Connecticut, a politician so small in brain and spitelal in heart, that even the Copperheads would not admit him into their companionship. We learn that A. H. Stephens, now confined in Fort Warren, is in favor of the impartial suffrage which Connecticut repudiated,—that is, he is in favor of allowing negroes, qualified by, an educational test,—to yote. This, on the Connecticut definition, makes Stephens a "radical". Republican. We had a vague notion that there were some conservatives in Boston and its vicinity; we had the impression that such men as Jared Sparks, Judge Washburn, Judge Parsons, Charles G. Loring, John M. Forbes, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Nathaniel Thayer, not to mention others, were not particularly famous for their "rampant radicalism;" but we suppose it is necessary to give in to the present confusion of tongues, and stigmatize the majority of our eminently respectable exizons as Yankee Marats and Robespierres, passionate for abstractions and thirsting for blood.

Indeed, a Connecticut "Conservative" or counterfeit Republican is somewhat of a puzzle, unless we suppose that business considerations determine the part he plays. It may be that he belongs to that class of Connecticut traders, half real, half mythical, and all cheat, who were in the custom of vending walnut nutners, wooden pumpkin seeds, and other ingenious "notions" at the South, in the old times of "the Union as it was." He perhaps sees a prospect of a rapid re-opening of this lucrative peddling in case reconstruction is conducted on what he calls conservative principles, and is willing to join in a crusade against "the niggers," provided thereby he can get that peculiar reputation of a "true friend to the South," which will enable him to palm off his bogus wares. In this proposed union of Sam Slick with Vallandigham, no "Rad-

to palm off his bogus wares. In this proposed union of Sam Slick with Vallandigham, no "Radical" Republican will be inclined to forbid the

CONNECTIOUT AND IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE

Last Monday, the people of Connecticut voted upon the question of amending the State Constitu-tion by striking out the word "white" as a qualifi-cation for exercising the right of suffrage. The negative prevailed by a few thousands. The result was not unexpected. There has always been more negative prevailed by a few thousands. The result was not unexpected. There has always been more of the wicked, slavery-engendered prejudice against the negro in Connecticut, than in any other of the New England States. The Copperhead Democracy are a unit against dealing justly by the colored ann, and in this are joined by such of the Republican party as specially affect what is called "Conservatism." Connecticut has her full share, and more too, of "Copperheadism" and "Conservatism." One is almost inclined to think that her super-southern borror of black at the present day

more too, of "Copperheadism" and "Conservatism." One is almost inclined to think that her
super-southern horror of black at the present day
may be the reactive result of her devoted attachment to blue in the olden time.

The result is not a surprise, but the friends of
Liberty, Equality and Human Progress would have
rejoiced could it have been different. The verdict
of Connecticut, disgraceful in itself to her and to
New England, will have a tendency to render the
work of Reconstruction, upon the only safe basis of
Justice, more difficult. It will encourage and stimulate that reactionary spirit which has already begun to manifest itself, and which threatens to fritter
away all the advantages which have been gained
by the valor and patriotism of the North, in the
bloody struggle of iour long years. But we believe
all will be well in the end. The friends of Freedom and Equality will not be disheartened by such
untowardness to right as; has just been witnessed
in Connecticut, but will gird up their loins the more
resolutely, and buckle on their armor the more securely, for the march, however tedious, and the battle, however fierce. Right and Justice shall yet
triumph.—Concord (N. H.) Democrat.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN CONNECTIOUT.

It appears from the telegraphic despatches that Connecticut, on Monday, rejected the proposed amendment to her Constitution extending the right of suffrage to the colored race, by a majority of several thousands. This result has all along been feared, though it was hoped the enlightened spirit of the age might have penetrated even Connecticut sufficiently to have induced an act of justice to the few colored freemen who reside within her limits. It only shows how seriously the virus of slavery and the doctrines of slavemongers have affected and poisoned even a portion of New England. We feel quite confident that the considerate Democrats, no less than the Republicans, of the other New England States, must feel mortified and ashamed at the exhibition of such a petty and contemptible prejudice against a helpless and downtrodden portion of the community.

The probable effect of this rejection, beyond the limits of New England, is much to be deplored. For, as the Daily Advertiser suggests, "it will not be so well known everywhere as it is here, that the State which thus holds back has, for several years, been saved only by a severe struggle from falling into the hands of the democracy is narrow, liliberal and party-ridden to an extent almost exceeding the limit reached in New Jersey. It need be no discouragement to the advocates of a just and solid reorganization of national affairs, that a party led by such men as Thomas H. Seymour should oppose their views, or in a closely-livited State win an occasional and temporary triumph."

But that even Connecticut, in this age, should either deliberately or by default, suffer such a decision in her name, is somewhat amazing; and it would not be the strangest of the stranges to the human lesson in political liberty, by adonting some hards and all the proposed in the stranges of the community.

A people hitherto pronounced by American learning as incapable of any thing higher than the dull round the proposed the views, or in a closely-livited difference, and from all fine pro

either deliberately or by derault, suiter such a decision in her name, is somewhat amazing; and it would have be the strangest of the strange things of the day should one or more of the slave States teach her a lesson in political liberty, by adopting some such measure of justice to the blacks, before she result in the blacks, before she re-In the earlier days of the public, before the slavemongers had corrupted the public feeling to such an extent as they afterwards vitiated it, colored freemen were voters in several of the slave States. Judge Gaston, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in one of his reported deof the slave States. Judge Caston, of the Sulpreme Court of North Carolina, in one of his reported decisions, says: "Slaves, manumitted here, became freemen, and therefore, if born within North Carolina, are citizens of North Carolina, are citizens of North Carolina, are citizens of North Carolina, and all free persons born within the State are born citizens of the State. The Constitution extended the elective franchise to every freeman who bad arrived at the age of twenty-one, and paid a public tax; and it is a matter of universal notoriety, that, under it, free persons, without regard to color, claimed and exercised the franchise, until it was taken from free men of color a few years since by our amended Constitution." In Tennessee, too, free colored men at one time voted; and it is within the recollection of many, that one of the prominent Democratic Congressmen of our time from that State was accustomed to declare that he owed his early elections to the votes of the colored men of his District. Even New Jersey, which in her degenerate days rejects the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, once made no distinction in her suffrage on account of color.

once made no distinction in her sufrage on account of color.

But, mortifying as is the action of Connecticut to all lovers of equal and exact justice, and humiliating and disgraceful as it is to her people, her rejection of the measure does not in the least affect its inherent rightfulness. "Even it," soundly argues the Boston Daily Advertiser, "even if her decision precluded the rest of the Northern States from urging the principle of impartial suffrage as intrinsically just, and the present as a convenient opportunity for securing its adoption by a large class of States—and we deny that we are thus precluded—that does not exhaust the considerations upon which this principle is to be urged as a foundation of practical policy. The great argument as to public safety would remain intact, though every Northern State were to-day to refuse the measure as a feature of local government."—Salem Reguter.

The Piberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1865.

The Editor of the Liberator is again abserrom his post, attending sundry meetings in Penn sylvania in advocacy of the Freedmen's Aid Move

INAUGURATION OF DOUGLASS INSTITUTE

LECTURE OF FRED'K DOUGLASS, ESO.

Early last spring, an association was formed. sed of thirty or forty co purchased the building on Lexington street, near Da vis, formerly occupied as the Newton University, fo the sum of \$16,000, and organized the "Douglass In attute," the object of which is the intellectual ac ent of the colored portion of the community On Friday evening, the 1st inst., the Institute build ing was formally opened, for the purposes indicate above, by the delivery of a lecture by Frederic Douglass, whose reputation as an orator is well known. Immediately over the stand whereon th ers of the Institute were seate ecturer and the offic dent Lincoln, while on either side was placed the na tional flag. After prayer by Bishop Wayman, of the African M. E. Church, Mr. Douglass was introduced, and delivered the following address:

I have, during my public career, had the honor ies, both at home and abroad, and e of various objects; but I do not remen per ever to have appeared anywhere under a deepe sense of the importance of the occasion than I feel to night. I know it is common to call all occasions portant, and in some sense the characterization is just and proper; for the movement of large bodies of men that direction, for any purpose, goo present occasion is one of no ordinary character. come here to dedicate an institution which, in my opinion, is destined to play an important part in pro moting the freedom and elevation of the colored peo ple of this city and State, and I may say of the whole Let me at the outset put myself at ease by expres

heartfelt thanks for assigning to me the high place I occupy on this occasion, and above all, for associating my name with the Institute here established. It is an honor. I look upon this proceeding on you part not merely as a compliment to me ; an open avowal of the great prin gress, liberty, justice and equality, which I have for years endeavored to advocate. When I left Mary and, twenty-seven years ago, I did so with the firm resolve never to forget my brothers and sisters in ndage, and to do whatever might be in my power to accomplish their emancination; and I have night, that in whatever else I may have failed, in this at least I have not failed. No man can truthfulv say I ever deserted the post of duty.

The establishment of an Institute bearing my nam by the colored people in the city of my boyhood, so on after the act of emancipation in this State, loc before me as a first grand indication of progress. I in the silent, mysterious phenomena of physical nature or in the moral or intellectual developments of sciety, are always interesting to thoughtful men. Every age has its prophet or its Messiah. We are ever waiting and watching like good old Simeon for our babe of Bethlehem. John Brown used to say he had looked over our people as over a dark sea, in the hope of seeing a head rise up with a mind to plan and a hand to deliver. Any movement of the water arrested his attention. In all directions, we desire to catch the first sign. The first sign of clear weather on the ocean after a season of darkness and storm the first sign of returning health after long and wear; onths of wasting fever; the first sign of rain after a famine, threatening drouth; the first indication o spring, silently releasing the knotty and congealed carth from the frosty fetters of winter; the first sign of peace after the ten thousand calamities, horrors, desolations and alarms of war, evermore bring joy

to all the higher wants and aspirations of the huma

Your very enemies, looking upon this event, will admit that it speaks well for the colored people of Bal-timore. It is in itself a powerful appeal from the popular judgment under which the colored people of thi and of this State, and of the whole country, have taggered during more than two hundred ye would bestow no extravagant and indiscriminate upon the founders of the Douglass Institute. re sensible men, and would not thank me if I did The colored people of this country have as much res son to deprecate flattery as they have disparagemen What they want is the simple truth, and this render or where honor is due. I say to you, gentlemen what you all know, that this institution, viewed it comparison with those established by our white fel low-citizens for similar objects, stands but as a dwar o a giant : but regarded in the light of our history, i view of our numbers and opportunities, the Douglas Institute is the equal of any in credit, and far more significant than most of them. It is a beginning, an ough like all beginnings it is small, it is, neverthe though like all beginnings it is small, it is, nevertheless, a prophecy of larger and better things. It represents something, and important as it is for itself, it is ten-fold more important for what it represents in the character of its founders. It implies something. It implies that the colored people of Baltimore not only have the higher qualities attributed to the white race, but that the green wakening to a healthy conscious. but that they are awakening to a healthy consciou ness of those qualities in themselves, and that the re beginning to see, as the dark cloud of slaver are beginning to see, as the dark could of slavery rolls away, the necessity of bringing those qualities into vigorous exercise. It implies an increased knowledge of the requirements of a high civilization, and a determination to comply with them. This Institute, in character and design, in some measure represents the abilities and possibilities of our race.

we may congratulate ourselves upon the establishment of this institution. It comes as a timely argument on the right side of the momentous questions which now sqlitate the nation. It comes at a time when the American people are once more being urged to do from necessity what they should have done from a time, to assist in the work. Our history has been but the respect to the control of the con from necessity what they should have done from a tion, to assist in the work. Our history has been but sense of right, and of sound statesmanship. It is the a track of blood. Gaunt and hungry sharks have fulsame old posture of affairs, wherein our rulers do lowed us on siave ships by sea, and the hungrier and wrong from choice and right from necessity. They gave us the bullet to save themselves; they will yet these years with the bloody slave whip on land. The give the bullet to save themselves; they will yet give the ballot to save themselves. My hope of the future is founded just where it was during all the war. Lalways said that I had much faith in the virtue of the great North, but that I had incomparably more in the villany of the South. The South is now on its good behavior, we are told. They have been invested with powers merely to see how they will use them. If they do certain things, we are told, it will be well, but if they do certain other things-well, somet Very well. I expect to see the rebels con sistent, with their whole past. They are sworn now as at the beginning of the war, and with like results. They take the oath to support a Government they hate take the oath to support a Government they hate.

They are sure to abuse the power given them, and I believe there will be virtue enough in the country, when it shall see that the loyal whites can only be saved by giving the ballot to the negro, to do the thing

This Institute comes to our help. It comes at a time when hesitation to extend suffrage to the colored people finds its best apology in our alleged incapacity. I deem it fortunate that, at such a time as this, in such a city as this, so near the capital of the nation as this, there has arisen here an Institution in which we car confront ignorance and prejudice with the light and power of positive knowledge, and array against brazen falsehood the rightful influence of accomplished facts.

alschood the rightful influence of accomplished facts.
The very existence of this Institution, established and sustained by colored men in this city, so recently a slaveholding city—in this State, so recently a slave-holding State—in this community, among whom freedom of speech was scarcely known by even the whi only a few months ago-is a most striking cheering and instructive fact. It attests the progre sive spirit, the sagacity, the courage, the faith, the ir telligence and manly ambition of the colored people of this city and State, and reflects credit upon the colored people of the country generally. Its effects upon those who disparage us will be good, but its effects fects upon ourselves will, I trust, be far better. While to them it will be a standing contradiction, to us it will be a happy concurrence with all our hopes, with all that is high noble and desirable.

The colored boy and girl now, as they walk your streets, will hold themselves in higher estimation and assume a prouder and a more elastic step as they loo up to the fine proportions of this ample and elegant building, and remember that from foundation to roof, from corner-stone to coping, in purpose and in value, in spirit and in aspiration, it is all the property of the colored citizens of Baltimore.

The establishment of this Institution may be thought by some a thing of doubtful expediency. There was a time when I should have thought it so myself. In a time when a snouth have intogrit the my simplicity, it is my enthusiaem, perhaps it was my simplicity, it is not material which, I once flattered myself that the his knowledge of the past to after-coming generation day had happily gone by when it could be necessary for colored people in this country to combine and act together as a separate class, and in any representative character whatever. I would have had them infi themselves and their works into all the political, intel lectual, artistical and mechanical activities and combinations of their white fellow-countrymen. It seemed to me that colored conventions, colored exhibitions colored associations and institutions of all kinds and descriptions had answered the ends of their existence and might properly be abandoned; that, in short, they were hindrances rather than helps in achieving higher and better estimation in the public mind for ourselves as a race.

I may say that I still hold this opinion in a modified degree. The latent contempt and prejudice towards our race, which recent political doctrines with reference to our future in this country have developed, the persistent determination of the present Executive of the nation, and also the apparent determination of a portion of the people to hold and treat us in a degraded portion of the people to not and steat and associate relation, not only justify for the present such associate effort on our part, but make it eminently necessary.

It is the misfortune of our class that it fails to due advantages from the achievements of its individual members, but never fails to suffer from the ignorance or crimes of a single individual with whom the class is identified. A Benjamin Franklin could redeem, in the eyes of scientific Europe, the mental mediocrity of our young white Republic, but the genius and learning of a Benjamin Banneker of your own State of Maryland, the wisdom and heroism of Toussaint, are not permitted to do the same service for the colored race to which they belong. Wealth, learning and ability made an Irishman an Englishman. The same metamorphosing power converts a negro into a white man in this country. When prejudice cannot deny the black man's ability, it denies his race, and claims him as a white man. It affirms that if he is not exactly white, he ought to be. If not what he e in this particular, he owes whatever intel ligence he possesses to the white race by contract or association. Great actions, as shown by Robert Small, the gallant captain of the Planter, and by William Tilghman, and other brave colored men, which by the war slavery has tossed to the surface, have not been sufficient to change the general estimate formed of the colored race. The ele quence and learning of Smith, Professors Vashon, Reason, Garnet Remond, Martin, Rock, Crummell, and many others have done us service; but they leave us yet under a cloud. The public, with the mass of igno compelled among our people, hitherto-has sternly denied the representative character of our distinguis ev are treated as exceptions, individual uses, and the like. They contend that the race, as condition of a high self-originating and self-sustaining civilization

Such is the sweeping and damaging judgment pro ounced in various high quarters against our race; and such is the current of opinion against which the colored people have to advance, if they advance at all. A few years ago, we met this unfavorable theory as best we could in three ways. We pointed our assai-ants and traducers to the ancient civilization of North-ern Africa. We traced the entangled threads of hisory and of civilization back to their sources in Africa We called attention to the somewhat disagreeable facagreeable to us, but not so to our Teutoni brethrenthat the arts, appliances and blessings of civilization flourished in the very heart of Ethiopia, at a time when all Europe floundered in the depths of ignorance and barbarism. We dwelt on the grandeur, magnifi cence and stupendous dimensions of Egyptian architecture, and held up the fact, now generally admitted h the present generations of men are ignorant.

We pointed to the nautical skill, commercial enter prise and military prowess of Carthage, and just claimed relationship with those great nations of an uity. We are a dark people—so were they. They od between us and the Europeans in point of complexion, as well as in point of geography. We have contended—and not illogically—that if the fact of olor was no barrier to civilization in their case, it can

examples. These have not, I confess, been very

Every county in Connecticut but one gare Our second answer has been drawn from modern

My friends, the present is a critical moment for the colored people of this country; our fate for weal or for woe, it may be yet for many generations, trembles now in the balance. No man can tell which way the scale will turn. There is not a breeze that aweeps to us from the South, but comes laden with the wait of our suffering people. Heaven only knows what will be in store for our people in the South. But dismat as is the hour, troubled and convalued as are the times, we may congratulate ourselves upon the establishment. there ever a race so blasted and withered, so shorn uestion forced upon us at every moment of our generation has not been, as with other races of men, how shall we adorn, beautify, exalt and ennoble life, but how shall we retain life itself. The struggle with us wan not to do, but to be. Mankind lost sight of our human not to do, but to be. Mankind lost signt of our terms nature in the idea of our being property, and the whole machinery of society was planned, directed and oper-ated to the making us a stupid, spiritless, ignorant, be otted, brutified, and utterly degraded race of men.

Thus far we have derived little advantage from

any apologies we have made or from any explana

we have patiently given. Our relationship to the ancient Egyptians has been denied; the progress

our ignorance is not in slavery, but in ourselves. So stood the question concerning us up to the second year of the fierce and sanguinary rebellion now subsiding. Since then, the colored man has come before the cour try in a new light. He has illustrated the highest qualities of a patriot and a soldier. He has ranged himself on the side of Government and country, and maintained both against rebels and traitors on the perilous edge of battle. They are now, many of them, sleeping side by side in bloody graves with the bravest and best of all our loyal white soldiers, and many o those who remain alive are scarred and battered veterans—mere stumps of men; armless, legless, maimed and mutilated ones are met with in the streets of every city. The veriest enemies of our race must now ad-mit that we have at least one element of civilization. It is settled that we have manly courage, that we love our country, and that we will fight for an Idea. Both ats-the Rebel as well as the Federal-admitted the energy that slumbered in the black man's arm, and both, at the last, endeavored to render that energy useful. But the charge still remains. Now. what are those elemental and original powers of civilization about which men speak and write so earnestly. and which white men claim for themselves and deny to the negro? I snswer that they are simply consciouwhole machinery of civilization, whether moral, intellectual or physical, is set in motion.

Man is distinguished from all other animals, but in nothing is he distinguished more than in this, namely, resistance, active and constant resistance, to the force of physical nature. All other animals submit to the peneration. The bear to-day is as he was a thousand years ago. Nature provides him with food, clothing and shelter, and he is neither wiser nor better because of the experience of his bearish ancestors. Not so with man. He learns from the past, improves upon of men, that they may carry their achievements to a still higher point. To lack this element of progress is to resemble the lower animals, and to possess it is

The mission of this Institution and that of the colred race are identical. It is to develop manhood, to build up manly character among the colored people o this city and State. It is to teach them the true idea of manly independence and self-respect. It is to be a dispenser of knowledge, a radiator of light. In a word, dispenser of knowledge, a radiator of we dedicate this Institution to virtue, temperance knowledge, truth, liberty and justice :

In this fair hall, to Truth and Freedom given, Pledged to the right before all earth and heav A free arena for the strife of mind, No caste, or sect, or color are confined.

We who have been long debarred the privileges of culture may assemble and have our souls thrilled, with heavenly music, lifted to the skies on the wings of poetry and song. Here we can assemble and have minds enlightened upon the whole circle of social noral, political and educational duties. Here we can ome and learn true politeness and refinement. Here the loftiest and best eloquence which the country has roduced, whether of Anglo-Saxon or of African descent, shall flow as a river, enriching, ennobling strengthening and purifying all who will lave in its waters. Here may come all who have a new and unpopular truth to unfold and enforce, against which old and respectable bars and bolts are iron gates. Here, from this broad hall, shall go forth an influence which shall at last change the current of public contempt for the oppressed, and lift the race into the popular consideration which justly belongs to their manly

character and achievements. conclusion of the address a call was made or Rev. Mr. Lynch, who for a half hour spok subjects relating to the future state of the colored

After Mr. Lynch had finished, Mr. Snethen was loudly called for; he came forward and made an ex-cellent speech, taking the most ultra ground in favor of our rights as men. Mr. Stockbridge was also called for. He made a few remarks to the au-dience. Mr. Douglass spoke a second time, taking one of his profound glances at the condition of the nation, and demanding, as he has the ability to demand, the equality of all men before the law. Th following letters were read by Mr. Wood, Secretary of the Douglass Institute:

Letter from Bishop Payne. Letter from Bishop Pagne.

GENTLEMEN:—Your polite note of the 25th in stant, inviting me to be present at the dedicatory services of the Douglass Institute, was received immediately after my arrival in town yesterday. But I regret that my official obligations at Richmond, Va., compel me to leave this afternoon I am glad that you have named your Institute after one eminent a man as FERERRICH DOUGLAS. eminent a man as FREDERICK DOUGLASS. erits demand this honor. With the best wish our Institute, I remain, gentlemen, Your obedient, servant,

Baltimore, Md., Sept. 29th, 1865.

Letter from Hon, Charles Sums

Letter from Hon. Charles Sumner.

GENTLEMEN: —I would be glad to be present at the dedication of the Douglass Institute, and to listen to the orator of the occasion, but other engagements will keep me away. I rejoice that you are to listen to Frederick Douglass, who always speaks well, and who knows how to portray the duties of the hour. His presence—his voice—his example—each is a constant protest against injustice to the colored race.

Accept my best thanks, and believe me, gentlemen, faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMMER.

To the Committee of the Douglass Institute.

Boston, Sept. 28, 1865.

Letter from General Hancock.

Letter from General Hancock.

Mr. Ws. Wood, Sec., Sir:—Your note of the 25th, inviting me to be present at the dedicatory exercises at Douglass Institute, was received to-day. I propose leaving the city to-morrow, and shall be absent at the time referred to, so that I shall not be able to accept your invitation. The occasion is such that it would afford me pleasure to witness the ceremonies, were it practicable for me to do so. I am under obligations for the attention.

or the attention.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,
W. S. HANCOCK, Maj.-Gen. U. S. A.
Baltimore, Md., Sept. 29th, 1865.

majorities against colored suffrage. The exception was Windham, and that county should be honored

The International Association for the advances of Social Science held its fourth annual coogress at Berne during six days, beginning on the 28th of Auduring six days, beginning on the zon of Au-Last year it convened at Amsterdam, and for 866 it has to choose between Turin and Flor which have both extended invitations—the one press. ing its claim as the source of Italian unity, the other ng its craim as the new realm. Wherever the asso-iation is received, there, one may be sure, freedom ciation is received, there, one may we sure, irredom of thought and ulterance is not wholly unknown. There were assembled at Berne representative of France, England, Spain, Holland, Germany, Regi-France, England, Spand, Lipinada, Oremany, Belgi um, Italy and Russia, who not only spoke with frash ness of their own countries, but criticised at frely the customs and institutions of their hosters Scientand, and oftener elicited applause land, and oftener elicited applause than disaproba-tion by this fidelity to conviction. Spite of the con-fusion of tongues, there was the greatest harmon; in the proceedings, and many of the speakers proved to be excellent linguists, while others are be excellent linguists, while others availed themseives of interpreters. The plurality of languages which exists in Switzerland probably renders the local pobic interest and comprehension more genuine than could happen in any other part of the continent. At all events, the attendance was constantly large, and all events, the attendance was constantly large, and embraced both sexes, and among the debaters, even, we notice the names of two women. We have search we notice the names of two women. We have searched the newspaper reports in vain for citations of our American example and experience in questions where

we could be most competent advisers.

we could be most competent authors. The scanty allusions made were either erroneous or in disappro-bation, and no member gave evidence of having

studied our system, or of sufficient knowledge either

to correct mistakes of excite an interest concerning

The association is permanently divided into five sec-

The association is permanently invited into nie sections, which consider, namely: 1. Comparative Legislation; 2. Education and Instruction; 3. Art and Lie erature; 4. Hygiene and Benevolence; 5. Political conomy. In conveying a necessarily imperfect idea om imperfect data of the doings of the Congress, it will be best to follow the sections in turn, rather than heed the order of days. First of all we must premise that the association never votes on the subjects of its discussions: all it does is to ventilate them Wisely so; for having no authority, it can gain noth-ing by being dogmatic, while it knows that its deliberations are productive of thought and judgment in others, which will appear some day in altered man-ners, statutes and governments all over the globe. On the other hand, the utmost liberality is enin its immediate members of investigation, belief, and declaration. In this spirit and on these terms the session opened and was conducted to the end. Section First discussed the relation between the aut my of communes and the unity of the state, and the means of securing each from being impaired by the other. Of course, illustrations were taken from the spot, but the United States was never referred to, though preëminently conspicuous and full of instruc-tion. The English system, based on individual liberty, was portrayed very effectively by an unnamed native. Next the rights of languages were taken up. It was contended that a plurality of them in a country was favorable to its general development; but perfect liberty and equality were claimed for them, as in Switzerland, where, for example, the judges speak all the languages of their jurisdiction, and proounce judgment in that of the parties to a suit There was a strong Flemish protest against the sub-stitution of French for the vernacular in the Belgian courts, legislature, schools and press. Decentraliza ion-that is, the emancipation of the communes from the central government—was recommended as a rem-edy for this evil. But an argument was also offered in favor of centralization and a universal language. The section passed to consider the state of legisla-tion in various leading countries in respect of herediary transmission. Here reference was made to rica, but only to couple her with England a elinging, unhappily, to the right of primogeniture! Some approved the Code Napoléon. Others favored absolute liberty of testamentation, and were told, c'est la barbarie, l'escalavage!" And the opinion seemed to prevail that there should be only a condi-tional liberty. Workingmen's combinations furnished the concluding theme. They were opposed as and ineffective, diminishing capital by augmenting wages, and so restricting industry itself. They were deplored as part of the struggle between capital and labor, to unite which in the same hands and prevent a conflict is the problem of the cen-Section Second was distinguished above all the rest by the intense earnestness of its discussions and the consideration paid to them; for which there was

first inquired the results of public libraries and lee tures, and the best mode of organizing them. Turin and other cities of Italy, were said to be imitating the nechanic associations of England, and establishing reading rooms. In France, remarked a speaker from that country, unless there were freedom of the press, free libraries would be in want of books. He was reproved by Jules Simon, who had in vair sought permission of Government to institute a public libra-ry. "Do not dwell," he entreated his countrymen, on the misfortunes of France. Everybody knows on the misfortunes of France. Everybody anows our case and pittles us. Let us either discus the means of shedding light, as if liberty existed every-where. At home we will try to reconquer it." Moch more brilliant was the debate for which a prize of 500 francs had been offered by M. Vervoori, the President of the association, who was absent in Holland. This was on the propriety of separating moral from theological instruction, and of assigning to the cierty a place in the school. Though a few were found to advocate the conjunction and the assignment, and even to pronounce separation impossible, the tide of argument ran powerfully counter. Morality is manifest, while religions vary. There is no single religion in the world upon which everybody would be willing to have morality hinge. There is such a thing as in-dependent morality discoverable by the conscience alone, under liberty. Not otherwise can the human science obtain its due respec a matter of sentiment, belongs to the family; morality; a matter of reason, to the school. Sappese the riest to enter the latter in the name of the divine at thority, and then degrade himself in the eyes of the hildren; what happens to morality and religion both Once religion determined morality; to-day morality sits in judgment on religion. This was brought about by the reformation and the eighteenth century : the former left morality subjected to the book, the later perfected its enfranchisement. "There are," sad Jules Simon, "three solutions of this question: state religion, a concordat, and absolute separation.

Mile. Royer,* from the knowledge of Swiss practice, took sides with separatists. Mme. Storm, widow of a Protestant minister, defended the exclusion of the Bible from the common schools of Holland-an example which had been cited, together with that of America, as having been productive of evil results.

A letter from Edgar Quinet, of the Canton of Vaud,

reason, apart from the character of its members. It

"Do not give as a foundation upon which to lay society and modern civilization, the authority that re-moreslessly declares war upon them. "Do not make the Encyclical the A, B, C of the school.

"Do not make the Encyclicat the sechol.

"Do not threat the wrangling of creeds into the cradle of the child.

"Let not his first spectacle be that of anathems,"

"On the contrary, select for his primary instruction ground on which all can understand one another and

unite in a common country.

"Let him not be born to social life amid the conflict of churches and of sects, but in peace and concord.

Mile. Clémence Royer has won for herself a diclin-ruished place in scientific ranks, notably by her translation of Darwin on the origin of species, which she accompanied from the origin of species, which she accompanied with a commentary and with her personal adhesion. See • Mile. Clémence any guished place in scientific ranks, notator, guished place in scientific ranks, notator, of Darwin on the origin of species, which she accompanies with a commentary and with her personal adaption. She is also the author of an essay on taxation which took the price at Lausanne in Switzerland some three or four year price at Lausanne in Switzerland some three or four years ago, and of other lesser works and writings, which have also highly praised in many foreign countries.

Courth listened to a paper on cleaning ou letts of the Ganges, which is the nest of the Indian The proposed plan embraced a commission The proposed plan embraced a commission agent men, and, upon their report, the finan ageration of all nations concerned. The ques elabetory liquor laws arose later, and e by men who still thought there ared in the negative by men who still infought there aget to be some control of the manufacture and sale interioring drinks. A valuable paper on consumpcontained these statements: that the disease is Mediterrariesn, in the Antilles, at New Orleans stare in the Hartz district in Germany; warn size in the Hatz district in Cermany; warm sizes are not the most favorable for its cure, but he cold climates and high plateaux; it becomes inremaiss we ascend the Alps; at a height of 2000 and more it is never found, and may there be end more it is needed is a cold and equable tempera-end; what is needed is a cold and equable tempera-en. The section was chiefly engaged upon a study tiary systems. In 1830, France studie of Auburn and Pennsylvania, and preferred the there of Andern and Prenins Prenins, and prefer the hint, which kept the prisoner solitary in his confine-ness, his walks, and his labor, and allowed him to see not, att water, and was declared a failure in the chaptain. This was declared a failure in the or and experience, and was unfavorably contrasted the Irish system of gradations in confinement ety, punishment, and even prisons, mingled wit estraction, and softened by conditional release. But resinguisted that this was a premium on hypocriand one speaker found the system admirable mair ne it was not a system, but was eclectic. And relethere were those who thus advocated no system, here were others who proposed a mixture of Auburn the Pennsylvania, with improvements; others again od up for collective against cell-imprisonment ten yet, seeking moral through physical elevation rbs desired agricultural and industrial labor for con yts. Prisons should be far from cities and close to the country. There should be societies propertionizing liberated prisoners, and normal schools training superintendents and keepers. " on to foolishness is but a step. The criminal must e treated as a sick man." Government was besough such is so solicitous about its prisons, to think first o d thant its schools. There was considerable disagree nent about the practicability of extending the sphere deersin voluntary relief associations, so that, wher at absorbed in their peculiar work of caring for the resolved in time of war, they might assist the people and the calamities of peace, such as inundations, epileates, etc. Permanent committees against the chol n were proposed and opposed.

sited liability, which met with much acceptance be responsibility of directors was strongly insisted on omical and moral bearing of luxury on the apenty of States was next taken upasidered luxury an indispensable aid to industrial regress, after the supply of necessaries is ample e was apswered that this condition was never fulfiel. The ancient idea was, said another, the fewest reds; the modern, increase of needs, with the mean statisfying them. Economically speaking, extrave only censurable luxury. The section the bated whether the publicinterest demanded that the destruction and working of railroads, canals, and tel triple should be monopolized by Government of to private enterprise. State intervention foun apporters, on the ground that the Government would to more regardful than corporations of the publical radiage; yet this intervention was more perilou 124 despotism than in a Republic. In discussing mil my organization, it appeared that a Swiss soldier finishes in his whole life only 110 days of service in einfantry, and 160 to 170 in the artillery and corps togineers. In Belgium, the minimum term is two pur. Switzerland saves seven france a head by her 000,000 troops, a saving of two thousand millions of hacs. The Swiss system is wholly defensive, and is A Belgian officer denounced conscription hich is Occided by lot and may be avoided by money licates approach the exemption of ministers. As for standing arguings, there was none so poor in the Comdo them reverence. The president, M Gallet Venet, in the closing speech of the session, in He made the suggestive remark, tha eslution of the problem of female labor depend na the existens of standing armies, which take way from women their natural supporters.

We have already exceeded the fimits we had allotted he hare already exceeded, for already that America sight to have been represented in this Congress and should be easier to narticlosite in the next. Should be easier to narticlosite in the next. and should be eager to participate in the next. neither so unversed in social science he *ards would be of little weight, nor so experienced that she cannot be instructed. The association form il in this city last week supplies a national want Ed is full of encouragement. The wisest men from wee a year in one or other of them, may now ac elergic vasily the development of our civilization, by paring often the fruits of that invaluable come son which exists, under our Constitution, in legislation, manners, and customs. Ere long, we are per saded, the "American Association for the Pr on of Social Science" will experience an embar 's de choix, amid the rival invitations of cities anxiou la be honored by its sessions. It will presently learn to systematize its work, so that preparation may be hade for its discussions a long time in advan

The colored people of St. Louis had a very interesting meeting on Monday night, at which the pestions of their general welfare and negro suffrag Speeches were made by several c ered men, and a series of resolutions adopted. A Creative committee of seven was appointed to prediction a series of these meetings among their pe ple in the State, with the view of securing the righ tranchise. The propriety of establishing a news

In denial of a report that Secretary Wells negro suffrage in Connecticut, he telegraphe be the editor of the Hartford Press: "I favor intel-igrace, not color, as the qualification for suffrage in

Work is very much delayed in the Baltin the pards, by the refusal of the white caulkers to do any work until the negro caulkers, who have been taployed many years, are discharged. SOCIAL SCIENCE MEETING.

A meeting of persons interested in the question of Social Science was held at the State House, in Bosto on Wednesday, 4th inst., at 10 o'clock, in accordance with a call published in the daily papers, as also by circular issued from the office of the Board of State Charities. The object of the meeting, as stated by the circular referred to, "Is the establishment of some organization whose object shall be the discusthose questions relating to the sanitary condition of the people, the relief, employment and education of the poor, the prevention of crime, the amelioration of the criminal law, the discipline of prisons, the remedia treatment of the insane, and those numerous matter of statistical and philanthropic interest which are in cluded under the general term of Social Science."

The meeting was called to order by Rev. Dr. Chalmers, and, on motion, His Excellency Gov. John A

Andrew was called upon to preside, Messrs. F. B. Sanborn and Dr. J. C. White were ap pointed Secretaries.

Gov. Andrew, entering the hall, was greeted with applause, and on taking the chair called upon the Rev. Dr. Miles to address the Throne of Grace in prayer. Gov. Andrew addressed the assembly in words of thanks for the honor conferred in calling him to the chair, and asked the cooperation of all in the objects for which the meeting was called.

A report of a committee previously formed was the read, by which it appears that the society is to be founded for the investigation of questions under the four general heads: 1, Of Education; 2, The Public Health; 3, Social Economy; 4, Jurisprudence and the Amendment of the Laws. The report was adopted as the basis of a Society, on motion of Dr. Jarvis of Dorchester. A draft of a Constitution was read and accepted as a report. It was then taken up, article by article, for adoption. The first article, on motion of Mrs. Dall, was amended so as to read that the name of the Society shall be "The Association for the Pro motion of Social Science."

A discussion ensued, in a general form, as to whether the Society should be called a National or Local So ciety.

Dr. Jarvis moved that the word "American" b prefixed to the name, which was followed by a m by Judge Russell, to amend the motion by substituting the word "National," which latter motion was los and the former carried, and the article was the adopted.

Article second was then taken up. It states tha the objects of the Society shall be substantially as stated in the former part of this report. After some discussion on minor amendments, the article was adopted.

Article third makes four subdivisions, as before stated. A discussion ensued relative to the order in which they should stand, and Mr. Emerson, of the State Board of Education, proposed a fifth, which should be for "the prevention of crime and the reformation of offenders." Dr. Jarvis remarked that it was the supposition of the committee that this had already been provided for in the division relative to

of such a division, and renewed the motion, which had been withdrawn by the mover.

Dall, Dr. Jarvis, and Dr. Hatch of Meriden Conn., opposed the motion. The latter thought i hardly necessary to state everything which it was de sirable to investigate.

Mr. Philbrick of Boston was willing to accept th

Constitution as proposed.

Mr. John A. Goodwin of Lowell, remarked that it

was much with this Convention as it is with citizons of the State. They conceive an idea, and they say to themselves, "Lo, I have thought me a thought, I will stand. have it enacted into an act," and so each gets up a pe tition and sends it here to the Legislature, which some times sits all winter and into the spring, and when the members come home, we visit them with maledictions Now, it didn't appear to him that it was necessary t provide explicitly for every subject. If it was to done, he had a hobby that he wanted recognized cheap postage. (Laughter.) He continued in a hu-morous strain that effectually settled the question and the motion was withdrawn a second finally.

remaining articles relative to the officering the association, place of meeting, membership, publication of transactions, &c., were adopted. The discussions sion on the terms of membership was lengthy, bu finally was settled by requiring the payment of thre dollars and signing the Constitution.

The question was again raised whether the assoc tion should be regarded as a national or merely as a Massachusetts Society, and decided in favor of the na-

tional form, after some discussion.

On motion of Dr. Jarvis, a committee of thirteen was ordered, to be appointed by the chair, to nominate officers for the Association. The following persons were appointed: Dr. Edward Jarvis of Dorchester Dr. J. H. Butler of Hartford : W. P. Atkinson, Esq. of Cambridge; Rev. C. F. Barnard of Boston; Rev Horatio Wood of Lowell; Professor Palmer of Michi-gan, University; Mrs. Lawrence of West Newton; Dr. Charles Beck of Cambridge : Prof. D. C. Gilma of Yale College, New Haven; Mrs. Dall of Boston John A. Poor of Maine; Rev. B. K. Pierce of New York : Judge Wright of Boston.

the meeting, as Gov. Andrew expressed his inability to be present at the afternoon session.

The meeting, at 1.30 P. M., adjourned till 3 P. M. AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association met pursuant to adjournment. The Committee on Nominations reported the following list of names for officers: President - Professor Wm. B. Rogers, President In

stitute of Technology.

Vice Presidents-Department of Education-Rev. Dr.

New York. extment of Education-Rev. E. O. Haven, President of Michigan University.

Sanitary Department—Mrs. Samuel Parkman, Jr.

loston. Department Social Economy-Edward Atkinson, Bos

Department Jurisprudence-Hon. Emory Washb

Cambridge.

Library—Mrs. Caroline H. Dall. Treasurer-Charles H. Dalton.

Corresponding Secretary—Samuel Elliott.
Recording Secretary—F. B. Sanborn. Special Secretaries—Department of Education—Hon Joseph White, Secretary Massachusetts Board of Edu

Sanitary Department-Dr. James C. White Department of Social Economy—George Walker Department of Jurisprudence—Prof. Thomas

wight, of Columbia College, N. Y. The report was tabled for further consideration when there should be more members present. It was after ward taken up and adopted.

Mr. William P. Atkinson of Cambridge, in respon to a call, read a paper on the subject of Education. He was followed by Dr. H. G. Clark of Boston, who presented an article on the subject of Epidemic Dis-

Mr. Otis Clapp of Boston, in speaking on the subject of the disposition to be made of the papers that had been read, desired that the latter be printed, as he considered it very important that the people of Boston should know the facts therein stated. He had been on a committee of the city government, and knew that the city was not in that condition of cleanliness that many suppose. The new City Hospital is situated near a nulsance which is almost intolerable; and some measures should be taken to spread among the people

the information that is needed on Sanitary matters in order to avert disease

Prof. Rogers at this jund was invited to take the chair to which he had been elected. He complied, thanking the Association for the honor that had been conferred upon him, pledged his cooperation in the work proposed b

Mr. T. C. Emory of Boston spoke on the subject of the public health, showing that there was great neces-nity for further drainage and sewerage in and about the city, and showed that there is a lack of the power t these matters.

A lady in the audience remarked that though this is to teach those wives and mothers who do not read the papers and who are ignorant of the laws of health who purchase and eat bad vegetables, make use of bad

bread, and breathe impure air ?

A gentleman called the attention of the Association operatives who are obliged to tenant house on low lands, and to work in factories for thirteer hours per day. He thought this question ought to be attended to and discussed by the Society. Even the laboring classes understand that something should be case, as the organizations been formed of late and the action of political caucuse has shown.

Prof. Palmer thought the Association should give some expression of its opinion of the importance of giving an education in sanitary, science not only in colleges but in other educational institutions, down

to the primary schools.
The question of a fu cretion of the Executive Committee, after considerable discussion, and the meeting finally adjourned .- Boo

BRITISH SENTIMENT.

Extract of a letter from JOHN NOBLE, Jr., Esq. 1865 :--

" It must indeed have been a gratifying circumstan for you to have been present to witness the death ago nies of the monster that has so long dominated over the otherwise free republic, more especially when the remembrance of your former visits, contrasting with the present in every possible way, must have been ever-present with yo

'But, alas! what holy angel Brings the slave this glad evangel, And what carthquake's arm of might Breaks his dungeon gate at night?'

The angel has appeared, and the earthquake has razed the prison to its foundations. Your letter ac quaints us with the fact that there is still work to be done, that the serpent is as yet merely scotched and not finally killed, that the virus still exists, and that patient labor will be necessary in order to complete the emancipation of a race than which none has been more down-trodden and oppressed since the days of We need not wonder that in the Israel in Egypt. Southern States hatred of the negro and of his New England benefactors still exists, nor that the spirit of secession should be rife. Many in this country were under a delusion respecting the real merits of the re bellion but such was not the case with others. The old slavery virus still works in Liverpool, Glasgow and other parts. Blockade running and the supply of aid to the rebellion were entered into more heartily because of the motive from which they sprung. Nay we have even had our savans discussing the infe of the negro, his unfitness for any state but that of sla very; and if the Bible argument has not been openly employed, it has been because at the first mention o it, such a burst of indignation arose as proved that

You would be amused at the meeting of Confede rate bondholders and their arguments as to the mora responsibility of the North for the cotton loan. Don' they wish they may get it! The Star suggests that they should seize the Shenandoah, the only Confedeenandoah, the only rate property still at large. I presume that, if caught the pirates on board of her will be hung, and richly will they deserve their fate.

The sycophancy of the Times, Punch and their fol-

owers on the death of the martyred President was post disgusting and repulsive. For months and years he had been the constant object of their vituperat -his personal appearance, his manners, his origin, his marvellous fund of humor, his wise and statesmanlike policy, his honesty, were all the subjects of their ridi-cule—he was attacked by them as no one else had been. He is murdered, and all is changed. Times, Telegraph and Punch discovered excellencies which even his best friends were unaware of ; from eing a demon of darkness, he was suddenly trans

formed into an angel of light. When Johnson succeeded to the Presidency, a similar course was attempted. The public, however, were warned by the previous fiasco, and the denunciations of the press fell upon ears which heeded then

And now we have a small rebellion of our own or hand. The Ifish justasses, as you will see in the papers, have run mad. What comments would have appeared in the Times if the arrests which have re-cently been made in Ireland had taken place in New York! Cork proclaimed—steam packets arriving from America searched-military force increased Hon. Amasa Walker was chosen Vice President of &c. &c. What an opportunity for the American press to retort upon us the revilings of the last four years !

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the preliminary Meeting of the Freedmen's Aid Association of Ferrisburg and vicinity, (VL) Sept. 29,

Whereas, it is our privilege to see the abolition of American slavery nearly consummated, as far as legislative action extends; and,

Department of Sanitary Matters—Dr.. Samuel G. Howe, Boston.

Department of Social Economy—Rev. Theo. D. Wolsey, President Yale College.

Department of Juriment of Department of Depar Whereas, we feel devoutly thankful to our Heaven

on in the private sentiment of many of ou citizens, that is detrimental to the best interests of the eople.; therefore, Resolved. That it is our bounden duty to use, to

by law, humanity and religion, to remove the remain of obstacles that lie in the way of the education elevation and complete citizenship of the colored race within our borders; and give our aid to the measures that are being taken by the General Government of he United States for that purpose.

Resolved, That we deem it expedient to form an association of such men and women, residing in this vicinity, as favor the above sentiments, and are wiling to give their sanction and support to the objects to be called Tax FREEDMEN'S AID ASSOCI ATION OF FERRISBURG and vicinity, auxiliary to the American Freedmen's Aid Commission.

On the part of the Committee to prepare Constituion, &c.,

NOMINATION OF GENERAL BANKS FOR CONGRESS he Republicans of the Sixth District, in this State nominated Gen. Banks as their candidate for Congress, on Tuesday last, on the third ballot. His prin ipal competetors were James M. Stone and J. Q. A. Griffin, of Charlestown. Gen. Banks has written a detun, of Charlestown. On the beautiful in favor of conferring the suffrage upon the negro, as a measure of institute and necessity. Chief Justice Chase has recent ly, by letter, expressed his opinion of Gen. Banks' course in Louisiana. He says: "I shall ever regreemy opposition to Gen. Banks. I am convinced no hat he was the only man who could make Louisian

Ohio has gone Republican by 25,000 majority Pennsylvania also gives a Republican majority.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK, NO. XLIV. New York, Oct. 5, 1865.

To ratify the Constitutional Amendment is to vote against the perpetuation or resurrection of slavery Except New Jersey—which always proves any rule

that may be asserted of the North as a whole—there is no free State which has as yet rejected the Amendment, nor is there likely to be. To elect a Union or Republican government is also a sign of hostility to slavery and adhesion to the successful idea of the war. There is no free State as yet which has been gained Incre is no free State as yet which has been gained by the Democratic party. Connecticut asserted in this two-fold manner the liberty of the negro; yet she has just deliberately sanctioned by ballot the principle or assumption without which he never could have been made a slave. It is the most disastrous event since the death of Mr. Lincoln and the inauguration of the present policy of his successor. The denial of all human citates in the ablect of that denial all human rights implies in the object of that denial that he is something less than a man; the denial of The slave or a Kentucky plantation and the disfranchised colored citizen of Connecticut are alike regarded as deficient in manhood. All the schools and colleges from Nar-ragansett Bay to the North River could not so instructhe people in logic as that they were aware their late to slavery and rejecting the Amendment; and all could not so enforce the equal laws of Christian porality as that the brotherhood of the human rac was safe from being disowned at the polls.

As the first real test of the public feeling in regard

to negro suffrage, the result in Connecticut is disapcointingly significant. If the widest inference is either admissible or necessary, then the people ar still joined to their idols, and the radical voices which prevail in the press and on the platform are --- ro. praterea nihil. Then the Southern retort does truly prick our conscience, and a sense of hypocrisy must attend if it does not forbid our demand for negro citienship in the revolted States. Let no one believe that New York of Pennsylvania would do better tha chievous example. Whenever there is a stain upor the garments of New England, the national linen can free from dirt; and in sorry truth, our future looks very like a protracted washing-day. By th theory of mechanical equivalents, the cause is exactly measured by the sum of its effects, and for every pound of accomplishment there must have been a pound of power exerted. That this law is applicable to moral dynamics would be perhaps generally ad-mitted, if we knew how to estimate the units of force the reformer's No and the philosopher's Aye. So nuch granted, it does not seem probable that the proslavery prejudices of the people can be eradicated or nullified by the action of their more enlightened rep-resentatives in Congress. Agitation and education are still the necessities that they have been for thirty years. Connecticut is herself a witness. Her legis-lature struck the word white from her Constitution but their constituents restored it with emphasis-un lerscored the word at a time when a double infamy ittaches to notoriety. How will the State's represente ives in the Capitol be inclined to behave after such s lesson? How can they answer Perry when he come up with South Carolina's Constitution ignoring its colored population in any civil capacity, and asks that the charter and the territory be taken back into the Union ! Will not Massachusetts be invited to apply her theory of reconstruction to her neighbor, bef she launches it south of Mason and Dixon's line? That the colored inhabitant of Connecticut has no

redress against the Deacon Buttons among whom he lwells, is a fact which may well alarm those who see the gathering strength of the subjugated but only half-renovated States, and the prospect of their read mission. Or are we prepared to believe that the Su-preme Court would now, on appeal, pronounce these set up in the North or in the South ? No very harsh or strained construction would be needed for a decision of this character; but who is so sanguine as to look or it, even from the Chief Justice himself? The fact is, we have but just begun to investigate the na ure of our federation, and the social principles which created our democracy. We have only half studied the Constitution, and still less the Declaration of In-

lependence. Curiously enough, as if to stock completely the ar nory of the opponents of negro suffrage, and to rob its riends of every natural advantage except its intrinsic

which precludes every effort of never so benevolent an imagination to conjure up flesh for them, juicy with the spoils of office, redolent with liquor, almost decently covered with the laurels of victory. Time was, when the party had good lungs, and used them well—that is, effectively. Now, theirs is but

"A thin, and voice, when the cold wind roars by From the clear North of Duty."

From the clear North of Duty."

At 3 o'clock P. M., Mr. Chapin commenced his address. The gathering of those who were anxious to hear the distinguished speaker was so large that everybody felt a right to be astonished. The scats were all crowded full—there were carriages all a State," said chairman Avery, "always a State as were all crowded full—there were carriages all a state as small either. We regret that all could not hear distinctly. Mr. Chapin has lungs like his body and brain; strong, but the strongest lungs cannot make everybody hear.

Those who were present on the occasion, or who have heard Dr. Chapin, know something of his strict. a status always a status!" Poor creatures! who do not know they have survived a revolution, or hope that it will presently go backward.

M. Du Pars.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Oct. 6. A great mass meeting of negroes and freedmen was held at Edgefield yesterday afternoon. There were 6000 persons present. An address was made by Brig. Gen. Fisk. He told them that they must prove themselves entitled to freedom by industry, sobriety and integrity. His duty was to see that they discharged their duties. He would put black men in the jury-box' and on the wincess stand. His remarks were received with enthusiasm. He was followed by several other speakers, after which the meeting adjourned.

Gen. Fisk states that during the past week 600 or 700 negroes have been sent to their former homes, in different parts of the State, and have contracted with their former owners to work for wages.

The form of the result of the Freedmen's Bureau in Texas, made a speech to the negroes at Houston, sasuring them that their rights should be respected; that they could hold property, and would be governed by the same law as the white. He dormed them that the military would compet them to bide by their contracts, and that they should not be burden to the government.

Chaplain O'Brien, Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau at Jefferson City, Mo., makes a favorable report of the condition generally of the freedmen in that part of the State. He finds good schools among them, and with the exception of some abuses resulting from former wrongs, which can and will be rectified by the civil courts, they are in quite a representation.

Reports from Arkansas represent freedmen's affairs as in a flourishing condition. Labor is scarce, and many of the freedmen are receiving ten and fifteen dollars per month. The colored lessees of farms are doing well. On the Freedmen's Home Farm, at Pine Bluff, a school house has been erected, and an

From the Vergennes Vermonter of Oct. 6th. THE NINTH ANNUAL CHAMPLAIN VAL-

LEY AGRICULTURAL FAIR. SPEECHES OF GARRISON AND CHAPIN.

The Annual Fair of the Champlain Valley Agricultural Society was held at Vergennes on Wednesday and Thursday of last week. The weather was delightful, perfect. There were no clouds in the sky,—the sun shone goldenly all day long, while the breezes were as gentle as the soft breath of spring. In every aspect, the Fair was successful, never more so; it did credit to the Champlain Valley. The display of stock was good, and that of sheep larger than ever before; new pens were put up for their accommodation.

ever before; new pens were put, up for their accommodation.

There was also a goodly number of horses and colls; the fast horses, however, were at Burlington. We have never seen such a display of fowls at our fair before; they attracted a great deal of attention, and were well worth seeing. Nearly all of them belonged to S. Allen, who received the first premium. The show of fruit was exceedingly griftlying—the more so because it was so unexampled and unexpected.

Floral Hall was, perhaps, the most attractive place, after all, for there the cunning hand of woman, and man too, had wrought many things curious, useful, ornamental and delightful. The Hall was very prettily and tastefully trimmed, and sufficiently elaborate for all practical purposes. The neatness and taste displayed elicited commendatory remarks.

The Society was exceedingly fortunate in its selection of speakers, for they are both so able and so untile. The two addresses were as dissimilar as any two we ever heard, especially delivered on the same occasion; and yet they were both listened to with interest.

The first day of the Fair the number in attendance

terest.

The first day of the Fair the number in attendance the first day of the Fair the number in attendance the first ware as many as could

The first day of the Fair the number in accordance was not very large, but there were as many as could have reasonably been anticipated. It was a good day to examine the articles on exhibition, for there were no swaying crowds to obstruct the way. The Jericho Cornet Band was present and discourse stirring music, which added much to the interest of

Jericho Cornet Band was present and discoursed stirring music, which added much to the interest of the occasion.

Mr. Garrison, while here, was the guest of Hon George W. Grandey. On Wednesday evening, a number of our citizens, and a few from neighboring towns, with the band, went to Mr. Grandey's house, and called Mr. Garrison out.

After the band had discoursed sweet music, John F. Roberts, Esq., called for three cheers for Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the champion of universal freedom, which were enthusiastically given. Mr. Garrison appeared and made a brief speech. He thanked the citizens for the kindness manifested in giving him an evening call. He felt the more gratified, because he regarded it as an approval of the great work he had been engaged in, the work of redeeming oppressed millions. At its close, three more cheers were given for him. A call was now made on Hon. F. E. Woodbridge, M. C., who has long been confined to his house from an injury received while on a visit to Mansfield Mountain. After the band had played, Mr. Woodbridge appeared at the door on crutches, and made a brief address. He felt gratified with the visit, crippled though he was. He thought that we ought to feel proud that we live in the beautiful State of Vermont. We had reason to be proud of our soldiers in the late terrible contest. There were no better troops in the service than the Green Mountain Boys. The rebels always feared the Vermout Brigade, and the Brigade was never whipped, and could not be He spoke a few words to the young men which are well worthy of their consideration. He advised them not to go West, but remain in Vermont. They could make more money, live better and be happier to stay in Vermont than to go to the prairies of the West. Mr. Woodbridge said that, if it were not for a sick daughter and his own diasabled condition, he would invite the company in and have a good old-fashioned, social time. His remain in Vermont. They could make more money, live better and be happier to stay in Vermont than to go to the prairies o

MR. GARRISON'S ADDRESS

MR. GARRISON'S ADDRESS.

At quarter past eleven, Mr. Garrison commenced his speech. The crowd all around him was altogether larger than he had anticipated, three or four times larger. He spoke for an hour and a half; we never heard him do better. Many of his hits were very happy, and elicited much laughter and applause. He was listened to with marked attention and intense interest. The stillness, though nearly one-half of the people were standing, was remarkable. We shall not attempt to give even a synopsis of the address, but rather a meager sketch in our own homely style.

The speaker touched briefly the subject of recom-

The speaker touched briefly the subject of reconstruction. The people of the South are demoralized. They are subdued, not repentant—the old leaven of slavery still clings to them. Remove our troops, and the freedmen's schools would be broken up in twenty-tour hours by mobilaw. If the Southern States are in the freedmen's schools would be broken up in twentyfour hours by mob law. If the Southern States are in
the Union, President Johnson is a usurper. They are
not in the Union as States; neither are they territories, for territories have never been States. The
people of those States, by rebellion, have forfeited
every right but the right to be langed! They must
be kept out, if necessary, as long as the Israelites were
kept out of the land of Canaan, forty years. We can
send teachers, emigrants, and by and by they will be
fitted to enter the family of States to make one whole
and glorious country.

friends of every natural advantage except us many rectitude, Colorado has adopted a State Constitution with the conspicuous rejection of a clause permitting all colors to vote. Thus Congress will have to deal with the only three possible phases of the vexed question: 1st (chronologically), the action of an original State of the Union; 2nd, that of a territory entreating for recognition and adoption as a State; 3d, that of the "wayward sisters" desirous to return to the Paradise they conspired to convert into a Pandemonium. The cases are diverse, but the principle involved is ones.

It is well that all our politics is not so dismal as this specimen. Your Massachusetts Democracy always elicits the homage of a smile by its annual turning in its coffin. There is that in the rattle of its bones which precludes every effort of never so benevolent when the form in the fatte to enter the family of states to make one that it was with pride and joy he announced that it was with pride and joy he announced that it was with pride and joy he announced that it was with pride and joy he announced that it was with pride and joy he announced that it was with pride and joy he announced that it was with pride and j

never sets."

At the close of Mr. Garrison's address, Gen. Grandey remarked that the speaker had uttered thoughts that breathe and words that burn, which would live in the memory of us all, and then called for three rousing cheers for Mr. Garrison, which were given with enthusiasm.

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. CHAPIN.

have heard Dr. Chapin, know something of his style, but if they think they can report one of his speeches, or even give a tolerable synopsis, we should like to have them try it. Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, or even give a tolerable synopsis, we should like to have them try it. Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, states that it was often the case that professional reporters would forget themselves in some of Mr. Henry's lottlest flights or eloquence, and the pencil would cease its work just where it was most desirable to preserve what the speaker was uttering. In some of Mr. Chapin's grandest flights, which no living, man excels, we inevitably become oblivious to all around us, and did we understand the art, we could not report him. Sometimes, when he has uttered a thrilling sentence or a grand sentiment in living, burning words, we start to write it down, but suddenly find ourself listening to some startling metaphor, tudierous yet impressive illustration, or we outburst of eloquence which, though it seems governed by no law, sways the multitude as God's great winds sway the trees of the forests, and the pencil is again still.

And we cannot report him from memory, for we have not the power to use his language, have you, reader? So then, what shall our report be? A meager sketch, a disjointed affair, clothed in words which Mr. Chapin would not know, should be be introduced a dozen times.

Mr. Chapin would not know, should he be introduced a dozen times.

Mr. Chapin said that he should not attempt an agricultural address, for that was out of his province. It is well for a man once in a while to get outside of his own work. No earthly employment will entirely satisfy the mind of man. One pursuit alone shrivels up the human soul.

Isty me mine soul.

Success in a business point should be the object of every one, that he may be able to bless the world by his life and lift himself up in the true scale of manhood, fulfilling a noble destiny. The idle, the useless and improvides in the world, are only a curse and are subjects for the devil's recruiting sergeants.

A man should be fathful to his business, but to

sperous condition.

A man should be faithful to his business, but it have only a pecuniary objectiu view was abominable. So man had a right to engage in a calling which he believes will be injurious to his race. He should fee dollars per month. The colored lessees of farms loing well. On the Freedmen's Home Farm, at Bluff, a school house has been erected, and an an asylum is being built. The cotton on this looks well, and will results 250 blees, and from to ten thousand businels of cotton seed.

In its right aspect, has but one tendency, the happiness and elevation of man.

Some any God made the country, but man made the town; he did not believe that. God made the country and God made the town also, for he made the active brain and cunning fingers which called the town into beings. The country is believed to be purer, the people nobler than those of the city. Who can deny the wickedness of the great Babylon, its squalid wretchedness and shame? And yet what glorious lights are there, heavenly charities and Christ-like guides for the wandering?

The labor of the farmer is healthful labor, even though at times very exhausting. It gives a color to the check and health to the body. Dreadful is the condition of those who have nothing to do-dreadful the condition of those who have nothing to do-dreadful the condition of those who have nothing to do-dreadful the condition of those who have nothing to do-dreadful the condition of those who have nothing to do-dreadful the condition of those who have nothing to do-dreadful the condition of those who have nothing to do-dreadful the leading to the sound of the whole to the check and health to the body. It is a balanced labor. If in the time of gathering the hay or the grain, the muscles or the mind is overtaxed, there are days when he may rest—whn the rain is falling, or in winter when the cold drives him within doors to the social joys of his home.

The farmer ought to be ever advancing, ever learning, improving in his whole business of agriculture. There are those who claim to be practical men, who claim to follow the good old customs, conservative in all things. Such becomes so set against action, that if

There are those who claim to be prictical men, who claim to follow the good old customs, conservative in all things. Such become so set against action, that if it were not for the law of gravitation, the carth in is revolutions would be twitched from under their feet, and leave them sticking in ether.

If a man's business does him injury, he should escape from it as soon as possible, and seek that which will benefit him as well as others. Every man should be pround to labor, and none more so than the firmer. Agriculture lies at the base of all material prosperity. It is the food of the world. The wandpriss parenty.

Agriculture lies at the base of all material prosperity. It is the food of the world. The wondrous pyramid of the world's callings and productions has for its foundation, its base, agriculture.

The speaker alluded to the war, and asked what have we gathered by our great conflict—what harvest have we gathered in ? Have we gathered in righteounness, justice, for all! But the national harvest is not all gathered in yet. The evils of slavery still linger; hatred of human rights, hatred of the Union, and the equality of all before the law. He should prefer enlightened suffrage, overy man be able to read and write, but if we cannot have that then give to every man of whatever color the right to vote for those who rate over them.

write, but if we cannot have that, then give to every man of w hatever color the right to vote for those who rule over them.

Impartial suffrage is our only safety, and reconstruction without it will result in terrible evils. He thanked God that the war was over, that the great evil of slavery was wiped out; and the mourning ones before him, to whom the war had brought weeds of woe, had cause to rejoice that their great sacrifices had not been in vain. Shall we on account of a man's color disfranchise him? Shall we receive disloyal votes and exclude the loyal? The living and the dead cry out against it, and so does all that is ennobling and just. The speaker, in concluding, paid a glowing compliment to Vermont. His address was about an hour and a quarter long, and during the time, very still was the great throng around him. He sometimes convalsed his auditors with laughter, and sgain moved them to tears. At the close, Mr. Grandley called for three cheers for Mr. Chapin, which was heartily responded to.

EARTHQUAKE IN SAN FRANCISCO. The severest carthquake ever felt in San Francisco, occurred there about noon of the 8th inst., frightening almost the entire population of the city out of their houses into the streets. During half a minute, there were two tremedous shocks, which caused buildings to rock to and fro in an alarming manner. The motion was apparently from east to west. The ground along the river opened in fissures and spouted water like Geyssers. No lives were lost, but buildings were damaged to the amount of \$10,000 or more.

Walker, who was the first rebel Secretary of War, and who put the ball—a cannon-ball it was—in motion, by the order which he gave to fire on Fort Sumter, which was meant to bring on war, in order that Virginia might be forced, against her will, into the secssion movement. He predicted that the rebel rag would fly over Faneuil Hall, after Semter had been taken. When such a man is pardoned, Mr. Jefferson Davis need have no doubt as to his own future. He can "eliminate" the gallows from his dreams.

—Traceller. Among the rebels recently pardoned is Mr. Walker, who was the first rebel Secretary of War,

The Mayor of Vicksburg having given satisactory assurances that the freedmen should hereaf-er receive the same treatment by the civil courts as hat accorded to whites, Gen. Howard has instructed his Assistant Commissioner at that point not to inter-fere with the municipal regulations of that city, so long as the negroes' right to testify before the courts is recognized.

THE VOTE IN CONNECTICUT. Returns from all out four towns in Connecticut, show the majority against negro suffrage to be 6507.

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.

The eighth annual course of these favorite and eminent-y popular lectures will be delivered in Music Hall on uccessive TUESDAY EVENINGS, at 7 1-2 o'clock, by the ollowing distinguished orators :---

Oct. 17—WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston.

24—FREDERICK DOUGLASS, of Rochester 31—HENRY WARD BRECHER, of Brooklyn. v. 7—Jacob M. Manning, of Boston. 14-ANNA E. DICKINSON, of Philadelphia.

Dec. 12-George WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York. 19-DAVID A. WASSON, of Boston.

26—(To be announced.)
1. 2—George H. Herworth, of Box 9-THEODORE TILTON, of New York.

16-(To be announced.) Concert on the Great Organ each evening at 7 o'clock.

Mrs. FROMOCK, Organist.
Tickets admitting "The Bearer and Lady" to the ourse, \$3. Tickets admitting "One Person" to the ourse, \$2. For sale at OLIVER DITSON & CO.S, 277 Washington street; JOHN C. HAYNES & CO.'S. 63 Court street; JOHN S. ROGERS, 1077 Washington street; Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, and

by the Lecture Committee.

Checks for seats reserved until 7 1-2 o'clock, at one dollar each for the course, for sale only at DITSON & CO'S, and at J. S. ROGERS'.

and at J. S. ROGERS'.

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

ANNUAL MEETING .- The Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Horticultural Hall, West Chester, Oct. 27th, day and evening. A more particular notice hereafter.

JAMES MOTT, President.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Cor. Sec.

Ayer's Pills.

Ager's Pills.

A RE you sick, feeble and complaining? Are you out of coder, with your system deranged and your feelings uncomfortable? These symptom compared and your feelings uncomfortable? These symptom compared and your feelings uncomfortable? These symptom compared to the presence of the control illness. Some \$\text{St}\$ of sickness is even the president of sections illness. Some \$\text{St}\$ of sickness is even the president of the Ager's Pills, and less the fluid is more on unobstructed in health again. They stimulate the functions of the body flut ovigorous activity, and purify the system from the obstructions which make disease. A cold settles somewhere in the body, and deranges its natural functions. These, if not relieved, react upon themselves and the surrounding organs, producing general aggravation, suffering and Berangement. While in this condition, take Ayer's Pills, and see how directly they restore the natural section, of the system, and with it the buoyant feeling of health again. What is true and so apparent in this trivity and common complaint is also true in many of the deep-heated and dangerous distempers. The same pergalire effect expels then. Caused by similar obstructional and derangements of the natural functions of the body, they are rapislity, and many of these surely cured by the same means. None who know the virtue of these Fills will neglect to employ them when suffering from the disorders they once, such as Headache, Foul Stomach, Dysentery, Billous Complaints, Indigeston, Derangement of the Liver, Coativeness, Constipation, Heartborn, Rheumatism, Dropsy, Worms and suppression, when taken in large doeso.

They are supar-content, so that the most senditive can take them cassify, and they are surely the best purgative neclaine yet discovered.

AYER'S AGUE CURE,

For the speedy and certain Cure of Intermittent Fever, or Ohills and Fever, Remittent Fever Chill Fever, Dumb Ague, Periodical Headache, or Billous Headache, and Billous Fevera ind. for the whole class of diseases originating in bilary derangement, caused by the malaris of miasmatic countries.

This remedy has rarely failed to cure the severate cases of Chills and Rever, and it has this great advantage over other Agus medicines, that it subdess the complaint without injury to the patient. It contains no quinine or other deleterious substance, nor does it produce quinien or any injurious effect whatever. Shaking brothers of the army and the West, try it, and you will endorse these executions.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mans, and total val. druggists.

Or, with some wongs! through attack to Ormogo note her traces, the scores of Maj of plat y

The following poem is by Miss FANNIE JACKSON the first colored female graduate from the College cours at Oberlin, Ohio. It is a creditable production, and we thank the friend who sent it to us for publication.

THE GRANDEUR OF OUR TRIUMPH.

Is the grandent of our triumph
The Republic's preservation,
That her name is not a byword
In the mouth of every nation?

Is it in the new-born glory
Which around our country glows;
In her heroes' names immortal; In the conquering of her foes?

Surely, not s'en though the whole carth Shook with her triumphal cars; Though all nations bowed before her, And her glory touched the stars. For the pride and pomp of splendor Which the great world can afford, Eink to vanity and nothing In the presence of the Lord.

In His power He passed among us And our hearts stood still in awe;
While with more than Sinai's thunder
He proclaimed His holy law.

In the mire where guilt had flung us, In the slough of deep disgrace, Struggled we—He passed among us, And we saw His dreadful face.

Towered His lefty form above us, Frowned His fearful, glorious brow; Dripping with the blood of millions, Swept that red right hand below

And He showed us in the ferceness Of His anger what awaits

These who trample on the weak—or

Turn the stranger from the gates.

Those who flaunt their banners proudly, Calling on the Lord of Hosts, Knowing that their praise is mockery, And their words but idle boasts Oh! we thought to build our glory

Vain attempt; upon our head Retribution swift and sure.

Sooner build your cities On mount Ætna, than to place Your glory in oppression, Or the wrongs of any race.

For the slumbering fires of manhood Shall burst forth with giant leap, Leaving your renowned republic But a smeking, blackened heap.

When from out the stormy war-cloud Came the awful voice of God, Dare ye lift in supplication
Hands red with your brothers' blood? Haughtily we answered Him

With empty words and frowardness; Loftily we hore ourselves ; Was not our army numberless?

Then the dark days came upon us— Bloody days, when ne man slept; When at Bull's Run and at Richmon O'er unnumbered slain we wept. When we knew in Southern fens The bravest of our warriors lay :

Marking where the bullets rained In the stormy battle-day. All for love of Christ and country, Greener grows the turf, and sweeter

the wild flowers there to-day. Then came also days of fasting, When our country bowed her head; While in sackcloth and in ashes

She sat mourning for her dead : For her dead, and not her sins So our ears no victory greeted ;

For the Lord was still against us-We were smitten and defeated. Till a great cry rose amongst us, Till the whole land blushed with blood

At the stubbern sin which kept us Under Heaven's avenging rod. But the cloud of death was lifted ; Staved the flow of martyr's blood

When our country, humble, contrite, Groping found her way to God. As from out the Jordan's waters

Came the spotless Lamb of God; As from heaven the light eternal Flashed its glory round our Lord ; So from out of war's red sea, Baptized anew in Freedom's n

Our country comes with snowy robes, And heart with holy fire affame. Then the Lord rebuked our foes,

And all their boastful hords
Fled like leaves before the whirlwind,
At the coming of the Lord. In their men of war they boasted,

But the great Avenger's breath Soil upon their mighty men, and Smote them like the freet of death. Come not too near the triumph mount,

On which God's lightning f But come we in his presence clad In sackeloth and in sakes. For our souls have not beck sinless

And our alters yet are dripping With the blood of brothers slain.

Unto God belong the praises; His right arm the vengeance In the whirlwind of the battle

We have heard His mighty trumpet, We have seen His flaming sword, leur of our triumph Is the glory of the Bord.

A STILL DAY IN AUTUMN

BY MRS. SARAH HELEN WHITMAN.

I love to wander through the woodlands heary, In the soft gloom of an Autumnal day, When Summer gathers up her robes of glory, And like a dream of beauty glides away.

How through each loved, familiar path she linge Serenely smiling through the golden mist, Tinting the wild grape with her dewy fingers, Till the cool emerald turns to amethyst.

Kindling the faint stars of the hazel, shining To light the gloom of Autumn's mouldering he lith heavy plumes the elematis entwining, Where o'er the rock her withered garland falls.

Warm lights are on the sleepy uplands waning; Beneath dark clouds along the horizon rolled; Till the slant sunbeams, through their fingers raining, Bathe all the hills in melancholy gold.

The moist winds breathe of crisped leaves and f In the damp hollows of the woodlands sow Mingling the freshness of Autumnat showers With spley airs from cedarn alleys blown.

Beside the brook, and on the umbered meadow Where yellow fern-tufts fleek the faded grou Wish folded lids, beneath their palmy shadow The gentian nods, in dowy slumbers bound.

Upon these soft, fringed lids the bes sits breeding.

Like a fend lover lold to my farwell—
Or, with shut wings, through slikes folds introding.

Creeps near her heart, his drowsy tale to tell.

The little birds upon the hillside lonely
Filt noiselessly along from spray to spray,
Silent as a sweet, wandering thought, that only
Shows its bright wings, and softly gildes away.

tiless flowers in the warm sunlight dres Forget to breathe their fulness of delight, And through the tranced woods soft airs are stre Still as the dow-fall on the Summer night.

So, in my heart, a sweet unwonted feeling Stirs, like the wind in ocean's hollow shell. Through all its secret chambers sadly stealing, Yet finds no word in mystic charm to tell. -New York Citizen

The Piberator.

BEECHER ON PRAYER.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher having received om some friends who had found relief from great troubles through some simple means for which they had waited and auffered a long time, and who in these letters to him expressed surprise that God should have allowed them to remain suffering so long in ignorance of the means of relief for which they had earnestly prayed, made these expressions the subject of one of his Lecture Room Talks, in spoke as follows of God's methods of an swering prayer :-

"I do not undertake to interpret the meth God; and, certainly, I do not undertake to limit God's sovereignty. I do most firmly believe that God is at liberty to exercise direct and efficient power over us by, or in spite of, natural laws. But, on the other hand, there can be no doubt, as a matter of fact, and as a matter of implication in the New Testa-ment, that God prefers to administer in his moral kingdom by the operation of stated laws, just as he does in the physical kingdom; and that the road to blessings in the moral kingdom of God is through an stelligent obedience to natural moral laws, just as in secular things the road to any result is through a knowledge of, and an obedience to, natural physical

Suppose that one, having been almost starved, and having struggled with starvation through the whole summer, praying, every day, 'Give me my daily bread,' should, in October, discover there were esculent, nutritious roots growing abundantly in the edge of a wilderness near by, and should say, 'It seem or a wholerness near 13, and should have been suffered to want for food when I prayed, day and night, 'Give me my daily bread,' and when these roots were within my reach, if I had only known where to go for them; why did not God tell me? You would smile. Suppose a person should say, 'Here I have been shaking with chills and fever for weeks and months, and all the time there has been this Peruvian bark next door, with which I might have cured myself, if I had known that it would cure me; but I did not know it, though I constantly prayed God to cure me.' You would say, at once, 'No prayer will ever bring medicine. You must know that it exists, and then apply it, in obedience to natural laws,

or it will not meet your case.'

Go further. Did you ever know a person that could pray down an arithmetic? Did you ever know a person that, going to school, and finding himself puzzled by a tough problem, could get it solved by asking God to solve it for him? Did you ever know anybody, except by legitimate headwork, to accomplish anything intellectually? We know that, if man wants to do anything in physics or mental cul-ture, he must apply himself to it according to the laws of those departments. In other words, we must fine out the appointed means of obtaining the things that we seek, and apply them; and no amount of effort ordinarily speaking, will bring us to the desired end unless we use those means; and the finding out wha those means are is as important as their application

is when found out.

Now, is it so morally? Yes; and nothing shows it plainer than the history of the church and good men. A man may live in needless sufferings for forty years, praying to God every day, and finding no relief, if God has made provision for his relief in natural law, and he just prays, and does nothing more. A brother in this church suffered untold agony from depression of spirits, and prayed against it long and vehemently, until at last, finding a skillful physician, he obtained the appropriate remedy, and got well. There are persons who, though they are sincere and earnest, have such erroneous views of God that they intercept the law of divine favor in its action on the mind; and all the prayers in the world will not make them happy until they rectify those views. You will ask, 'Then, is prayer in such a case use less?' No, I think not. I can conceive that, though

it does not bring the answer directly, it may be pre-paring one to get the answer in some other way. For example, a woman prays for the conversion of he husband, under the impression that God will answer her prayer outright. She prays all the week, with the general impression that all she has to do is to persevere in prayer. But, as she is true, honest and aincere, going before God, praying retroacts upon her position, and affects her, and makes her more heav-enly, and makes her affection for her husband, whom she is thinking of in the very highest relations, deep er, and makes her family life more exemplary; and although God does not convert that man directly by stroke of omnipotence, by praying and praying, she is made better, and better, and better. And, meanwhile, the man says, Well, my Mary is a saint, i there is one. She wants I should go to those meet ings; I do not care for the meetings; but I will go for the children. I do not have that feeling myself but for her sake I will treat it with respect.' An such thoughts as these run through his mind. And so her patience and gentleness and goodness, augmen ed by prayer, acting upon him, at last produce a state of mind in him which is favorable to his conversion and he is converted. Thus her prayer was answered, though it was answered not at all as she expected it would be, but indirectly, her life being made an in strument of her husband's conversion

You will ask me, perhaps, 'Ought we not to pray for direct spiritual gifts?' Yes, I think we ought but I think that whenever a mah asks God for any spiritual gift, the next step would be to ask, 'Have I not asked God for something that I can get myself 'Have I not asked God for something that he has made provision to give me in an indirect way?'

Suppose I should go to God and say, 'Lord, be

ne salad!' He would point to to give me so the garden and say, 'There is the place to get sal ad; and if you are too lazy to work for it, I shall no an; and it you are too may to work lor it, a small not give it to you. Suppose, standing by a crab-apple tree, I should say, 'Lord, give me pippins on this tree!' He would say, 'Certainly, if you will graft it.' And if I grafted the tree, I would get the pippins. If I neglected to do it, I would not get them.

placed beyond the reach of those instrumentalities which alone could enable him to avail himself o ties which alone could enable him to avail himself of the blessings that, ordinarily, men could obtain by their own exertions. I can understand how an angel might be sent to release Peter from prison; but if Peter had a pass-key in his pocket, and had had the power to use it for his own release, I do not believe that any angel would have been sent to release him. I can understand how, when Paul and Silas were praying and singing in prison, there might have been an earthquake sent that should open the doors and set them free; but if they had files and saws, and could have set themmselves free. I do not believe that set them free; but if they had files and saws, and could have set themselves free. I do not believe that they would have got their liberty by any other means. I can understand how special answers to prayer might have been granted those in slave life—for consider what slave life was. I do not refer to its tolls and unjust exactions, but to its deprivations. Consider how the slave was not permitted to read the Word of God, how it was only now and then a detached morsel of the Gospel was youchasfed to him, and how he was kept in twilight so far as the outward forms of truth are concerned. In view of these things, it is not unreasonable to presume that God would answer the prayer of slaves as he would not answer the prayers of the who were more highly favored. I can understan that God might do for little children, since nature laws are beyond their reach, what he would not do for grown folks. The same reason that led God to work miracles in the earlier periods, leads him to an swer prayers for blessings for which there is a provision made in natural laws, in cases such as I hav

I do not say that he does it every day; but I cases in which it seems as though the Lord said, 'I this had been a white man, I would not have answered the law for you is obvious; that your prayer must be eccompanied with investigation and activity."

A CALL TO WORKING MEN IN THE TEM-PERANCE CAUSE.

Intemperance rages, and will rage till we change our hand, rely less on organizations, and more on honest, carnest, individual effort. There is desperate need of men to battle this GREAT EVIL on their "OWI ook," responsible to God only.

What if great men continue to discuss the Main

Law, and their admirers continue to read and admire?

What if great conventions continue to be held, and distinguished men make masterly speeches and pass resolutions, both masterly-foolish and masterly-wise What if Temperance Societies, not a few, o

to meet and do little more than air their regalias, have a convivial time, and occupy our newspapers with a display of organizations and names? Will that save

Most manifestly we have organizations enough, dis cussions enough, and legislation enough, whilst the Evil waxes worse and worse. In this dilemma, can anything be done? Yes, thank Heaven! Let us, with the spirit and gospel of Christ, go straightway to work (as individuals) in the very neighborhoods where, in God's providence, we reside. Let us labor. might and main, with Young America, with temper rate drinkers and drunkards, diffuse light and love b spreading Temperance Papers and Temperance Tracti in the very dens of sin, and in all the "highways and byways" of life; and looking to God for strength we may soon understand the promise, "One shall chase a thousand."

The spreading of Tracts-Tracts which are short ungent, pithy, rather than pretty—is attended with reat success. We have such Tracts. We sell them at common prices. We send them gratuitously to those who wish to do good, but are too poor to buy them. Friends, send for them. Send a little postage, if you please; the tracts you can have "without ney and without price.

We are rather radical, but we have a few friends just as radical. They like our "One Man Tract Society"; they like our individual and independent action against popular abominations, and occasionally send us a little money to carry on the battle; and be-ing almoner of their bounty, though poor, we wish, with God's blessing, to make many rich. fellow-laborers, send for our Tracts, and try their

quality upon your dram-sellers and dram-drinkers.

The flood-gates of iniquity are lifted up. We have three hundred thousand drunkards sinking into their graves! We have hosts of "temperate drinkers" coming on to fill their places! Earnest, self denying workers are needed on all hands. We must reanimate dying cause. Friends, awake! Let us stretch our selves upon it as Elisha stretched himself upon the dead child, and it shall rise to life in majesty and GEORGE TRASK.

Temperance Depository, Fitchburg, Mass.

THE PSALM OF DEATH.

NOT IN THE BOOK.

"To be said or sung" by politicians of the Coperhead persuasion, at all meetings held during the pproaching political campaign.

When sung, tune, "Copperhead Lament."

Niggers young and niggers old, Niggers young and niggers old, Niggers arm and niggers cold, Niggers large and niggers small, Niggers large and niggers tall, Niggers yellow, dark or dun, Curse the niggers, every one; Niggers low and niggers high, Niggers lead and niggers light, Niggers dull and niggers light, Niggers dull and niggers bright; Summer, Winter, Spring, and Fall, Curse the nigger, curse him well, Curse this color, hair and smell; Curse his color, hair and smell; Curse his cyes, his cheeks, his nose. Curse his eyes, his cheeks, his nose, Curse his feet, his head, his toes, His grinning teeth, his curving shins, Load him with the nation's sins. Curse brain and muscle, blood and bones; Curse arms and shoulders, back and breast, Curse him roundly, curse your beat, Call him monkey, ape and beast, Of all the things that live, the least— With hissing breath and foaming lip, Lash with tongue for want of whip. Sneer and roar, and stamp and sween, With brandished knuckles pound the Gnash your teeth with rabid rage— Curse all the tribe, from youth to age, Curse him while he breathes the air, Curse him cold upon his bier; But to his soul be nity given. Curse him cold upon his bier;
But to his soul be pity given,
And send him to some nigger heaven.
Then own yourself the lowest sneak
That ever trampled on the weak;
The lowest, foulest wretch, forlorn,
Whom men should kick, and women scorn
Confess yourself, without a figure,
Of all that breathes the meanest nigger;
Though white without, all black within—
Black of heart, though not of skin;
Sunk in meanness past retrieving,
Who curse the nigger for a living.

pins. If I neglected to do it, I would not get them. Prayer is often an argument of laziness. For instance, a person finds that his temper is a source of great trouble to him; and if you divest his prayer of its reverential character, it amounts to about this:

'Lord, my temper gives me a vast deal of incoavenience, and it would be a great task for me to correct it; and wilt thou be pleased to correct it for me, that I may get along easier?' And if prayer was anyered under such circumstances, independent of the action of natural laws, it would be paying a premium on indelence. If, therefore, a thing is accessible to a person; if, by proper, exertion or inquiry, he can compass it himself, it is not supposed that God will have been contained and any inclined for those natural laws by which he has made provision for the supply of this very want, to give it to the man in a special manner.

You will sak me, 'Are there any circumstances in which God may be disposed to do such a thing?' I so spoke he sight do it in the case of one who was inclined to think there are. I can imagine how he might do it in the case of one who was

A DEMOCRATIC PROTEST.

m V. Nasby protests, as a sagainst the nomination of solding

Democrat, against the homination of soluties by his party. He writes:

I object to nominatin em for the follerin reasons:

1. Taint honist. In 1862 I called the soliers "Linkin purps," and the officers "sholder-strapt hirelins," and I meant it. They wuz wagin a croot and unholy war agin Dimacriey; they wuz redoosing our magorities in the Suthern States at the rate av sum hundreds per day, and now to nominate em is a flop I'll never make.

2. Twon't pay. These fellers sold out when they took commissins; they sold out the Ablishnists when they flopt back to us; and what guaranty hev we that they wont sell us out the next turn of the wheel? Ef we cood git sum decent wuns, it mits do; but, good Lord! the solier who wood floths wood be lower down than wa is, which wood obother a man. All the votes that sich men cood controle, we hev alluz owned in fee-simple.

3. Taint justis 2 us originel copperbeds. We endoored the heat and burden av the day; we resisted drafts, we dammed taxes, we wus Fort Lafayetted and Fort Warraned. Twas us who died in our door-yards. Where wuz these orfisers then I all the damage they done the government wuz in drawin pay and rashens.

4. The reconstructed dimocrisy uv the South won't like it; and to them, after all, we must look for success.

5. They acknowledge nigger-equality by allowan

or success.

5. They acknowledge nigger-equality by allowa

5. They acknowledge nieger-equality by allowan niggers to fight with em.

6. We hev gone too far to try the soljer dodge. We opposed the war, we opposed their votin, we opposed the Ablisha in votin pay and supplies, we opposed drifts at a time when they needed help, and to go back on such a record, I rather reckin I wont do it.

7. Ef we undertake the soljer, we commit ourselves to payin his pension, et settry. How wood the Suthern Dimocrisy like that?

8. Ef we nominate men who served, we disgust the deserters and them ez went to Kanady for the sak ov the coz.

Mr. Nasby appends the following advice to his party:

Mr. Nasby appends the following advice to his party:

We have cappytle enough in the Nigger. Let us plant curselves boldly on shoor ground. Let us Resolve that Goddlemity waz rite in makin the Nigger our slave, the he made a mistake in planting in his beeven buzum a cronic desire to run away from his moral condishun. Let us hang out our banner and inscribe on its folds, "No marryin Niggers!" "No payin a debt inkurd in a Nigger war!" —"Protect us from Nigger equality!" and sich other precepts ez cum within range uv the Dimekratic intellek, and go in and win.

May the Lord hasten the day.

PETROLEUM V. NASBY,

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

THE RIGHTS OF LABOR.

Miss Anna Dickinson is a public lecturer. We are not among the admirers of her discourses nor of her most characteristic views; but we do profoundly honor the courage and self-poise which have enabled her to strike out for herself a path to self-support and competence which detracts nothing from the opportunities of her sisters, born, like herself, to the common heritage of poverty and labor. Hence we most intensely loathe and reprobate the spirit which instigates such paragraphs as the following from the Ohio Lorain County News:

Ohio Lorain County News:

SILVERY. Some one has called Miss Anna Dickinson a silvery-tongued orator. The College Societies'
Library Association have found out what that means. She offers to come to Oberlin this winter, and lecture one evening for \$200. Two hundred dollars for one hour's talk! That is just three dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents per minute. As "allvery" as it well could be in this age of greenbacks.

one evening for \$230. I wo hundred opurars not nour's talk! That is just three dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents per minute. As "allvery" as it well could be in this age of greenbacks.

Let us look a little first at the facts in the case: Miss Dickinson lives in Philadelphia between four and five hundred miles from Oberlin. It is a pretty fair week's work for her to leave home, travelt by honeet daylight to Oberlin, lecture there, and return, at a cost, including wear of clothing, of hardly less than \$50. And then, she ought to devote not less than a month to study, thought and preparation, to qualify her for giving such a lecture as Oberlin can afford an evening to hear. So that, in fact, instead of paying her "three dollars and a third per minute" for her lecture, what she asks is not a hundredth part of that.

But we do not rest the case on the fact that her charge is reasonable. We place it distinctly on the ground that she, like every other worker, has a right to whatever remuneration her abilities and services will command. There are lawyers who will gladly undertake for \$100 an important litigation for which other lawyers would charge \$5,000; and sad experience has often proved the former truch the dearer. And Miss Dickinson, as a lecturer, is better worth biring at \$200 (simply as a business venture) than many others at \$10 who would gladly lecture for that sum.

If Signora Squallini were wanted to sing, or Mile. Tagliona Tighthit to dance, or Miss Lucille Weston to play at Oberlin or elsewbere, nowne would expect her to do it for a penny less than the most her talents and popularity would command. Why should she? And, if Miss Dickinson can employ her time elsewhere to greater profit than to lecture at Oberlin for less than \$200 (my hyshould and lecture there for less? Can any one tell?

"Isn't she a philanthropist?" some one sneeringly asks. We really don't know. We never heard ber say that she is or is not. In her three lectures to which we have listened, she stood up stoutly for justice to

mand.

Even if the lady is unwise in fixing the price of her lectures, she has a perfect right to be unwise, and to lecture ten times per annum for \$200 rather than one hundred times for \$50. By so doing, she affords a better chance to other lecturers, possibly

affords a better chance to other lecturers, possibly more needy than she is, and does something toward upholding the dignity and rights of Labor. When poorer and more dependent than now, she refused to teach and went hungry, rather than accept half the price paid to men for services no better than hors. We presume she is acting on the same principle now. If Miss Dickinson should, by asking too much for her services, remain unemployed, and so become a pauper and a public charge, the public would have a moral right to interfere, and insist on her going to work at something for the means of paying her way. If she were to head a mob about the doors of lecture-rooms where cheaper lecturers were employed, and were to usua a mon about the doors of lec-ture-rooms where cheaper lecturers were employed, and attempt by menace and violence to silence her rivals or deprive them of hearers, the police would be obliged to take her in hand. But, so long as she does nothing of the sort, such paragraphs as that above quoted are grossly importinent and censurable.

ble. "Isn't a dollar too much for two hours' work sawing a load of wood?" queried an employer. "Sab," replied the Ethiopian professor of the manly art of wood-sawing, "I charge fifty cents for the sawing, and fifty more for the know how." That colored gentleman had an appreciation of right, and justice far transcending that evinced by the Editor of the Lorain County News.—N. Y. Tribune.

CENTRAL AFRICA.

At a missionary meeting lately held in England, ne great American explorer, Dr. Livingston, said: I should like to answer a question that is very of-n put to me: "What sort of people are those

tality which lies in his power. These people are not engaged in hunting, as most inhabitants in this country think they are, but are employed in cultivating the soil. They also manufacture iron, smelting it from stone, and very excellent iron it is. I brought home with me the last time I was in England some of the ore, and the iron was manufactured into an excellent Enfield rifle. The quality was exceedingly good, and equal to the best Swedish iron.

exceedingly good, and equal to the best Swedish iron.

They also manufacture a superior quality of copper; also articles of earthen ware and basket work. When we first go among this class of people, with the idea of their being savages, it is rather singular, but I believe true, that they rather believe we are savages. They do not understand where all the black people that are carried away go to. Thousands are taken away annually, and you cannot go anywhere without meeting with slave parties. The men carry what are called elave sticks, with a fork at the end of them, which is fastened round the necks of the captives, so that it is impossible for them to get out of them, orget at the other end, by which they are tied to tree throught the night. The people I am now speaking of imagine that the white people eat them. They look upon us as cannibals, and we look upon them as savages. Now, if we take an impartial view of both, we shall find that they are better than each imagine one another to be.—African Repository.

ABANDONED PLANTATIONS --- A VIRGINIA

OASE.

One of the most difficult and delicate duties de

One of the most difficult and delicate duties devolving upon the Government will be the adjustment of the question of abandoned lands of rebels, in cases complicated by their intervening occupancy and improvement by freedmen. It will be an act of cruelty and bad faith to disregard the rights that have accrued to the latter, where their possession of such tracts was secured to them through the direct agency of the Government. An interesting case of the kind has been developed in Virginia, and we refer to it more especially from the nature of the proof it gives of the industry and thrift that belong to a freedmen's community. It is not a solitary instance, for there are many very nearly its parallel in the vicinity of points of long military occupancy on the Southern coast.

Certain Virginia rebels have returned from service in the cause of them have received the Exceutive pardon, and are pressing their demands with entire confidence that they will straightway recover their own again. The embarrassing point in this called for rendition contains the proof all friends of the Freedmen are interested to study. These lands are in the vicinity of Fortress Monroe, lying back of the destroyed town of Hampton, burned by its robel inhabitants, representatives of indignant F. F. V., early in the war. After such a wanton act of destruction, the United States Government set apart abandoned and confiscated lots in the ruined town, and on two adjoining estates of J. B. Sinclair and S. K. Shields, rebels both, and of from 400 to 500 acres each in extent, for the occupancy of colored refugees and Freedmen.

for the occupancy of colored refugees and Freedmen.

The experiment of developing order and system out of this element has had excellent success. Sinclair and Shields, now returning to claim their estates, find them covered with an industrious, self-supporting black population of some eight hundred families in several distinct settlements. These dwellers have each homes of their own. They number nearly five thousand souls, of whom twelve hundred are over twelve years of age. There are five, hundred and eighty-seven who can read and write, and nearly one thousand church members. They have built five churches, and raised among themselves \$1,050 for the annual ministration of the gospel. These people are mainly engaged in They have built ive churches, and raised among themselves \$1,050 for the annual ministration of the gospel. These people are mainly engaged in humble agricultural pursuits, but the trades and a small local commerce are maintained among them in shops and stores. Of these latter an union grocery and dry goods store is the property of a black Trades Union, with a stock of goods which cost \$7,000, of which \$4,000 was paid in cash. That the enterprise is profitable is shown by a report of daily sales ranging from \$249 to \$379 for a period of ten, successive days preceding the report. These freedmen, so far from being a weight upon the Government or their neighbors, show a property roll of \$51,006, in their own right. Nor is this all in the hands of a few fortunate owners. The list shows two to be possessed of \$4,000 each, the millionaires of this black Acadia, while the succeeding entries on the list are \$2,000 to one, \$1,500 to another, nine possessors of over \$500 and under \$1,500, and a lengthy catalogue of smaller property holders.

another, nine possessors of over \$500 and under \$1,500, and a lengthy catalogue of smaller property holders.

Such are the facts concerning these Freedmen of Virginia, called out by the attempt of the rebel owners to recover their farms. These people called a public meeting in one of their chaples, and appointed a committee, one branch of whose constituted labors is given in the statements we compile, showing the status of the communities whose dispersion is sought. On the evidence of the Government officers, the census returns are trustworthy and to be relied upon. A sum of money has been raised and pledged by these freedmen sufficient to retain competent counsel, and in all legal points protect the interests of their community. They are in the hands of the Government, and express a confidence in its humanity and wisdom toward them. And so do we. In the establishment of a special bureau of freedmen's affairs, in the present charge there is an abundant earnest that the Government is not disposed to ignore the new relations the issue of the war and the downfall of slavery have created between itself and the freedmen. The collection of such facts as the above, in relation to the Hampton communities, will strengthen and justify its purposes in their behalf, by showing that these people can take care of themselves, and, under Liberty, bring forth all the fruits of a prosperous and peaceful community.—Chicago Tribune.

THE TOBACCO NUISANCE.

SMOKING IN THE CARS

It always happens in our travels that we note more topics for remarks than we have space for in the Herald. Two or three, however, we must notice at this time. One is the imposition which "first-class" passengers are allowed to practise on those of the "second-class" in using the cars of the latter to do their smoking in. Smoking is, of course, a vile habit and a filthy nuisance anywhere; but so long as the thing is to be done, the "smoking car" is a proper institution. There are many persons who, though poor, are respectable, and who pay for seats in the cheaper style of cars. But it is a common practice for the first-class passengers, instead of performing their pestilential rites in the car appropriated for the business (perhaps because the smoke there is too thick and narcotic even for their perverted olfactories), to step into the second-class cars, and after filling them with the fumes of tobacco, retire to their own proper places. This is an abuse which demands the attention of the conductor; an outrage which, we are glad to know, some second-class passengers have, resolved to submit to no longer. If persons will defile themselves and poison their own atmosphere, so be it—until they can be educated into better habits and reproved into better manners. But let them keep their fills to themselves.

SLEEPING CARS FOR SMOKERS.

We propose, as an improvement in railroad trav-elling, and for the special benefit of those who are not addicted to the use of "the weed," that the sleeping cars be divided into two classes, and that one of them be appropriated to those who do not use tobacco, and are not fond of the smell thereof. use tobacco, and are not fond of the smell thereof. The chief stench of a sleeping car is the breath of the tobacco users. The cars at best are not very well ventilated, and where a single car contains fifty or sixty persons, two-thirds of whom exhale with every expiration from the lungs, and from every pore of the skin, odors as nulke the "perfumes of Eden" as is possible to conceive, the discomfort, to say nothing on the score of health, of those whose instincts are not so depravely, can be better imagined than described.

"YOUNG AMERICA."

I should like to answer a question that is very often put to me: "What sort of people are those you wander amongst?"

Now, I should like to tell you that they are very far from being savages. On the sea coast they are rather blood-thirsty, especially those who have been in the slave trade; but when you get about three handled miles into the interior, you meet with people who are quite mild and hospitable. It is the day of each man in the village to give every divided the source of the so

common notice, "No smoking allowed," Prevent their intrusion into parlors, private rooms and cker places where decency is a commandment. And who are those persons, so bold in fithines: so lost who are those persons, so bold on fithines: places where decency is a commandment. And who are those persons, so bold in filthines; so lost to shame; so unconscious of their omperimence and offensiveness; so reckless of the leelings and opinions and rights of others, and so seemingly destitute of all sense of purity or propriety? They are mostly young men; many of them are mostly they may be in sensuality they may be in the lower range of intellectual deprawed they certainly are in the part range of propensities; and cloudy, dreamy, visionary or pind, they cannot help being in the reflective intellect and the moral sentiments. Three-quarters, if not nine-tenths, of all the tobacco smokers who eliminate themselves into-every crowd, and puff their foshem and no regard to notices to the contrary, are roomed into every, body's face, with no respect berose and no regard to notices to the contrary, are roomed in the most of the sense of the sense of the sense of the sense of propriety. They smoke in private, in their own places, they reem to know that others have right and noses as well as themselves. But with "Yong America" this is very different. Our young men seem to prefer to do their smoking in the most of fensive manner possible, and where they can render thomselves as disgusting as possible in the most of fensive manner possible, and where they can render themselves as disgusting as possible or a poat. They seek the crowd. They smoke while walking with a lady in the streets. They stride into public rooms private bouses, and parade themselves, with a lighted eiger or a burning pipe in their mouths, alternately ejecting suffocating smoke and nascous spittle, as unconcernedly about the wishes or opinions of obers, and with as much self-complacency and moral obliviousness as might be expected from a donky or a goat. Can nothing be done to prev

an only be a disgrace to fuman nature and a curse to the world?—Herald of Health.

SMOKING IN THE CARS. The directors of the Race and Vine, Arch street, and Hestonville lines, in compliance with the wishes of their customers, and in conformity with the rules of all other well conducted lines, have given orders that no smoking shall be permitted on their cars, either by day or night, and any conductor who allows a violation of this rule will be liable to be suspended or dismissed.

The Board of Presidents a long time since passed a resolution to the above effect, and for a time its provisions were strictly adhered to. Gradually the rule was lost sight of, and smoking of rank segars and stinking pipes became quite popular on the cars. The front platform was generally used by the smokers, and consequently the smoke would pass through the cars, among the passengers, carrying with it the taint of whisky and onions. The fragrance of a good segar is not universally objectionable; but such pipes as have been smoked on the carform a most intolerable and sickening nuisance. So great did the evil become that ladies retired from the cars in some instances, to our own personal knowledge. It was only a week or two ago, on a very-hot and sultry afternoon, that a front-platform smoker was the cause of not only seriously annoying a babe in its mother's arms, but gave it great pain. The ashes from his rank cigar were partly carried into the car by the artificial current cause by the moving of the vchicle, and the eyes of the lattle innocent were filled with particles thereof. Gentlemen will not knowingly violate any law or rule that is made to protect the people, and render them confortable. No matter how well dressed a human being may be, if he still persists in smoking on the front platform, when requested by the conductor not do so, he stands as a living monument that dress does not make a gentleman. The directors of the habit of smoking. This should be peremptorly prohibited; because if an employè takes the liberty of smokin

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