

Selections.

THE NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

Nobody can take up an American newspaper without seeing that the United States have just emerged from one great strife, they are about to enter another.
The weapons, indeed, which will be used in the second warfare will be of a different kind from those used in the great conflict that has just terminated, but the cause is nearly the same, and we expect the history will not altogether differ. If after a long and arduous struggle, we are to be called upon to appeal from the ballot to the ballot, they appear more from the ballot to the ballot, their fight will still be about the everlasting negro, and the end will probably be that the said everlasting negro will gain fuller and more complete citizenship than even the most enthusiastic abolitionist would have thought a wise course upon him at the outset of the recent war. Indeed, it is clear that the Nemesis of slavery will pursue the United States with her terrible vengeance until the last remnant of the great iniquity has been blotted out; that she will allow them not only to have taken the wretched creatures they reared to oppress, and adopted them as their own children; that she will force them to drink to the dregs the bitter cup they prepared for this unhappy race, and to welcome as friends those they had deemed to a fate of everlasting bondage. America has revolved on her own head with fearful vengeance. Four years the slavery that blackened her visage in the eyes of the world was like a festering sore in her own body, distracting her with fearful throes which perpetually threatened her with dissolution, making brother to brother bitterer than a worm, and increasing yearly the meanness of her action and the perplexities of her straits, driving the South to violence which shocked civilization and the North to cowardly concessions which deprived her of all respect in the eyes of her best citizens and of the rest of the world. Then came the conspiracy of the North, and she refused to give way before the demands of a momentary expediency; she stood firm, and her despotic supremacy disputed, determined to stand, and the bloody rebellion which has just been brought to a close was treacherously instigated. And so for four cruel years brother was against brother on the field of battle, and so and so every drop of blood drawn with the lash was repaid by another drawn with the sword, did the fearful stream of civil slaughter cease to flow. But still the wrong is not fully atoned for. The fearful stream of blood, and another great struggle upon the same question of negro rights seems almost inevitable.
The features and nature of the present struggle are, indeed, very different. The mere statement of the case shows how prodigious an advance has been made, and proves to a demonstration the benefits that have accrued to the negro race from this war, which, according to some high authorities, was to end in their extermination. It is no longer a question as to whether they are to be held in bondage or allowed to recover their liberty, it is not even a question as to whether they are to be permitted the protection of the law like free citizens, but it is as to whether they are to be put on an equal footing with the white citizens by being admitted to the privileges of the ballot-box. These people whom a few years ago we were told by Southern planters, backed by British philosophers of the Carlton Club, to regard as a sort of half-humanized beings, sufficiently advanced in the transforming process of nature to articulate sounds, but incapable of forming reasonable opinions or exercising rational self-control, are now adjudged by a large part of the inhabitants of America, including a vast majority of the citizens of Connecticut, quite capable not only of governing their own actions, but of taking part in determining the government of the country in which they have been brought out. Surely strange things have come to pass in the land, and the war which has passed like a fire over the country must have withered up a vast number of old prejudices, and recast a vast number of old speculations and ideas, before such a proposition could even be named without calling down a storm of contemptuous ridicule from all ranks and classes of people. Five years ago, what word could be more insulting than "Abolition" applied to anybody who inspired to take the most practical part in the management of public affairs? What taunt, so keen and so bitter, against any party in the State, that of being "nigger worshippers"? And now the leading abolitionists are some of them spoken of as conservatives, and the "nigger worshippers" of former days are many of them standing again at the lengths to which multitudes of their former persecutors are ready to go in the matter of the negro suffrage.
But however gratifying this question may be when viewed in comparison with the past, it is sufficient to draw our attention to the fact that the negro is now looked at in the light of the present. Nobody can deny that the negroes are low in intellectual powers, but because they have lacked a veritable education. Education has been denied them, and their lowest faculties have alone been developed by the cruel law of the lash. By every law of safety, there is one would think that they ought to be excluded from the political trust of the suffrage until some better security can be obtained for their intelligent exercise of such a privilege. Four million negroes exercising the suffrage would nullify the votes of five million white men, and thus, to a large extent, education and enlightenment would be reduced to nothing by ignorance and prejudice. The enfranchisement of those who could only use the right to their own injury would be the disfranchisement of multitudes of others who do not exercise it with intelligence and public advantage. Whatever our desire for the freedom and good treatment of the negro race, it is not this case in which we are bound to pause, and look seriously ahead, before committing ourselves to so vast and irrevocable a step as that which is now urged to take? Such is the language of many even of the friends of the negro, and no person who looks at the question with a British eye can fail to admit the cogency and force of the reasoning. Look at the case of an American eye, however, there is at least a good deal to be said on the other side; and without at all basing our arguments on the rights of man or the wisdom and justice of manhood suffrage, we think the case for admitting the negro to this privilege is much stronger than the case for excluding him. The American Constitution essentially differs from our own in this particular, that under it, not by express terms, but by almost universal practice, the right of voting is exactly continuous with the rights of citizenship. Every Irish or German emigrant who is naturalized in the United States has just as clear and indisputable a right to vote as the head of the oldest family in a wealthy firm in New York or Philadelphia. It may be wise or unwise. The "Know-nothing" party, for a short time obtained great influence during the presidency of Franklin Pierce, were

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

so convinced of its evils that they organized themselves on the express basis of excluding new emigrants from the right of voting. But the majority of enlightened and thinking men in America attach great importance to the preservation of this right in all its integrity, believing that while it is certainly attended with some evils, its effect is to make all new settlers in the country entertain at once the feelings of citizens, and so to encourage the emigration on which the development of the country so largely depends. The policy, therefore, of at once admitting all men of suitable age to the rights of the suffrage is thoroughly inwoven with all American ideas, inasmuch that it is almost impossible to think of citizenship or freedom without thinking also of the suffrage. Hitherto every conception of freedom has been associated with the right of voting, and every conception of exclusion from the right of voting has been associated with slavery. The exclusion of the negro must, therefore, always indicate social and personal inferiority—must always be a badge of disgrace and contumely—and must necessarily cease before the negro can in other respects enjoy the equality and rights of citizenship to which the North wishes him to be raised.
But besides this, the grand questions now in discussion in America mainly affect the negroes. All the legislation of the Southern States, and much of the legislation of the Federal Government, will in the future turn on matters connected with the treatment and position of the free black population. If justice should be denied them, much of the evil of slavery and much of the spirit which slavery engendered, much of the former sectional divisions and much of bitterness and hostility which those sectional divisions occasioned, are sure to survive, and to plague the country for years to come. If, on the other hand, the negro can secure fair treatment, a legislation as beneficial to him as to the white population, equality in the eye of the law, in the witness-box, and in all positions where he is called upon to be brought into competition, the fusion of all parts of the people into the Union will be complete and rapid. Now how is this great result to be secured while the negro is excluded from all share in determining these questions? Is it probable that the white people who have so long oppressed him will voluntarily do him the justice which he demands? When his own fate is chiefly at stake, it is not necessary, in order to secure him decent justice, that he himself should have a voice in its decision? Whatever may be his fitness to vote on matters of abstract politics, he has, even in the lowest depths of slavery, understood far better than British writers the true bearing of the great questions which have been debated at the polling booth and on the battle-field during the last ten years. In 1856, all the plantation lands in the South knew that the issue between Buchanan and Fremont was one of slavery-extension or slavery-restriction. Since 1861, all the horrible stories circulated by their masters as to the intention of the Yankees have not deceived them, and they have fled to the Northern camps whenever they had an opportunity. They will know, then, far better than the whites, the sound view to be taken on those social questions affecting their own welfare, which must for some time engage the principal attention of the State legislatures. After these are settled, indeed, we admit that their present knowledge would be inadequate to grapple with the new questions which are sure to arise. But will the negroes then be in their present low moral and mental condition? They know the advantages of education, and will take care to secure it, so that by the time other questions, in which their interests are less immediately concerned, and to which their knowledge less intimately applies, come up for the discussion of the State legislatures, they will probably be able to render as intelligent answers as the average of their white fellow-citizens. We believe, therefore, that the right of suffrage would be a boon, not only to the negro, but to all classes and colors in the United States.—*Leeds Mercury.*

GERRIT SMITH ON TREASON.
We have before us the speech of Hon. Gerrit Smith, recently delivered at the Cooper Institute, and published by the American News Company. It is entitled, "No Treason in Civil War." The opening sentence of Mr. Smith gives us a distinct idea of the ground assumed:
"The South, by plunging the nation into this horrid war, committed the great crime of the age. The North, under the persistent urgency of press and pulpit to punish the South for treason, is in danger of committing the same crime of the age."
This, as it seems to us, bears on the face of it an evidence of grave error. A great crime, the greatest crime of the age, has been committed; what follows? Our reasoning would be, a great crime has been committed, therefore it must be punished. Mr. Smith's reasoning is, a great crime has been committed, therefore it must not be punished. Davis committed the great crime of the age, in committing treason; we should commit a mean crime in punishing the treason. Strange conclusion from such a premise! Still, if it can be established that we have a "neither legal nor moral right to try the rebels for treason," let us accept it, and act accordingly.
The gist of Mr. Smith's argument appears to be this: That there are two codes of law, the civil code and the code of war; that when we want to punish the rebels, that having resorted to the war code, we can no longer avail ourselves of the civil code; that amongst other things we have established a blockade, which proves "beyond controversy that we consented to conduct the war according to the law of war"; that "our agreement thus to conduct the war was our waiver of all right, our surrender of all claim, to punish the South for treason," and that it was a "virtual agreement not to punish her for it."
We are said to have made "an agreement." When? Where? How? We have no knowledge of any such agreement; there must be a promise, something expressed; that when we want to punish the rebels we have ever made any such promise. All we have done to the rebels is to fight them. If fighting involves an agreement or promise to exercise no civil authority over the rebels, then we were certainly in a very bad case when the rebellion broke out—reduced to the alternative of either directly recognizing their independence, or of doing it indirectly by going to war. It will take very strong arguments to show us that, turn whichever way we might, we were under the necessity of conceding the principle of secession.
Renouncing civil laws, we are to govern ourselves by the laws of war. But what are the laws of war? Unfortunately, there is no such code in existence. For the convenience of neutral nations there are certain rules adopted in regard to belligerents, but which makes laws for the nations that are in conflict? There are no such laws. War is the absence of law. Force is the only law to which war appeals.

THE CONQUEROR DOES WHAT HE PLEASES.

The conqueror does what he pleases. If he decides to kill his captives, he does so. Where is the grand court of nations to step in and prevent such barbarism? The truth is that every nation makes its own rules of warfare. If ancient barbarities are discontinued, it is not from any force of laws, either real or imaginary, but simply from the pleasure of the conqueror, and from his clearer sense of justice induced by an improving Christian civilization. The idea that any law of war prevents the killing of Jeff. Davis is altogether untenable. We have entered into no promise, agreement or obligation whatever to spare his life, nor is there any law of nations that would afford him the slightest relief.
But, granting the existence of such a code of laws as is claimed, how would it affect the present case? Are the laws of war superior to the laws of Congress? Especially when war is over and peace resumes its sway, does this imaginary war code still exercise its annihilating power over our civil laws? Mr. Smith seems to take it for granted that persons cannot be amenable to both civil law and military law. Why not? Does it seem reasonable that Jeff. Davis had the power to wipe out the crime of treason by merely transforming himself into a public enemy? That he should cancel out the crime by plying in leaving war upon the United States; but according to this pamphlet, as soon as Davis becomes a belligerent, he is a traitor no longer.
The arguments and authorities given by Mr. Smith against a wholesale execution of the rebels have no force in the present case, because no one proposes any such wholesale execution. The saying of Burke, that he knew "no method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people," is only applicable to the masses that were drawn into the rebellion. The quotation from Locke, that "no one incurs the guilt of treason by adherence to a king or government," can only be urged in behalf of those who acted the rebellion after it was established. It cannot apply to the original conspirators. They are unquestionably traitors. As such, they must suffer the punishment of death, or at least so many of them as are necessary for an example. Otherwise, the acts of Congress become simply a farce, and our government a pitiable imbecility. In the present opposition to the capital punishment of Jefferson Davis, we see the germs of a future anarchy. We are amazed at the little reverence for law which we see everywhere among us. Let our President pardon the chief rebels, and send them to Europe to be lionized, and it will require but a few more generations to witness the restoration of monarchy upon our soil.—*American Baptist.*

EXPERIENCE OF A UNION SOLDIER IN A REBEL PRISON.
CAMBRIDGEPORT, June 25th, 1865.
Editors of Traveller:
So much has been said, and so often, concerning the murderous treatment of our prisoners during the late war, that it is almost an old story—but at the urgent solicitation of a few friends, I am induced to write a brief narrative of the scenes and sufferings through which we passed while prisoners of war at Salisbury, N. C. I was captured with 34 others of my regiment, the 38th, at the battle of Cedar Run, on the 19th of last October, which battle is still fresh in the memory of your readers, and especially Sheridan's famous ride—when he reached the scene of action, to turn a defeat into a victory. The rebels captured us that morning, some fifteen hundred men. After keeping us in the rear all day, and stripping our boys of almost everything, we fell in without rations, and marched to Staunton, Va., 93 miles, on one pint of flour. It was a forced march, and we were afraid our cavalry would recapture us. Arriving in Staunton, we found a train of cars waiting to carry us to Richmond.
Before leaving Staunton, they gave us four hard-tack a-piece, and then crowded us into box-cars like cattle. Each car was suitable for holding about thirty, but seventy were placed in each car. We reached Richmond on the 27th of October, and were first taken to Libby Prison, where we remained until we were again crowded into box-cars and started for Salisbury, N. C. This was the first of November. They told us that it would take three days to reach our destination, and gave each man one pound of corn bread and a small piece of magsoggy pork. We were delayed on the road, and had to lay over at Greensboro', N. C. They kept us in an open lot all night under a cold November rain storm, with nothing but the canopy of heaven for a covering.
But little did we know what was awaiting us next. We reached Salisbury on the evening of the 4th of November, and were crowded into a building which they called "the mill," and passed another such night as we did at Greensboro'. We did not get anything to eat until 9 o'clock the next evening—five days from the time we left Richmond, on one pound of corn bread. After being at Salisbury two days, they brought us in some old smoky tents, each one suitable to hold eight, but thirty were the number counted off to occupy them. We were counted off in divisions, a thousand in each division—ours was the ninth—making nine thousand men in all. Our daily allowance was a half pound of corn-cake bread, baked in a pan, and some days we would get nothing but without salt; and some days we would get nothing but a half pint of what they termed rice soup, but what the boys called slops. Those that had the strength dug holes in the ground to keep from freezing. The average number of deaths each day was about 40.
I have seen men in the months of December and January without shoes or stockings, with frozen feet, standing on the hospital steps, with tears in their eyes, and hollow cheeks and emaciated frames, but a chance to go in and die. Out of the ten thousand persons confined, not more than one quarter were under cover. Some would crawl in under the hospital buildings only to die. Men would die recklessly. One young man was asked if he had any message to send home; his only reply was, "Tell my mother I hope I will meet her in heaven." Others would say, "I do not fear to meet death; I have faced it too often on the battle-field; but what will become of my wife and little ones?" In the middle of last December, while Gen. Warren was marching toward Danville, it was reported in the prison that his cavalry had cut within 40 miles of Salisbury, and were then checked. The same afternoon we attempted a break, making for the big gate which led into the town, but they opened on us with grape and canister, killing and wounding about forty; and the attempt proved unsuccessful.
Two of my comrades (Joseph Randall and Corporal James C. Osborne, of Abington) and myself dug a hole in the ground, but Corporal Osborne was taken sick a Monday, and died along side of me on the following Friday night. Only the day before we had a snow storm, and we were under the impression that we would not get paroled. Groups would get together, and talk of exchange—while others, pointing to the dead

THE COUNT DE PARIS ON THE DEATH OF MR. LINCOLN.

The Boston Transcript publishes the following letter from the Count de Paris, addressed to Senator Sumner:
"Twickendam, May 5, 1865.
DEAR SIR: You stood by the death-bed of the good and noble-hearted man who was torn from the love and confidence of a great nation on the fatal night of the 14th of April; you received the last breath of one on whom all the friends of America, looked as the worthy representative of her free institutions. You will, therefore, understand that at reading the sad particulars of that horrible tragedy, I should feel anxious to console you by deep emotion and my bitter grief. I should not have presumed to add my voice to the unanimous expressions of sympathy offered by Europe to your fellow-citizen, if my personal relations with Mr. Lincoln, which henceforth will remain among the most precious recollections of my youth, had not added something in my eyes to the magnitude of that public calamity. My brother and myself will both always gratefully remember the way in which he admitted us four years ago into the federal army, the opportunity he then gave us to serve a cause to which we already felt bound by our family traditions, our sympathies as Frenchmen and our political creed.
Those who saw Mr. Lincoln during the great ordeal when everything seemed to conspire against the salvation of the republic, will never forget the honest man who, without personal ambition, always supported by a strong perception of his duties, deserved to be called emphatically a great citizen. And when the dreadful crisis during which he presided over the destinies of America will belong to history, when his bloody track will disappear under the rapid growth of an invigorated nation and a regenerated community, people will only remember its beneficial results, the destruction of slavery, the preservation of free institutions, and will ever associate with the name of Mr. Lincoln, in this struggle with slavery, his name will remain illustrious among those of the indefatigable apostles who fought before him, and who will achieve his work. But it will also be said of him that he secured the preservation of the Union through a tremendous civil war, without ceasing to respect the authority of the law and the liberty of his fellow-citizens; that in the hour of trial he was the Chief Magistrate of a people who knew how to seek in the fullest use of the broadest liberties the spring of national endurance and energy.
I beg you, sir, to excuse the length of this letter; you know that it is inspired by the feelings of my heart.
Believe me, my dear sir, yours very truly,
LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.
To Hon. Charles Sumner, Senator U. S."

WHOSE TURN IS IT NOW TO "CONCILIATE?"
We find in the Green Bay Advertiser—an article on "Conciliation," written in the best style of its accomplished editor.
It recites the fact that we have been for some generations "conciliating" a few families of chivalry at the South, and that these acts of good nature on our part were taken as marks of poltroonery and weakness, and incited them to further acts of arrogance, and to more importunate demands. With some of these we could not comply, and so they judged from our previous patience, which they called cowardice, that we would remain passive, and they undertook to destroy us as a nation—to humiliate us—to establish their supremacy as a race.
This they failed to do. It turned out that they are the worst whipping bullocks that ever kicked up a row with peace-loving people. But they have lost little of their arrogance. They were defeated and acknowledged weakness, they were silky and obstinate; in their seamy attire and threadbare finery, they still try to strut about with their old pride; they are stubborn and insolent. And in their behalf, still unchastened in their adversity, and learning no wisdom from experience, there are some self-hardened bachelors and some ambitious demagogues who are resorting to the same old talk about "conciliation." The Advertiser's indignation is justly roused, and it says—
"If there is to be more 'conciliation,' we ask, in the name of all that is decent, whose turn is it to be conciliated? A North which has been broken in upon while minding its own business, obeying the laws, and honoring the name of the country; a North which has had to stop the wheel of the mill, the plough in the furrow, and the engine on the track, while it should send its sons to resist these enemies of industry and order. If there is anger to be appeased, if there are wounds to be healed, if there is good will to be courted, where is the field for it but right here at home? The South never sustained a wrong at the hands of the North. How is it on the other side? Where are our multitudes of brave men, who ought to be with us today? Where are the millions and millions of treasure gone, to repay which we must devote a lifetime of labor, we and our sons, and sons' sons? Have we nothing to be aggrieved over, but are we rather to enter upon the task of conciliating those who brought this trouble upon us?"
And so say we. We would not treat them with malice and anger. We would not deal with unmerited harshness concerning them; we would not sting them with reproaches. Neither would we now be lachrymose and pitiful. We would treat them with cool, dispassionate and even-handed justice. We would consider what was best for the government; and, if wise policy would be served by abating some penalties for crime, we would do it; but we would do it on that ground alone, not as a mercy to criminals. Without spleen or hate, or any consideration but the righteous administration of law, and the good of the country whose existence we have preserved from the destruction they aimed towards it, we would try, and acquit or convict, according to the facts, and punish or pardon according to their guilt, their temptation, and the measure, if any, of their repentance. But we would not yield from weakness a hair's breadth for the sake of "conciliation," or because their wishes, their untempered pride, or their threats merited a moment's consideration.—*Capital.*

SUMMER FRIENDS.

If the advice which British statesmen are now lavishing on our government were carefully considered, we should be in a fair way of paying the national debt. The magnificent patronage which your real high-sounding Englishmen now extend to us is already quite without parallel, and threatens to become still more intense and aggressive. Lord Brougham, who suffered no grass to grow under his ancient feet while he hastened to lay all his sympathies on the confederate altar a few years ago, and who found no opportunity in the interval to speak a fair or a just word for our cause, now offers his advice in the following patronizing style:
"If his voice could reach across the Atlantic, it would tell our kinsmen that their best friends, those who have been their advocates through good report and through bad report, now pray and beseech them to use the victory which, by great courage, great perseverance, and no little military skill, they have gained, in mercy as well as in justice."
If there were occasion for anxiety lest the quality of mercy should be "strained" in our dealing with the rebels, the advice of the garrulous Lord Brougham would be shorn of its proper influence by the fact that his fair speech only came with fair weather. While the war lasted, few men talked upon American affairs so often or so long,—for he is the most garrulous of men,—and no man was so uniformly partial and unjust both in his statement of facts and of the issues wrapped up in the name of the fact. His assumption to speak in the name of our "best friends" of America is a specimen of pure British arrogance. Lord Derby, the great Tory leader, and another of those eminent men whose counsel and influence were shared with the secessionists abroad, and tended to prolong the struggle, as much as the influence of a foreigner could. He also has a word to offer:
"It may not be out of the way that I should express a hope, entertained not only by myself, but by the noble earl opposite, not only by this house, but by the country at large, and by the whole civilized world, that the party which has achieved so signal a victory will follow a course not dictated by revenge or vindictiveness, but that they will endeavor to cooperate the feelings of their former antagonists, which have been already too much embittered; but will endeavor by deeds of conciliation and of mercy to re-convert, if possible, a Union so nearly dissolved; and that they will consent to treat those whom the fort of war have placed at their disposal, not as rebel subjects, but as vanquished, though not dishonored, enemies."
To re-convert, if possible, a Union so nearly dissolved, and to try to save us from exposure to high winds and the night air. If the wedges of British prejudice and hatred, wrought in tory forges, and placed at the disposal of any pirate or traitor who called for them, could have parted the Union helplessly, there would have been no republican government to-day to be mocked by the pretentious sympathy of those who were his bitterest enemies. The place for men like Derby and Brougham, when the war was over, was in the dust, with Punch, whose penance after the assassination was an example for all falsifiers:
"You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh, judging each step as though the way were plain, heedless, so it could point its paragraphs to the eye of chief perplexity, or people's pain.
Beside this corpse, that bears for winding sheet, The stars and stripes he lived to read anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet, Say, scurril, jester, is there room for you?
Yes, he that lived to shame me by my sneer,
To lance my pencil, and confute my pen—
To make some of this kind of prince poor,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men."
—*Worcester-Spy.*

THE ANTI-NIGGER PARTY.
A considerable number of people, especially in the South, ex-rebels and their friends, seem bent upon attempting to pacificate the country and restore the government upon the basis of contempt, hatred, and malignant persecution of the negro. By such persons it is considered meritorious to speak of the "nigger" in terms of contempt, disgust, or enmity, and quite ludicrous to talk about his rights, now that the war is over. In the South the negroes are chiefly rebeld, not yet purged of their treason, and they are entering upon a systematic course of robbing, cheating, abusing and harassing the negroes, because they have been made free by the war. Being too lazy to work themselves, these mean scoundrels seek revenge upon the poor negro, whose freedom imposes upon them the necessity of earning their own living. As the mass of the Southern whites have always been taken care of by the negro, without pay, they are naturally enraged at the success of emancipation, and vent their spleen on those who are least responsible for this result. The negro-hating party is rapidly exhibiting its propensities and its characteristics, and we venture to predict that it will be the meanest party, the most perfidious, and the most cruel, that ever disgraced American politics. The old pro-slavery party had the merit of being, so far as the slave masters at least were concerned, interested to preserve the good will of the negro and therefore to promote his welfare; but a party confessedly based upon an unreasonable prejudice, and not upon a principle, either political or moral—based upon contempt for a great mass of God's children—and going forth to poison a community with rank hatred of those who are weak and despised, is too unutterably degraded to be countenanced by intelligent and virtuous people. But such is the "anti-nigger" party. A party which holds that the negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect. A party which considers it much more important for a man to be white in his skin than to be loyal in his opinions and conduct; and which welcomes to its embrace with great joy the mean white man who for four years has endeavored to destroy the American government, and kicks and curses the black man who has been loyal and true to the Union and the flag throughout the contest. Perhaps the American Government could settle down in peace and honor upon this basis, but we rather think not. Injustice, prejudice, meanness and cruelty, are not the best foundations for a government, and we do not believe that the American people, after sustaining so grandly our noble four years' war, are going to subside into an ignoble or contemptible mood.—*Salem Observer.*

DEDICATION OF THE STATUE OF HORACE MANN.

We give below the speeches made at the dedication of the Statue of Horace Mann, in the State House Yard, Boston, on the morning of July 4th, 1865:—
SPEECH OF DR. SAMUEL G. HOWE.
Friends and Fellow Citizens: The instincts of mankind in all ages have led men to erect monuments of some kind to perpetuate the memory of those individuals who manifested in any striking degree qualities which were held in high esteem in their days. Savages raise a pile of stones over the bodies of their strongest and greatest warriors; barbarians erect monuments to the great conquerors; some civilized people erect statues to great generals; democracies raise statues to great orators; aristocracies to kings and rulers. Given the monuments of any people or any set of men, and you may know the character of the people or men.
In all ages the highest arts have been called upon to celebrate and perpetuate on canvas, in marble or bronze, the virtues and excellencies of those whom the people hold in high esteem. Hitherto, for the most part, these honors have been monopolized by the great fighters, by the great warriors, or by the great talkers. We, to-day, dedicate a monument to the memory of a man whose great qualities consisted in his innate goodness and his capacity for improvement, and in his burning zeal to elevate and to improve his fellow-men. He loved the people, he lived for and labored for the people, he died for the people, inasmuch as his premature death was brought on by over zeal and over work in the cause of the education of the people. Fellow-citizens, it is proper that such a State as Massachusetts should rear a monument to such a man, for it is alike the proof of his greatness and goodness, and of their virtue and intelligence. And the people of Massachusetts have done it; for the means for erecting the statue were given by the people, and the schoolmaster who gave their poverty. Their schoolmaster who could spare but a dollar, and the schoolmistress who could spare but fifty cents, and the little boys and girls who could give but a dime, have all contributed to this work; and the State of Massachusetts herself, as if to stamp her approval upon it, by the vote of the Legislature contributed money to build the pedestal. The work itself has been done by a woman, by a woman of genius and art, and by a woman who was inspired by the nobleness of her subject, and whose cunning hand has wrought out in bronze the monument which we now unveil to you—the statue of Horace Mann.
Applause greeted the unveiling of the statue to the multitude, attended also by music from the band. Maggie P. Walker, a little daughter of James P. Walker, ascended the platform, and placed a wreath of laurel upon the head of the statue, eliciting renewed enthusiasm. After instrumental and vocal music, prayer was then offered by Rev. Dr. R. C. Waterston. His Excellency the Governor was then introduced, and received with applause. He addressed the assembly as follows:—
SPEECH OF GOV. ANDREW.
On the 17th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, we dedicated on the banks of the Merrimack a votive column, reared to the memory of those who fell as the first martyrs in the great rebellion. To-day, the 4th of July, near the shore of the bay of Massachusetts, we inaugurate this statue of enduring bronze to preserve in memory, and to hand down to the generations, the form and features of a sage, whose life helped to make the American States a free nation, and whose death was the triumph of liberty and manhood, of which the demonstrations signifying this anniversary are a joyful and continental celebration.
They were young, and bore the weapons of war when they fell. He was mature in age, and knew no weapon but his voice and pen. They obeyed their country, and marched the moment they heard their call. He was elected from his early manhood to his high vocation, when at his graduation from College he discoursed on "The Progressive Character of the Human Race." There was a brief, sharp conflict. His were the struggle and the toil of many manly years. Worn out by excessive devotion to his work, he died not less than they were slain in the fight—meantime the vision of man to have died before his time.
In May, 1796, HORACE MANN was born, a native of Massachusetts. Graduated at Brown University in Rhode Island, where he was afterwards a tutor of Latin and Greek, he became in 1823 a member of the bar of Norfolk. The next year, 61 years ago this day, he delivered at Dedham an Oration commemorative of American independence. Three years after that, he was chosen to represent the town of Dedham in the General Court of the Commonwealth. In 1826 his wife died, leaving the young man, having been elected a Senator from Suffolk, where he had removed his residence, and become a citizen of Boston.
It was in his chair as the presiding officer of the Senate that I first saw this truly eminent and most impressive person, who, though already ripe in age, mature in thought, and of much experience in affairs, had then scarcely laid the visible foundation of his subsequent great and enduring fame. It was one year later that when he became Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. And in that new position which he created, rather than filled, his race, by a rare genius for a work in which he could become the benefactor of mankind, to lasting and acknowledged greatness. He proved how lofty thought, how grand ideas, exact and precise learning, combined with poetic conception, with careful and solemn elaboration of the humblest details, and with energy and undying faith, could be united and made visibly manifest in the life of a single man.
It is hardly too much to affirm that the eleven years of his service, as the head of the system of popular education in Massachusetts, lifted the cause itself into a prominence and value in the public thought not known before, and that it was his system itself, and then far until this hour has been held up to all other men their sufficient task in trying to hold up the standard he reared almost alone.
The death of John Quincy Adams, in his place in Congress, turned the people toward Horace Mann for his successor. He obeyed their call. In 1848 he ascended the steps of the Capitol, to wear the mantle of that wonderful old man, who, after his own public career had apparently ended, had contributed more to the lasting fame of Massachusetts and to American liberty than had been done by all his cotemporaries in the public service from his native Commonwealth, or on the stump, in the court-room when he defended Drayton and Sayers under a ferocious slave code. Horace Mann may be truly declared to have achieved, by means of his marvellous dialectics, his absolute devotion, his endurance of labor, his ingenious and fertile versatility of intellect, all that could have been expected of a person whom

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

ASPIRING.

BY KATE CARLENE.

"O diamond bliss, whose rays down-people
From dark-blue depths afar,
Could love and worship ever turn
A heart-choil to a star?"

"SIO SEMPER TYRANNIS."

[The following beautiful lines were recited by Miss Liza
Dorcas, at the close of a recent lecture in Boston,
upon the life and character of the late President Lincoln,

"Sic Semper Tyrannis!" O sentence of might,
When pronounced in the service of Freedom and Right!
Yet how false is its meaning to true hearts and brave,
When it falls from the lips of the coward and knave!

THE FREEDMAN'S SONG.

De Lord He make us free indeed
In His own time an' way;
We plant de rice and cotton seed,
An' see de sprout some day;

De Norf is on de side of right,
An' 'foll de man, dey say;
An' dere, when poor man work, at night
He sure to get his pay;

De man's 'come back from his tramp,
'Cause he is broken quite;
He takes de basket to de camp
For rations every night;

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The slave called not in vain,
Thou didst not lose his chain;
And bid him rise,
Four millions now made free,

COURAGE!

Keeping the Right and True,
Let the world say to you
Worst that it can;
Answer despite the blame,

The Liberator.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION AT FRAMINGHAM, JULY 4th, 1865.

The fourth of July, this year, was everything that

could be desired in point of weather. The sun rose
clear and bright, and a pleasant breeze cooled the air.
A large number of persons left Boston in the special
train engaged for the trip to Framingham, and many
joined them at the several stations on the way.

Mr. Sargent read a letter of fraternal greeting from
Rev. G. W. STACY of Milford; after which, WIL-
LIAM WELLS BROWN was introduced to the audience.

Mr. Brown spoke of the policy of the government in
putting into office those who so recently were promi-
nent in the rebellion. He said the rebellion has
closed too soon, or we have the wrong man in the
Presidential chair. The great millennium we hoped
to have is not with us. Mr. Brown had hoped that
President Johnson would have finished the work
which Mr. Lincoln had begun, but he is installing in
power the very men who were prominent in the re-
bellion. The President said to the colored people—

"Go to Congress"—but he seems determined to put
those who have been rebels in power, so as to get the
start of Congress. He has put at least one man in
power who cannot, by a strict construction of the law,
take the oath of office. Mr. Brown feared we are to
be cheated out of what we have been promised, and
what the brave men have been fighting for. If the
South is to be in the Union, it should not have gone
into the hands of the very men who have been rebel-
ling against the Union.

One of the charges against the South has been that
she has been ruled by the minority. President John-
son calls upon that minority to rule now. He leaves
the negro, who has been fighting, "out in the cold."
The prospect is, that the black man is to be ground
to powder. The preponderating element in the South
is the black element, but that element is left out en-
tirely from political action. Mr. Brown feared that
negro suffrage in the South was now an impossibility.
It is darker to-day than a year ago. We have been
fighting for almost nothing. A new form of slavery
is being inaugurated, for the "wages" of the best of
the freedmen are but five or seven dollars a month.
The employed have no right to choose their employ-
ers. The black man has only been taken from the
frying-pan into the fire. The government has broken
its faith with the black man, for the negro soldier
was promised protection, but he is not protected.
He is left at the mercy of the tyrants of the South.
Mr. Brown feared the black man's condition would
be worse than when he was in slavery. "Gov."
Holden says the blacks are not fit for the suffrage,
but he has not tried giving them the suffrage. Mr.
Brown hoped his anticipations of the future would
be realized, and that the freedman would be so
secure as that we might rejoice that the rebellion had
been. If there were ever a time when Abolitionists
should be on the alert, it is now. All will depend on
the work that shall be done before the next Congress
meets. The President has shown that only Congress
can save us. He has shown his predilection in favor
of the South. The policy of the government shows
its determination to keep the black man down. But
he cannot be put back into slavery without a struggle
on his part. Two hundred thousand black men under
arms will give the South some trouble. (Cheers.)
If the government fail to protect the black man, we
shall have St. Domingo over again. (Cheers.) Mr.
Brown said that if such a time should come, he would
go down South, and help accomplish the good work.
(Cheers.)

The next speaker was CHARLES W. SLACK, Esq.,
Mr. Slack did not feel surprised that Mr. Brown had
some misgivings at the prospect of the times. No
man can be uninterested in these times. There are
many things in the record of President Johnson, for
the last few months, to make us sad. Men have
been appointed to the government of the South who
have been prominent in the rebellion, and we have
seen the advice of the Anti-Slavery element rejected,
discarded and unrecognized. The President has
pardoned man after man who had no excuse for the
crime of treason. Yet, for all that is said, there is
something of hope. Andrew Johnson is one of the
poor white men of the South. (Cheers.) He has no
sympathy with the ruling interest of former times.
No one would be more condemned and despised than
he by the former ruling influence of the South. Pres.
Johnson, in reorganizing South Carolina, has left out
the provision in regard to voting which he establish-
ed in the other States. That is something for which
to take courage. We have the declaration, made
often and frankly to those who have called on the
President, that they cannot be more in earnest than he
in regard to this matter. Some will say, words are
good, acts are better. But the last four years have
taught us charity. We had Abraham Lincoln for
four years, and we know how sad were our hearts at
times. Mr. Slack had faith yet in Andrew Johnson.
(Cheers.) He was satisfied that the loyal, liberty-
loving men of the nation would never allow the sac-
rifice which some fear. (Applause.) The President
cannot afford to part with his friends, and who are
his friends but the Anti-Slavery people? While
there are many of the President's acts to be deplored,
yet, backed by the people, he will stand fast by every
principle which we have achieved. President John-
son has declared that those who wish to reconstruct
in the South must accept the Emancipation Proclama-
tion, and pass the Constitutional amendment. The
instinct in the heart of the President is self-protection
and honor for the future. He follows Abraham Lin-
coln, and he knows it was his anti-slavery policy
that put him into the niche of fame where he stands.
Notwithstanding the unfortunate surroundings of the
hour, we have much to hope. The present policy of
the government will have to be abandoned, yet Mr.
Slack was confident that the President had done what
seemed to him best. The women have a great work
to do. Without them, the great victory would not
have been achieved. Only by all our people joining
hands shall we have that success which we ought to
and can have.

After more music by the band, which gave a very
creditable performance, the Chairman announced Ab-
by Kelley Foster, Lewis Ford, Caroline R. Putnam,
James Nowell and William S. Hayward as a Finance
Committee, who would proceed to take a collection
from the audience during the remarks of the next
speaker. Mrs. Foster spoke a few earnest words in
relation to the need of funds for the Anti-Slavery work
now in progress. The Chairman then introduced

WENDELL PHILLIPS. He said that we had been
accustomed to come to this celebration for twenty
years past. Some thought their work was done; but
if the events of this summer shall divide the Republi-
can party, our children for twenty years to come may
have to continue the struggle. If the President
yields to the influences from the South now pressed
upon him, the contest will continue in politics as stren-
uously as it has done in arms.
The radical members of the Republican party think
that our movements should proceed on the principles
of the Declaration of Independence. They must be
supported to carry that idea into practice.
The President hesitates in regard to the movements
of reconstruction. The radical members of his party
say to him in that case, "Stop! delay! do nothing on
an uncertainty!" The important thing is to keep the
rebel States out of Congress.

Next December, eighty-four Representatives from
these rebel States will go to Congress, enter it, and
take their old seats. The Clerk (Mr. McPherson)
will proceed to call the States in their old order.
It is at his choice, and his only, to call them, and then
they are to act in the choice of a Speaker, and in
whatever other matters may come up. If President
Johnson wishes this to be done, it will be done. His
theory is, that the rebel States have never been out of
the Union. The great majority of these eighty-four
will vote, and the Democratic party will vote with
them.

Mr. Slack says very truly, that Mr. Johnson has
pledged himself to the amendment of the Constitu-
tion. But if these rebel Representatives are in Con-
gress, they will trade; they will make conditions,
and impose terms. The crisis of the hour is, whether
Mr. McPherson, the Clerk, takes these persons in,
or leaves them out.
If President Johnson really agreed with Charles
Sumner that these States should be left out for the
present, as he has seemed to say and to promise,
we should not have these many movements of recon-
struction, embracing so many States in rapid suc-
cession. This seems to be too great for a mere experi-
ment. It is said that South Carolina has been admit-
ted on a better basis; but if it be so, he could have
done the same thing in all the other States. If it be
so, the law is not his obstacle, and he has destroyed
the very excuse which he himself formerly alleged.
Perhaps this Southern man cannot at present see
the negro with unprejudiced eyes. He knows slavery,
root and branch. He needs no report about it. If he
gives up the black race to the control of the white in
these reconstructed States, it is because he wishes to
do so. We are in serious danger from this position of
the President. The interests and rights of the negroes
are in danger; of those very men who have given
the most efficient help, the warmest zeal, the most
self-sacrificing devotedness to the cause of the coun-
try. We must stand up for them, as they have done for
us. We must let the President know that our sup-
port of him will depend upon his faithfulness in this
matter.
These negroes are now undergoing terrible persecu-
tions from our own officers, civil and military. Gen.
Grierson has been treating them with shameful injus-
tice and inhumanity. Even Stanton and Speed do
not take our side in their influence on the President.
The President himself is opposed to us.
Mr. Phillips proceeded to contrast McClellan's method
of making war with Grant's. He thought that we,
instead of waiting, like the former, until the enemy
has completed his fortifications, should say to our op-
ponents, like the latter,—"We shall move imme-
diately on your works."
The new Governor of North Carolina is taken from
the Confederate bench. President Johnson sends that
class of men to act as Federal officers. Our only de-
fense is in changing the purpose of Andy Johnson.
Our danger is greater than Grant's was before Vicks-
burg. To-day a voice should go from Massachusetts,
letting the President know that his friends look upon
his present attitude as a surrender to the rebels. If
the present policy goes on, we shall be governed by
the whites of the rebel States.
At the close of Mr. Phillips's speech, the meeting
adjourned for one hour.

black man. The justice of the question is clearly his
on the issue of manhood. Every State which be-
longed to the Union in the beginning—in the old time
declared the black man had this right by virtue of
his manhood. The right of voting is a human right.
To-day our strength is in the sentiment of justice, re-
inforced by every sentiment of gratitude to those who
came to you and helped to save you. (Cheers.) Where
would you have been had it not been for the black man?
(Hear, hear.) The black man helped you to suc-
ceed. In the Book of Decees you will find it de-
creed that the flag should never be carried to Rich-
mond and Charleston until black soldiers carried it
there. (Cheers.) Why stop to inquire as to the man-
hood of the black man? You did not stop to agitate
this question of manhood on the white side, even
though it took in Pierce and Buchanan. (Cheers.)
You have heard the story of the boat ground, which
was in imminent peril until the black soldier jumped
to the rescue, saying—"Somebody must die to get us
out of this, and it may as well be me. Thus speak-
ing, he put his shoulder to the stern and pushed it off,
and he fell pierced by rebel shot. And after this record
has been repeated on a hundred battle-fields, is this
nation going to forget every lesson of its Christianity
and justice,—going to turn this black man over to
those who have always oppressed him? You have a
mighty lever in the hearts of this people. Mr. Burleigh
had spoken before a regiment of soldiers who were
recruited in the pro-slavery parts of Pennsylvania,
and he was astonished at the great cheers they gave
him. We have justice and gratitude on our side to
help us. What an ineffably mean act it would be to
give the soldier who has helped us to victory, back to
those who hate him the more because we have con-
quered them by his help! Who could face the world,
nay, who could face his own looking-glass after such
an act! It is a piece of pure effrontery for the South
to suggest such a course. He who can't be whipped
or sneered into decency by such a course as this deserves
to live a life of indelicacy. Some are continually
talking to us of magnanimity. It is a fine word. It
is a fine thing in their estimation when it is to be
shown at somebody else's expense. Be magnani-
mous toward those who would tear the Declaration of
Independence all to pieces!! Mr. Burleigh believed
in magnanimity to those who had shown their man-
hood—those who had shown it after we have for
so long denied it. But we have come to that time when
it is only policy and safety to do this. It is our duty
to stand for the right as the right. Give the control
of the South to the conquered rebels, and how long
will they respect your right! How long would it be
before they would get the rule in this country! The
whole tendency of events must be toward the triumph
of the right. We are to fight on still. One blow to-
day may be worth ten months hence, and it is well
that we strike it vigorously.

The hand again gave a piece of music, after which
Mr. PHILLIPS offered the following resolution:—
Resolved, That we look on any reorganization of
the rebel States which does not rest on the princi-
ples of the absolute equality of every man before
the Law, and the recognition of the full civil rights
of every citizen, as a practical surrender of the North
to the South; and that, viewing such reconstruction
as the essential triumph of the Slave Power, we
pledge ourselves to an agitation to crush it as devoted
and tireless as that of the last thirty years.

He wished also to suggest that the quiet and peace
of the country absolutely demand the settlement of
this matter on the right basis. This consideration re-
quires the constant pressing of this position—No re-
construction without negro suffrage. Through all al-
ternations of political affairs we must adhere to this.
And a useful help in this matter among the people
will be subscription to the Anti-Slavery Standard, one
feature of which is that it does not and will not con-
tain either accusation or defence in regard to differ-
ences of opinion among Abolitionists.
This resolution passed by a unanimous vote. The
Finance Committee then entered again upon their
work of collection, and the President introduced to
the meeting Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper. She spoke
of the past history of this country, suggesting both
courage and warning from the action of our fathers
in the first revolution. She pointed out the rotten
timbers which have been incorporated with the ship
of State, and proceeded to speak of the action of the
colored people in the present struggle, so noble, so de-
voted, so truly magnanimous, and of the obvious and
imperative duty of standing by them in their hour
of danger, which is now impending or actually present.
The black man, if not highly intelligent, knows
enough at least to give a loyal vote instead of a dis-
loyal one. The success of this nation has been so
long delayed because the justice of God met it in the
way, and withstood it. The immense preparations,
the gigantic armies could not succeed until it was de-
cided that Slavery should die. Then and not till
then came success. Only after the passing of the
Constitutional Amendment did Charleston and Rich-
mond fall.

As to the inferiority of the colored race, there
are plenty of white people who must be raised, and
raised many degrees to stand on an equality with them.
The oppressors of the negroes are beneath them. An
American ought to be ashamed to use the help of
freedom to save the life of his nation, and then re-
fuse them the indispensable means of maintaining
their own rights. Let not the rights of negroes be
left in such hands as those of the new Governor of
Mississippi.
This nation has not even repented; it has not under-
stood its own guilt. When we understand the greatness
of the guilt which slaveholding implies, we shall be
ready to adopt the right. No reconstruction without
negro suffrage.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSS was the next speaker. He
regarded the present time as one of momentous
interest. This hour exceeds in interest every other
hour. We have had three crises. First, there was
the battle of Fredericksburg. Two years ago, Meade
had driven back the rebels. Second, a great Proclama-
tion of Emancipation was made by President Lin-
coln. Thirdly, there was the reelection of Lincoln.
But the crisis upon us now is greater than any of
the others. If we make any compromise—if the re-
bels come into power, as seems now to be the policy
of the government—the war will have been in vain.
During this summer we have a work of transcendent
importance. Mr. Foss fully believed we should be
victorious. In every crisis the negro has been the
conqueror. We said he should not fight—he said he
would. We say he shall not vote; but by the living
God he will vote. (Cheers.) Mr. Foss was one of
the hopeful kind. If we do our duty, we shall be suc-
cessful—everything seems to be working for freedom.
The Dred Scott Decision is the most powerful
argument for negro voting; for it argued that, if he
had any rights, he had all the rights of a citizen. The
government has made him a citizen; and now we can
say he ought to vote. We can take all the Fifth of the
pro-slavery voters, and make it all redound to the
glory of God.

Who is Andy Johnson? What is the Democratic
party, provided there is one? (Laughter.) If we
have truth our side, we have everything. "One man
with God is a majority." Mr. Foss was going to
work on in this cause, and to work under the patron-
age of A. T. Foss, if he could not find any other
patronage. (Laughter.) Suppose we fail? If the
Southerners come into Congress, they will assimilate
with the Copperheads; but even then we will never
say fail. We stand on the side of justice and truth,
and will never say fail. In the name of God and
Humanity, success will crown our efforts.

The concluding address on this occasion was made
by STRANGER S. FOSTER of Worcester. The last speak-
er, said he, is a man of large hope, but such are not
always safe men. Mr. Foster hoped, but he feared,
and he thought fear was the proper attitude of mind
to-day.
Every speaker has referred to negro suffrage, and
this is the all-important question which, if settled
right, must be decided by the Anti-Slavery people.

Account of Money Collected at Framingham Grove, July
4th, 1865.

Table with columns for Name, Amount, and Total. Includes names like F. A. Green, J. P. Lawrence, Jr., J. P. Sumner, etc.

This is the great question for the next quarter of a
century. Suppose we reconstruct on white suffrage;
let us anticipate events,—you have then a Congress
including seventy-five men from the South who repre-
sent the secession party, and they will stand as a
solid body—they will have all the old love of slavery.
They stand as a unit. Either there will be copper-
heads enough to give them the preponderance, or
there will not be. Suppose they get a majority on
their side. Then will come the assumption of the
rebel debt. The second act will be to send the col-
ored men back to bondage—then we shall have a vicer-
oy set of men in Washington than ever before. Then
all that the South demands will be conceded to them.
Then another war is inevitable, for the negro will
never surrender the bayonet to resume the chain.
They will fight for themselves after having fought for
us. Then you have a war between families—the
worst war that ever raged in the world. We shall see
a more bloody war than Ireland ever saw. Suppose
the South does not get the majority, what comes
then? The South will be united, and there will be a
political war in the Congress which will give the
South time for further consolidation. Moreover, you
will have been guilty of a depth of ingratitude un-
known before, in keeping the suffrage from those who
have given themselves to save this nation.

The South, finding she is over-matched, will find
she is powerless, and can do nothing. The next
move will be to get out of this government. The
South will turn to the colored man and say—"You
have every reason to hate the North for her ingrati-
tude—if you will make common cause with us, we
will crush this foe." So together they will secure
their independence, and the world will say "amen!"
If this Union is reconstructed without negro suffrage,
this country will see a very dark hour—such a state
is more than a possibility—it is a probability.
President Johnson declared at the outset that he had
no particle of care for the black man. He has done
no act of special good to the colored man. Where
has he done more for the negro than to provide for
him as a piece of property? Mr. Foster asked if, as
some assert, President Johnson is for us, what does
he bow before? Public opinion. He stands in the
position to understand what public opinion is; if so,
then we decide that public opinion is against us.
Public sentiment is with Andy Johnson. The Presi-
dent will never go against public opinion, unless he is
overborne by it. If the people of the North are not
ready for negro-suffrage, have we any reason for
hope? The South will yet bite the dust for its in-
human conduct to the Negro. The administration
has outlawed the Negro; it has him under its heel.
The President is not loyal. The man who says
treason is the greatest crime, and then puts the gov-
ernment of the North into the hands of those traitors,
is not loyal. He is helping forward the game which
is to split this government. Secession is not a crime.
Mr. Foster was the son of a revolutionist. The revo-
lutionists had the right to set up a government for their
pirates. But the South never proposed anything but
a practical association. It was in partnership with the
North, and secretly plundered the other partner, and
went off, accomplishing secession by treachery and
violence. Justice, Liberty and Equality form a basis
for a government on which any State has a right to
unite.

Mr. Foster advised the negro to support any govern-
ment which recognized his equality before the law.
In spite of these forebodings, Mr. Foster had hope.
He saw on the side of the Anti-Slavery party the whole
orthodox clergy of the North. We have on our side
all the leading, prominent, active Republicans. They
all go for negro suffrage. All that remains for us is
to go to work to reform that public sentiment in which
is our only hope.

After music once more by the band, the members of
which gave their services to the cause, receiving only
their expenses, the meeting adjourned.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Secretary.

Table with columns for Name, Amount, and Total. Includes names like F. A. Green, J. P. Lawrence, Jr., J. P. Sumner, etc.

SPEECH OF CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE TO THE
NEGRO CHILDREN OF NEW ORLEANS
Yesterday, Chief Justice Chase, in company with
Rev. Mr. Conway, State Commissioner, and company
with men's Bureau of the War Department, and
Mr. Wheeler, the Secretary of the Board of Edu-
cation for Freedmen, visited the Common School
Colored School, of which Mr. Tucker is the princi-
pal. The scholars had a brief notice of the presen-
tation of Mr. Chase to make them a visit. They
were assembled in the large lecture-room of the
"School of Liberty," and when he entered all the
children arose and greeted him with that national
song, "The Battle-cry of Freedom." The song
was sung in a most excellent manner. The
Chief Justice was waving on the building, and was
glad to see the walls inside. The children were ex-
cited in geography, reading, arithmetic, and
singing. After the exercises of the school,
Mr. Chase made a speech to the scholars, the
substance of which we give below:

"A short time ago I was in Washington. I
said, 'President. Among all the things that
pleased him in connection with this time in which
we live, I remember that he mentioned the edu-
cation of schools for the education of poor
children in this Southern country. It was a
boy himself. He had in him that which is better
than any mere educational requirement—he had an
honest heart and a purpose to do well. He had
spent several years of his life without being
taught yet. He succeeded by close application and
attention, and ultimately became a member of the
Legislature, and then a member of Congress, and
ward a Senator, and now he is the President of the
republic. He had difficulties, and he had
years. As he has been good use of the means at his
command, so may you, and as he has triumphed over
the difficulties that were in his way, so may you.
You of power; yet you may attain such a position
among men as will enable you to enjoy the privi-
leges of citizenship, and by that means to
reach a point equal to that enjoyed by any
I shall never see you again, but I want to
President of your progress of the use you make of
the privileges extended to you. Be careful to use
well your opportunity, under the Board of Edu-
cation, and you will be happy. Obey those teachers
for with them you are engaged as soldiers in a
against ignorance. We have passed through a
bloody war of four years' duration. Now we are
engaged in another. It is a fight against ignorance,
and these teachers and friends are your captains,
majors, colonels, and generals. You are young
men, and you are officers, and the soldiers must obey
you, so you, as little children in school, have your
officers, and you must obey them. Be obedient to
them, and love God and your Savior Jesus Christ,
and you will succeed. I hope you will rise very
rapidly, and in the diligent observance of these
things you will be happy."—New Orleans Daily
June 8th.

SECRETARY STANTON
The Eastern proverb says: "Above not the best
that bath born thee through battle." The sys-
tematic maligners of Secretary Stanton are taking
a new base, for the purpose of dispiriting him and
driving him from office, under cover of the popu-
larity of Gen. Sherman, and their object is not to
do honor to the one, but to confer dishonor upon the
other. Gen. Sherman has never had such friends
before, at least since the war began. The ragged
and not always fair-spoken chief of the War Depart-
ment has held the rebellion by the throat ever since
his accession to office, and has never shown any
favor to its chiefs, its participants, or its accessories.
He has been better and more thoroughly about the
Northern allies of and apologists for the rebels
than any other man in the country, saving always
the lamented Lincoln. He has never qualified before
the rage and ferocity of the rebels, nor shown favor
to a quarter to their aiders, well-wishers and sympathizers.
For his stern and uncompromising hostility to rebel-
lion in every shape which it has assumed, he has
incurred the everlasting hostility of Northern traitors;
and now, when his efforts and his policy are triumphant,
and can no longer be assailed, they seek to
endeavor to drive him from office, for the purpose of keeping
of their measureless and causeless obloquy. The men
who have been continually railing at Secretary
Stanton for what they call "illegal arrests" and
"high-handed, unconstitutional measures," which
the state of the country has required, and the just
majority of the people of the country have justified
and approved, have never seen anything wrong in
the rebellion. They were "no coercion" men at
the commencement of the war, "amnesty men" in
Chicago, and "peace men" always and every where.
They never heard of Fort Sumter; they never
dreamed that there were any such places as Ander-
sonville and Libby prison. But some of their
have been incarcerated, for good cause, at Fort La-
fayette or Fort Warren, and their blood, so cold and
placid when the patriot sons of the country are
starved and murdered, grows hot and fierce over the
fancied wrongs of some fellow rebel sympathizer.

JACOB SELWYN'S WIFE'S EPITAPH
"Her name was Sarah—simply Sarah," said
Jacob, as if the fact were a testimony to the modest
nature of the departed. "She was of late years—
68," he continued, referring at the same time to an
old pocket book; "but according to my reckoning
she lost three years or so from not keeping a clock
upon her birthdays. Put her down as 'aged'—
'65.' Would you were aged?"
"Who would you were?" asked Selwyn. "I don't
think she would have liked that. Say in her
64th year, if you please."

Mr. Wycherly wrote as requested.
"She was an excellent cook, Wycherly, and made
ham better, I think, than any other woman in the
country," said Selwyn, with a pardonable feeling of
pride.

"I don't think we can put that in her epitaph,"
remarked Wycherly.
"No, perhaps not; but it is a pity; it ought to go
down, as it might have stimulated other young
women to have as much of figures, and taught me a
lesson, when I was first married; and that can't go
down either, I suppose."

"It would be difficult to express it," answered
Wycherly.
"Picking and preserving, she was a great hand
at both," said Selwyn, with an inquiring look, but
receiving no encouraging response from his amazed
wife, he took another sheet.

"Always early with her chickens and turkeys, and
pretty high foot herself to go down."
Mr. Wycherly roared, and said, "I think all you
good qualities were enumerated must be com-
plained of. She was an excellent wife."

"And that she was," said the benevolent husband;
"and it's hard she can't have put stronger than that.
She was affectionate, Wycherly."

"Yes, I'm sure of that."

"Sometimes a little too affectionate, and showed
a little unnecessary anxiety about me. I need to
vex her sometimes on purpose, and to try her temper."

"And how did you find it?" said Wycherly,
slyly.

"Well, it varied—sometimes smooth enough—
others warm, perhaps very warm; but as to her
qualities, can be set out at length, I won't have
her little infirmities advertised in the character."

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