

RESTORATION OF THE REBEL STATES.

ADDRESS BY HON. GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

Hon. George S. Boutwell, on the invitation of a

large number of the citizens of Boston, delivered an

address at Tremont Temple, on Wednesday

evening, July 20th, on the subject of "The Restora-

tion of the Rebel States." From a full report in the

Boston Journal, we make the following extracts:

If the Proclamation of Emancipation is to stand,

how four million of heretofore slaves to be free-

domed, black as well as white? What is the result?

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THE LIBERATOR

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

A SPEECH BY GENERAL LOGAN.

ON HIS VIEWS ON FREE LABOR AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Major-General Logan delivered a forcible and

eloquent speech in Louisville, Ky., on Friday last,

in which he gave some sensible advice to the Ken-

tuckians. We subjoin the following extracts:

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

We look in vain through the Southern States for

public schools. Ignorance sits enthroned where the

flowers bloom in mid winter, and waste their frag-

rance upon the desert air. Why is this so? The

riddle is easily read. The educated man will think,

and, if his heart is educated, he will feel, and "out

of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

Surely, then, that same policy that made it a legal

crime to educate a slave, must, in the inexorable

everyday, by possibility, may become the

friend of the slave. The people of the South having

resolved to perpetually persist in holding on to this

institution, pursued a politic plan to prevent the

spread of popular education. Can any man fail to

see, or fail to feel, that any institution, the interest

of which must make such exertions, is bound to be

a country's curse? Lycurgus, who was a great and

good Grecian lawgiver in his day and generation,

insisted that children were the property of the

State. There is but one use to which the State

can put children, that is to educate them. Intel-

ligence is heaven's rarest gift, and it is the duty

of the State to give it to all its children with

equity, as well as to her most vital interest, that

to develop all of her moral resources. Had a wise

system of popular education been adopted at the

South at the same time it was at the North, that

section might not be to-day, as it verily is, without

the light of a single great mind to guide it through

the dark wilderness of its troubles. Attribute, if

you please, the degradation in which is found buried

the Southern mind, either to a jealousy of educa-

tion or the selfishness of affluence, and still it is

the institution of slavery that causes it.

NEGRO EQUALITY.

I see it is asserted by those hostile to the

proposed amendment, that the second section gives

Congress power to legislate on the question of ne-

gro suffrage in the States. This I do most emphati-

cally deny. The second section is simply designed

to make the first effective—in other words, to

make any one who should pass a law to

practically execute it. The South has already com-

mitted to the keeping of each State the regulation of the

question. I have frequently felt emotions of amaze-

ment and amusement at the holy horror with which

some stump orators of quondam slave States de-

precate what they affect to believe are the intentions

of Congress, should this amendment be adopted, in re-

gard to one question over which, it does occur to me,

every man with a thumbnail of brains in his head

ought to know Congress never can have jurisdiction.

I allude to the delicate question of social equality

and intercourse. How can Congress pass a law to

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gloriously aided in establishing. A fresh illustration will be seen of those institutions can produce.

The indignation of the people will not exhaust itself in a momentary outburst; it will concentrate, and embody itself in the unanimous, persevering, and invincible action of the universal will.

The work will be completed after Lincoln, as if finished by him; but Lincoln will remain the austere and sacred personification of a great epoch, the most faithful expression of democracy.

This simple and upright man, prudent and strong, elevated step by step from the artisan's bench to the command of a great nation, and always without parade and without effort at the height of his position, and executing without precipitation, without flourish and without invective the most colossal acts, giving to the world the decisive example of the civil power in a republic, directing a gigantic war without free institutions being for an instant compromised or threatened by military usurpation, dying finally at the moment in which, after conquering, he was intent on pacification—and may God grant that his peace be wished, pacification by force—this man will stand out in the traditions of his country and the world as an illustration of the people and of modern democracy itself.

The great work of emancipation had to be sealed, therefore, with the blood of the just, even as it was inaugurated with the blood of the just. The tragic history of the abolition of slavery which opened with the gibbet of John Brown, will close with the assassination of Lincoln.

And now let him rest by the side of Washington, as the second founder of the great Republic. European democracy is present in spirit at his funeral, and it voted in its heart the midst of which he passed away. It will wish with one accord to associate itself with the monument that America will raise to him upon the capital of prostrate slavery.

HENRI MARTIN.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

Gov. Johnson, of Georgia, has issued a proclamation, calling upon the people of that State to elect delegates to a convention to be held on the fourth Wednesday of October next. The election is to be held on the first Wednesday of the same month. The Governor also delivered an address in the City Hall, Macon, on Saturday evening, July 15.

He said he had been appointed for the single purpose of enabling the people of the State to form a government. He has not been authorized to appoint civil magistrates, and would not do it. He advised the people to receive the amnesty oath, and thus prepare themselves to become citizens. On the slavery question he was thus explicit:

"I now feel bound to declare to you one thing which you must recognize as accomplished, and the sooner you know it and conform to it, the sooner you will be relieved from military rule. Slavery exists no more. This is decreed. Its restoration under any form is utterly out of the question. Slavery has been extinguished by the operations of the late war. I do not propose, in this connection, to enter upon a lengthy argument to prove it. I simply state what is acknowledged by all writers on the subject of law, that all men have the right to make captures of persons and property, and that they may make what disposition they please of the property captured. The vanquished are at the disposition of the conquerors, and may be disposed of as they think proper. Such is war, and it is a sin against God and humanity that it should be waged. We must submit to the result of the war. Congress, by the Constitution of the United States, has the power to give the President the regulation of captures, by sea and land; and the President, in the exercise of this power given him by the Constitution, has issued his proclamation disposing of these captures, declaring that all negroes who were slaves in the rebel States should, by virtue of that proclamation, be emancipated. Such is my judgment of the law, and I believe the Supreme Court will so decide.

"I come to another point. The Constitution which the people of Georgia shall adopt in convention will be required to recognize this fact. The convention will be called upon to agree to this amendment to the Constitution, that slavery shall no longer exist in these States. They will be called upon, in order that this quarrel about slavery, which has existed since the beginning of the government to the present time, shall never be revived, and in order that there may be no dispute among the people of this State on the subject. They must provide for its extinction now; and so I tell you today, if you wish to be admitted into the Union, this convention of the people of Georgia must be composed of such material as will recognize the fact of the extinction of slavery in Georgia, and agree to the amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which will extinguish slavery throughout the country.

"It is claimed by some that the negroes will not work. I know that those who have been driven off the farms will not work, because they have no opportunity of working, and some of them will not work where they have not been driven off. For this latter class the legislature must make laws, declaring them vagrants, and punishing them as such. The negroes will not work? How do you know they will not? I saw them working very well in New York and other places where they have been. It is true they sometimes commit crimes in these States, and they are punished for it. They must work—they can work—they must either work or perish. What is the difficulty? Do not the people have to work in Germany, in France, in New York, in Ohio? What is the reason they will not work? I tell you they will work; and I must say, that under the peculiar circumstances by which they were surrounded, no people have ever behaved better than they have done. Those who tell you they will not work have hopes of continuing their control and dominion over them. They will work under contracts of hire, and if they fail, they become vagrants and may be punished or exiled as the laws of the State may direct.

"While we have been hurt and chastised for the present, yet let us remember that we may accumulate property in the future; and all our surplus capital, instead of being laid out in negroes, will be expended in permanent improvements, in increasing the comforts of our homes, manuring our lands, planting orchards, building permanent fences, and in manufactures of all kinds. Attracted to this land, immigrants from other parts of the world, and from the North, will come to settle among us, because we have as good a climate as any under the sun. Our towns and villages, instead of going to decay, will improve, and art and sciences will flourish among us. Such, I believe, will be one of the results of this war.

"And not only that, there is another advantage. We have been very sensitive as a people. We allowed no man to think that slavery was a moral, social, or political evil, and if any one thought thus he was deemed unsound, and arraigned before vigilance committees. Even when Lord John Russell, in England, took occasion to state that he hoped slavery would be abolished by this revolution, our people commenced abusing him as if he had trospassed upon our rights. We abused mankind when they differed with us, and we carried our opposition to men's thinking as they pleased to such an extent that men among us who dared to differ with us on this subject were arraigned, not by law, or before a legal tribunal, but before vigilance societies, and personally abused. Civilization was almost driven from the land—law and order were suppressed by these lawless men. But now we can look over this land, and pray as Solomon did, that all of Adam's race may be elevated to dignity and happiness. Now every man may, in the exercise of his constitutional rights, advocate slavery or denounce it, surrounded by his by the power of the Government of the United States, which protects us fully in the enjoyment of these rights.

"It seems to be the order of Providence in dealing with nations, as he deals with individuals, that they shall be perfected by sufferings. We shall come out of this controversy a more glorious and happy people. The presence of liberty will be well guarded among us. We shall remain a free and united people. In looking down the vista of time, I see Georgia too long prosperous; and when all our sectional prejudices shall have died away, we shall meet together, North and South, as brethren, rejoicing under one government, and

marching on to the glorious destiny which is before us. Not only will Georgia be in wealth and population, but the whole Southern country will be prosperous in arts, manufactures, wealth, and civilization. I see them marching in this new order of things. The whole country, united in the bonds of charity and love, must go on prospering until this great nation shall be unequalled by any power on earth. This is our country; these are her prospects. To this standard I invite you to rally.

"Tis the star-spangled banner, oh, long may it wave O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

We make the following extract from the able and well-reasoned Address of the Republican State Committee to the People of Massachusetts:

The people of the free States do not intend to enter upon any crusade against the ancient right of the States to fix the qualifications of voters. Whether such qualifications be of property or of education, or of age and sex alone, is a matter of State concern, with which no one desires to interfere. But when the late rebel governments, deputed by their own agents to the States, have attempted without legislative, executive or judicial department to exercise the functions of civil office, come forward as applicants for pardon and for restoration into the family of States, it is an exercise on our part of the simplest instinct of self-defence if we require that all constitutional and statute provisions, all customs, and usages, and traditions, solely based upon that institution of slavery which was the origin and main-spring of the rebellion, shall be made to give way. Laws and ordinances perpetuated for the government of chattels must not be perpetuated for the government of men. We do not ask the President to make use of any doubtful powers; but the power to preserve what the valor of our soldiers and sailors has won is not doubtful; the power to keep the country from again falling into the possession of an aristocracy of caste—the power to preserve us from another quarter of a century of slavery agitation, to be followed, perhaps, by new rebellions and more devastating wars, is a power which the people will not relinquish, and which their servants, we cannot doubt, will sooner or later be obliged to use. Loyalty, to everybody alike, must be insisted on as the indispensable qualification of all voters, no matter whether constitutions of laws prescribe it or not. But a dark skin, or a trace more or less distinct of African descent, is no evidence of disloyalty, nor is it any test of intelligence. It is simply a badge of that servitude which we have been obliged to abolish in order to preserve the national existence. Shall we consent to the restoration of the rebel communities under the two-fifths constitutional provision, which greatly enlarges the political power of their voting population, and under a system which excludes from the polls a loyal people quite as intelligent as the great body of the white population? Shall we consent to laws which have helped to save it from destruction, and whose continued friendliness will be no less indispensable in the future?

It is an answer to this to say that some of the loyal States do not allow colored men to vote, and that we may as well undertake to exclude Ohio from the Union as to keep South Carolina from coming back with full congressional powers. Such inquiries, where they have not endangered the loyalty of the States where they exist, and where they do not threaten hereafter to put in peril the public peace, may be safely left to the reviving spirit of justice, the Northern people, stimulated by the great crisis, have performed for us a useful national service. At an rate, we possess and claim no right to interfere with the electoral laws of loyal States. But the rebel States, as everybody admits, are in a condition which requires reconstruction, or restoration, and which justifies guardianship and the strictest watchfulness on the part of our government and people. Whatever safeguards may be found necessary for the permanent pacification of the country, and for the fulfilment of the national pledge of freedom, in spirit as well as in letter, to the enfranchised blacks, must be insisted upon. We would not, however, insist upon the mere question of suffrage as a matter of right, or seem to insist upon giving to the freedmen new powers, which, however valuable to them, might not be deemed to be imperatively demanded by public considerations affecting the whole country. We are aware, too, that there are other questions of administration, the solution of which is in the hands of the President and Congress, and which, if rightly settled, as we believe they will be, will go far to ensure for us tranquility and safety. We notice with great satisfaction that many inevitable abuses, which have been brought to light since the close of hostilities, have been promptly corrected by the civil and military power. And we are confident that a wise and humane policy will do what can be done in the future to protect the colored loyalists from the spirit of hatred and oppression. But it will be found that the secret of our peace policy is precisely what was found to be the secret of our war policy, that is, the necessity of doing justice to this people, and of placing in their hands the power to protect themselves to secure their own rights, and redress their own wrongs. To this conclusion must it come at last. And the great industrial interests of the nation, its financial stability and honor, the progress of the new civilization which is to make the peaceful abode of a hundred million self-supporting citizens, all demand that the work of statehood shall be wisely commenced and thoroughly carried on.

KINDNESS CONCENTRATED.

We have already given the preamble and resolutions of a political meeting in Dooly County, Georgia, which it was "whereas" that "we have for four years most bravely and gallantly contended for our rights with the United States," and "been overpowered by numbers," and resolved "that we will for the present submit to the Constitution of the United States, and all laws in accordance with the same." Upon this "for the present" the N. Y. Tribune comes down in its style, suggesting that "treble hangs a tale":

"Thank you, gallant gentlemen! What will you take? We do not refer to simple drinks; but is there anything substantial which we can do to show our gratitude? That awful condition, 'for the present,' may well appal us. Believe us from our contrition by stating your terms! Take away the Damocles sword suspended over our festive board! I dare us not a prey to bewildering uncertainty! In short, state plainly what you will charge for a solemn promise never to take your country out of the Union! Do not tantalize us with your 'for the present'—for what should we do without you? We know that you are 'brave and gallant.' We have it upon the best of authority—your own! What could this lovely Republic do against you and your desperation? What would happen to us if you should take it into your heads to be 'brave and gallant' again? Name your terms! 'Niggers?'—take 'em! work 'em! hog 'em! pickle 'em! sell 'em! swindle 'em! starve 'em! do not do again turn upon us, dear country! Do you want money? Send us to McCulloch, and he will give you cords of greenbacks! Whisky? Hogheads of it, warranted out to eat holes in your stomachs in five minutes after its reception, shall be drawn to your very doors by government mules; and, if government does not know what real rifle whisky is, it is no fault of the contractors. So, name your terms, brave and gallant chivaliers! Fleah-pots, porter-pots, money-pots—land, 'niggers,' cash, boots, coats, anything—only take back that painful 'for the present.'"

The same Dooly county meeting further resolved, "that we will put down all vagrancy and crime, especially among the black population;" upon which the Tribune continues:

"This reminds us of the colored person who said he 'loved both his children alike—especially Pomp.' It seems the white vagrants and criminals are to have a long day—to be punished at leisure. The first fresh efforts of these friends of morality and industry are to be bestowed upon the blacks."

EUROPEAN TOLERATION OF COLOR. At one of Mrs. Louise de Mortie's musical soirees in New Orleans, in favor of the colored people, Mr. Edmond Dede took part. Mr. Dede is a black man, as black as any one can be. Dragged from his country by the stubbornness of prejudice, he went to France, and now leader of an orchestra in one of the Bordeaux Theatres. His fame as an artist is European. He contracted matrimony, in legitimate bonds, before the Mayor of that Imperial city, with a young lady of accomplished, belonging to one of the best families, and, of course, of Caucasian blood.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 4, 1865.

A CONGRATULATORY WORD.

Our readers will pleasantly remember the visit of that devoted and accomplished English missionary from Barbadoes, Rev. Henry Bleye, to this country, a few years since, and the excellent service he rendered to our then struggling anti-slavery cause by his valuable testimony to the beneficial workings of West India emancipation. He has been, for some time past, a resident of George-Town, Demerara. In a letter written by him in April last, he says:

"What stupendous changes have been wrought in connection with the great and good cause in which your life has been so largely devoted, within the last four years! You have tried to see your labors crowned with success beyond your most sanguine expectations. I trust you will be spared to see liberty and peace overspreading the whole land."

He had not then heard of the assassination of President Lincoln, nor of the surrender of General Lee and the utter collapse of the rebellion. While the former event will fill his breast with the deepest sorrow, the latter will cause him to leap for joy. It will be remembered that Mr. Bleye perilled his life and suffered various outrages in behalf of the down-trodden colored people of the British West Indies, before the abolition of slavery in those colonies; that he was a witness to the disastrous and oppressive results of the apprenticeship system; and that it was his privilege to see unconditional emancipation proclaimed at last, and from that hour to the present nothing but good attending the experiment—if an act of simple justice can be properly styled an experiment. What an experience has been his; and what wonders he has lived to see wrought in the isles of the sea, and in the United States, with reference to the freedom and elevation of that race in whose service almost two score years of his missionary life have been devoted! We beg him to accept our warmest congratulations in return for his own. Hereafter, the first of January will be our great American festival to commemorate a deliverance far transcending that of the extinction of West India slavery on the first of August.

GENERAL GRANT IN BOSTON.

On ascertaining that General Grant was at Albany, last week, and might probably extend his journey still further east, Gov. Andrew deputed Gen. Schouler to take a letter to him, inviting him to Boston, and assuring him that it would confer great pleasure on the people of Massachusetts to accord him some reception which might help to express their cordial sentiments of honor and gratitude for the services he had rendered his country. In accordance with this invitation, Gen. Grant arrived in this city on Saturday evening. For two hours, an immense assembly waited eagerly to give him their "all hail," at the Worcester depot.

At about 7—says the Journal—the Independent Corps of Cadets, in command of Lieut. Col. C. C. Holmes, and accompanied by the Brigade Band, marched into the station, and were drawn up in line upon the platform. Loud cheering from the lower end, outside, announced the approach of the train, and at precisely ten minutes past 7 o'clock it entered the station. As the General descended from the car, supported on the arm of Adj. Gen. Schouler, and followed by his staff, family and the other gentlemen of the party, he was met by President Twichell of the Worcester Road, Superintendent Prescott of the Eastern, Hon. Henry Wilson, Mr. Wm. H. Kennard, Mr. Geo. L. Sawin and other prominent gentlemen, while the escort presented arms, and the band saluted with "Hail to the Chief." On the appearance of the distinguished party at the entrance of the station, such cheers rent the air as were never heard in greeting of any man. A welcome so ardent and enthusiastic has never been given to any one in this city before, and in no other city, we are told, has it been equalled.

As the General stepped into the carriage in waiting, the immense multitude assembled made a rush and crowded round it to obtain a grasp of his hand. It was with difficulty that the police were able to force them back, and they were obliged to use their "bills" pretty freely before the crowd gave way, when the other carriages were filed as speedily as possible, the escort fell into column, and the cortege moved on. General Grant rode in the first barouche, which was drawn by four splendid steeds who seemed to step with a certain pride, as if they knew they were harnessed to the chariot of a hero. On the seat beside him was Col. Babcock of his staff; in front, Adjutant General Schouler and Col. King. The next carriage contained the General's family; the third the remainder of his staff, and another the City Committee. The route was taken through Beach to Washington, Washington to Boylston, Tremont and Court to the Revere House. The streets were thronged. Cheer upon cheer rose from the crowds upon the sidewalks, on the balconies and at the windows. As the cortege passed the Common, a national salute was fired by a section of Capt. French's Battery.

Among those present at the Revere House to receive the General were Gov. Andrew and his staff, and a number of distinguished gentlemen, among whom were Hon. Samuel Hooper, Hon. Henry Wilson, Hon. Charles Sumner, the Marquis de Chambord, Mr. Loring Lothrop, and several ladies. The Governor having welcomed the Lieutenant General in behalf of the State, and the ceremonies of introduction being over, while tremendous cheering was going on outside, the General and party retired to their rooms, and about an hour afterward came down to supper. The General, on arrival, was dressed in plain clothes, with only his military hat, but on entering the supper-room wore his full uniform as Lieut. General, without arms. His Excellency the Governor presided at the table, with Mrs. Grant on his right hand, and the General on his left.

At 9 o'clock in the evening, Gen. Grant was serenaded by Gilmore's magnificent full band, playing "Hail Columbia," "The Star-Spangled Banner," "The Red, White and Blue," "Tramp, tramp, tramp," "Yankee Doodle," &c. At length, the General made his appearance on the balcony, with His Excellency the Governor, Col. Babcock of his staff, and his son Frederick, the band playing "Hail to the Chief," and the vast multitude which filled the square and showed a sea of heads far down Cambridge, Green, Chardon and Court streets, cheered louder than ever. As the tumult was about to subside, a stentorian voice called out, "Three cheers for the old ball-dog of the Weldon Railroad!" which was the signal for another outburst of enthusiasm from the crowd, mingled with cries of "Speech," "Speech," "Say something, General," and similar calls, with loud and long-continued cheering. As soon as it was possible to be heard, Governor Andrew said to

Gentlemen: The General desires me to say that he highly appreciates the honor of your call this evening, and that he will be happy to meet his friends and take them by the hand at Faneuil Hall on Monday, at 12 o'clock.

Again the cheers broke forth, and the General, with His Excellency, retired to the parlors, where a number of merchants and gentlemen of the city were introduced. At 10 o'clock carriages were brought to the Bulfinch street entrance, and while the Band was discoursing some of their most beautiful music, to which the multitude were listening, General Grant and his Staff, with the Governor and His Honor, Mayor Lincoln, (who had arrived during the evening, and came directly to the Revere House), were driven off to the Union Club, where the General was received and entertained by the members of the Club, and remained until after 11 o'clock.

On Sunday forenoon he attended religious services at the Old South, where a discourse was preached by Rev. J. M. Manning.

His Excellency the Governor dined with the General at 2 o'clock P. M., at the Revere House, and at 6:12 o'clock the whole party, consisting of Governor Andrew, Lieutenant-General Grant, Mrs. Grant, Messrs Frederick and Ulysses, and Misses Ellen and Jessie, with Col. Babcock and two sons of the Governor, were driven out to the suburbs, and on their return were stopped at the residence of His Honor Mayor Lincoln in Lombard Square, where they met a few friends, and remained during the evening.

On Monday morning, Gen. Grant visited the Navy Yard at Charlestown, and was received by Rear Admiral Stringham, the Commandant, and members of his staff, who proceeded to conduct the company through the yard. The marine guard in command of Lieut. Perry, were formed in line on the parade, with the Navy Band, and presented arms as the General passed, the band playing "Hail to the Chief." The workmen of the yard, numbering about thirty-five hundred, were assembled on either side of the principal street, reaching nearly down to the ship-houses, and as the distinguished party advanced blended cheer upon cheer with the music of the band and the salute that thundered forth from the guns of the water battery. After passing through the various workshops and inspecting the new vessels now in process of construction, the company returned to the Admiral's house, where an elegant collation was served, and the officers of the yard were presented to the General in the order of their rank.

"From the Navy Yard the General was taken to the residence of Hon. G. W. Warren, and from thence to the Monument grounds, where the principal features of interest were pointed out.

Returning to Boston, at noon, the General was escorted to Faneuil Hall, in and around which were thousands of citizens, eager to do him honor, and whose enthusiasm on his appearance was boundless. Mayor Lincoln introduced him as follows:

Fellow-Citizens: We have assembled to do honor to a distinguished guest, whose name is a household word in every patriot home—a man of deeds and not of words, whose eloquence is of that kind which has stirred the people's heart more than any form of speech, and who is here at our invitation to receive that gratitude and admiration for his eminent services which we rejoice in the opportunity of extending to him. If our lips had been dumb, these very walls would have proclaimed us, these pictured faces would have rushed from their canvases to bid him welcome to Faneuil Hall. I am desired by him to express to you his thanks for this demonstration, and to say that he is not in the habit of speaking, and will not address this assembly. A portion of you, however, he will gladly take by the hand, but as he has not an arm of iron, it can hardly be expected that he will be able to greet you all as you pay your respects to him.

Mayor Lincoln then presented Gen. Grant to the assembled multitude. When the host stepped upon the rostrum, the cheers and applause again burst forth, louder, longer than before, the band playing "Hail to the Chief."

From Faneuil Hall the General was driven to the Revere House, where an elegant lunch was served; after which, he was taken to the College at Cambridge, —to Mount Auburn,—to the beautiful country-seat of Mr. Alvin Adams,—to the Watertown Arsenal,—and, finally, to the Union Club in Park Street, where a private dinner party was given to his honor—Gov. Andrew being present.

The General, with his family and suite, left Boston for Portland at half-past 8 o'clock on Tuesday morning, in a special train over the Boston and Maine railroad, stopping at Lawrence to view the Pacific Mills and other objects of interest.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXXIX.

NEW YORK, July 27, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

It is a little less than half a century since Sir Francis Burdett introduced into Parliament a scheme of reform which provided for universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, one day for all elections, voting by ballot, and an annual renewal of Parliament. His motion was seconded by Lord Cochrane, who was appointed teller with him on the call for the previous question. The House gave them little trouble in counting their supporters: 106 said no, and not a soul said aye. There have been many reforms since in England, though no great progress has been made towards the democratic model in regulating the franchise. Up to this time there has been wanting a striking and irrefragable proof of the security of our American system; but the liberal party across the water is to-day enabled to combat the rioting which preceded and in some measure attended the recent elections there, with the absolute sobriety of our national election last November, when the very existence of Government was at stake, and the rebellion cast all its moral (say, rather, immoral) weight, and what of physical it could, into the balance. This fact alone, which shines like a kohinoor on the experiment of popular self-rule, would probably secure at the present epoch a more respectful hearing for a proposition like Sir Francis Burdett's, and perhaps a decent minority favorable to its adoption. Certain is it, that one staunch friend of human equality has been triumphantly carried into Parliament, in the person of John Stuart Mill, not the least of whose recommendations was, that he had been the steadfast champion of the cause, the principles and the politics of our loyal North. Mr. Mill had serious difficulties to encounter—wealth that corrupted, and bigotry that undermined the consciences of the electors. He was chosen, after all, as much in spite of certain views which he publicly avowed, as because of his general opinions on the question of reform. We may not pretend, therefore, that his election signifies any approval of his belief that women should have a voice at the polls as well as men—a doctrine which even Sir Francis could hardly have swallowed, or undertaken to deduce from the Magna Charta. We may well be surprised, however, that the conservative opposition were unable to defeat the logician by showing whether his reasoning led him, when once he had launched upon the vortex of democracy. Let me recall, as a curious coincidence and parallel, the struggle for Westimint in 1818, when Sir Francis Burdett was returned by the electors, because of his views on a general extension of the suffrage, together with Sir Samuel Romilly, whose name is synonymous with purity and humanity. The latter, we are told, was "brought in at the head of the poll, without having either spent a shilling or asked a vote, or even once made his appearance on the hustings."

President Johnson may be deemed to have acted from a judicious motive when he preferred for Provisional Governors Southern-born men, and, if possible, natives of the States over which they were wanted to preside. This policy had its perils as well as its advantages—both too plain to need pointing out. The newly-created officials have in fact entered on their functions with considerable equivocation, making an oblique and awkward bow, as who would fain be spared the impoliteness of turning their gubernatorial backs on the setting or the rising sun. The introduction over, their language has begun to improve, and perhaps it would be unfair to charge any one of them with a design to impede the legal extinction of slavery by national and State enactments. For the rest, they are mainly content to hurry reconstruction through the summer, order and hold elections in the Fall, and send up to Congress, had in hand, a full delegation of Senators and Representatives. Gov. Perry is confident that South Carolina will be on hand in December. It is more than likely. But it will require a number of anti-Greenville speeches to render the State acceptable in the eyes of Congress. Mr. Perry had the misfortune to be a common citizen before he was a Governor, and to be called on to make a public confession before he knew that his were already official lips. Having read his remarks with some diligence, I venture to append a condensed report, which I am aware possesses a mixed character, but I think not more so than its original. The orator exhibited a singular dexterity in neutralizing every good thing that he said, and while ceasing to encourage the people to be submissive,

and prompt to reconstruct the State on the basis prescribed by Government, set a very mischievous example of how not to do it.

ADDRESS OF HON. B. F. PERRY, TO HIS CONSTITUENTS AT GREENVILLE, S. C., BEFORE HE KNEW THAT HE WAS GOVERNOR IN POSS.

"I always told you how 't would be. There was no chance of breaking loose. You thought I was a dreamer. You 'lowed your egg and killed the goose. But let me tell you privately, I could have wished you hadn't failed. You had, as long as you were at sea. The prettiest craft that ever sailed—'Or usk,'—the Honorable B. F. Perry says reluctantly. This gentleman malgré lui.

"And how about your slavery? What's niggers worth, I'd like to know? You've got to let 'em all run free. Prestissimo, prestissimo. The wretches, though, 'twist you and me. Will their blood be a blessing or a curse—From bondage into liberty. Is going straight from bad to worse. 'From bad to worse; but say,' says he, 'From good,'—the Honorable B. F. Perry says decidedly. This gentleman malgré lui.

"O Union! true was I to thee When all around me seemed to flee. We're landing, like a honey-bee. That makes for clover on the sward. Yet, friends, I own that bitterly I grieve that we return again. With curving back and bended knee. The master and not the man. 'The master, not lords of men,' says he, 'Not lords,'—the Honorable B. F. Perry says regretfully. This gentleman malgré lui.

"Although you strayed from your allegiance rashly, you were never knaves: You lacked my gift of prophecy, Immortal, unsuccessful braves! And that's your general's fate. Who's who? Who's who? Is it to rank with Washington. 'To rank with Washington,' says he, 'Or next,'—the Honorable B. F. Perry says assuredly. This gentleman malgré lui.

"By-gone it is, and let it be—The past that brought no gain to you: Take of your cruel destiny. And wear it like a well-used shoe. But, ah! the North's atrocity I would not have you e'er forget, Nor cease to recollect that we are loyal to the bayonet. 'Loyal to bayonet,' says he, 'Loyal!,'—the Honorable B. F. Perry says remorsefully. This gentleman malgré lui.

"Is this your boasted loyalty? The nation reeled with wrath and scorn: 'Sooner than mouth it, better die! Oh! better never have been born!' 'Time was, I will admit,' says he, 'The word meant something else; but, in! The times have changed quite latterly, And now across change ed. 'Aron change ed,' says he, 'Tout ça,'—the Honorable B. F. Perry says, "to quote le dit Du médecin malgré lui."

You will pardon me if the above undertaking has left me little strength to talk of other topics this week. It may be permitted, while the hot weather lasts, to improve the beautiful spectacle which the late rebellious South presents. Each State has a Governor; or, to speak more accurately, every Governor has a State. How many the Union has of the latter cannot be settled before December. I anticipate considerable effort and some disappointment in that prospect. I intend to enjoy the Provisional State of South Carolina as long as I can.

M. DU PAYS.

THE RENOVATION OF THE SOUTH.

The leading and most efficient means of renovating any country or section of a country is the instruction of the people. The want of instruction is peculiarly the condition of the South at the present time. No portion of Europe for the last hundred years has been more hopelessly sunk in ignorance, not only of human rights and true political ideas, but of the necessary domestic thrift, and the means for the attainment of personal comfort by well-applied and judiciously managed manual labor. Indeed, the leading themes on which social conversation and the intellectual energies of the people were expended were, in general, more characteristic of African heathenism than of Caucasian civilization. With few exceptions, the public mind has been "cabined, cribbed, confined" to the gross sensualism of trade, without its expansive and liberalizing influence, felt in the free North and throughout the civilized world. And so far from the South ever having been a strong, wealthy, self-sustaining section of the country, it has always been hopelessly bankrupt in money as well as in character. The high price of cotton, some few years, has given it a galvanic appearance of rapid accumulation of wealth; but the extra profits of those years have been always absorbed, either in paying off old debts or in outlays to forestall the rainy days sure to come in the next few years. No country can be safely called rich, or even absolutely prosperous, that is dependent for its whole support upon one staple. The rice and sugar productions of the South occupied but small fractions of the inhabitants; not enough of the cereals were grown for their own consumption, their beef, pork, hay, butter, cheese and mules came from the North and West; and, leaving out Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, their horses and cattle were of but little account. Cotton was their sole dependence. Its culture cost six cents a pound by the cheapest labor; and when it sold for ten, or even twelve cents, it left no margin large enough to furnish the planters, great and small, the means of gratifying their luxurious and wasteful tastes, after relieving their necessities. Hypothecation of future crops and mortgaging of plantations were of course the final resort in multitudinous cases, and as the years rolled on, bad matters only became worse.

The stupidity of the people, induced by the sloth begotten of slavery, and the gradual disuse of the reflective and perceptive faculties, forbade any general awakening to the real condition of things; and an obstinate pride and arrogant self-conceit, the natural children of stupidity and sloth, shut the door to instruction from without; and to an honest, thorough and keen observer, there could not be found in the world, not excepting China and India, a more dismal case of the steady progress of the disintegration of society than was there presented. Rapidly and surely the moral pillars of their social edifice were giving way; and it only required the earthquake of civil war to prostrate the temple reared by Southern devotion in irretrievable ruin. Now the great deep of Southern prejudice is broken up by the rude hand of the rebellion; and the miserable wrecks of a poor, proud, stupid and ignorant people lie, a chaotic mass, in full view of the gaze of all Christendom. There is no mistaking the real nature of the beast that ruled with such despotism away under the guise of a proud oligarchy, and bent into one solid phalanx of evil the base but stubborn will of the ignorant masses. Once the name of slavery or the South could stand against the world; now "no one so poor to do it reverence." There is no apostolism for the modern hydra whose fifty heads are now being cut off, and eyed with the hot iron of universal contempt.

Now, how can these masses of human beings, black and white—for there is virtually no difference in moral condition at present—be raised to a fit position in the republic? The question being asked admits of but one answer—they must be instructed. To a New Englander, born amid free schools, having never lived beyond the light of a church steeple and school-house, the answer involves an enormous outlay of money in the erection of school-houses, elegant furniture, libraries, text-books, well-paid teachers, the arts and sciences, academies or high schools, colleges

clergymen at high salaries, and school examinations every where like the frogs of Egypt, disturbing every thing. But to a practical mind, that has traveled every road from ignorance to intelligence by the way of his own efforts, reached that eligible condition, that in his own efforts, aided simply by the wisdom of a reader and more acceptable way than to wait for all these "glittering generalities."

In this view, first, the necessity of being taught to read and write—attainments that in ordinary circumstances can be reached in a year by any usually bright boy or girl over ten years of age—will be admitted. To acquire this will require simply the help of cheap but laborious souls imbued with the holy belief of their own are willing to impart instruction of this nature, without regard to convenience or elegance of school-room or church. In this line are needed, as suggested in our former discussion of this subject, the intelligent colored people of the North and West can follow; but just now, let the whole effort be directed to opening the gate of the mind to the pouring of truth by or from the printed page—by means of this, all the rest will come in good time, and easily enough; and, indeed, in the uplifting of an emaciated people from the degradation of bondage, many things are more necessary to be taught and understood than geography and grammar, and those are the ways and means for physical support from the right application and economy of labor, and how to defend their persons and property from attack, and render them safe at all times. In the usual school plan in the West, but in this case, must educate millions of adults, of both sexes, and all colors.

And in order to bring the knowledge of reading into full and immediate use, so that the ability to read may increase, and its practical use be immediately felt in the improvement and uplifting of the people in thrift, morals and intelligence, the newspapers must be invoked. And on this point we wish to add a few deulatory suggestions.

While it will be admitted that an agency has done more—notwithstanding the evils connected with its administration—to enlighten and expand the liberality of the North, it will not probably be denied that the main influence of the newspaper press of the South has been pernicious. Leaving out a small amount of smartness of literary composition, or a turning paragraph, and the little local news admitted to their columns, it will hardly be claimed that the Southern papers of the old style were or are worth reading. It is easy to see how the people could remain in such enfeebling ignorance of their State, the country at large, and the North in general, as appears to have been the case. Light was straggling from their eyes, and darkness, dense as that of Egypt, was spread over the land, and the newspapers seemed to vie with each other to increase it.

Now, this must be reversed. The main effort of the philanthropist must be set to the printing press all over the South, as fast as possible, and furnish the people with the needed simple information on the various matters connected with thrift and self-reliance. Let all abstract speculation and self-righteousness while till the people are informed in the proper culture of the soil, the proper use of tools, the simple mechanic arts, the necessity of self-defense, and how to attain to it, as well as the knowledge of human rights.

There are, perhaps, a few such papers now in existence, but we do not see any. We are informed that the Black Republican, a newspaper purporting to be edited by colored men in New Orleans, is a sparse affair. If so, we are sorry. There ought to be a good, smart, spicy paper, if not a large one, fitted to the comprehension of the common people, not only in New Orleans, Memphis, Louisville, Nashville, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk and Richmond, but in fifty other places in the Central South, as soon as possible. And in as many as possible other colored friends should have a leading interest, and editorial partnership, if not full control. And do not paper or elegance of type. Print, if necessary, on the coarsest and blackest of printing paper, only get the proper matter before the people in a cheap and simple form. In this way can the masses be educated in the proper ideas of life and labor. In the way thought can be quickened, and public sentiment aroused to consider those matters that have been long beyond its reach. The rights of men will be sooner understood. The claims of all human beings to the same privileges will be more easily seen. Prejudice will disappear; ignorance will give place to useful knowledge; the perceptive faculties of the whites will be excited, strengthened and brought into use; and the blacks, who have been compelled to learn through the eye and ear, while the tongue was silenced, will find a use for their developed perceptions.



PEACE SMILES AT LAST.

Four summers coined their golden light in leaves, Four wintery winds the thread the tempest waves, The fourth was April wept o'er hill and vale, And still the war-clouds scowled on sea and land, With the red gleams of battle staining through, When, lo! as parted by an angel's hand, They open, and the heavens again are blue!

Breathe home-harbells! I mourn that far green isle no more, For you've bloomed on a dearer shore, Oh! to fling myself down, some day, Where the bank is green with your river's spray; To love you and get you and play with you there, As a babe might play with its mother's hair; While I weep for happiness, thanking God For the touch of New England's sacred soil!

The Liberator.

SHALL BLACK MEN VOTE?

Extract from a letter to a Northern soldier in the South:— Boston, July 26, 1865. You speak of the length of time that must elapse before the mass of negroes at the South can vote intelligently, which is very true; and proceed to judge that "it would be a prostitution of the ballot-box to open it to the freedmen at once," which is not so certain. At least, there is something to be said on the other side.

13. The habit rears up the "works of darkness." Satan has much to do with it. King James said, "It bewitcheth him that useth it." It seems to bewitch his clerical victims more than other men. Clergymen, like the violins, are easily put out of order.

ROEBUCK'S MISTAKE.

The idea that it would not be safe to entrust the Southern freedman with a ballot because he would have more influence exerted upon him by his old master than by any one else, and thus be his tool at the ballot-box in the future, as he has been his slave in the past, is the veriest moonshine. Sambo has not been fooled into fighting for his old master—not much! He has never made the blunder of mistaking his true friends, as have his lords of thousands in the ranks of the Northern army.

GEN. BUTLER ON THE STARVATION OF PRISONERS.

At the celebration of the 4th at Lowell, Gen. B. F. Butler being called to respond to the toast, "Our Volunteers," said: The Volunteers of the United States Army—but another form of words for the Army of the United States, as, with the exception of a handful, all the army were volunteers.

14. The habit aims higher, and does violence to the moral sense. You cannot maintain a clear conscience, and be the votaries of tobacco. It wastes time, money, strength and life, and tramples on the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, and is sinful, or a sin, if anything is a sin.

GENERAL MEADE IN BOSTON.

We are glad to observe that the Bostonians have shown a disposition to honor prominent Philadelphians. At their recent Harvard College Commencement and Commemoration Exercises, the leading military guest was Major General George G. Meade, upon whom the degree of LL.D. was conferred.

STATE POLITICS.

Since the State Committees of the two political parties in this State have called their respective Conventions for the nomination of candidates for State officers, the question which shall be the candidate is exciting considerable interest.

15. The habit unites you to preach against intemperance. Tobacco is an intoxicant. Men and boys get drunk on it. Should you in good earnest denounce dram-shops and reprove drunkards, they would storm you with the cry, "Physician, heal thyself!"

MURDER NO CRIME.

The acquittal of Miss Harris, and the popular applause at the verdict, are sad proofs of the morbid state of the public mind. She committed a deliberate murder. The testimony was conclusive that it was planned and executed for a hot blood, when smiling under an immediate sense of wrong, but smothered with a stern purpose of revenge.

A HUMAN MONSTER.

A Richmond correspondent of the Philadelphia Inquirer says: There walks the streets of Richmond, to-day, a creature having the outward semblance of a man. He walks erect on two legs; has the usual complement of human limbs and features, yet his humanity is doubtful. This brute was a negro trader, (thank God, I can say so), and Mrs. Stowe's world-famous "Leyce" was an angel of justice and mercy compared to him.

16. The habit tends to stupefy all the Christian affections, and render the soul apathetic and inactive. Some clergymen enshrine themselves in their studies, envelop themselves in smoke, and care little or nothing about glorious revivals and glorious reforms, and as an incubus upon our churches.

DEATH OF ARTHUR TAPPAN.

The venerable Christian philanthropist, whose name has been, at one time, a word of power to all who love Christ's cause, and, at another, the sobriquet of the great-hearted throughout the country, as the representative of justice and equity, has departed. He was gathered to his fathers in the presence of his family on Sunday, July 27, and was buried on Tuesday, July 28, at the age of four score. Mr. Tappan died in New Haven, Conn., of the cholera, after a long illness.

HARBELLS BY THE RIVER.

"The river that we would not wish to forget, even by the waters of the River of Life."—D. A. WASSON in Atlantic Monthly. Sweet blue harbells! Fifteen Mays have come and passed Since your beauty gladdened and thrilled me last, When my careless feet in childhood strayed Where you nodded and drooped in the dewy shade.

TWENTY REASONS WHY MINISTERS OF THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL SHOULD NOT USE TOBACCO.

- 1. The habit renders you offensive to many people who think "cleanliness next to godliness." Converts sometimes recoil from baptism, and communicants from receiving sacramental bread from tobacco-using ministers; dying saints, well-nigh suffocated with the poisonous odor, have, with trembling hand, laid pastors from their bed-sides. Humiliating fact!

THE BLACKS IN BARBADOES.

A Massachusetts lawyer who spent the last winter at Barbadoes, writes thus of the blacks (thirty years ago) to the Boston Daily Advertiser: "Many have acquired by their industry sufficient property to rank them among the wealthiest planters and traders in the islands where they reside; and considering success in business a criterion of ability, they may be regarded as competent business men.

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EASTERN AND WESTERN VISITORS TO STATE FALLS.

There is considerable of an idea of State Falls. There is considerable of an idea of State Falls. There is considerable of an idea of State Falls. There is considerable of an idea of State Falls.