



### Refuge of Oppression.

#### THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH.

Extract from the Inaugural Address of Gov. Humphreys of Mississippi:

It has been officially reported from some quarters that our people are insincere, and that the spirit of the South gives evidence of reliable fidelity in the varying professions that spring from private and public sources furnish any evidence of truth, it is sufficiently demonstrated that the people of the South, who, so long, and against such terrible odds, maintained the mightiest conflict of modern ages, may be safely trusted, when they profess more than willingness to return to their allegiance.

The South having ventured all on the arbitrament of the sword, has lost all save her honor; and now accepts the result of this war, as it is our duty to address ourselves to the promotion of peace and the restoration of law, the faith of the Constitution, and the stability and prosperity of the Union; to cultivate amicable relations with our sister States, and establish our agricultural and commercial prosperity upon more durable foundations—trusting that the lessons taught by the rebellion will not be lost either to the North or the South—that freemen, once enlightened, will not permit to wrong or injustice—that sectional aggression will meet with sectional resistance, and that the price of political perfidy is blood and carnage.

The State of Mississippi has already, under the pressure of the results of this war, abolished slavery, and is anxious to attempt to persuade the people of the North, who has done so willingly. It is due, however, to her honor, to show by her future course, that she has done so in good faith, and that slavery shall never again exist within her borders, under whatever name or guise it may be attempted. The sudden emancipation of her slaves has devolved upon her the highest responsibilities and duties. Several hundred thousand of the negro race, unfitted to political equality with the white race, have been turned loose upon society; and in the guardianship we may assume over this race, the most delicate justly rests upon us, and demands in all their rights of man and property. The highest degree of elevation in the scale of civilization, which they are capable, morally and intellectually, must be secured by their education and religious training; if they cannot be admitted to political or social equality with the white race. It is due to ourselves, to the State, and to the world, to maintain the fact that ours is not a government of white men. The progress and growth of both races require that caste be maintained, and intermarriage between the two be forbidden. Miscegenation must be the work of the future, and not of the present.

It is the law of God, and it is the only certain protection against the pauperism and crimes of the South. The negro is peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the great staples of the South. He should be encouraged to engage at once in their production, by assurances of protection against the wrong, capidity, and injustice of his employer. He is free to choose his labor, and to make his own bargain. But he should be required to choose some employment that will insure the maintenance of himself and family. On the other hand, the employer should be required that the labor contracted for will be specifically performed. The cultivation of the great staples of the South requires continuous labor from January to January. The planter cannot venture upon their cultivation unless the laborer is compelled to comply with his contract; remaining and performing his proper amount of labor day after day and week after week, through the whole year; and if he attempts to escape, he should be returned to his employer, and forced to work until the time which he has contracted has expired. By such a system of labor, the welfare and happiness of the African may be secured, the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the State sustained, and our ancient again become the abodes of prosperity.

### Selections.

#### GOVERNOR HUMPHREYS' INAUGURAL.

This morning reprint from the Jackson News the inaugural of Gov. Humphreys of Mississippi. This document, evidently prepared with deliberation and care, is among the most significant of "the signs of the times," and should be read and pondered. If fair professions can secure confidence, those of Governor Humphreys should win it for him. Nor need his sincerity be questioned, however difficult to many minds it may be to credit him with really believing in his people he avows good faith in the abolition of slavery and a consequent determination that it shall in no form or disguise be re-established. We have less to do with his sincerity than with the programme under which he proposes to secure to the freedmen all their rights, and the highest position they are capable of attaining.

When the Governor's abundant protestations of patriotism and good faith are penetrated, we find the whole "milk of the cocoanut" concentrated in a very small space. The cotton-planter—declares this Mississippi Governor—must be given the right to coerce his employees to their labor, and when they escape, they must be returned to him! This professed program for raising the freedman to the highest point of civilization possible for him, thus proposed to be a system for raising as much cotton as possible by his compelled toil. Though emancipation is accepted in good faith, though to doubt this is grossly to defame a brave and noble people, and though Governor Humphreys is profoundly impressed with the responsibility of educating and elevating the colored men and women, it turns out that the underlying idea is, after all, not the culture of the freedmen, but the culture of cotton! We give the Governor credit for good intentions, but he has not outgrown the lessons of his school. He is of that immensely class who, while assenting, as they perhaps wisely believe, to the emancipation of the black man from slavery, have not yet emancipated themselves from the theories and prejudices imposed upon them by slavery. Innocently enough, it would seem, did not charity incontinently take flight at such seeming—does the Governor insist that under a contract system the freedman may be worked virtually as slaves, as such restrained, tasked and punished, and as such, if they attempt to escape, be rendered up by the same clause of the Constitution on which was based the fugitive slave law, and yet may be freedmen, receiving the highest culture of which they are capable.

This inaugural is a fresh proof that the claim to establish a cooperative system of labor is now substituted for the formal claim to hold slaves. In the presence of this substitution, suffrage need not be talked of. Another than the suffrage question is to be confronted and decided before that can be reached. The status of the emancipated as a free laborer, emancipated in fact as well as in name, has first of all to be settled. That humanity pleads for this is something; that justice commands it is more; but the necessity for avoiding in this settlement the rock of compromise, that has so nearly proved fatal in the past, cannot be disobeyed.—Missouri Democrat.

#### MR. REAGAN ON THE SUFFRAGE.

Almost simultaneously with the departure of Mr. Reagan, late Postmaster-General of the Confederacy, from Fort Warren, the New Orleans papers bring an address which he sent, while a prisoner, to the people of Texas. The following is his advice to his fellow-citizens on the vexed question of the day:

"To the conferring of the elective franchise on your former slaves I anticipate a stubborn and sincere opposition, based on the ignorance of the great mass of them, and on their total want of information and experience in matters of legislation, administration, and everything which pertains to the science of government, and upon the pride of race. And this objection may be sustained by pointing to the example of Mexico, and of the Central American and South American States, where, by the enfranchisement of the Indians and negroes, and all others without reference to race, or mental or moral fitness for the exercise of these responsible rights, they have been deprived of the blessings of peace, order and good government, and involved in an almost uninterrupted series of wars and revolutions, often of the most cruel and barbarous character, for more than half a century, with no present prospect of an amelioration or improvement of their condition.

"But those difficulties are not insuperable, if you meet them with patience and reason. I have no doubt you can adopt a plan which will fully meet the demands of justice and fairness, and satisfy the Northern mind, without endangering good government and the repose of society. This can be done by—

First: Extending the privileges and protection of the laws over the negroes as they are over the whites, and allowing them to testify in the courts on the same conditions; leaving their testimony subject to the rules relating to its credibility, but not objecting to its admissibility. And in this you will conform with the wise current of modern legislation, and the tendency of judicial decisions in all enlightened countries.

And, second: By fixing an intellectual and moral, and, if thought necessary, a property test for the admission of all persons to the exercise of the elective franchise, without reference to race or color, which should secure us intelligent exercise.

"My own view would be,

"First: That no person now entitled to the privilege of voting should be deprived of it because of any new test.

"Second: That to authorize the admission of persons hereafter to the elective franchise, they should be, first, males; second, 21 years of age; third, citizens of the United States; fourth, should have resided in the State one year, and in the district, county, or precinct, six months next preceding the election at which they propose to vote; fifth, should be able to read in the English language understandingly; sixth, and must have paid taxes for the last year preceding for which taxes were due and payable, subject to any disqualification for crime of

#### OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

which the person may have been duly convicted, which may be prescribed by law."

Mr. Reagan, in this letter, shows a degree of practical wisdom and statesmanship not common either at the North or South. The plan of suffrage which he proposes is as near perfection as can be attained in the present generation, and if there is a better to come, it will arrive in its own good time. "Universal suffrage," taking the phrase in anything like its literal meaning, is but another term for the despotism of demagogues; but a wise system of suffrage universally free for all who are willing to fit themselves for the privilege, affords the basis of a government as perfect as the lot of humanity permits.

#### A LETTER FROM MRS. L. MARIA CHILD.

Friend Tilton:—You ask me to write more frequently; but I have always considered the Sunday a good example, which tells only of hours on which the sunshine falls; and in the present state of public affairs, I find it impossible to utter cheering prophecies. I am a passenger in the Ship of State, and I take a lively interest in the safety of other passengers; and when I see the good ship drifting into a Niagara-current, that will inevitably convey it to destruction, I can give no other utterance than alarm.

If Andy Johnson does fail to be the Moses he is promised to be to a long oppressed people; if by faithfulness, or perversity, or mismanagement, he makes all the sacrifices and sufferings of this people a dead loss; if he goes on proceeding in a way that will deprive us of any security for the future, he will be more deeply cursed by history than is Benedict Arnold, and he will deserve it. The mischief Arnold could have done to the cause of freedom was slight in comparison with what Andy Johnson will do, if he proves false to the great trust which Providence has placed in his hands. Never, in the history of man, has any individual had such a magnificent opportunity to bless the world and immortalize himself by finishing a glorious work gloriously. And he stands in this blaze of light before an observing and expectant world, apparently unconscious that he has anything to do but to gain the flattering encomiums of traitors! And they are so emboldened by his petting that they thoughtfully flout their treason in the face of an insulted and outraged nation. Yet this man, who so trusts the promises of slaveholders, has had ample opportunity to know their arrogance and their insiduousness. To trust brought up in habits of slaveholding with any power to oppress the emancipated is as rash as it would be to leave the key of the wine-cellar with a drunkard whose word could be trusted about everything else but drinking; but on that subject their promises were ropes of sand. And long experience has shown us that slaveholders, as a general rule, will be false to any extent, where the maintenance of their system of unrequited labor is concerned. The system is itself a gigantic fraud, and all the fruit it bears partakes of that character.

An instance of it lately came to my knowledge. A black man from Virginia, about twenty-one years old, offered himself to work on the farm of one of our relatives. He was hired for a short time, and, being found faithful, capable, and honest, the contract was renewed. He gratefully accepted the offer of young members of the family to teach him to read and write. He would repeat his lessons to himself after he had gone to bed; and, if doubtful about the spelling of a word, would inquire of a lad who lodged near by. The lad would often reply: "I am too sleepy to be spelling at this time of night." "I just tell me this one word," pleaded Philip. "I want to learn it so that I shan't forget it again." With such earnestness to improve, he of course learned fast.

He was interrupted by being drafted into the army. He was at Fort Wagner, and the battle of Olustee, and afterward on provost-guard duty in Charleston. When the 54th regiment was discharged from service, he rode to the house of our relative in his uniform and equipments, evidently feeling every inch a soldier. During the three years of his freedom, he had supported himself well, and placed \$400 in the hands of his employer. He had returned to Virginia to look out for a small farm for his father, whom he had seen whipped during the reign of slavery until his shoes were filled with blood. During his absence, our relative received the following letter from a member of the bar in Berryville, Virginia: "Sir,—Philip Lee, a negro man, formerly the property of my father-in-law, has requested me to write to you. He wishes you to send him \$130 by express to Winchester, Va., as soon as possible. Please direct the money to my care, and when you send it, write to apprise me, that I may tell Philip when to go to Winchester for it."

Our relative had not the President's reliance on the good faith of slaveholders and traitors. He replied as follows: "Sir,—Your note has been received. In answer, I have to say that Mr. Lee, having partially learned to read and write in my family, (a qualification which the inhuman laws of Virginia denied him.) I now consider him competent to transact his own business, and to send for his money when he wants it."

When Philip Lee was informed of this, he declared that he had never asked any one to write for him, and that, if the money had been sent as directed, he should never have seen a dollar of it.

Of all the bad effects which slavery produces on character, I think that of meanness is the most conspicuous; but its various demoralizing effects, all over the country, cannot be estimated. Nothing can be more disastrous than frequent collisions between the law of the land and the moral convictions of the people. In New England, reverence for law amounts almost to a religious feeling; and when "iniquity is framed into law," the sin is like that of poisoning the sacrament. Kind and conscientious men not unfrequently get entangled in this conflict of duties; and lucky they are for them if they can preserve their integrity, after they have subordinated the higher to the lower law, though with the idea that they are thereby performing a civil duty.

I have met with one remarkable case of this kind, and for the sake of its moral influence I think it deserves to be recorded. Some months before the war broke out, a friend showed me letters from Thomas Sims, expressing an earnest desire to obtain his freedom. His master had promised to let him buy himself for \$1,800. It was a large sum; but I tried to raise it by writing many letters, most of them to persons more or less implicated in the rendition of Sims. Many of the letters were never answered; others brought in contributions. The Hon. John P. Bigelow, who was mayor of Boston at the time the city was so deeply disgraced by that inhuman transaction, sent me \$20, with expressions of regret that the execution of the law had compelled him to take such a course. A short time after I commenced these operations, I was astonished by the following note from Worcester, Mass.:

"Mrs. Child:—I have heard that you are trying to raise money to redeem Thomas Sims from slavery.

#### IF YOU HAVE RECEIVED ANY CONTRIBUTIONS, PLEASE RETURN THEM TO THE DONORS, AS I WISH TO CONTRIBUTE THE ENTIRE SUM MYSELF.

Yours, respectfully,  
CHARLES DEVENS, JR."

In making my applications, I had chance to overlook Mr. Devens, though I knew he acted as U. S. Marshal at the time of the rendition of Sims. According to his request, I returned the contributions I had received; and, in writing to thank him, I informed him of the high price demanded. He replied that the sum was subject to my order, whenever I chose to call for it. The feeling of indignation which I formerly had against him was changed to respect and admiration; but when I wrote to him, I could not refrain from giving him a little *patte de force*—merely saying that he reminded me of the senator in "Uncle Tom."

There were impediments in the way of communicating with Thomas Sims, and before the affair could be safely arranged, the outbreak of civil war rendered negotiations with Southerners impracticable. Mr. Devens, though well established as a lawyer, immediately volunteered his services for the defence of the country, and received a major's commission from Gen. Andrew. He is still in the army, having fought bravely through the war. He was severely wounded at Fair Oaks, and again at Chancellorville, and in numerous battles has fairly earned his present rank of brevet major-general.

In a recent letter to me, he writes: "It is a satisfaction to me that I have had a reasonably active part in the great struggle which has resulted in the emancipation of all the slaves. I agree with you that suffrage ought to be given to the negroes, though with certain restrictions as to education; the same restrictions being applied to all white men who shall vote hereafter. The liberty of no race can be so unqualified as that of a race. Injustice, followed by civil commotion, will be the inevitable result of such a deprivation."

Thomas Sims married after he was returned to slavery, and when the U. S. army arrived in his vicinity, he contrived to convey himself, wife and child into their camp. When he again arrived in Massachusetts, Gen. Devens sent him, through me, a present of \$100 to assist him till he could get into business. I call that man a true hero, in the highest and best sense of the term; and I think all your readers will agree with me.

#### L. MARIA CHILD.

—N. Y. Independent.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Henry Ward Beecher is one of those men who, in the language of Artemus Ward, are apt to "slop over." He is a shining light in the orthodox department of Christianity, and holds closely to the fundamentals of that school of belief; but no man says so much against accepted Orthodoxy in religion as he—certainly none causes half the uneasiness—not to say mortification—to those with whom he is allied. He occasionally, though less often, plays the same game with his political friends. He said some pretty foolish things about the time the war broke out, and was one of the first to intercede for Jeff. Davis, in mitigation of the righteous verdict of the nation. Last Sunday (for the Plymouth pulpit is Beecher's stamp) he went still farther, and made a labored plea for Gen. Lee, the most obnoxious of all unfortunates of the war. The remainder of his sermon was such a curious conglomeration that we hardly know whether we agree with it or not. We think we do, one minute, and the next come upon some passage from which we entirely dissent. For instance, we are told in one place that "it is not wise for the central general government to attempt to regulate Southern affairs," and in another, that slavery must be abolished, that colored testimony must be admitted in courts, and that the negro must be allowed to vote. Surely, Mr. Beecher knows that not one of these objects could have been or will be secured without Government interference. Talk of the kind comes constantly enough from the mouths of men opposed to that interference, for one who believes them to be vitally essential to the purpose of the only means by which they can be carried, is going a little too far for any one but a Beecher. The most astonishing thing in the sermon is, however, when Mr. Beecher says, "The laws and interests of the Government will prove of no avail, if they are hostile and unpleasant to the white men of the South." According to this doctrine, the war should never have been commenced, nor slavery abolished; for as one was clearly "hostile" and the other decidedly "unpleasant" to "the white men of the South," it follows that in Mr. Beecher's judgment they are "of no avail."

Still, no one doubts that Mr. Beecher is an able, eloquent, an electric man—always sincere, and as consistent as his Beecherism will admit of his being. He has done great good, and, with all his vagaries, we could spare almost any one better. If he had never done another useful act in his life, he earned a very large share of public gratitude by his services for the cause of the country in Great Britain, two years ago. We could not well have him consistent, without losing much that is piquant in his identity; so that one is tempted, after all, to exclaim, "Long may he live, and may his eccentricities never be less."

P. S. Mr. Beecher has corrected the report of his speech by explaining that in what he said of hostile and unpleasant things above, he referred solely to questions affecting the freedmen. We do not see that this helps the case much. The freedmen will be respected when our Government places them in a position where they can demand respect—not earlier. They have nothing to hope from the magnanimity of the Southern people. The Southern people respect us to-day because we have compelled them so to do. The same compulsion will make our colored allies secure, if we do not basely desert them.—Rt.bury Journal.

#### TOO MANY COMPLIMENTS.

Foreigners are doing our magnanimity rather more than justice. Mr. Peter Payne and others are looking on with delight to see how little torture we are inflicting on our late enemies. It is a dubious compliment. The truth is that we are inflicting quite as much suffering as a conqueror usually does. It is simply that we are for "our enemies, and torturing only our friends."

Every ounce of what is now called "magnanimity" to a rebel counts as a pound of suffering to our loyal friends at the South—to the blacks in particular. And if things go on as now, the accumulated agonies of the present peace will amount up to a sum as fearful as that of the French Revolution.

It is we of the North who are restoring to the former lords of the Southern soil every inch of ground that the black loyalist cultivates. It is we who are permitting black loyalists to be disarmed, and white rebels to be armed again, under the name of "militia." It is we who are permitting open proclamation of the re-establishment of slavery under the name of "apprenticeship." It is we who consent to

#### THE EXCLUSION FROM THE COURTS AND THE BALLOT-BOX OF THOSE WHO HAVE GOTTEN TO RE-OPEN THE BALLOT-BOX AND RE-ESTABLISH THE POWER OF THE COURTS.

It is we who are reviving the old assumption that "the people" of the South means the white population, rebel or otherwise; and that the black loyalists are something less than "the people." All this we of the North have done, and are doing, by and through our national executive, Andrew Johnson.

Mr. Stuart Mill, one of our complimentary friends, generously assumes it as "impossible" that any party at the North should advocate the desertion of these Southern loyalists, thus leaving them at the mercy of the late rebels. Unfortunately, he does not know the American nature, nor the effect of long prejudice upon it. When a gust of magnanimity is called for, we are as impressible as so many Frenchmen. To change the settled prejudice of years is as hard for us as it were Englishmen. That crowning height of injustice, which Mr. Mill cheerfully pronounces inaccessible to any party in America, is being daily trod by the slippery feet of converted politicians. When they claim that the President has taken this position, they who can do it, they who have taken this position, and who have done, and more by what he leaves unsaid and undone. What most men mean to-day by "the President's plan of re-construction" is the pardon of every rebel for the crime of rebellion, and the utter refusal to pardon a single black loyalist for the crime of being black.

For ourselves, we utterly protest against all participation in this cowardly desertion of those who have stood by us so well. There is no magnanimity in meanness. "We are told, on high authority, that the maxim, 'Love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy' is a phrase superseded; but we are now here told to reverse it by loving our enemy and hating our friend. The hostility of the slaveholder to the negro, strong enough at all times, has been infinitely embittered by the fact that the negro has been our steadfast ally. The more the rebel is made to cringe at Washington before a representative of the "poor whites," the more will he indemnify himself, if once restored to power, by persecuting the poor blacks.

Charles IV. of Spain, when driven half insane by the naval defeat at Trafalgar, took it into his head that the English were a nation of cats, and all cats consequently English. He therefore had a supply of those animals daily driven into his court-yard, after dinner, and used to shoot them, saying, afterward, "I have this day killed so many English." We solemnly protest against surrendering our black allies in this manner, after our own victory, that the rebels may torment us vicariously through them, and claim each day to have murdered or tortured so many Yankees.—N. Y. Independent.

#### THE SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN.

The Boston, New York and Philadelphia Societies have each established schools in Washington, which are well attended, and do credit to their teachers and pupils, alike and equally. A critical visitor might suggest that, where the schools are near each other, some teachers and time might be spared, and a greater progress secured by grading them harmoniously—one taking all the primary, the other the more advanced schools; and especially in the case of the Boston and Philadelphia Seminaries in 11 streets. The Boston school is held in the basement or lecture-room of a church on the corner of Nineteenth and I streets, and has between 200 and 300 pupils, I should guess; and, as is customary with the Hubberts, a number of admirable teachers from New England. The Philadelphia school is but a few rods distant, in a building in the rear of No. 207 I street. It has over one hundred pupils and two teachers, one white and one colored Northern lady.

The New York school is in the Freedmen's Hospital building, corner of Fourteenth and M streets. About three hundred and fifty pupils attend this school. One department of it is a novelty in the United States, in fact, in the world; for I believe it is the first negro infant school ever established anywhere. It is under the charge of a colored lady who left California to do her part in educating her race; and, under the auspices of the National Freedmen's Relief Association, founded this interesting establishment. She is assisted—mark you! not superintended, but assisted by—a young white lady of fine culture and ability; who, in taking a subordinate position to this colored principal is conscious of no degradation, but gladly, voluntarily, and with alacrity, fulfils her duty to these young souls, without dreaming that she is occupying an outpost in that grand onward march of humanity whose next stage shall be distinguished by a total disregard to all accidental distinctions among men:

"When worth, not wealth, shall rule the day."

When capacity, not color, experience, not the epidemic, the sharpness of the faculty, not the sharpness of the nasal feature, shall determine position.

There are seven ladies and a Principal, Mr. Zelle, in the other departments. They have been carefully selected. This school was founded last year by the Rev. B. W. Pond, of Vermont, (son of Professor Pond, of Bangor Theological Seminary) who determined to raise up teachers for the colored people among themselves, and carried a grammar-class, numbering nearly sixty, up to elementary algebra. The ease with which those pupils grappled with the problems of arithmetic was rather damaging to the popular theory advanced now-a-days by those who formerly denied that the blacks were human beings, and who, no longer able to assert that they cannot be taught to read, now state, with assurance unabated, that they cannot master those branches of instruction which require severe study. I advise all doubting Thomases or Miss Nancys who have imbibed this notion to pay a visit to Mr. Zelle's school.

The teachers of all the schools report that the pupils learn not with facility merely; but with wonderful rapidity. They are improving also in regularity of attendance. This is an encouraging fact.

#### THE EPISCOPAL CONVENTION.

SCENE OVER THE BINNEY RESOLUTIONS.

The master-mind of the Episcopal Convention now in session in this city, is evidently Stephen Elliott, of Georgia. When that eminent Southern prelate issued his famous mandate to the North, "Silence, if you please, but not one word of censure!" he sounded the key-note to which all the doings of the Convention have been carefully and accurately tuned. It must be intensely gratifying to Bishop Elliott to find that his influence is not only not abated, but that it is greater than ever. We had several marked recognitions of the supremacy of the Grand Master of the Order of Re-United Episcopalians; but the culmination of them all was exhibited on Saturday morning, when our towns-

#### PRES. LINCOLN ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

The following is an extract from an unpublished letter from the late President Lincoln, addressed to Gen. Wadsworth, taking strong ground in favor of universal suffrage:

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

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

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

#### PROPERTY IN SLAVES.

That such a claim (for negro property) is eminently just, is clear to our mind, and we are inclined to believe, will sooner or later appear so to the conservative of the North, when the sober second thought is allowed to prevail.

It matters not that emancipation was a measure of the war, effected as a war measure, and as a means of suppression of the rebellion. The property value of the slaves was destroyed, and the "private property" was thus, in a very strained sense, "taken without just compensation," in violation of the Federal Constitution. The men now controlling the Administration and Congress are, we know, deeply opposed to granting any compensation; they are not yet prepared or willing to admit the idea, but time is a great corrector, and will bring justice and equity to the late slave owners.—Montgomery (Ala.) Ledger.

#### A REALLY NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

The President of the United States has designated Thursday, the 7th of December, as a day of national thanksgiving, when the people are to render thanks for many blessings, but particularly for this: "that it has pleased Almighty God, during the year which is now closing to an end, to relieve our beloved country from the fearful scourge of civil war, and to permit us to resume the blessings of peace, unity and harmony, with a great enlargement of our liberties." The choice of the day and of the terms in which the proclamation is worded has its significance, and shows the original bent of President Johnson's mind. People may wonder why it is that the anniversary is changed from the last week in November to the first week in December. The reason is obvious to us, and will be recognized as correct and proper by all. It is simply this: Congress meets on the first Monday in December, just three days before Thanksgiving. Our practical-minded President is determined that, then, for the first time in four years, the representatives of every State in the Union shall have a seat in the great council chamber of the nation; and he realizes that it is only when that is accomplished, when the States are rehabilitated, when North and South meet together again in amity, that a true national thanksgiving can be observed. If there be any obstacle to be interposed to the organization of Congress by fanatics who are resolved to clothe the nation with all political rights, Mr. Johnson will be justified in having such obstacles brushed aside, in order that the people of the United States may enjoy their national thanksgiving. It is a capital idea, worthy of the head that gave birth to it.

As to the terms, too, the proclamation is noteworthy. The President does not speak of the attainment of the most comprehensive civil liberties; but he does

#### A TEST CASE.

"Bishop" Wilmer, of Alabama, a Confederate prelate appointed by the Confederate Episcopal Church, issued an order, forbidding his clergy everywhere, loyal or disloyal, to pray for "the President of the United States," until the President shall have complied with the terms upon which Bishop Wilmer thinks the Northern States should be permitted to unite with Alabama. For this refusal to pray, or permit his clergy to pray for Andrew Johnson, Gen. Woods, commanding the district of Alabama, "cashiered" the Bishop, and all his clergy will be asked to revoke the order. Commenting on Gen. Wood's order, a little penny squirt-gun of perhaps 350 circulation, called the Jackson News, thus flourishes the lash, of which commodity the President himself has distributed so large a quantity all over the South, in the President's face, and whips its snapper into the President's eyes, in a manner he may have seen before, "having lived at the South, and knowing its people well." The News says:

#### A LOGICAL CATASTROPHE.

There is nothing so damaging to a politician as to be caught trading in false logic. Such a man is as unfortunate as the eminent jurist, who, after having an important case exhaustively argued, gave his opinion and printed it before his brethren, that he had decided the same principles in exactly a different way only a few weeks before. The majority of the General Episcopal Convention occupy a position vastly more damaging to themselves. Acting as an ecclesiastical body, their action should not only be harmonious with their professions of piety, but consistent with history, and instinct with a decent respect to the wishes of a powerful part of their constituency. How they have entangled themselves, let the words of the eminent Dr. Vinton, of New York, bear witness:

"This house," he said, "when in session three years ago, had prayed God to extend his authority over the whole land, and bring our brethren to be of one mind. He had done so, and the House was now called upon to return thanks for that signal blessing thus graciously vouchsafed."

An appeal which was thrice refused. This is what we call a logical catastrophe. We fear some of the refusal are not even well-varnished pliancies. It was fitting that Mr. Washington Hunt, of New York, should be selected to move to lay Mr. Binney's offending resolutions on the table. There is such a sympathy with the mighty movements and obligations of the hour, that the mighty movements could have been more calmly and more judiciously defended. He said, on Tuesday, in opposing Mr. Binney's second resolution:

"When we returned thanks for peace, the House certainly returned thanks for all the blessings flowing



from it, among which might be enumerated the abolition of slavery, if that could really be considered a blessing. He declared his opposition to the resolutions on many grounds; among others that they proposed no action, but were merely an abstraction; that they were calculated to destroy all harmony and keep alive the spirit of discord. He hoped that the negro would not again be introduced, nor that slavery was a thing of the past—but that the dead should be buried their dead. Moreover, the history of the late war was being written, and the abolitionists of the country were engaged upon it, and would differ as widely in their conclusions as to the cause of it as did the historians of the civil war which terminated the career of the Roman Empire; and yet it was being proposed in a church convention, within six months after the close of the war, to declare the cause which produced it."

The stately Dombeyism of these heavy platitudes is only excelled by the exquisite Bunburyisms themselves. Here is a worthy citizen, who, in a body of ministers and laymen collected to praise and honor the Almighty, doubts whether the abolition of human slavery can be considered a blessing; denies, almost in terms, that slavery produced the rebellion, when thousands of the traitors penitentially admit that that alone was the cause; and thinks that the discussion of the subject will produce discord among those who three years ago asked God to help the country out of the very troubles, for the end of which, including the chief provocation, Mr. Binney's resolutions returned the promised thanks! But our pompous neighbor Mr. Hunt, so sound and genuine a patriot as Rev. Dr. G. B. Kerfoot, a native of Pennsylvania, had been followed in what was only less loose and weak because it was explanatory and apologetic. Mr. Hunt seemed to be in love with his work; Dr. Kerfoot showed in all he said that he was as much ashamed of the part he was taking as his friends were sorry to see him take it. Through all these pretences and pretexts flows the stern fact that a sacred duty has been neglected by a great Christian body. How would it have read in history that Peace was consecrated by a National Episcopal Convention about a word of being on the downfall of that stupendous evil, human slavery? A silence the more appalling, that the event has awakened the gratitude of millions in foreign lands, and has extorted confessions of sorrow at their participation in slavery from the rebel chiefs themselves. Division, discord, heart-burnings, simply because these churchmen have been asked to do God service! There would have been more, if they had been dumb by calculation and concert; for then a whole brotherhood and sisterhood would have been involved in the guilty silence and contempt of principle. Thanks to the Binney for having given a bold voice to a grateful and irrepressible patriotism.—Philadelphia Press.

THE NEXT GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

A member of the Confederate Congress said to us lately: "If President Johnson had, at any time during the first two months after his accession, declared to the South, 'I want the negroes to vote, and I want such would be considered without a matter; for the South were expecting such a policy, and could not have refused it.' The first great opportunity, therefore, was with the President. He let it slip. The next is with Congress. God forbid a second failure."

About one hundred gentlemen, lately rebels, will make their appearance in Washington about the first of December—elected by the Southern States to be Senators and Representatives of the United States. We trust that their visit will be enjoyable, profitable, and memorable; that they will find comfortable quarters at the homes consecrated by a sacred history; that they will be treated with the respect which is due to the conquerors of the public buildings; that they will be politely received at the President's levees; but that, when they turn their steps toward the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and ascend the stairs of the Capitol to the Halls of Congress, they will be touched on the shoulder by the sergeant-at-arms, saying: "Gentlemen, the lower floor is for members: your seats are in the gallery."

The President commits reconstruction to Congress. What, therefore, is the authority of Congress? It does not doubt, says Mr. Sumner, in its full power over the whole subject. What, therefore, shall Congress exact? The Government has already exacted certain terms. Not to mention all, we quote one:

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29, 1865.

The following is the text of the communication, dated Washington, Oct. 26, 1865, and transmitted by his excellency, James J. Johnston, Provisional Governor of Georgia, at Milledgeville:

"Your several telegrams have been received. The President of the United States cannot recognize the people of any State as having resumed the relations of loyalty to the Union that admit, as legal, obligations contracted, or debts created, in their names, to promote the war of the rebellion."

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Now, how can the Federal Government say to Sovereign States, "You cannot resume your relations to the Union till you first repudiate the Rebel debt?" For the excellent reason that the Federal Government "has full power over the whole subject." Now, having this power, how shall the Government use it? We answer: Use it with equal generosity and justice. A Christian government should act like a Christian man. Our government should "do good to its enemies." It should "overcome evil with good." It should make its victory twice noble by showing clemency to the vanquished. But we indignantly protest against the mock sentimentality of that so-called magnanimity to white rebels, which is made to include justice to black loyalists. We are not for putting hard conditions upon the Southern whites. We have no wish to harm a hair of their heads—no wish to dispossess them of a single right—no wish to heap upon them a single indignity—no wish to sully them with opprobrious words. On the contrary, we hold to the Christian idea of good-will to all men. We pray that the South may be speedily healed of her ghastly wounds—that sunbeams may again gladden her darkened homes—that her paralyzed industry may recover, as by miracle, from its shock—and that everywhere within her borders the wilderness may blossom as the rose. And we think that the most earnest and earnestness which our written words can only faintly enunciate—that to her downtrodden millions JUSTICE SHALL NOW BE DONE! And because of the beautiful laws by which God governs human affairs, we believe that, in asking for the rights of the Negro, we are asking for a blessing on the South!

Congress is now to secure these rights: otherwise, they go unsecured.

What, therefore, do we ask? We ask that, before Congress meets, the Executive shall once more survey the remaining fragments of its lost opportunity, and re-issue Mr. Seward's telegram, amended so as to read as follows: "The President of the United States cannot recognize the people of any State as having resumed the relations of loyalty to the Union so long as that State refuses Equal Rights to the most loyal citizens." If the Executive shall still delay to make this just stipulation, then let Congress nail upon its doors the following

NOTICE.

The One Hundred rebels now asking for seats in these chambers are informed that they can be admitted as members of this body only on presentation of credentials showing:

First, that the rebel States have declared null and void the ordinances of Secession.

Second, that they have repudiated the Rebel debt.

Third, that they have ratified the Constitutional Amendment.

Fourth, that they have ordained Equal Rights to all citizens.

To any terms at variance with these, the DOORS ARE SHUT.—N. Y. Independent.

A LITTLE CLOUD.

A little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, but the possible precursor of great troubles and dangers, is disclosed in the adoption by the Georgia Convention of the anti-slavery amendment of the State Constitution, with the proviso that "said clause should not be held to impair or invalidate any claims which any citizen of the State may hereafter urge against the government of the United States for the value of his slaves emancipated by proclamation during the recent war." This is the first recorded appearance of this matter, although it has been much talked about at the South and has formed the topic of some speculation at the North. It will be seen that its intent is

to transform emancipation, so far as the late slaveholders and the government are concerned, into a debt, founded on the idea that it was taking private property for public use. The slaveowners, that were, agree to acquiesce in the measure, seeing that it cannot be helped, but they expect to be paid for it. It requires no great acuteness to see that here is a movement that is to be discontinued from the start, and absolutely.

It is not only an unwarrantable attempt in itself, but breeding sore of innumerable difficulties. It will give birth to all sorts of claims against the Government for war damages at the South. Already South Carolina has appointed a Commission to gather up evidence in support of claims for alleged unlawful seizures of cotton. We should not be surprised to see the government yet called upon to pay for Sherman's destruction of Atlanta and his devastating swarms through Georgia and the Carolinas. The movement may not be put in this plain shape at first, but be artfully pioneered by proposals to compensate "loyal slave owners," "loyal cotton," &c., &c., by which many right minded persons may be drawn further than they are aware of in sanctioning a dangerous principle. Then these claims will be logged with the schemes of Democratic politicians at the North, who want already little or no temptation but the necessities of their position, to show their strength in solid alliance with their Southern brethren upon any position whatever which the latter may choose to assume.

The only safety against this brood of schemes for making the Union pay for the defence of its own existence and virtually destroyed the most effective deeds of its living and martyred sons, is to awaken a just and vigilant public sentiment on the subject. Every member of Congress should see and feel that this is a point on which the people will tolerate not a particle of yielding or equivocation. Even the Democratic leaders must be taught that if they wish to cultivate the favor of the South by truckling to these demands, they can only do so by losing utterly what little favor of the North they now enjoy. By this course, years of corrupt scheming in Congress, detrimental to the public interests, injurious to the expanding moral sentiment of the country and tending to nullify the most glorious achievements won by the blood of our gallant sons in the war, would be seasonably and effectually prevented. Our leading men, in political life and in the press, cannot be too vigilant on the subject.—Journal.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1865.

THE LAST QUARTER.

The Liberator is now in its last quarter, prior to the final close of its publication. It is not only desirable, but necessary, therefore, that those who are indebted to it should promptly remit what is due; as the expenses of the paper have been greatly increased, and its receipts lessened, during the present year; and as every farthing will be needed—and more—to enable us to complete the volume.

THE COMING CONGRESS.

We look forward to the approaching session of Congress with little interest and impatience even. So far as we have had opportunity to learn, this is the feeling of the people generally. It seems to us a matter for great regret that any abolitionist should have expressed distrust of Congress in advance. Indeed, we believe no reason for such distrust was given, beyond that based on a general apprehension that all things and all persons are drifting in a wrong direction. We should be sorry enough to think that any good ground existed for entertaining distrust of the prevailing loyalty, sagacity, knowledge of the situation, or purpose to exterminate every vestige and root of slavery in the land, among the members of the Congress soon to meet in Washington. We cannot forget that they were elected by the same votes which called ABRAHAM LINCOLN to remain at his post a second term. No Congress ever came together, which had been chosen on such high patriotic and anti-slavery grounds. Accordingly, for a full year all the loyal people of the land (and none are so truly loyal as those who first and last have resolved to make no compromise with slavery) have looked forward to this coming Congress as morally sure to adopt every measure yet needed to complete the overthrow of slavery, and to perfect the redemption of the country from its blight and curse. Even those who refused to believe, up to the last minute, that the Congress of last winter either could or would adopt the Anti-Slavery Amendment to the Constitution, anticipated with all confidence its passage by this. Why then seek to disseminate distrust beforehand of Congress and its action? We understand neither the policy nor the philosophy of such a course. For ourselves, we mean to take it for granted that Congress is to take no steps backward, but many steps forward; that it is the purpose of its members to carry out the anti-slavery determination of the people who so bravely, so persistently, and so triumphantly fought and overthrew the Rebellion, and to secure in the strongest and surest manner the perpetuity of Freedom and free institutions for all in the land. We assuredly believe that the people choose them with that paramount object in view, and we will not assume now that one of those so elected is going to prove false to his trust. Let it be understood that the people expect a compromising and yielding course in Congress, and the battle is already half lost. We rejoice to say that we have seen no evidence, in any quarter, that the people feel distrust of their representatives. On the contrary, they everywhere recognize a vast work to be done, and plainly have confidence that Congress will do it. And we also rejoice in the belief that the President himself fully recognizes the authority of the People, as embodied in and to be expressed by Congress, and will lay before it, for its full and deliberate consideration, all the vital questions which now agitate the land in regard to the reconstruction of the Union. And we think it due to the President, not for his sake, but for the country's, and in behalf of that great body of the freed people and whose liberties and rights he has spoken so many a brave word and done so many a brave deed, in times past, that there should be no bitter and unjust denunciation of him. We do not wonder that there is dissatisfaction with much that he has done,—much that he has failed to do. Whether as to his leniency towards leading traitors, his readiness to his leniency towards unrepentant rebels, or his dullness of vision as to the necessity of placing the freedmen on the absolute equal footing of citizens, we own our very great disappointment. His experience, so far as it aimed to give the Southern people themselves the opportunity to do justice to the freedman, has proved a signal and lamentable failure. We believe it was right to have granted that opportunity. We do not object to many of the facilities which the President afforded them for doing voluntarily this act of justice. We thought so at the time; we think so still. We still regret that he did not, at first and firmly, insist upon suffrage for loyal men of every color,—not that it is a sovereign panacea for all ills, but because it is a right, because it is one of the indispensable means of the elevation of the emancipated, and because neither the favor of God nor the approval of our own hearts can possibly attend us while we withhold any right from the long-enslaved people of the land. But now that the Southern whites have shown themselves unworthy of the confidence placed in them, and have put far from them the great idea and principle of justice to the long-abused colored people, we turn from them, as we believe the President will, as we believe that he does in the various conditions which he has laid down and which they have refused to accept, and we look with renewed hope and confidence to the coming Congress. Let the voice of sincere prayer to God, mingled with the hearty labor of every hand, go forth in behalf of that most important assemblage of our National Legislature.

—A. M. J.

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.

Rev. Jacob M. Manning delivered an admirable lecture, the fourth of the Fraternity Course, at the Music Hall last Tuesday evening. His subject was "The Enchanted Ground." He thought that this nation was now passing through a period which, in its influence and tendency, resembled the Enchanted Ground described in the Pilgrim's Progress. We are taking our ease, resting quietly after the exhaustion of war, while the brambles of slavery lately burnt are springing again, and the pardons freely dropped from Presidential fingers are renewing the evils which we had thought destroyed. Precautions are to be taken, indispensable to our safe passage across this enchanted ground, yet the nation seems unmindful of them. Our true counselor in this emergency is not the Republican party; still less the Democratic party; not even the Constitution; but the spirit of our Government as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. (Applause.) If the national policy keeps in the line of that document, we shall go safely.

What is the idea at the basis of our Institutions? It is expressed in the Christian precept—Do unto others as you would that they should do to you. This duty is implied in our statement that all men are created equal. The American citizen has this great advantage, that the central idea of his nation, his Ark of God, leads in the line of human progress and welfare. If our priests at Washington bear this Ark in its due course, we are safe. If not, not.

Plymouth, I mean the rock, not the church, (Great cheering,) was the basis of our national system. Plymouth offered the South its rock to build on; they preferred the sand for a foundation, and they fell. Their ruin was chattel slavery. If they now choose disfranchisement of the laborer for their corner stone, this will be equally fatal.

American history can have but one course hereafter, that pointed out by the Declaration of Independence. Freedom and the Right will guide those safely and surely who follow them. Only the man who keeps these in view can be our leading "Great heart." The people must keep this lamp trimmed and burning before the President.

Our chance in Congress is lessened by the fact that the office giving power of the President gives him immense influence, even with that body. Only integrity in himself or the imperative voice of the people can keep him in the right direction. Let him hear that voice.

We hear it said—The President must observe the letter of the Constitution. But is the letter more sacred than the spirit. The letter kills, it is the spirit that gives life and value. But this door of escape is shut to the President, since he has disregarded the letter, appointing Governors, and granting pardons before trial, thus arresting the processes of justice. Has he the right to take Stephens from Fort Warren, and can he not empower Robert Small to vote? (Loud Applause.) We ask the President only to exercise as much power on the right side as he is now exercising on the wrong.

The fashion now is to enjoin hopefulness upon us. Who is more hopeful than we, who demand negro votes? The laborers of a nation should be its voters. (Applause.) We have abolished slavery in the South. Let us now abolish idleness there.

The spirit of the leading whites in the South remains precisely the same as when Fort Sumter fell. What prominent rebel has yet confessed himself in the wrong. They drop their unsuccessful weapons and return to their old avocations. If we have still rebels for opponents, I would rather meet them on the battlefield than at the ballot box. (Applause.)

The South clings to the idea of oligarchy, and hopes to realize it by disfranchising the negro. But his hopes will perish. It is written in the book of destiny that the laborers of America shall govern America. The President may postpone this, but he cannot prevent it. We must have labor instead of idleness in the South. It is the school, the free church, and the introduction of skilled labor that must save the South. And we must help in that work by persisting in the pursuit of freedom until it is gained.

The audience on this occasion was very large and warmly appreciative. Next Tuesday evening the lecture will be by Miss Anna E. Dickinson. Subject, Home Thrusts.—C. K. W.

LETTER FROM CHARLES SUMNER.

Mr. Sumner has sent the following letter to the Independent:—

BOSTON, 20th October, 1865. DEAR MR. EDITOR,—I rejoice that the Independent has planted itself firmly on the sure ground of Equal Rights. It is natural that a journal which has from the beginning so bravely and constantly opposed Slavery in all its pretensions should now insist that these pretensions shall be trampled out, so that nothing shall be left to breed future trouble. This can be done only through the establishment of Equal Rights.

To my mind, there never was a duty plainer or more instinctive. It is as plain as the moral law, and it is as instinctive as self-defence. If the country fails to do this justice now, it will commit a crime where guilt and meanness will strive for mastery. On this head, it is enough to say that it is a debt we owe to saviors and benefactors. But here all the instincts of self-defence harmonize with justice.

For the sake of the whole country, which suffers from weakness in any part; for the sake of the States lately distracted by war, which above all things need security and repose; for the sake of agriculture, which is neglected there; for the sake of commerce, which has fled; for the sake of national credit, whose generous trust is exposed to repudiation; and, finally, for the sake of reconciliation, which can be complete only when justice prevails, we must insist upon Equal Rights as the condition of the new order of things. So long as this question remains unsettled, there can be no true peace. Therefore, I would say to the merchant who wishes to open trade with this region; to the capitalist who wishes to send his money there; to the emigrant who wishes to find a home there, begin by securing justice to all men! This is the one essential condition of prosperity, of credit, and of tranquillity. Without this, mercantile houses, banks, and emigration societies having anything to do with this region must all fail, or at least suffer in business and resources.

To Congress we must look as the guardian under the Constitution of the national safety. I do not doubt its full power over this whole subject; nor do I doubt its duty to see that every pretended government organized by rebel rebels is treated as a present nullity. President Johnson spoke well when in Tennessee he said, that "in the work of reorganization, rebels must take back seats, leaving place to those who have been truly loyal." There is the key-note of a just policy, which I trust Congress will adopt. It is difficult to measure the mischief which has already ensued from the "experiment" which has been made. Looking at the positive loss to business and the productive industry of the country, it is painful. Looking at the distress which it has caused among loyal people by the revival of the rebel spirit, it is heart-rending. Looking at it in any way, it is a terrible failure. It will be for Congress to apply the remedy.

Meanwhile, you have the thanks of good people for your loyalty to the cause, and your strenuous efforts in its behalf. Go on, I entreat you. Do not hesitate. I am, dear sir, your grateful fellow-laborer, CHARLES SUMNER.

John Van Buren opposes black vote. The Tribune advocates them, assuming that the majority of the blacks will make a better use of the suffrage than John has done.

Nearly 13,000 persons in New York city registered their names on the day before the election.

THE EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT.

On Thursday evening of last week, a large and enthusiastic meeting of working-men was held in Faneuil Hall, to arouse public attention to the work of reform called the eight hour movement. Mr. James L. Babcock was chairman of the meeting. Resolutions expressive of the wishes and purposes of the working-men were read by Mr. Ira Steward, (the writer of a valuable pamphlet on the same subject,) and were passed by the meeting before adjournment. Letters, in reply to invitations to attend and assist the meeting, were read from Generals Butler and Couch, Hon. A. H. Bullock, James M. Stone, Esq., and Judge Russell, and speeches were made by the President of the meeting, Major Mahan, Wendell Phillips, Alderman Nash, and others.

The address of Mr. Phillips, as reported by the Advertiser, was as follows:— Mr. Wendell Phillips was next introduced, and was received with loud and prolonged applause. He said it was twenty-nine years since he first stood on the platform of Faneuil Hall, to address an audience of the citizens of Boston. He felt then that he was speaking for the cause of the laboring men, and if to-night he should make the last speech of his life, he would be glad that it should be in the same strain for laboring men and their rights. Mr. Phillips continued substantially as follows:—

"The labor of these twenty-nine years has been in behalf of a race bought and sold. The South did not rest their system wholly on this claim to our laborers; but according to Chancellor Harper, Alexander H. Stephens, Governor Pickens and John C. Calhoun, asserted that the laborer must necessarily be owned by capitalists or by individuals. That struggle for the ownership of labor is now somewhat near its end; and we fully commence a struggle to define and to arrange the true relations of capital and labor. Today one of your sons is born. He lies in his cradle as the child of a man without means, with a little education, and with less leisure. The favored child of the capitalist is borne up by every circumstance, as on the eagle's wings. The problem of to-day is how to make the chances of the two as equal as possible; and before this movement stops, every child born in America must have an equal chance in life.

In this final arrangement, every man will combine in his own person the laborer and the capitalist. There can't be any conflict between labor and capital. What makes our lives easier than those of our ancestors? They are so because six generations of workmen have made Massachusetts a great treasure-house of capital. When our fathers landed here, Massachusetts was a wilderness. Forests have been removed, roads built, cities raised by capital, or aggregated labor. Capital and labor are only the two arms of a pair of scissors—useless when separate, and only when fastened together cutting every thing before them.

What, then, do we come here for? To find out the true relation between capital and labor, to make the laborer more comfortable, and a more worthy citizen. Where the government rests on the people, its administrators are bound to give time to the laborers to understand the theory of government. When shut up an excessive number of hours in labor, the workman comes out but the sag end of a man, without brain to think of such subjects. Now, therefore, it is a fair division to give him eight hours for labor, eight hours for sleep, and eight hours for his own—his own to use as he pleases. (Applause.) I shan't be the first to say, 'you shan't have it unless you come under bonds to me to do it.' It is none of my business to say what he shall do with what is his own. I shan't say to the millionaire, 'We will defend you in the possession of your stocks and bonds, if you will use them well.' I may argue with him, and shall, to use his wealth properly; but my first object shall be to give it to him because it belongs to him. It has been argued that the negro would not work if his freedom was given to him. I have answered, his freedom belongs to him, and he is responsible for its use.

In the present effort it is to give the laborer more leisure, in order to make him more intelligent. Never in history has more leisure been secured to the working classes, but greater intelligence has resulted therefrom. Thirty millions of Frenchmen to-day hold a voice in the government, because the cry against lessening their labors was not heeded. The same cry has been raised here. It has been said that the workmen will not work unless you starve him, that starvation is the only stimulus which the masses will obey. I don't believe it; and I want to lift them to the possibility of showing that it is not true.

Now, how shall this thing be done? I will tell you. I have had a little experience in this matter. [Laughter.] I have never held, and never expect to hold, a political office; but this I know, that the man who only looks at the game can sometimes criticize it better than the players. This country is one of ideas. You can never gain your point by threats. It would be disgraceful to gain it thus. Why have you not carried your ends before? Because in ignorance and division you have let the other side have their own way. We are ruled by brains. You might as well try to roll back Niagara, as to try to rule New England against her ideas. You have got to face them, and to change them. You need not despair if truth is on your side. You must have the truth, and must work for it. There are three sorts of men; those who have the truth, but look it up; those who have it not, but work like the devil against it; and those who have it, and force it on the willing conscience of the nation. You want books and journals. I am glad you have one voice, but one can't cover the State or the North. You want something to subjugate all journals, and bring cultivated minds and foremost men to your service. Opinions differ, not from scornful-ness, or want of heart. You want to make the intellect of the country discuss the question, to make every man speak of it. How did we anti-slavery men do this? [A voice.—'Kept at it!'] Yes, kept at it. You know the patient Job said, 'Oh that mine adversary had written a book!' Well, he was the wise man. [Laughter.] When I made a speech here, the Daily Advertiser abused me; but it could not abuse justice so much but that men could see the delusion. I defy a man to make an argument against the laws of God that will hold water. Any man trying to dodge justice will answer himself.

How will you make the newspapers and the public men discuss the labor question? I will tell you. Go into the political field, and by the voice of 40,000 workmen say, 'We mean that eight hours shall be a day's work, and no man shall go into office who opposes it.' What will be the result? It will be the same as in 1846, when the abolitionists were they were going to trample on the whig and democratic parties. The journals then took up the question; the intellect and education of the country took hold of it, and settled it by talking the South so that they said 'Neck or ruin, we will go outside.' How will you make your enemies wield the pen? Do it by announcing your political creed. Break into the debating society at the State House, and make them discuss the labor question. I don't want the subject made political in a bad sense of the word, but in a higher sense. When men have wrongs to complain of they should go to the ballot box and right them. I may be asked if I would give universal suffrage to ignorant men, and thus give them power over the property of the millionaire. I answer, yes; all the more for that, because then the millionaire would be willing to give a part of his wealth to aid in making voters intelligent. Universal suffrage is taking a bond of the rich to educate the poor. You will never reach the influential classes by meetings like these. How will you do it? Go to your next candidate for Mayor, and ask him if he is in favor of the eight-hour system. If he says yes, let it be known that he is to have your votes. If no, let him know that he will not have them. You will not, perhaps, gain the victory the first time. It would be a disgrace if you did. [A voice.—'Why?'] Because it would look as if you had frightened the city of Boston. You will gain your

point by argument. The Journal, the Advertiser, the Transcript will discuss it, and the State will be lifted by the four corners. You will gain in twelve months what you gained in twelve years, if you are true to yourselves.

Some may think this is a political address. I belong to no political party, and if I live to the age of Methuselah, do not expect a vote. I want Charles Sumner to stand on this platform, and give his views on this question; I want Samuel Hooper to come down here and look his constituents in the face; I want Henry Wilson, with his tireless activity, to give his labors to the working men; I want Lawrence, in 1840, when asked by a committee of his constituents what his opinion was in regard to slavery in the district of Columbia, said he didn't know as he had any opinion on the subject, and if he had, it was not worth while to express it. Twenty years later he would have cut off his hands rather than give such an answer. Two years hence, if you are true to yourselves, instead of having an Ishmaelite like me to address you, you can take your pick out of all the politicians in the country instead of one journal, you will have all the journals discussing the labor question.

You must imitate the tenacity of the abolitionists in adhering to a single issue. The temperance party committed the folly of depending upon resolutions, and voting for whigs and democrats; and influential men, seeing that they did not value their own principles, left them out in the cold. There are men enough here to govern this city. When you have convinced thinking men that it is right, and humane men that it is just, you will gain your cause. Men always lose half of what is gained by violence. What is gained by argument is gained forever. Mass meetings, like these, amount to nothing. A political movement, saying 'We will have our rights,' is a mass meeting in perpetual session. Filtered through the ballot box comes the will of the people, and statesmen bow to it. Go home and say that the working men of Massachusetts are a unit, and that they mean to stereotype their purpose on the statute book."

Mr. Phillips took his seat amid the most deafening applause.

RESOLUTIONS ON NATIONAL REFORM.

The Worcester Freedom Club, a patriotic organization in the heart of the Commonwealth, adopted and published in the month of August the following timely expression:

Resolved, That as a body of New England citizens unrestrained by party, but vigilant for the welfare of our common country, we observe with great anxiety the multiplying signs of an intended coalition on the part of the Democracy (falsely so called) with the present national administration in what they (the Democracy) term "its avowed policy" of reconstruction, and of re-admission into the Union of States lately in rebellion, without the guarantee of suffrage to the black man, and leaving it optional with recent slaveholding rebels to give or refuse to loyal freedmen the American citizen's right of the ballot.

Resolved, That the experience of the past should warn leading Republicans that the Tylerization of their party, and its virtual betrayal into the hands of the twice-beaten Democratic party, so far from being an impossibility, is the most practicable and tempting method of lifting the pro-slavery Democracy again into power.

Resolved, That the NATIONAL SECURITY OF SEVERAL TO THE BLACK MAN THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE SOUTH is the only sure means of restoring and maintaining the Union of these United States, as well as of preventing the late slaveholding section of the country, with the political power again in the hands of its old masters, from uniting with it, as heretofore, the friendly Northern Democracy, and securing their cooperation in the demand for a national adoption of the debt of the late Rebel Confederacy,—or its equivalent,—the payment from the national treasury of the money value of all the freedmen—A MEASURE, THE MERIT OF WHICH IS CERTAIN TO DEPRECIATE THE VALUE, IF NOT TO HAZARD THE REPUTATION OF THE BONDS REPRESENTING THE PRESENT DEBT.

The same association, in view of late events and the present aspect of public sentiment and affairs, have passed and ordered to be printed the following:

Resolved, That disgraced and mortified as New England is by the attitude lately assumed toward the black man by the State of Connecticut, we do but speak the overwhelming sense of loyal Massachusetts when we say that as a portion of "the people of the United States by whose authority the Federal Constitution is ordained and established as the supreme law of the land," and holding, under that Constitution, the protective right of suffrage, we will never consent that any other loyal portion of "the people of the United States," under the same Constitution, shall be denied that same constitutional protection of the ballot, still less so intensely loyal a people as the Nation's Black Men of the States lately in rebellion.

Resolved, That the injustice and deceit of that part of the recent "Platforms of the Democracy" should be made transparent to the country at large, in which, while it is asserted that the ballot is the right of every American citizen, care is taken to allow the late slaveholding States to restrict the right of suffrage to their white citizens, under the deceitful phraseology "that the constitution recognizes the right of the people of each State to prescribe the qualifications of electors," thus breaking the pledged faith of the nation to its loyal black men, and denying them the protection of citizenship.

Resolved, That we trust no politic manipulation of the Powers that be at Washington, nor any adroit pretence of cunning politicians in the interest of Democracy and defeated rebellion, will be allowed to placate the approaching Congress into consenting to the admission of Representatives or Senators from any State lately in rebellion, whose constitution does not secure the equality of all men before the law, and the fundamental condition of a common participation, on equal terms, of its loyal black citizens and white citizens, in the elective franchise.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

The nineteenth annual meeting of this Association was held in the Holy Writ Church, Brooklyn, Oct. 25th and 26th. Rev. Dr. Estlin, of New Haven, Ct., presided. The annual report was read by Secretary Whipple, and presented an encouraging survey of the operations of the past year. The number of missionaries and teachers employed during the year at the South and Southwest was 320. The treasurer's report showed a total disbursement of over \$200,000; including cash expenditures for the freedmen of \$95,785, and clothing to the amount of \$61,674. The discussions were of more than usual interest. The resolutions covered various topics of pressing importance in reference to the freedmen. The duty of the nation to them, and the true idea of freedom, were enlarged sense, were stated in the following resolution, drawn by Rev. H. W. Beecher, and adopted unanimously:—

"Resolved, That the idea of emancipation which carries with it no protection of person and property, no advantage of the laws and institutions of the land—equal and impartial—be delusive and pernicious. In this age, and in this nation, there can be no meaning in liberty which leaves a man stripped of all civil rights, and free only as the beasts of the forest are free. Emancipation and liberty are but empty and mocking words if they do not convey the idea and rights of citizenship; and we protest against excluding men from the rights of citizenship, civil or political, on account of their color."

But the interest of the session was most fully awakened by statements in relation to the prospective sufferings of the freed people during the approaching winter. Some startling facts were given on this point; and the duty and purpose of the Association were embodied in the two following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the inability of the colored people to secure the use of abandoned lands in season for planting and for the general restoration of the lands they have occupied to the former rebel owners, who leaves these colored people without homes and food, forsole an unparalleled destitution among them the coming winter, and call upon this Association not merely to redouble its efforts to send them clothing to keep them from freezing, but to furnish them with food to keep them from starving."

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Association be requested to appoint a Committee in relation to the rights of the colored people to the use of the abandoned and confiscated lands hitherto assigned to them, to cooperate with the Freedmen's Bureau in its measures for their assistance, and to devise a practical plan for providing food for their pressing wants the coming winter."

The Association intends to adopt immediate and vigorous measures to meet this impending suffering, and by furnishing food and clothing, to exempt the destitute; and it most earnestly invites donations of clothing and money for these specific purposes.

This is a portion of the Independent's report of the late anniversary of the American Missionary Association. In a paper of a very different sort, however, we find reported a speech of Henry Ward Beecher on that occasion, the spirit of which is in from the same hand above quoted. In that speech Mr. Beecher exhorts to confidence in the right feeling and action of the ex-slaveholders, and support of the policy now in process of execution by the President, in spite of the fact that both these seem bent upon reducing the colored people to a state somewhere between slavery and freedom. Mr. Beecher has often shown himself independent of the thing praised of men as "consistency"; but it is hard that, in the build up by resolution.—C. K. W.

THE NEXT CONGRESS.

D. W. B., so long and favorably known to abolitionists as the Washington correspondent of the Anti-Slavery Standard, for several years past, writes as follows to the Independent:—

The organization of the House of Representatives is discussed in certain quarters, as if it will doubt whether the old Mr. Johnson, who holds over, States upon his official list. In point of fact, there is no doubt upon the subject. Mr. McPherson has not been in rebellion against the Government, upon actual knowledge. I say this, not as a matter of opinion, but as a matter of fact. In the first place, it is already made up; if not, it will be in a few days, and Republicans need have no anxiety whatever upon the subject. There can be no question among fair-minded men upon the case since the war began, and a preliminary report member to a seat who can show the House admitted against the Government, without a preliminary examination. The House examined the case, and it meant the claimant remained outside. In the organization of the Thirty-eighth Congress, two men from New Orleans were admitted, but the previous Congress, the New Orleans district, admitted them. By common consent, the members elect from the same districts were permitted to participate in the organization, and, save time, as the two votes could not affect the result, soon afterwards rejected. The case of the claimants were those of the Southern members elect will claim a place on the official roll from the State; but no Republican member will support them in that claim, and they must rest satisfied with a consideration of their cases by the Committee of Elections, whenever it and the House shall be ready for it.

Last week's Commonwealth said: "Most recently efforts are being made to dispossess the freedmen, who were settled on the lands by General Sherman, of the lands which were given to them. This villainous effort to rob loyal men, for the benefit of ruffianly rebels whose lands are red with the blood of Northern soldiers, can succeed only through the betrayal of faith on the part of our Government. The Southern States, in violation of the terms of the Freedmen's Bureau, is looking into the matter, and will soon return to Washington and report."



LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XLVII.

NEW YORK, Nov. 2, 1865.

The Editor of the Liberator:—It has been more than once remarked how, with the Executive displeasure, the Provisional Government appointed by the President have assumed powers which he has studiously disclaimed.

As easily as they would develop a conspiracy. You can see this in the ill-concealed surprise and satisfaction with which the President's conditions are accepted, and the equal punctiliousness with which they are observed.

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CLARK'S SCHOOL VISITOR. VOL. IX. A DAY SCHOOL MONTHLY. THE VISITOR will commence its tenth volume with the January number, 1866. This is the only Pay School Periodical published at SEVEN-FIVE CENTS A YEAR!

LESSONS IN ORNITHOLOGY. PARLOR CLASSES. GRACIANA LEWIS will give instruction in the NATURAL HISTORY OF BIRDS, to Schools and Private Classes of Ladies and Gentlemen.

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TESTIMONIALS: The undersigned have great pleasure in recommending the Lectures of Miss Graciana Lewis, as in all respects worthy the confidence and encouragement of persons disposed to study Natural History, and especially Ornithology.

AYER'S PILLS. ARE you sick, feeble and complaining? Are you out of order, with your system deranged and your feelings morose?

AYER'S AGUE CURE. For the speedy and certain Cure of Intermittent Fever, or Chills and Fever, Remittent Fever, Chills, or Bilious Headache, and Bilious Fevers; indeed, for the whole class of diseases originating in bilious derangement, caused by the malaria of miasmatic countries.

IMPROVEMENT IN Champting and Hair Dyeing "WITHOUT SMUTTING." MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

DR. DIO LEWIS'S FAMILY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES. LEXINGTON, MASS. TWENTY superior Teachers, among whom are THEO. DOBE D. WELLS, formerly Principal of the English School, New Jersey, and J. N. GARLINGTON, Successor to Phillips's Academy, Andover.

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE. The Eighteenth Annual Term of seventeen weeks will commence Nov. 1, 1865. Professors—Stephens, Tracy, M. D., Theory and Practice of Medicine; Frances S. Cook, M. D., Anatomy, and Pathology and Hygiene; Mary A. Allen, M. D., Obstetrics, and Physiology; Chemistry; Minerva C. Merlan, M. D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Albert R. Robinson, M. D., Principles and Practice of Surgery and Medical Jurisprudence; Francis H. Tyler, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy. Tuition fees for the first Professor and Demonstrators, \$65—free to students needing aid.

CIRCULAR.

Office of General Superintendent of Education for Refugees and Freedmen, State of Louisiana.

NEW ORLEANS, October 9th, 1865.

Sir:—Permit us to call your attention to a subject which we wish to have presented to the next session of Congress, soon to convene. You are probably well aware what efforts have been made in this State for the benefit of the freedmen, and that, thus far, all the attempts to ameliorate their condition have been enforced by the military authority; that the people of Louisiana, by their conventions and speeches, while making loud professions of loyalty, and strongly in favor of sustaining the administration of President Johnson, are yet as strongly inclined to deny the practical benefits of the Emancipation to the freedman; that they are making every effort to reduce him to a state of penance; that they expect, as soon as they get the entire control of the State, and are relieved of the military authorities here, to make such rules and laws respecting his status as will bring him completely in their power.

THE PRESIDENT'S ULTIMATUM TO GEORGIA.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Nov. 3, 1865.

The National Republican has the following: Milledgeville, Ga., Wednesday, Nov. 1, 1865. The following highly important dispatch from the President of the United States has been received here by Gov. Johnson: EXECUTIVE MESSAGER, D. C. Oct. 28, 1865.

THE NEGRO QUESTION IN KENTUCKY.

The Mayor of Lexington Does One Thing and the Military Authorities Uproot It.

The congregation of colored persons in this city, claimed to be slaves by the neighboring farmers and others, has become an evil of such magnitude as to require correction.

GEORGE THOMPSON'S MOVEMENTS.

PETERBORO', Madison Co., N. Y., Oct. 26, 1865.

MR. GARRISON,—Our noble anti-slavery friend Hon. George Thompson lectured at Oneida on Friday evening, Oct. 20th. On Saturday, Gerrit Smith sent his carriage and brought him to Peterboro'. This is the first time these distinguished men have met since Mr. Thompson's arrival in this country.

THE COLORED POOR AT RICHMOND.

In answer to the appeal of Rev. Peter Randolph, which appeared in the Liberator of Oct. 20th, concerning the suffering among the colored people of Richmond, Virginia, the following donations have been received:

Several friends, by Samuel May, Jr., \$20.00 Mrs. Nancy L. Howe, Barnstable, 20.00

Attention is again asked to Mr. Randolph's letter, that the collections may go forward as soon as possible. All donations should be sent to Samuel May, Jr., Liberator Office, Boston, Mass.

AUSTIN KENT TO HIS FRIENDS.—I have 600 copies of my small work on Conjugal Love. I know many to have highly prized it.

THE REVOLT AT JAMAICA.—New York, Nov. 2.—The Diario, of Santiago de Cuba of the 19th ult., gives the following particulars in regard to the insurrection which has broken out in Jamaica. The revolt commenced in St. Thomas District, and has since spread under martial law. The insurgents are led by a man named Paul Bogle, for whose capture the government has offered a reward of \$2,000.

INDUSTRY OF THE FREEDMEN.—Washington, Nov. 2.—The Tribune's Washington special says a number of colored men of Norfolk, Va., have combined to purchase a farm of 1,000 acres, for \$10,000, on Currituck Sound (twenty miles from Norfolk). They expect to cut it up into forty farms of twenty-five acres each.

THE NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS BANK already had deposits exceeding \$250,000, and as the Government pays off the colored troops, the amount grows rapidly.

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Poetry.

ON SEEING A PORTRAIT OF E. H. W.

O post bow, dark, soulful eyes,
Whose beauty haunts the heart!

A song of praise to Him who filled
The harvest sown in tears,

Selections.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The Independent publishes the following account,
by Mr. Carpenter, of an interview between the

Punctual to the appointment, the hour found Mr.
Owen at the White House. A repeated summons

"Really," said he, "Mr. President, I owe you an
apology for coming in upon you in this unceremonious

"Here it is, sir," was the reply. "Well, I never
knew that," he rejoined; "and so on through."

WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS.

The opening lecture of the session of 1866 of the
Woman's College of Physicians and Surgeons, connected

THE PEACE AUTUMN.

Thank God for rest, where none molest,
And none can make afraid.

of the various schools of medicine, and woman's
physiological ignorance of herself. To this latter cause

HORRIBLE TREATMENT OF A NEGRO WOMAN.

A letter from Griffin, Georgia, dated the 11th inst.,
appearing in the Cincinnati Commercial, relates the

Ingram flew into a rage, and instantly locking
her in the room, tripped every shod of clothing from

THE ENEMY AT OUR DOOR.

It is almost certain that in a short time the cholera
will be upon our shores. Passing through France,

CHOLERA IN NEW YORK.

The steamer Atlanta recently arrived in New York
harbor, from Havre, with twenty cases of cholera on

THE OBSTACLES TO REFORM.

These are the facts as we have seen them, and as
the cholera will find us if it comes. We suppose it

the epidemic pestilence reach us, there can be no
manner of doubt that it will sweep off hundreds of

PREVENTION OF CHOLERA.

The following is a report lately read before the
Board of Aldermen of Boston on the Grade and Sewerage

Alderman Standish, Chairman of the Committee
on raising the grade of the territory between Boylston

The grade of this territory is only four or five feet
above low water-mark. When the estates of the

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

The action of the several States upon the Constitutional amend-
ment abolishing slavery has been as follows:

- ILLINOIS, Feb. 1, 1865. East Virginia, Feb. 9.
Rhode Island, Feb. 2. Indiana, Feb. 13.
Maryland, Feb. 3. Nevada, Feb. 16.
Massachusetts, Feb. 3. Louisiana, Feb. 17.
New York, Feb. 3. Missouri, Feb. 21.
Pennsylvania, Feb. 3. Wisconsin, Feb. 24.
West Virginia, Feb. 3. Michigan, Feb. 4.
Maine, Feb. 7. Arkansas, April 6.
Ohio, Feb. 8. Connecticut, May 4.
Kansas, Feb. 8. Iowa, June 20.
Minnesota, Feb. 8. New Hampshire, June 20.

REMARKS.

It is expected that Colorado (the new State) will
soon ratify the amendment, and that the copperhead

RE-SWORN.

Re-sworn. Robert E. Lee, late General-in-Chief
of the rebel army, has taken the amnesty oath under

IOWA THE BANNER STATE.

Iowa the Banner State. The recent Republican
victory in Iowa was won upon the avowed platform

A JUST MEASURE. We are happy to observe that
Tennessee is leading the way among Southern States

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

Slavery in Cuba. Allusion has already been
made to the movement for the abolition of slavery in

"A meeting of wealthy slave-owners, capitalists and
well-known merchants, Creoles and Europeans, was

WHAT THE REBEL STATES MUST DO.

The dispatch of the President to North Carolina,
advising the Legislature to repudiate the rebel debt

NEW ORLEANS DATES OF THE 15th ult.

A circular from the Freedmen's Bureau says that
abandoned plantations, seed, implements and animals

IN THE FENIAN CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA, 21st ult.

In the Fenian Congress at Philadelphia, 21st ult.,
the President of the body announced that B. Doan

As an evidence of the rapidity with which

commerce in the South is reconstructing itself, we
noticed that the St. Louis and New Orleans tonnage

It has recently been decided in a New York

court that a person born a slave cannot inherit
property. A woman, formerly a slave in Virginia,

DAINTY POLITICIANS.

Two men in the country with whom he would
never converse, viz.: Caleb Cushing and Fernando

A letter written by Joe Davis, brother of the

caged rebel ex-President, to an officer of the
Freedmen's Bureau in Mississippi, was received

Forty persons were poisoned lately in Shiloh,

by the use of calomel administered by physicians,
which it was discovered had been mixed with

A Charleston letter is emphatic in the

expression that a union of the M. E. Church South is
impossible. "Deeper, far deeper," says this letter,

The next Congress will officially proclaim

the territory of Colorado as the thirty-seventh State
in the Union.

MORRILL'S PETROLEUM STOVE.
One of the Most Brilliant Inventions of the Age!
IT COOKS, WASHES AND IRONS WITHOUT COAL.

Baking in these stoves, instead of the old inefficient
ovens in thirty minutes, is the bread comes out of the

"CHALLENGES THE WORLD"
to produce a method which a steak can be broiled that
will compare with the Parrot's, which always

READ THE FOLLOWING TESTIMONIALS.
[From Messrs. E. D. and G. Draper, Manufacturers, Hopedale, Mass.]

[From Dr. J. Cheever, of Charleston, Mass.]
CHARLESTON, Mass., May 24, 1865.

[From Mr. Edward Perkins, Proprietor of the Large Eating
Establishment, No. 37 and 39, Congress Street, Boston.]

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

[From Rev. J. P. Cushman, Pastor of Orthodox Congregational
Church, Brighton, Mass.]

O. F. MORRILL & Co.
Dear Sir—After a brief experience with your stove,
it gives me pleasure to state that I am a

MESSRS. MORRILL & Co.
Gentlemen—I have asked how I like my "Petroleum
Stove." I would here state that it works admirably,

SIR: I do certify that, with the thermometer at freezing
point, (32 degrees), I heated my office (size ten by

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, JR.
WOOL COMMISSION MERCHANT.
No. 6 Channing Street, Boston.

WHEN ADVANCES ARE NOT REQUIRED.
One per cent. per pound, and one per cent. (and interest)
on the balance of one per cent. on sales.

WHEN ADVANCES ARE REQUIRED.
Five per cent. (and government tax) on sales. This
charge covers all expenses after the wool is received

THE RADICAL:
A JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE.
PUBLISHED MONTHLY, BY S. H. MORRIS, BOSTON.