

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 23, 1865.

counterfeiter of our coin with disfranchisement, and not to punish a traitor? ... Why not all? But not to punish a traitor? ...

citizen soldiers, black, white and gray, who fought for us, and give each and all their due proportion of the praise; (cheers)—and I will give in conclusion—The citizen soldiery of the country—ever faithful, ever ready, ever true; the surest defence of law and liberty. (Great applause.)

RADICAL MEASURES THE ONLY REBOLUTION.

The South is conquered. The South admits it. Now what is to be done with the South? Clearly, just that which will effect the redemption of the South and insure the safety of the nation from any future machinations against its integrity and its democratic institutions. Has all been accomplished which is essential to these ends? Clearly not.

Those who imagine that the overthrow of the military power of the rebels is to be instantly followed by a return of law and order are egregiously mistaken. Those who dream that the political heresies entertained by the "natural leaders" of the South and their Northern confederates are extinguished, are indulging in a delusive vision. Those who assume that the destruction of slavery annihilates at once the barbarism, ignorance, and lawlessness, which were the consequences and accompaniments of slavery, are sadly deceived.

The civil war is finished as a great war. The insurgent States can be watched and held under military rule. But how are they to be wisely governed? Who shall govern them? To what extent can they be left to govern themselves? ... There will be no great difficulty in re-instituting and re-asserting the Federal authority in the section so recently in arms against it. But to what degree will it do to permit that section to be represented in the exercise of that authority? How far can it be relied upon for loyalty?

It was recently stated that out of a force of twenty thousand rebels who surrendered, only two thousand could read or write. From this it is fair to infer that a majority of the whites in the seceded States were like the eighteen thousand who had not acquired the elementary means of reading and writing, and so were open to the deceptions of demagogues and ambitious politicians. The character of these intriguing and influential guides of the blind masses is now plainly understood. This statement shows how small is the amount of the trustworthy material out of which to build up patriotic communities, where treason has been running riot for years.

If the only object is to have a loose political compact, with constant disturbances of greater or less magnitude to vex the country, or if the only wish is to set the machinery of traffic in motion for the benefit of a few money-makers, why then, a superficial adjustment may answer. But something beyond this is demanded as the price of the blood that has been shed. The insurgent States must be brought into an honest and abiding concord with the other States. To do this they must be held under the direct or indirect guardianship of the stronger party to the fight, until their moral, social, and industrial character is made intelligently democratic. This is the principle—whatever may be the methods employed—which cannot prudently be lost sight of in solving the difficult problem of reconstruction.

What shall we believe? Most persons must have been considerably puzzled of late by the discordant representation of affairs at the South. We have been told, for instance, that there are not ten Unionists in three counties of Virginia; that the promise made in South Carolina of all cities say, "we accept the Union only on condition the negro be left out," many of them roundly asserting that "there will be a Confederacy yet"; and that Union men cannot breathe freely outside of the military lines in Alabama, while the returning slaveholders "amuse themselves by cutting off the ears, noses or lips of their former slaves." On the other hand, the *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph* says, "we are all abolitionists, by the stern logic of war." Delegates from five counties in Georgia pledged their support to the administration of President Johnson, and promised every exertion to restore civil law and order in the State. "One of Dick Taylor's men" writes to a *New Orleans paper*: "All the bitterness remaining in the country after our late glorious but unsuccessful war is confined to the ladies and the stay-at-home gentlemen." And a rebel Major General assures the editor of the *Louisville Journal* that "the feeling now prevalent in the Southern States is emphatically favorable to the restoration of the Union upon a lasting basis."

These are but a sample of the contradictory accounts which are coming up from the South. What shall we believe in regard to them? In the first place, perhaps, it would be well to remember that the South comprises a vast extent of country and a great variety of people, and it is possible that even very contradictory representations may be true. It might be asserted of the North that it is profoundly loyal and yet a fearful array of copperheadism, disloyalty and treason might be produced from almost any quarter. This discordance, therefore, at the South, particularly in this transition period which follows in the wake of the rebellion, is not surprising. What we want to know is, whether the representations are moderate, and what is the general tendency? We are happy to believe that the disposition to acquiesce in good faith in the restored supremacy of the Federal Government is already the rule, and not the exception, at the South, and that it is rapidly on the increase. And with regard to this progress we must exercise some patience. New England principles must not be looked for on the slavery-cursed soil of the South now nor for some time. We must not expect discomfited rebels to become enthusiastic patriots in a day. If there is sufficient submission, acquiescence in the new situation, openness to the instruction of new events, a sufficient foundation is laid for the superstructure we all desire and are determined to erect, to the glory and everlasting security of American citizenship.—*Boston Journal.*

THE SALE OF WOOD. It has long been suspected that the Hon. Ben. Wood, of New York, had sympathetic relations with the leading rebels, but it was not supposed that money considerations had any influence in inducing him to seek this elevating communion with congenial souls. It appears, however, from the evidence elicited on Friday last, in the trial of a conspiracy, that there were financial reasons for his complicity with treason, and that he did not discredit the name of Wood by indulging in disinterested disloyalty.

Jacob Thompson, the Jews who had charge of the rebel purse, and who varied the business of buying up incendiaries, assassins and poisoners, with speculation in members of the Fobes, had been sent to Hon. Ben. Wood last August a check for \$20,000, drawn by the Bank of Montreal on the City Bank of New York, in favor of D. S. Eastward, who indorsed it over to the proprietor of the *Nexes*. Mr. Thompson, who seems to have had a still larger experience in the purchase of medals for the rebellion than before it, and who appears to have pursued his vocation regardless of expense, paid, in the case of Wood, a very heavy price for a very poor article. The negroes may not be the best judges of the commercial value of flesh and blood, but if Thompson had paraded Ben. Wood before the blacks of his plantation as "a twenty-thousand-dollar nigger," no respect for so distinguished a "massa" could have prevented an outbreak of ironical jeers at the palpable badness of the bargain.

It is announced to-day by telegraph that the Government has ordered the arrest of Wood, and there is no doubt that the trial of the conspiracy may join the editor of the *Daily News* in Fort Sumner. Our readers will not fail to note in this a two-fold violation of the liberty of the press and the liberty of the citizen,—of the liberty of the press in arresting the proprietor of a journal guilty of nothing but giving aid and comfort to the rebellion, and of the liberty of the citizen in objecting to a purely commercial transaction between a resident of Montreal and an inhabitant of New York, for the sale of a Copperhead.—*Boston Transcript.*

DEATH OF MRS. SWARD. The wife of Secretary Seward died at Washington on Monday morning last. She was a most estimable lady, and her loss will be much lamented.

After a delightful excursion to Pennsylvania, partly for recreation, but more particularly for the purpose of attending the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends at Longwood, the Editor of the Liberator has returned home, and will resume his editorial duties next week. During his absence, he lectured at Norristown and at Newtown, Pa.

THE IDEAS OF A SOUTH CAROLINIAN.

It is to be hoped that the letter bearing the above title, on the first page of this paper, will deter no one from reading it. Documents such as this, which are now springing up in many parts of the South, are at present the most important reading possible for every Northern man, since they distinctly show the great danger to which we are now exposed. The perils from Southern armies is over. The perils from guerrillas, filibusters, assassins, arrogant lords of the lash, and impudent blusterers, male and female, we shall meet, and gradually overcome. This will be only a work of time. But the serious, enduring peril that now besets us is found in the position of just such men as Mr. Augustin L. Taveau; calm, quiet, cultivated, persistent men, who have not yet conceived the idea of losing their position of leadership in the South, and who seem unconscious of the sublime arrogance they display in proposing, under the circumstances, to continue such leadership.

Let me make a brief abstract of the assumptions and propositions contained in this well-written, calm, pious, moderate, magnanimous letter.

The North ought to desire reconstruction upon principles of good fellowship, as between equal parties; ignoring all sectional feeling, that is to say, all practical precaution against future disloyalty to the Union, future violation of the rights of the North, and future oppression of the colored people, on the part of those who have just ceased, under compulsion, from being slaveholders and rebels in arms.

The victory which the United States has lately gained is a victory only of force, not of right. The South submits because, and only because, she has been beaten. But the conflict on her part has been an "honorable" one, and she is entitled to "respect" and "admiration" from her late opponent.

But if the South is to remain acquiescent in its defeat, and become willing again to act on terms of political equality with the North, there must be no manifestation, by word or deed, in levity or seriousness, on the part of the North, of division or aversion towards that class of Southern people who called themselves (and thus came to be called by others) "the Chivalry." Their credit, their standing, their pre-eminence in political and social life, must be considered sacred.

The "once vexatious and formidable system of slavery" is buried. But its death and burial came (not at all from increased enormities and outrages on the part of the South, but) because "Providence saw fit to interpose." And the South must accept this dispensation "as Christian men," just as they formerly maintained and extended slavery as Christian men.

The negro was well fed and well treated in slavery. Yet he ought not to be blamed for taking liberty when the armies of the United States offered it to him! Perhaps he loved his master not less, but freedom more! Don't blame him for his flight. "If there is responsibility anywhere, [for emancipation,] let it be noted, not for slaveholding, a just God will not fail to locate it." Yet "whether this sudden emancipation of four millions of an unlettered and untutored race, unaccustomed to think, act or provide for their own well-being, is wise, [on the part of Providence,] events will prove."

As an All-wise God directs our affairs, [this seems a trifle incongruous with the close of the preceding item, but let it pass] perhaps it may prove that the mission of the Negro race in this country is over, and that he was only sent here as a pioneer to clear up the wilderness for his successor, the white man.

(His Mightiness seems not to have conceived the idea that the mission of "the Chivalry" in this country is over. Their continuance, and their continued predominance, are provided for in the next item.)

The Southern need not own the laborer. Let him hire white immigrants. "Freel from the care of driving negroes, he will then, for the first time, realize the true ease and comforts of a country life; and, giving more of his time to the cultivation of his mind, he will be better fitted for the management of the affairs of State."

This is Mr. Taveau's little plan of reconstruction. Men of the North, soldiers of the Union armies, relatives and friends of the prisoners of Libby and Andersonville, how do you like it!—c. k. w.

THE HAYTIAN REBELLION QUELLED. The recent attempt to overthrow the existing government had signally failed. The rebels had been beaten near Gonaves, when they surrendered to the national forces, and dispersed after laying down their arms. The leaders had fled the country, in a vessel which they had kept in readiness for the purpose at Cape Haytien, with the intention of proceeding to Nassau, N. P., for refuge, and they had reached Inagua on the 6th inst., on their way to that place. President Jefferson had offered pardon to all the insurgents except the leaders, and as the latter had run away, it was thought there would be no further trouble.

CONTENTS OF THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY FOR JULY:—1. Young Men in History. 2. Around Mull—1. S. The Changeling. 4. Ellen. 5. Winter-Life in St. Petersburg. 6. Needle and Garden—VII. 7. A Paper on Candle-Ends. 8. Doctor John—VI. 9. Deep-Sea Damels. 10. Skipper Ben. 11. Assassination. 12. The Chimney-Corner—VIII. 13. Accolplices. 14. The Chicago Conspiracy. 15. Reviews and Literary Notices.

TICKNOR & FIELDS, Publishers, 125 Washington street, Boston.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL. J. E. Tilton & Co. have issued Part I. of their attractive edition of "The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of the President, and the Attempt to Overthrow the Government by the Assassination of its Officers; Edited, with an introduction, by Ben. Perley Poore." It is printed in large clear type on white paper, and presents the testimony with questions and answers in full. It is beyond all question the best form in which the details of this noted trial have been given to the public. The enterprise of the publishers is worthy of the most liberal patronage.

ERRATUM. In the report of the proceedings of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, published in our last number, the name of Mr. Ezekiel Thatcher, of Yarmouthport, was erroneously printed for Rev. Moses Thatcher, of Peru, New York, who was one of the twelve persons who, on the 1st of January, 1852, organized the New England (now the Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society in Boston, and who has been stout and valiant in the good cause from that day to this. He was the author of the first address published by that Society, and no better one has since followed it.

Brigadier General Wild, of Massachusetts, has been assigned to duty under General Howard, of the Refugee and Freedmen's Bureau, and will be put in charge of the State of Georgia, with orders to report to General Saxton.

FROM THE LATE EDITORS OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

To the Editor of the Liberator: At the recent Annual Meeting of the American A. S. Society in New York, the following Resolution was offered by Mr. Samuel May, Jr.:

"Resolved, That this Society regards it as a duty, as it is its pleasure, to acknowledge the eminent ability and moral fidelity with which its organ, the National Anti-Slavery Standard, has been conducted from the first, and at every period of its existence for the term of twenty-five full years; especially does the Society at this time contemplate with satisfaction and approval the wise forecast, just discrimination, faithful criticism, the generous appreciation of every advance in favor of freedom made by the American government and people, which have characterized the paper during the eventful and perilous four years of the war; and, in taking leave of its retiring Editors, the Society tenders to them the assurance of its sincerest respect and hearty gratitude."

This resolution was referred, on motion of Mr. Stephen S. Foster, to the persons elected as the Executive Committee, after the refusal of yourself and a majority of the late Committee to serve in that capacity. This motion was carried by a majority of one, under a misapprehension of its meaning, as we have endeavored to know, of some, and, as we believe, of many, who voted for it. The following substitute was sent to us on the part of those ladies and gentlemen, a few days afterwards—

"Voted, unanimately, That the Corresponding Secretary be requested to express to Messrs. Oliver Johnson and Edmund Quincy, late Editors of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, our grateful sense of their long service to the cause in that capacity, and of the eminent ability and devotedness with which it has been rendered; and that the cause this minute to be published in the National Anti-Slavery Standard."

This resolution we severally returned to the parties from whom it proceeded through Mr. Whipple, who had communicated it to us, for the reasons contained in the subjoined letters. Here we supposed the matter would end. But as they have seen fit to publish the resolution in the Standard without our letters, we ask the favor of you to print them, that there may be no misunderstanding as to our position and our opinion of the whole matter. E. Q. June 17, 1865.

DEDDHAM, May 27, 1865.

C. K. WHIPPLE, Esq.: My DEAR MR. WHIPPLE—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th instant, covering a Resolution purporting to have been unanimously passed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, expressing its "grateful sense of the long service of Mr. Johnson and myself as Editors of the National Anti-Slavery Standard," and of "the eminent ability and devotedness with which it has been rendered." This Resolution I beg leave respectfully to return to you, for the following reasons:—

1. While I should place a due value on the individual good opinion of most of the ladies and gentlemen, in whose behalf you write, you and they must pardon me if I say that I put none, whatever on any they may express in the corporate capacity in which they profess to act. Regarding as I do the existence of an Anti-Slavery Society at this time as not merely an anachronism and an absurdity, but as an impossibility, I must regard the ladies and gentlemen in question, officially, as Non-existent, and the Society they profess to represent as a Nonentity. Holding these views, I cannot consent, by accepting this Resolution, at once to deny them and to stultify myself.

2. But, secondly, I could not consent, under any circumstances, to accept this Resolution as a substitute for the one offered at the Annual Meeting, and referred to the Executive Committee by a majority of one, in ignorance, I am sure, of the fact that that reference was intended as a virtual rejection and a tacit censure of the Editors of the Standard. I did not expect nor desire any formal expression by the Society of its approval of my conduct as Editor; but so cordial and discriminating a tribute having been proposed, I cannot regard the proffered substitute as worth my acceptance. I cannot, indeed, understand how it is that even this modified mode of praise should be unanimously awarded by those ladies and gentlemen, if all or any of them hold the opinions as to the editorial conduct of the Standard expressed by one of their number, (Mr. Phillips,) in his speech at New York on the second day of the Annual Meeting, of which the following is an extract:—

"My friend says all the loyal papers talk as well as the Standard. They have done so for two years, and that is my complaint. As the organ of the Executive Committee, I originally instructed that paper to announce such truths as illustrate and exemplify the principle of non-resistance; I never instructed it to stand on the level of the Republican party. Now my charge against the Standard, which has no tinge of personal bitterness whatever, is, that when the community were ready for the general idea of emancipation by the war power, the Standard was—but it was nothing more. I went about, and tried to buy out the President into the Proclamation of Emancipation. After a while, the Standard advocated it. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base, and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. The Standard said where it was. It was some time before it took ground in favor of the Amendment of the Constitution. Well, when the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the Nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it—sufrage, and the cry of the right to the suffrage was raised. Now, I claim that the duty of the Standard was, all this while, to have kept in the face of the Nation, and not to advocate what four men out of five or seven men out of ten were ready for."

To these charges, urged with an audacity of statement and an unscrupulousness of assertion truly amazing, Mr. Johnson has interposed a flat denial in general and in particular, and defies the proof. If they have the slightest foundation in fact, instead of deserving the faintest praise, we should merit the severest and most unqualified denunciation. I forbear to comment on the painful display of morbid egotism and diseased vanity which this passage contains. It would be laughable were it not so sad.

I speak only for myself, having had no opportunity for consultation with Mr. Johnson. He will answer for himself. Should the Resolution I return be published in the Standard, according to its terms, I ask that this letter be also printed.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to yourself, personally, the assurance of the respect and esteem with which— I am faithfully yours, EDMAUND QUINCY.

90 EAST 12TH ST., NEW YORK, May 29, 1865.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE: My DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter of the 25th inst., enclosing a copy of a vote, which you say was unanimously adopted on the previous day, by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, expressing its "grateful sense" of the "long service to the cause" of Mr. Quincy and myself as Editors of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and of the eminent ability and devotedness with which it was rendered, came to hand this day.

I were at liberty to regard this vote in the light of its terms alone, apart from the circumstances attending its passage and from the spirit and purposes of the body from which it emanates. I might accept it in silence if not with gratitude. But I am not at liberty so to regard it, and must, therefore, with entire respect for yourself personally, return it, through you, to the Executive Committee.

It does not comport with my notions of self-respect to accept praise of my "ability and devotedness" from that body so long as it implicitly sanctions, or even neglects to expose and condemn the false imputations cast upon Mr. Quincy and myself by its presiding officer, and recognized leader. That you may be at no loss to understand what I here refer to, I must cite the following extract from a speech made by Mr. Wendell Phillips at the recent annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society. [Extract as in Mr. Quincy's letter.]

I have already, in the most solemn and emphatic manner, pronounced the above statements of Mr. Phillips untrue. I now add that I cannot accept the praise, however flatteringly worded, of a body which implicitly sanctions them, not only in failing to rebuke their author, but in acknowledging him as its presiding officer and leader.

The resolution presented to the annual meeting by Mr. May was in part designed to afford the Editors of the Standard an opportunity to meet and refute the misrepresentations of Mr. Phillips; but that object was defeated by him and his partisans (including several members besides himself, of the Committee over which he presides,) who, shrinking from a discussion of the subject, adroitly contrived to smother the resolution by referring it to that Committee. And now, as an afterthought, and to shield themselves from the indignation which their conduct has excited in the breasts of Abolitionists, these same persons, acting with others whose sincerity I have no reason to doubt, pass a vote in which they affect to entertain a "grateful sense" of the "long service to the cause" of Mr. Quincy and myself, "and of the eminent ability and devotedness with which it has been rendered." I must be excused for declining praise which comes in so questionable a shape.

If the Committee on whose behalf you write were anything to the late Editors of the Standard, it is this, viz.: to vindicate them from the slanders of its Chairman. While this duty remains unperformed, no public and formal words of praise that it may utter can be acceptable to me. If Mr. Phillips's statements respecting the Standard are true—above all, if it be true, as he has again and again unqualifiedly affirmed, that the paper, as conducted by Mr. Quincy and myself during the last year, was "A FRAUD AND A DISGRACE UPON THE SOCIETY"—(and so fraudulent and disgraceful was it in his estimation that he would not discontinue a cent to its support, while he and his partisans refused to cooperate with the then Executive Committee in the usual measures for raising the funds by which alone it would be kept alive)—then we are not only unworthy of the commendation bestowed in the vote you send me, but, on the contrary, deserve to have been incontinently expelled from our editorial chair. I cannot suppose that you considered the subject in this light, or that you believe Mr. Phillips's charges to be true; but, certainly, those of the Committee who do believe them cannot be sincere in referring to Mr. Quincy and myself the tribute which you have sent me.

I respectfully request the publication of this letter in the Standard simultaneously with the vote to which it refers. Yours, cordially, OLIVER JOHNSON.

PRES. JOHNSON AND RE-CONSTRUCTION.

DEAR MR. GARRISON,—Undoubtedly, the question of the re-construction of the rebel and seceded States is not of inferior importance to any one which has been before the people since the war commenced; and, undoubtedly, the greatest danger attends a wrong decision and settlement of that question. Much anxiety has been expressed, and some severe criticisms indulged in, in relation to Mr. Johnson's so-called Plan of re-construction in North Carolina, Alabama, &c., and I will not deny that I have shared in that anxiety. But is not this the true view to be taken of President Johnson's course?

He knows that by the Constitution and established usage, each State in the Union has the right to fix and regulate the conditions of suffrage for itself. He will not undertake to override or obstruct that right. He will rejoice to have each of the seceded States determine its status for itself, if it will determine it. He accordingly recognizes the right by appointing a Provisional Governor, with authority to call a Convention of the people; in no other way interfering with that State's recognized conditions of suffrage in the election of the Convention, save to require the oath of loyalty. The Convention thus chosen is to proceed to form a State Constitution. That, as I understand it, is all that President Johnson has done thus far, in the matter of re-construction. He commits himself to nothing further. Of course he can commit Congress to nothing. Now, if these proffered repenting States have aught of a sincere purpose or of common sense in them, they will proceed to lay the axe at the root of their old social barbarisms, break down caste and aristocracy, ensure to labor full protection and just compensation, and give all men equal rights as citizens. If these States will undertake this work themselves, and give an honorable pledge to carry it out by making their Constitution and binding law cover these indispensable conditions, all will be right. Far better that they should establish the law and principle for themselves, if they will. President Johnson simply gives them the opportunity. And he and the nation wait to see how it will be used. That opportunity, too, will bring to the surface, and to the light, whatever evil designs for the future, they may yet be cherishing. They must declare themselves. On the contrary, if they purpose to put away their hostility to the Union, and their sectional and oppressive designs for the future, their action will show it.

The Constitution which each State forms will "tell the story,"—will show how they feel and what they mean. If they purpose justice, all right. If not, the President, the People, and Congress, will understand it; and nobody is bound to accept their action. The course taken by the President is eminently well calculated to bring the rebel States to book, to a full development of their present purposes and future designs. If their new Constitutions evince a still-continuing purpose of oppression, misuse, and hostility to Republican institutions, let such States remain under Provisional or Military Government, until the true light dawns upon them. I cannot doubt that such essentially will be the reply of Congress to any State presenting a Constitution excluding the freed people from citizenship and suffrage. And I believe such will be the working of the President's "plan of re-construction." Why not?

SAMUEL MAY, JR.

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The New York Evening Post publishes the following letter from Mr. Phillips, explaining his position on the question of reparation, and denying the damaging charge which has been circulating against him in the newspapers:—

BOSTON, June 14, 1865. To the Editors of the N. Y. Evening Post: I thank you heartily for the generosity with which you have treated me the last ten days. For your satisfaction—publish it or not, as you please—I submit this statement covering all I have ever said on the subject of reparation.

Half a dozen times, during the last two years, I have said that if the rebel States were reconstructed on the basis of white suffrage, their Representatives in Congress, allied with our Copperheads, would attempt to repudiate the whole national debt, unless their rebel debts were assumed by us; a statement no intelligent man will question.

On the 20th of last May, at the meeting of the Emancipation League, I stated that, in my opinion, the North Carolina plan of reconstruction was a fraud on the nation; that it would result in a party aiming to repudiate the national debt, which party, I believed, would gather into its ranks a large portion of the so-called democratic party, and that, if I had ever been a democrat, or had ever held such views as to national debts, I would never join such views.

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, held 31st day of last May, I said exactly what you have quoted from the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and no more, to wit: that I should hold myself at liberty, life-long, to advocate the repudiation of any rebel debt, no matter how secretly or formally assumed by any Congress containing rebel States reconstructed on a white basis. Some journals term this "trivial" and "a windmill." It may be so. But I gain, by this proclamation in advance, the right to repudiate, in all time hereafter, under all circumstances, such assumption of rebel debts. Whether the right of repudiation is right or not, time will show. I can wait its verdict. I trust the country will do its work so faithfully that I shall never need to exercise my right.

Respectfully and gratefully yours, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. 1111.

NEW YORK, June 14, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator: In spite of the theorem which the Hon. Geo. Smith attempted to maintain at the Cooper Institute a week ago, and which Messrs. Greeley, Chas. Bellows, O'Connor and Bercher, and Mayor Croker were equally solicitous should be discussed on an occasion, to wit: That the Government has no moral or legal right to try the rebels for treason—(and say, of this extraordinary position assumed by the authorities at Washington have laid their hands upon John Mitchell, sometime distributor of the peace in Ireland, after a corruptor of the morals in Georgia, later a surprising rebel through the entire career of the Confederacy, and finally a charge on which the arrest was made in a fairly recent ed to be of treason; and there seems to me no more to think that Mitchell is morally and legally in a position of the victorious North, and even to hope that he will meet the fate which is commonly reserved for traitors. Graft the cupidity of a Yankee upon the authority of an overseer, and there would be no man who has observed in the past, the most detestable of the rants that the land of slavery could brood. All the self-complacency (we will call it) of an individual, the impudence of a Southern aristocrat, and the sublime effrontery of Mitchell became both possible and actual. This alone could have sustained him in wheeling his editorial chair from Richmond to New York, with no more awkwardness, more assumption of impropriety, than a horse exchanges a harness for a juley pasture; though how he expected to be held where Ben. Wood had abandoned grazing was explained, if it can be, by those who cherish the Confederate loan at any figure, when there is no more as a shadow of the lender. The British press have been guilty—our friends and enemies alike—of knowing their historical parallels which are not parallel, and precedents for that which is unprecedented. In urging clemency to Jefferson Davis, they have held up the impunity of Mitchell and his fellow rebels in Ireland. The cases are not analogous, and the citation is unfortunate. If England is to give an asylum by becoming an asylum for Davis as this country has gained by protecting Mitchell, the tranquility of the realm is not likely to outlast the century. One would think the British public had tasted sufficiently of the quality of the common refugees from the Confederacy, without being anxious to import the essence of one, disorder, lawlessness and criminality. However, if England would promise to embrace John Mitchell, he might easily be induced to transport the vices of the aristocracy of that island can make amends for their past treatment of him by procuring him an annuity, a pension, or any other fit testimonial to transatlantic efforts in their behalf.

The Cooper Institute, which has helped me to a paragraph of this letter, shall furnish me with a word, which ought to antedate the former by one evening. I allude to the mass meeting of Wednesday the 14th, which was honored by the presence of Gen. Grant, but more by the reading and unanimous adoption of the following resolution among others:

Resolved, That we hold this truth to be evident, that to him with whom we can entrust the helm to save the life of the nation, we can give the suffrage; to preserve it; and we invoke the cooperation of the Federal States and State Governments, and the people throughout the Union, to use all lawful means to establish a system of suffrage, to which all shall be just and to all; black as well as white.

The professed object of this assembly was to have supporting President Johnson in his task of restoring the civil composure of the entire country. Several days have intervened, but the President has failed to acknowledge the self-evident truth above announced. Yesterday he set up Mississippi in exact conformity with the model of North Carolina, and there is a strong probability of his arraying every seceded State in the same manner, before the Congress convenes in December. This procedure has one advantage: it makes a show of reconstruction as an accomplished fact, and sends a phalanx of States to look for admission, where a single applicant would have been sure of a repulse. On the other hand, the system in its weakest part, and a palpable miscarriage of justice will be an argument against the whole. The soundness of Mr. Johnson's practice will be judged like the credibility of a witness—*quis in rebus in omnibus*; and I fancy that Congress, if it can detect one rotten pin among the number, will bow it off so effectually as to make a ten-strick.

The latest utterance, and perhaps the weightiest in advocating negro suffrage, is Senator Sherman's recent speech at Circleville, Ohio. The legislator, though sharing the conservative blood of his brother the General, is a far shrewder man and a better politician. He has presented the black man's case very fairly, and if his words are not heeded now in Washington, they will be echoed in the Capital in the winter, and meanwhile will produce an effect upon the Free States that may culminate, as in Connecticut, in an amendment of the several Constitutions which discriminate against color. It can scarcely be doubted that the Government would be much embarrassed, if its action be freed from great embarrassment, if the North, which sees the necessity of negro suffrage at the South, could demand it with clean hands, and in a not now. Still, I would not hold that justice to New York to be an excuse for permitting that State in South Carolina. The root of the whole difficulty I conceive to lie here—that we are a Republic without a definition. It is true we have an idea, but we have treated it as a glittering generality, and no robustness of all power. Who will undertake to interpret for the nation that "republican form of government" which the Union is bound to guarantee to its members? And yet the President pits forward this obligation as a warrant for galvanizing the conquered territory back into autonomy. Suppose—which is not too wide a field that he held the emancipation proclamation of Mr. Lincoln to be invalid; that in erecting the clause by now, for the first time in our history, and the sentimentality, he had referred to the times and the sentimentality of the framers of the Constitution: might he not, with good conscience, have said—This instrument, at its origin, declared by unavoidable implication that the very is no bar to a republican form of government; else had abolition been a test precedent to admission into, or even formation of, the Union. And according to Georgia was it less, nor Massachusetts necessarily republican. If I were not so much indebted to therefore, I could not go behind this record, and restoring the alienated States, it is no record of slavery if they choose to reestablish the institution of slavery. Happily, the President does not adopt this logic, though I cannot see why he might not have done so, or who would venture to correct and oppose him. A parently he defines for himself a republican form of government so far as to exclude from it the existence of slavery. What hinders a property qualification New York, which imposes a property qualification upon the colored elector? True, these States have erate him on any condition; like Vermont and Massachusetts, but also like Kentucky and Tennessee. Can the President create a better State than Kentucky, and no better than Ohio or New York? Who would his authority for stopping short of the best possible a republic, to repeat an inferior? If we would not have endured a restoration of slavery to a republican form in '89 it was not repugnant to a republican form of government, how can we be indifferent to a similar yet still genuine type of anti-republicanism?

The clause in question has either a meaning, or it has none. We want in either case a definition, or interpretation or by amendment. Wherever we go, there is an end of caste at the North and at the South.

Poetry.

THE JAGUAR HUNT.

By J. T. THORNTON.

The dark jaguar was abroad in the land; His strength and his ferocity what foe could withstand? The leopards of his anger was hot on the air, And the white lamb of Peace he had dragged to his lair.

The Liberator.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES,

BY AUGUSTE LAUGEL.

The question of reconnoissance, or, as they call it in the United States, the reconstruction of the Southern States reconquered by the Federal arms, preoccupied Mr. Lincoln from the very beginning of the war.

country from a war with European powers while it was torn by civil war. In spite of much provocation, he never employed, with respect to these powers, any but the most kindly and cautious expressions.

walked slowly, lost in thought, like a tall phantom. I was struck with the pensive, suffering expression of his face. Agitation, anxiety, emotion, had slowly bowed and at length broken that strong rustic frame, had worn out the giant's nerves of steel.

affect not to feel them? Yet, as every one knows, he granted to General Johnston a capitulation as honorable as General Lee had obtained of his predecessor.

MASON AND SHELLETT. We hear but little of the rebel commissioners in Europe. The London to them— I happened the other day to meet Mr. Mason, the late so-called rebel commissioner here, at a friend's house, where he called for the purpose, as I believe, of trying to get some business matters arranged.

THREE WORDS OF STRENGTH. There are three reasons I would write— Three words to us with a burning pen.

THE SURRENDER OF THE REBELS IN FLORIDA. A letter from the Cincinnati Commercial from Major, Gen. Sherman, who has just returned from Florida, contains the following particulars.

LETTER FROM AN OLD SUBSCRIBER. MONKTON, (Vt.) June 9, 1865. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON: DEAR FRIEND,—Enclosed are three dollars to pay (2/60) for the remaining numbers of the Liberator that may remain unpaid of the current volume.

ALPHABETICAL RECORD OF THE REBELLION. An exchange publishes the following: A—Stands for Andersonville—the ghastly monument of the most revolting outrage of the war.

FARM FOR SALE FRANKLIN, MASS. Containing thirty-five acres of tillage and pasture, including eight acres of wood-land. Also, barn, and carriage-house, all in excellent order.

GAS FIXTURES. THE undersigned beg leave to inform his friends and the public, that (owing to ill health) he has been obliged to leave his situation at Messrs. H. L. Shreve & Co's, now Messrs. Shreve, Stanswood & Co's, where he has been employed for the last twenty years, the work being too heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared to do all manner of