



PRES. LINCOLN ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.  
The following is an extract from an unpublished letter  
from the late President Lincoln, addressed to Gen. Wads-  
worth, taking strong ground in favor of universal suf-  
frage.—  
"You desire to know, in the event of our complete suc-  
cess in the field, the course being followed by a loyal and  
obedient 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 say, that if our success should lead  
to the realization of such desired results, I can't see  
if universal amnesty is granted—how, under the circum-  
stances, I can avoid extending in return universal suffrage,  
or, at least, suffrage on the basis of intelligence and mili-  
tary 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 them,  
on the battlefield, 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."

Selections.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

The question, says the New York Independent, whether the affirmative action of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the loyal States amounts to a legal ratification of the amendment lately proposed by Congress to the Constitution of the United States—the loyal States so acting, being less than three-fourths of all the States embraced in the Union before the rebellion—is certainly one of much interest in itself, and in a by no means im-  
portable contingency, it may be question of great practical importance. It is a question of law, worthy of the judicial intellect of the country. With-  
out at present expressing any opinion ourselves, we think it only just to our readers to give a conspicu-  
ous place to the following letter from Mr. Sumner, commencing his argument to their serious and candi-  
date attention:

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

As a faithful reader of the Evening Post for many years, I have perused your article insisting that all present effort for guaranties of national security and national faith must be postponed, in order to await the ratification of the Constitutional Amend-  
ment, by which slavery is abolished throughout the United States. If the Constitutional Amendment were not already ratified by the requisite number of States, I should doubt if even this most desirable object could be a sufficient excuse for leaving the national freedom and the national credit exposed to peril, when our exertions now can save them. But allow me to inquire if you do not forget that, according to the usage of the national government in analogous cases, this amendment has been already ratified by the requisite number of States, so that, at this moment, it is valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution? There was a better once who looked everywhere for his knife, forgetting that he held it then between his teeth. There also was Southey's good "Doctor," who was in love without knowing it; and you have laughed, I am sure, at the story to illustrate this condition, where the traveller, asking how far it was to a place called "The Pan," was answered, "You are in the Pan now." It seems to me that, already traveller, the doctor, and the lover, you already know that you desire, so that, even according to your programme, the way is clear for insisting upon those things embraced under "Security for the Future."

The Constitution of the United States decides that "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amend-  
ments to the Constitution, which shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States." On these words the simple question arises, "What constitutes the quorum?" But the usage of the national government in analogous cases has determined that the quorum is based on the States actually participating in the government. This has been decided in both houses of Congress. The House of Representatives led the way in fixing its quorum according to actual representation, or, in other words, at a majority of the members elected and qualified. The Senate, after careful consideration and protracted debate, followed in establishing a similar rule. The Constitutional Amendment was originally adopted in both houses organized according to this rule. The national debt has been sanctioned by both houses organized. Treaties, also, with foreign powers, are sanctioned in the Senate so organized. Applying this rule, the quorum of States requisite for the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment is plainly three-fourths of the States actually participating in the government; or, in other words, three-fourths of the States having "legislatures." Where a State has no "legislature," it may be still a State; but it cannot be practically counted in the organization of Congress; and I submit that the same rule must prevail in the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment. The reason of the rule is the same in each case. If you insist upon counting a rebel State having no "legislature," you make a concession to rebellion. You concede to a continuing State the power to arrest, amend, or repeal the Constitution; or, in other words, to amend the Constitution important to the general welfare. This is not reasonable. Therefore, on grounds of reason as well as usage, I prefer the accepted rule.

If this conclusion needed any support in author-  
ity, I would find it in the declared opinion of one of our best law-writers, who is cited with respect in all the courts of the country. I refer to Mr. Bishop, who in the third edition of his Commentaries on the Criminal Law, (vol. I., p. 776,) published within a few days, discusses this question at length. In the course of his remarks he uses the following language: "If the matter were one relating to any other subject than slavery, no legal person would ever doubt that, when there are States with legisla-  
tures and States without legislatures, and the Con-  
stitution submits a question to the determination of the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, the meaning is, three-fourths of the States which have legislatures. In fact, it does not require either legal wisdom or legal acumen to see this, provided you look at the point disconnected from the peculiar subject of slavery." The learned author then proceeds to illustrate this statement in a manner to which I can see no answer.

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

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

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

Boston, Sept. 28, 1865.

A WORD TO THE SOLDIERS.

In view of the fact that some returned soldiers have permitted their names to be used as candidates for office by the so-called Democratic party, the presumption must be that these soldiers have forgotten the treacherous record of that party with reference to the late infamous rebellion. An impartial review of the events of the past five years establishes the following propositions as facts beyond dispute in the mind of any man of ordinary intelligence:

That the leaders and controllers of that party, North and South, labored constantly and earnestly for years to "fire the Southern heart" for rebellion and war.  
That they published the threat throughout the land, that the South would not remain in the Union if Mr. Lincoln were elected.  
That they declared through political meetings and conventions in all sections of the country, that the General Government could not and should not "coerce" a State to obedience if it saw fit to break up the Union; thus inviting the South to light the torch of civil war.  
That under the administration of the old traitor, Buchanan, they permitted no less than six States to withdraw from the Union, and set up and organize a new government under the name of "Confederate States of America," with that infamous villain, Jefferson Davis, as President.

That in this manner they brought about those acts of war upon the Government which resulted in that dreadful struggle, which for more than four years deluged our land in the blood of its best citizens.  
That during this dark and bloody period in our nation's history, whatever influence they possessed as a party was given in favor of Treason, and against the Government of the Union.  
They denounced and opposed the first call for troops as wrong and "unconstitutional."  
In Baltimore they attacked the first troops that moved forward to defend our Capital.  
They obstructed the operations of our forces against the rebels whenever and wherever they possibly could.  
They encouraged the rebels to persevere by constantly declaring that we "could never conquer the South."  
They spoke and wrote of the rebels as "our erring Southern brethren," and of the Union soldiers as "Lincoln's hirelings."

They discouraged volunteering, thus rendering drafts necessary to fill the ranks of the army.  
They opposed the enforcement of the draft, and raised armed mobs which destroyed property and human life with fiendish barbarity.  
They encouraged and aided thousands to desert from the Union armies, and when United States officers and soldiers attempted to arrest deserters, they were resisted by armed men—members of this so-called Democratic party.  
They ambushed and murdered United States officers and soldiers in various parts of the Northern States.  
They raised bodies of armed men in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and other States to resist the authority of the United States.  
They openly advocated the formation of a "North-western Confederacy," to weaken and destroy the Union.

They instituted secret treasonable societies, with military organizations, and stealthily procured arms and munitions of war for their members.  
They were slow to believe reports of Union successes, but readily believed rebel reports of Union disasters.  
They based all their hopes of political success on their confident belief that the rebellion must triumph.  
They denounced our Generals—Grant, Sherman, Butler and others—as "butchers," "brutes" and "beasts"; but spoke and wrote of Jeff. Davis, Lee, Johnston, and their co-traitors, as the highest types of Christian gentlemen!

They invariably denied the right of soldiers to vote in the field, and frequently adopted as their motto, "No man here nor another dollar for this infernal war!"  
Finally, they met in their National Convention at Chicago in August, 1864, and in the most solemn manner declared to the world that the war was a "failure" on our part, and of course a success on the part of the rebels.  
The assassination of President Lincoln, by a Northern Democrat, was the natural result of the secret and public teachings of the so-called Democratic party.

That every intelligent American must ever hold the so-called Democratic party, North and South, responsible for the bloody war which has desolated our country—for the widows and orphans that fill the land, with mourning—for the maimed and disabled heroes who are seen all around us—for the load of debt brought upon the nation—for the death of thousands of patriots who fell in the struggle, in battle, by disease, or by starvation at the hands of Southern Democrats in loathsome prisons—for all the evils growing out of the war—for prolonging its duration and horrors by aiding, encouraging, sympathizing with and sustaining the late rebellion.  
From these propositions we deduce the following:

- First: That the soldier who accepts the political caresses of the so-called Democratic party must be either totally lost to every sentiment of honest patriotism, or totally ignorant of the political history of the past five years!
- Second: That he who will work so much better than the white laborer, that the latter will be injured by the presence of negro competition.
- Third: That the country will be ruined by the idleness of the free blacks, but
- Fourth: That the negroes are so eager for work as to leave none for white workmen.
- Fifth: That the negroes are a curse to the country, but
- Sixth: That the slave system, which made negro breeding a regular and profitable business, and thus increased their numbers at an abnormal rate, was a diverse institution and blessing to the land.

SEVENTH: THAT THE NEGRO IS NATURALLY AN ABJECT COWARD, BUT

Eight: That he is a most dangerous creature, capable of rising and murdering a community double his numbers, and with a hundred times his strength in arms, and all preparations for defence.  
Ninth: That the negro can only live in a warm climate, like that of the Southern States, but  
Tenth: That now he is set free there, he will immediately rush North, and take the bread out of the mouths of the white workmen here.  
Eleventh: That white men cannot work in the Southern fields, which can be cultivated only by negroes, but  
Twelfth: That the negroes ought all to be colonized in Africa, or driven off to some remote corner of this continent.

Thirteenth: That the freedmen are so stupid and ignorant as to be dangerous to the Republic, but  
Fourteenth: That they ought not to be instructed or permitted to acquire knowledge.  
Fifteenth: That it would be a curse to Northern workmen to have the negroes flock into these States, but  
Sixteenth: That Northern workmen ought not to favor a policy which would make the negroes contented to remain in the South.  
Seventeenth: That the workmen of the Northern States are the most intelligent, the most capable, the most industrious, and the most virtuous in the world, but  
Eighteenth: That they will inevitably be ruined and deprived of work by the competition of ignorant and idle negroes.

Nineteenth: That the presence of the blacks among us will always be a source of difficulty and trouble, but  
Twentieth: That the emancipation act is wrong, chiefly because, under its operation, the negro race is likely to die out, like the Indians.

TRUE TO THEIR FRIENDS.

The Albany Argus, copperhead, indignantly scolds the imputation that the action of the New York State Convention was unfriendly or discourteous to the democrats of other States, and says: "The proceedings of the Convention attest, what those present will confirm, that not one word of thoughtless animosity to the Democrats of any part of the Union, North or South, was uttered by that body, or by any one of its members."  
To this the Buffalo Express replies: "Every body will acquit the New York Democracy of manifesting any other than the kindest, most cordial, friendly, fraternal, sympathetic, fellow-feeling towards either Jeff. Davis, Breckinridge, George Sanders, Vallandigham, Loug, Bowles, Milligan, Dick Richardson, Isaac Toney, or Chauncey C. Burr. Their respect attitude and professions must not be construed by their brethren of the Confederacy and the Golden Circle as indicative of the slightest alteration in their former sympathies and feelings."  
The New York like the Maine copperheads are true to their friends. It was declared by one of the speakers in the State Convention of the party in this city, and the statement was received with vociferous cheers,—that when the confederates laid down their arms, and surrendered to Grant, and that the late revolted States were now reliable democratic States! In other words, rebellion was not inconsistent with Democracy, and a man might have been an armed rebel yesterday, and a friend of Democracy and the Constitution to-day! The cause of the Southern rebel and the Northern copperhead is one and indivisible, and it would be preposterous for them, after working together for four years, to quarrel now.—Maine State Press.

THE WARNING FROM ALABAMA.

The Alabama State Convention has adjourned. Better for President Johnson's plans had it never met! But, since it must needs meet, let loyal citizens rejoice that its measures were so satisfactorily repudiated at one time during the war, the hopes of freedom depended more on the folly of the South than on the wisdom of the North, so now the hopes of reconstruction depend more on the blindness of the rebels than on the foresight of the Government. The South is outgeneraling the Administration—to the defeat of both tactics. The President's policy gave the South an opportunity to demand too much. But the South abuses the too liberal privilege, and demands more than too much. We hope the consequence will be, that she will get not only less than she needs most, but less than she needs at all. President's plans, strictly construed, contemplate a tempting fruit, to which ambitious hands often reach out in hope, to be drawn back in disappointment. The South is yet to learn, by the crushing of her remaining gilded illusions, that she is to win no victory over the Union, either through War or through Peace. So let her for a while be arrogant, defiant, disloyal, imperious—the worse, the better! "Give more madness, Lord!"

Meanwhile, the Ship of State is temporarily aground on the shoals of Alabama. That State has decreed through her Convention, by 59 to 16, that she shall not testify in courts of justice; and, having passed this infamous measure, she has had the effrontery to demand of President Johnson a general amnesty, and pardon to all the Southern people, and his withdrawal of all the Federal troops from that State.  
Such is the reconstruction which the Southern States, left to themselves, propose to make! Such is the farce of readjustment which the United States Government is idly permitting its late enemies to re-enact in State after State! Is it possible that the President approves this mockery? Or, if he disapprove it, does his own theory of State imperialism permit him to remedy what he deprecates?

Look at it! During the last four years, the Government has had its eyes on two classes at the South—the whites and the blacks. The whites, with a few exceptions, have been traitors; the blacks, with no exceptions, have been loyal. The whites have been the enemies of the Union; the blacks, its friends. The whites have starved our soldiers, and starved every rebel in order that the blacks are still the only trustworthy basis of loyalty in seven States. These two classes are the constituent elements of the South. Now the South is to be reinstated in the Union, and what is the President's plan of reinstatement? He says to the States, "You are sovereign; make up your mind in your own way; suit your own will and pleasure." To which Alabama responds, "Our choice is made. Deny to the negro all right to testify that we persecute him; pardon every rebel in order that his support for its open expression; recall all the Federal troops from our State, that no bayonets may be left to revenge the daily murders of Yankees; and then you may join us

once more to the Union, that we may govern it in the future as we have governed it in the past." Such is the present juncture of reconstruction? Does it exhibit the Federal Government in an enviable light? Does the President's policy, considered as a text, with the Alabama convention, considered as a commentary, read like a history of forfeited success? If the President's plan of reconstruction, already too amply tested, be not a failure, then there are no failures in politics. And we give warning in time, that, if this policy is to continue, unchecked and unchanged, the Government will yet see itself called to give answer to the people why the gathered fruits of four long years of war have been suffered during one short year of peace to rot and perish in its hands!

Deny the negro his oath in the courts? If any mouth is to be shut against swearing at the bar of justice, shall it not be the Southern white man's, who has heretofore broken his oaths, rather than the Southern black man's, who has heretofore kept them? Publish an amnesty to the whole South? Not till the South ceases to commit offenses which cannot be annulled. When the South shall have given a general amnesty to the negroes, we will ask the Government to consider a general amnesty to the South—never before! When the negroes shall announce to the President, saying, "We are safe; we fear no white man's face; we suffer no tyranny from our former masters; we have the self-protection of the ballot"—then the Federal Government may consider an amnesty, and withdraw the Union troops—but not till then.

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

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

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

MEROY TO THE MEROIFUL.

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

The spirit of these pardon seekers is rather truculent for men who have no rights except those which are accorded to them by the magnanimity of the people whom they sue for mercy. They affect humility, but their real spirit crops out in their acts and speech. They poorly requite clemency which is shown them. Their spirit is exemplified in one of the incidents of the South Carolina Convention. Mr. William Wallace, one of the delegates, offered a resolution, declaring that since "our former noble and revered Chief Magistrate, Jefferson Davis," by the fortunes of war is languishing in prison, awaiting his trial for treason, and since "the fanatics of the North, not satisfied with the widespread ruin and desolation which they have caused, are shrieking for his blood, be it resolved that South Carolina, who led the way in our struggle for independence," ought to use every lawful means in her power to avert the doom which threatens him; and he also resolved, proposed Wallace, that a deputation be sent to the President from this body, to ask him "to show the same clemency towards the Hon. Jefferson Davis as he has shown to us, who are equally sharers of his guilt, if left there be." We admire his frankness. A one-legged rebel general had a suspicion that the proposal was almost too frank, and offered a substitute, proposing that a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to the President on this subject, to be addressed to him by the Convention. The Convention adopted the proposition, and a committee was appointed to draw up the memorial.

This incongruity in the acts and the solicitations of the recent rebels is glaringly apparent. They have far less inclination to show mercy than to be pardoned. They have not learned the practice of charity and lenity. "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," is not their daily petition. For the sake of harmony, public order and general welfare in the late insurgent States, it is needful that the white rebels manifest that spirit of forgiveness and charity towards a large class of their population which they plead for in respect to themselves. It is a question that men of forecast seriously ask themselves, whether clemency by the government has not gone far enough towards rebels, when their attitude and sentiments are such as we see exemplified in the acts of the pardoned in all the Southern States. If much is forgiven, shall not something be exacted? If the claims of justice be remitted on one hand, shall they not be enforced on the other? If the nation pardons its foes, shall it not, at the same time, protect its friends and faithful allies? If the South says, "Pardon Jeff. Davis," shall it not be said to them, "Remove the political disabilities you have imposed upon the colored loyal men in your States. It requires nothing from you but the sacrifice of your prejudices. Be magnanimous while you plead for magnanimity. As you do, so shall it be done to you." This response to the solicitation would be in the spirit of mercy and justice. If the aim of it were to be achieved, the result would be alike beneficial to white and colored people in the South.—Utica Herald.

KID GLOVES FOR THE REBELS.

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

"We accept what he offers, as not only a good beginning, but a first rate example to others. He comes up to the demands of the hour with a manly spirit, and suggests such reform in the old Constitution of South Carolina as will make the ghosts of her aristocracy shriek through their abodes."  
How mild! How condescending! How decidedly abject! "We accept what he offers!" The conquerors of a gigantic rebellion "accept" terms from a broken rebel! Disgraceful servility to a spavined, wind-blown, yet insolent oligarchy! After drenching the land with loyal blood and spending thousands of millions of treasure to overcome and put down South Carolina treason, we are to "accept" what is offered to us by the authors of all our troubles! Out upon such abject servility to a false idea of right! The Government is strong enough and has reason enough to dictate terms to all rebels, and it should do so. Less than this is derogatory to its dignity.—Maine State Press.

WHAT THE REBELS MUST BE TAUGHT.

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

THE GREATEST OF ABSURDITIES.

Of all the absurdities in which the human intellect has been involved, the greatest is that which opens the ballot to the free use of the late rebels, to help in settling the questions that have been at issue between the loyal and the disloyal during the past five years. To merely mention it should be enough to excite a feeling of disgust, modified somewhat by the ludicrous. Look at it. The Southern people, a majority of them, rebelled. The Northern people, a majority of them, took the responsibility of crushing the rebellion and saving the nation. A minority of the Northern people were opposed to the majority in this work, and hence the double task of holding the refractory at home in check, and of whipping the traitors, was imposed upon the loyal. We have been successful in the appeal to battle, and have succeeded to all the rights of conquerors, the chief of which is the right of dictating the terms of settlement.  
And now what? It is proposed to permit the conquered rebels and these enemies in our midst to come together, and if, on the count, they should prove to be the majority, to dictate to us the terms of settlement! That is, the conquered may prescribe, adopt and carry into effect the terms for settling a dispute which existed before the war was brought to the arbitration of arms, and the decision given against them!—Cincinnati Gazette.

CONNECTICUT AND FREE SUFFRAGE.

Connecticut, in her election yesterday, refused her right of suffrage to the colored people within her limits. The oldest of her citizens may live to regret that act of short-sightedness and injustice. She has committed wrong from pure love of it, for nobody will pretend that the decision would, either one way or the other, particularly affect the political character of the State, so far as votes are concerned. There are only, according to the last census, about 2,000 negroes in the State who would be entitled to the suffrage, and if they all voted with either party, it would not change the result, presuming parties to continue to hold the relative positions they have for a few years past. The Republicans could, if they had chosen, have given the right of suffrage to the blacks in spite of the whole Copperhead vote in the State. Not to do so was to add just so much moral strength to the Copperhead party, and to weaken their own. The act is simply one of gross injustice, which can only be accounted for by the fact that, even four years of terrible war has not been enough to knead the dough out of the old pro-Slavery subservience of Connecticut to their Southern slaveholding masters. They hated black men because Slavery whipped them into it, and they haven't acquired manhood enough, even from the last four years' teaching, to have got over it. The old marks of the slave-driver's whip are as plain on the back of Connecticut to-day as they are on the backs of the half-emancipated blacks of the South.

The act makes the road before us to complete peace and the restoration of the Union more difficult. That heretofore 1,000 men in a voting population of 25,000 were disfranchised in Connecticut, though a very base wrong and a signal outrage, was a matter of comparatively small practical importance. But that such an evil example should be followed and sustained by the moral in-

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

A BATTLE LOST.

Connecticut sits in the shadow of shame. She has done an act at home at which her many sons abroad will justly blush. By a majority of 5,000, her white citizens have deliberately denied to her black that equal right of suffrage which should be common to all. So few in number are these ostracized citizens—not more than 2,000 in the whole State; whose only fault of justice, therefore, is not in their own strength, but in the magnanimity of the overwhelming majority of their white countrymen—that this unmanly vote is like the act of a strong man striking a lame child. The disfranchised class, even if permitted to vote, would never change the result of an ordinary election in that State. This denial of their right to the ballot-box is not from any political reason, but a mere unpardonable indulgence in an unchristian prejudice—a subservience to the ungentlemanly spirit of caste—a half-victory of the defeated rebellion.

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

AN EVIL DECISION.

Connecticut's decision against the extension of suffrage to persons of color, though it does not much surprise us, is annoying. It helps strengthen the cause of bigotry and intolerance everywhere, and it will be especially serviceable to those politicians whose principal object it is to prevent Southern freedmen from becoming citizens. To such men this exhibition of meanness on the part of a New England State will be of priceless value; it is so quotable in support of slavery, prejudice, and injustice, which form the sum of their political creed, and in their combination are known as Democracy. We cannot deny that the decision is a blow to the cause of equal rights, but that cause is accumulating force, and will receive blows, and much heavier ones than Connecticut is competent to deliver, and yet it never falls under them. It "still lives," and it is destined to win many victories, until it shall have completed its triumph, which will include the recognition of the equality of races as well as of men. We regret that so respectable a State as Connecticut should have allowed herself to be ranged on the wrong side in the warfare between ignorance and truth, but we do not accept her decision as final, or as indicating any binding force on the liberal and the just. The colored people at the South. The political character of Southern freedmen is desirable for the nation's security as well as for the promotion of justice. As a nation meets its pecuniary obligations promptly as well because it is politic so to do as because it is the part of justice to keep its faith, so should it make citizens of freedmen; not only because justice demands that course, but for the lower reason, that policy dictates it. We ought to be able to see, by this time, that we have but little to hope from white Southerners in the way of national reconstruction; and that a proper sense of safety requires that we should have in the conquered country a band of men upon whose attachment we shall be able to rely. If we should apply the Connecticut policy to the South, we must expect to lose most of the benefits we have derived from the war, and the conflict we had thought decided will have to be fought over again. The renewal of the alliance between the Democracy and the slaveocracy hardly can fall to restore that party to power which carried through civil war upon the nation, as soon as it had been beaten at the polls; and another failure at the polls might cause it to renew the war. We are to consider how the colored population of the South would like the decision that they are to remain politically enslaved. Could it be expected of them to remain quiet under the insult, and to accept degradation forever by the deliberate action of the country which they had helped to save from destruction? Were they to accept in quiet the unrighteous sentence,—were they to make no effort to gain the enjoyment of their "natural rights,"—should we not consider that the nation had been deceived, that they would not remain quiet, but they would become an agitating race, and would give us much trouble. They are too numerous to be safely oppressed. Four millions of people cannot be treated unjustly, and they are expected to accept injustice without

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