

EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, AT WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM NO. 8. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1803.



Selections.

SUFFRAGE IN FREE STATES.

MAINE. By her Constitution adopted October 29th, 1819, gives the ballot to every male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years and upwards...

NEW HAMPSHIRE. By her Constitution, adopted 1792, gives the ballot to every male inhabitant of twenty-one years of age...

VERMONT. Which abolished slavery by her Constitution, dated July 17th, 1793, declared in her Bill of Rights that all freemen, having sufficient evidence of common interest with an attachment to the community...

MASSACHUSETTS. By her original Constitution, adopted in 1780, gave the ballot to every male person twenty-one years of age, resident in the Commonwealth, having an annual income of three pounds from a freehold, or any estate worth \$50.

RHODE ISLAND. By her Constitution of 1842, gives the right of suffrage to every male citizen, of full age, one year in the State, six months in the town, owning real estate worth \$134, or renting for \$7 per annum.

CONNECTICUT. Gives the ballot to all persons, white or black, who are freemen at the adoption of her Constitution, 1818, and subsequently to every white male citizen of the United States, of full age, resident six months in the town, and owning a freehold of the yearly value of \$7, or who shall have performed militia duty, paid a State tax, and sustained a good moral character within the year.

NEW YORK. Gives the suffrage to every male citizen, of full age, who shall have been ten days a citizen, one year in the State, four months in the county, and thirty days in the district. But no man of color shall vote unless he has been three years a citizen of the State, and for one year the owner of a freehold worth \$250 or has paid a tax, and he is to be subject to no direct tax unless he owns such freehold.

PENNSYLVANIA. Gives a vote to every white freeman, of full age, who has resided one year in the State and ten days in the election district, and has within two years paid a tax; except that a once qualified voter returning into the State after an absence which disqualifies him from voting regains his vote by six months' residence, and except that white free citizens under twenty-two and over twenty-five vote without paying taxes.

INDIANA. Gives the right of suffrage to every white male citizen of the United States, of full age and six months' residence in the State, and every white male, of foreign birth and full age, who has resided one year in the United States and six months preceding the election in the State, and who has declared his intentions to become a citizen.

ILLINOIS. By her Constitution of 1847, gives the vote to every white male citizen of full age residing one year in the State, and every white male inhabitant who was a resident of the State at the adoption of this Constitution.

MISSOURI. By her recent Free-State Constitution, excludes the blacks from voting.

MICHIGAN. By her Constitution adopted 1850, gives the ballot to every white male citizen, to every white male inhabitant residing in the State June 24, 1850, and every white male citizen of full age residing one year in the State, and every white male inhabitant who was a resident of the State at the adoption of this Constitution.

IOWA. Every white male citizen of the United States, of full age, resident six months in the State, sixty days in the county (with like exceptions of persons in military or naval service, idiots, insane persons and criminals).

CALIFORNIA. Every white male citizen of the United States (or of Mexico who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States under treaty of Quere-taro) of full age, resident six months in the State and thirty days in the district. The legislature has power to extend the right to Indians and their descendants.

MINNESOTA. Every white male citizen of full age, resident one year in the United States and four months in the State, and being either, -1. A white citizen of the United States; 2. A white alien who has declared his intentions; 3. Civilized persons of mixed white and Indian blood; 4. Civilized Indians certified by a district court to be fit for citizenship.

OREGON. Every white male citizen of full age, six months a resident in the State, and every white male alien, of full age, resident in the United States one year, who has declared his intentions, may vote, but no negro, Chinaman, or mulatto.

KANSAS. Gives the ballot to every white male adult, resident six months in the State and thirty days in the town, who is either a citizen or has declared his intentions.

WEST VIRGINIA. Every white male citizen (except minors, lunatics and felons), resident one year in the State and thirty days in the county.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS. The best news lately received from Europe was that which we published yesterday, to the effect that King Louis of Portugal, when closing the Cortes, promulgated a law for the final abolition of negro slavery within his dominions.

It is fitting, indeed, that the country which Negro Slavery was commenced should finally abandon and surrender it. From the time of Mohammed, black slaves have been held in parts of Africa and Asia. Early in the fifteenth century, one of the princes of Portugal personally gave an impetus to maritime discovery, which eventuated in the researches of Columbus, and then almost unimpeded passage of the Atlantic.

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trade—but the first slaves actually imported and purchased in this country were a small lot of twenty, brought to Jamestown, Virginia, in a Dutch vessel. The trade, however, was largely English, and Queen Elizabeth shared profits with the first party who engaged in it; while the last two of the male members of one of the four English companies established for carrying on the African Slave trade. Some of the colonies remonstrated against it, but it was supported by England. The first abolition movement was made about the time when the Declaration of Independence was drawn up and signed.

Our Continental Congress resolved, in 1776, that the importation of slaves should cease; but in 1788, this was taken back, and the year 1808 fixed as the period when it must terminate. We need not here repeat the particulars of the battle which has been carried on among ourselves, during the last fifty years, to abolish slavery—which was finally done during the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln. It may not be without interest, however, to give the dates of its abolition elsewhere.

The first step in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was taken in 1788, when a petition, signed by Quakers, was presented. Pitt and Fox, the great political rivals, soon joined the abolition movement. Effort after effort, succeeding in one House and failing in the other, was almost annually made. At last, when Fox was last in office, in 1806, the Government brought on abolition as their own measure, and it was passed, in 1807, after the death of Fox. Still, this only abolished the slave trade. Steps were then taken, the movement being still headed by Wilberforce and Clarkson, to mitigate and abolish slavery itself; and, in 1833, this was done, by act of Parliament, \$100,000,000 being paid as compensation to the slave-owners, out of the public treasury.

Spain and Brazil, therefore, are the only countries claiming to be civilized, which continue legal protection to property in human flesh and blood, by their citizens held in bondage. It is impossible that this can continue much longer. The rulers of these countries are professedly Christians, and holding kidnapped human beings in perpetual and oftentimes most cruel slavery is not to be reconciled—whatever Bishop Hopkins may pretend—with the mild tenets of the Gospel of the Savior. Indeed, it is now stated that Spain and Brazil have resolved to abolish slavery.—Philadelphia Press.

STATE OF THINGS "DOWN SOUTH." NORTH CAROLINA, July 18th, 1865. Probably some of your readers would like to hear from the "down-South" country. It is a land in which your people felt an interest in times past, and much more so now, since it is understood that dark plume of slavery is about to be rolled away from its fair and sunny face forever.

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which let the American people be thoroughly warned and forever arrayed. It is a system so full of wickedness, that the South has so far hesitated in its adoption—not because it was too wicked for them; but because it was too awful for the world's contemplation; because they did not dare deliberately to turn out their old and sick slaves to die, being already bound to care for them.

But now their theory is that the abolition of slavery has relieved them of all responsibilities of that kind, and that the old and sick being thus off their hands, they are at liberty to disregard them, and deal only with the well and hearty, and their own interests through them.

Let me assure the American people that this is no false alarm. This very system of penance has long been under Southern discussion. It would be vastly more profitable to the planter, and a thousand times more dreadful to the negro than slavery ever has been.

Now, in good but quiet earnest, the Southern leaders are laying their plans for its adoption; and five years hence will find it in full operation, unless prevented by the stern and wholesome action of the Government of the United States.

What can be done for these people? your readers may ask. I reply, make them "free indeed." Let the lever of the ballot-box be at once put into the hand of the freed African. Make him feel that he is truly a man, and an American citizen, if you intend him to be free in the sense in which Abraham Lincoln, and the people of the United States, intended he should be.

Not many weeks ago, during a sojourn of a few days in your State, I opposed, with all my might, the extension of suffrage to the negro; but, since my return home, and observing calmly the practical workings of the quasi-freedom which the armies of the United States have secured to the blacks, I am convinced that, without enervating them with all the rights and privileges which belong to the white American citizen, the whole thing is a farce.

The argument usually employed against giving the black man the privilege of voting is, that he is not sufficiently intelligent for so great and important a trust. But when will he become sufficiently intelligent, when his former masters oppose every effort which is made to supply him with the necessary amount of that intelligence? The thing is simply absurd, and the slaveholders know it.

It is a fact that no country but one of limitless fertility, whose products are of world-wide demand and limited growth, can support the slave system, unless it be in breeding regions. The extreme Southern States have been able to get rich under such a system; but it was only because of their great fertility and peculiar products, and they have not been slow to see that there might be another more advantageous to their interests adopted by them.

But they hesitated in its adoption because the reprobation of the world would have fallen upon them with crushing effect. But now this old plot is being revived, and the Southern leaders look upon this as a propitious time to lay the foundations of its eventual adoption. They think the work half done already to their hands; and so it is, unless guarded against.

The States are to pass laws providing—first, that the blacks (or poor whites, if they will) may contract debts upon personal security—that is, secured by a mortgage of the labor of the debtor. This makes a slave till the original debt is paid, and until all subsequent indebtedness is paid also. And, second, that the personal services of a debtor may be levied upon, set up at auction, and sold upon the block, by the creditor, in payment of his claim. As this would devolve upon the buyer risk of sickness, feeding, and death of the debtors, as well as the nursing and clothing him, the bids would be so small that a small debt would, of necessity, consign the poor debtor to a long slavery; and then, add to this the debtor's liability to be continued on after its expiration, for the payment upon the same terms, of any debts contracted after the first judgment, and the chances would be ten to one that a debtor, whose services are once sold, is himself forever sold to the real, though not nominal, slave of his creditor.

The Southern planter reasons thus: There is not one ignorant negro in a thousand, especially having a family, that would not, if he could, run into debt, nor that, when once in debt, would not keep so. Give us the right to sell his services to pay his debts, and he is a slave thenceforth forever. But should he get disabled, become permanently an invalid, or grow old and useless upon our hands, when then we can show our generosity by remitting the balance of the debt, and turning him loose again, he relieves us of the care of the young, and sick, and old, and of all the expense of clothing and feeding them also. Besides, the world can find no fault with us; for, though slavery in fact, it is not in name; nor is it involuntary; for since every man knows when he contracts a debt that he may be sold for it, it is a part of the contract, and so wholly voluntary, and according to agreement. Besides, you know it is not selling the man, it is only selling his services; and if we have to take the body to get the services, that it is only incidental, and can't be helped. By this arrangement every child is born free, and if he can't remain so, whose fault is it? And if this system turns off the old and the sick to suffer or starve, what of that? Are we to blame for men's running into debt when they are young, and starving when they are old?

Now this is exactly the system certainly to be inaugurated throughout the cotton States, provided Congress is fooled into the error of receiving their representatives, and starting up the machinery of State Government before the future condition of the negro is forever fixed. And it is a system commensurate with which slavery, as it has heretofore existed with all its horrors and enormities, is clear as fresh lines, and pure as light. A system against

the white men of that State had perished. The proportion of loss in the other States is not probably smaller. Restoration and material growth depend upon the restoration of this vitality. It would, therefore, be an act of supererogative folly to eliminate the black laborers from the Southern States and isolate them. It would put those States back a generation. It would complete the dislocation which the desolation and exhaustion of war have brought. By his manhood and his loyalty to his country, the black man is entitled to the free white he deems for his services he ought to remain where he may aid in smoothing the furrows which war has made, and renewing the prosperity it has checked.—Utica Herald.

Gen. Cox has fallen into the common error of supposing that, because his military duties, during the past four years, have brought him in personal contact with the people of the South, he is better prepared than any man, "judging from this distance," can be, to solve the problems involved in the war and reconstruction. When we consider the numbers and varied facilities enjoyed by our Northern people for acquiring correct information, respecting the condition of affairs at the South, many of which are at our elbow, we are not surprised that we cannot help thinking that there is danger of attaching too much importance to the results of one's own experience and observation, especially when they are widely at variance with the views of a majority of the largest and most liberal minds of the country. Gen. Cox claims to have discovered, while at the South, an inveterate and ineradicable antagonism between the white and black races, which will forever preclude the possibility of their remaining together on terms of political or social equality. Now this is more a matter of theory than of fact, and, as it forms the basis of his whole scheme for disingering the question of negro suffrage, should be carefully examined. Upon this point the Tribune well says:

"It seems to us that Gen. Cox here confounds the very obvious and natural antipathy between master and slave, between dominant and subject races, with an antipathy between whites and blacks, which is quite another matter. He says that the freedmen have manifested an utter distrust of the dominant race, and that the facts are otherwise. We could quote you from a mass of letters and editorials by observers of all parties, who assert that the blacks have evinced not a distrust, but an overweening and indiscriminate confidence in those who came among them as deliverers. Only let a white be known as an Ant-slavery man, and he at once is regarded by the blacks with boundless confidence and affection. Hence, we have been moved to caution these ignorant, simple, credulous people not to trust too readily and too far to 'Yankees,' because many of them are hypocrites and knaves, who would gladly make money out of their misapprehensions. The children of white masters, nurtured by black slaves, imitate their ways, catch their dialect, and learn to love them; and, were it not for the spirit of freedom which burns in the breast of every slave, however low or degraded, and which a sense of wrongs endured may kindle into a flame, there would rarely exist, on either side, any other feeling than one of attachment."

Gen. Cox's argument upon the antagonism of the races proves too much. It is very obvious that no just feeling respecting the state of feeling naturally existing between the white and blacks at the South can be formed solely from the results of the rivalries and antipathies engendered by the results of the war. Grant that Gen. Cox has seen intense hatred manifested between the freedmen and their late masters; has he not seen hatred as intense manifested by the rebels of the South towards the "Yankees" of the North? If so, will he not admit that the same feeling exists between the white and black races from each other, why not also the North and South? We confess to a horror of this doctrine of "homogeneity" for we remember how strongly it has been advocated in the interests of Secession.

What remedy does Gen. Cox propose for the state of affairs he so graphically depicts? Not foreign colonization, for that he admits to be impracticable; but "a peaceful separation of the races on the soil where they now are," which is more impracticable still. By virtue of what authority vested in the Government this can be effected; he does not attempt to explain, though he points out certain advantages that would result from its practical realization. He would "organize the Freedmen into a dependency of the Union, analogous to the Western territories." We infer that he would not make this anomalous territory a dependency, but a territory, as he distinctly asserts that "in the past the general of our institutions will tolerate no unequal territorial laws," and that "neither subject provinces nor military-pro-consuls can long co-exist with Republican Government." The "dependency" is, therefore, to ultimately ripen into a State, and have its Senators and Representatives in Congress. Will not the antagonism of the races then show itself in an aggravated form?

Aside from the manifest impracticability of this scheme, there are two fatal objections to it: 1st: It is calculated to perpetuate and embitter the antagonism that now exists between the white and black races. 2d: It allows to the black race no voice in determining their political destiny. Assume that an antagonism exists, and frame all laws and institutions with reference thereto, and one will most assuredly be speedily developed. Assign to the negro his future position in government and society, as though it were a matter for the white man alone to decide, and you cannot fail to do him most cruel injustice. Nor will he remain quiet in that position. He will in time, by his own exertions, fight to be an equal citizen of the State, and maintain his right to be an equal citizen of the Nation, and franchises enjoyed by his fellow-countrymen of a lighter hue.

There are many other comments suggested by Gen. Cox's letter, but, having already extended this article to an unusual length, we close by expressing the hope that the discussion he invites will serve to promote the cause of Universal Suffrage.—Jeffersonian Democrat, Chardon, Ohio.

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"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Government of the Army, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war power of Congress extends to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the extent of States, burdened with slavery, by a foreign power. It is in war power. I say it is in war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of instruction, Congress has power to levy on the war, and may carry it out, according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MILITARY POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are not in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.



COLORED SOLDIERS NO LONGER WANTED TO GUARD REBELS.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—The papers tell us that, in deference to the tender feelings of rebels in Richmond, the colored troops are to be removed. Intimations from Charleston are to the same effect. The accompanying extracts from recent letters of Sergeant Charles W. Lenoir, of the Massachusetts 64th, help to confirm that impression, besides imparting other facts interesting to Liberator readers, which, though not anticipated by the author, I yield to the temptation of asking you to copy.

W. C. N. Boston, Oct. 11, 1865.

CHARLESTON, (S. C.) July 20, 1865. Two years ago to-day, (the 18th inst.) since the charge at Wagner, Late Sargent Frank Welch, of the 64th, is officer, and sports his tash and lieutenant's sash in his office, and sports his tash and lieutenant's sash in his office, and sports his tash and lieutenant's sash in his office.

August 6. Our regiment is now scattered about—only two companies in the citadel. The Zouaves that were here created an ill-feeling between some of the citizens and our regiment: there have been street riots frequently. The Charleston Courier lays it all to the colored soldiers. They seem determined to keep it up until they get us ordered away. A colored voter or a colored soldier is a horrible sight to a South Carolinian.

A MILITARY OPINION OF NEGRO SUPFRAGE.

Proceedings of a meeting of the officers of the 1st U. S. Artillery, (heavy), that met pursuant to the adjournment of a meeting held on the evening of July 5, 1865, at which Lieut. Col. J. E. McGowan was called to the chair, and Capt. T. H. B. Correll was appointed Secretary. After which, on motion of Captain J. B. Charles, a Committee, to consist of the Chair and five other officers, was appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the views of the officers relative to the proper status and legal rights of the freedmen of the South-to-wit: Lieut. Col. J. E. McGowan, Major James W. Johnson and O. M. Gross, Captains J. B. Charles, Ed. F. Brown and W. R. Story, which Committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, viz:

Whereas, The statement of the country are endeavoring to determine the status of the freedmen of the South, and whereas, the question of Negro Suffrage is likely to inflict on the country unnecessary and mischievous agitation, which will be seized upon as a hobby, whereon unprincipled political demagogues may ride into place and power; and whereas, we the officers of this regiment have had an experience in the field with the freed slave, extending over our whole military career; therefore,

Resolved, 1. That we are of the opinion that the man under our command, and the colored freedmen as a mass, are as well qualified to wield the elective franchise as the white man, and that it is the duty of the Government to extend to the colored man the same rights as are accorded to the white man.

Resolved, 2. That we are of the opinion that the man under our command, and the colored freedmen as a mass, are as well qualified to wield the elective franchise as the white man, and that it is the duty of the Government to extend to the colored man the same rights as are accorded to the white man.

Resolved, 3. That we are of the opinion that the man under our command, and the colored freedmen as a mass, are as well qualified to wield the elective franchise as the white man, and that it is the duty of the Government to extend to the colored man the same rights as are accorded to the white man.

Resolved, 4. That we are of the opinion that the man under our command, and the colored freedmen as a mass, are as well qualified to wield the elective franchise as the white man, and that it is the duty of the Government to extend to the colored man the same rights as are accorded to the white man.

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THE CONVENTION AT NASHVILLE.

On Thursday, the 10th inst., a Convention was in session in Nashville, Tenn., representing the freedmen of that State. It was composed of one hundred and four delegates, seventy of whom were in slavery, and released by the war; twenty had purchased their freedom, and the remainder were free-born. Mr. Walker, a colored barber of Nashville, presided. The facts in regard to such gatherings, the spirit displayed, and the temper of the delegates are all matters of importance to the people of the Union. The black race is not to be judged by the hands of a few cotton planters, nor fairly by those who have acquired some intelligent idea of their position, in spite of disabilities, and who are fitted to guide the masses to a higher plain. The general characteristics of the Convention were, according to a correspondent of the Chicago Tribune:

"Earnestness of purpose, a clear comprehension of the needs of the race, a determination to do for it what they were able, a desire to do it fairly, that was what they were after, a devotedness to the cause, a clear understanding of the situation, a tenor of every speech and all argument was education, morality and industry. Underlying all, but only occasionally cropping out, was a fierce determination not to submit to any backward steps, and not to be degraded again, and to allow no partial bondage to be inaugurated without resistance."

The convention is said to have compared favorably with any similar body of working men. One noticeable feature was the presence of some of the most well-known and aristocratic names in Tennessee. About one-third were mixed blood, and the remainder clear black. Many outrages were reported, and a committee of inquiry was appointed to investigate. The convention is said to have compared favorably with any similar body of working men. One noticeable feature was the presence of some of the most well-known and aristocratic names in Tennessee.

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THE CHIVINGTON MASSACRE.

The CHIVINGTON MASSACRE. The Alchen (Kansas) Champion says: "Mr. Gen. Allen M. Cook, with his personal Aid, Major Bates, and other members of his staff, reached Alchen from the West on the 9th, and among other matters has investigated the 'Chivington massacre.' A recital of the atrocities said to have been committed is almost too much for belief. The Champion says:

"Of Chivington's Sand Creek massacre he gave us many interesting details, and he is of the opinion that it was the most cold-blooded, revolting, diabolical atrocity ever conceived by man or devil. The sworn accounts of witnesses of the affair, are enough to make any man blush for his species. It was an indiscriminate, wholesale murder of men, women and children, accompanied by the destruction of dead bodies of both sexes, in every revolting and sickening form and manner."

The United States were disgraced by acts of fratricidal barbarity, so revolting in their details that a faithful account cannot be published in a respectable journal, without giving offence to decency. And all these atrocities were committed on a band of Indians who had voluntarily entrusted themselves to the protection of the Government, received assurances of care, and who had flying above their encampment, at that time, a white flag and the national banner, given by the military authorities of Fort Lyon, with the promise that this was to be their security and guardianship as long as they remained under it and continued friendly."

"These Indians were under the leadership of 'Black Kettle,' a chief of the Arapahoes, who had been in the employ of our Government as a scout; had been engaged by Lieut. Col. Tappan of the 1st Colorado, to keep a watch upon the Sioux and other hostile tribes; had only a few days before prevented, by giving timely notice, the massacre of his children by the whites; had been in the fort, and under the care of the whites. His trust was repaid by indiscriminate massacre; his friendship was rewarded by outrage on the living and disfigurement of the dead; his confidence, repudiated by the military authorities, and in its place, it was put a hellish man or devil, could have executed it."

GEN. SCHENCK ON THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY. In a speech at Chillicothe, Ohio, on the 16th inst., Gen. Schenck is reported to have said: "Only ten days ago, in a full and free interview with him, the President said he regarded the local Governments set up in the rebellious States as temporary expedients, simply to give the people an opportunity to show whether they will develop the spirit and policy necessary for a full restoration to their proper position under the Government. While regarding them as expedients, he intends that the military power of the Government shall hold them in check, so that if they are found straying from the military spirit by which they were created, to prevent them from again making the trouble they have heretofore caused."

The President, in this conversation, referred to the course that had just been pursued in reference to the Richmond election, and said that he was gratified that the military spirit by which they were created, to prevent them from again making the trouble they have heretofore caused. The President, in this conversation, referred to the course that had just been pursued in reference to the Richmond election, and said that he was gratified that the military spirit by which they were created, to prevent them from again making the trouble they have heretofore caused.

TOURISTS VISITANTS SCOURGED BY THE PRESS. The Washington correspondent relates the following incident: "A number of citizens of Richmond have been here for several days, with the object of calling on the President as a delegation in behalf of themselves and others concerning pardons. Yesterday the self-constituted delegation went up to the White House, and after the President had concluded the business then before him, was addressed by him in a friendly way. The members of the delegation in a pious tone replied, 'We are proud to say that we are from the city of Richmond.' The President remarked that he did not see any occasion for pride in that fact, and turning his back, devoted his attention to other matters. Thus ended the interview."

HORACE GREENEY. A friend of Mr. Greeley lately addressed him a letter, inquiring if there was any truth in the report that he was about to leave the Tribune. The reply is very characteristic. We quote: "We elect an editor of the Tribune annually by a stock vote (one hundred shares, one vote each). Once, many years ago, two votes were cast against me for editor—none before nor since. I have never heard of any stockholder who would vote against me. I mean to reduce my work on it at the earliest moment, and have so stated to all who have a right to know. I am overwhelmed with labor. I grow old, and want rest and comfort. My idea is to get somebody else to take the laboring oar, retire to my farm, and write in the spirit. Such is my dream. I hope to realize at least a part of it during the year 1866; but I may not till some time later. You know how circumstances control everything. At present I am writing about an average of two columns per day for the Tribune, and I mean to write no more whenever I can. That's all I know about the matter. Perhaps they know more at the Herald office. Vol. II. of the 'History of the Great American Conflict,' I give to say, does not go on so fast as it should. I have too much other work, a very sick wife, and am pressed to get ready for either a good farm or corn and traps, but bad for history."

FREEDMEN COMING NORTH. The telegraph reports the arrival at New York of a party of colored people from the South, en route for Rhode Island. It appears that they came from Washington, and were sent by request of the Providence Freedmen's Bureau. The party, says the Evening Post, consisted of thirty-two persons, and comprised whole families, though few of the children are very young. Nearly all of the party were men and women not more than twenty-five or thirty years of age, and children of ten to fifteen years. They were all bright looking, and more than half were women. Many of them had been selected from the large number of freed people now congregated in and around Washington for the places they are to fill. The women in the party are to be domestics; and the men are to have work as coachmen, gardeners, farm hands, &c. The first that was organized—went to Rhode Island a few days ago. It numbered fifty persons, and all are employed and doing well. Other parties are to follow, if work shall be secured, and the negroes are contented and successful.

LEE'S APPLICATION FOR PARDON. A Richmond letter to the Baltimore American says: "You will see a good deal of nonsense originating in a Southern paper about General Lee's reasons for applying for a pardon. It is all stuff. General Lee's application for a pardon was drawn off and sent to his friends in this city two months before he left for the country. It is a very long document, over eighteen pages of foolscap. General Lee made his application for pardon on his own account, and not on account of any other person, and without any reliance—at least none expressed—on his friends in General Lee's behalf. He excused any act of his by pretending that it is done for the benefit of others. By the by, speaking of him reminds me that he does not intend to return to this city to reside. The house on Franklin street, where he lived, is now occupied by a Hebrew family."

FAULTER TO RAISE THE CABLE. The cable parted West of New York on the 15th inst. It was grappled three different times, and raised 1200, 900 and 600 fathoms respectively. Each time the grappling broke, but on no account broke the cable in grappling. The Great Eastern has gone for more and better gear. Mr. Canning writes very encouragingly. He says he found no difficulty in grappling the cable whatever, even in the greatest depth, and that probably as soon as proper tackle is prepared, he will grapple the cable one hundred miles east of the break, where the water is only fifteen hundred fathoms deep. The buoy has role the cable, being fastened by pieces of condemned cable.

Mr. Canning, Chief Engineer, Capt. Anderson, Mr. Gooch, Director of the Telegraph Construction Company, and Messrs. Varley, De Sautey, Thompson and Clifford, electricians, unite in expressing the opinion that the Great Eastern can carry and lay an Atlantic telegraph cable in any weather; that the present cable is the best constructed of any that with better machinery and stronger tackle, there is a possibility of recovering the lost end of the cable.

JOHN BRIGBT. Messrs. Tilton & Co., of Boston, having sent to John Bright a volume of sermons on the death of Abraham Lincoln and a report of the conspiracy trials, received from him a letter of appreciation. He says: "I feel much happier now than I did a year ago, and I thank you for the burden on my spirit. I think all men should feel thankful to God that it is ended, and that the main cause of it is ended with it. Henceforth you are a free people, and a great future is opening to you."

THE LANCHESTER CITY OF BARR. Lancaster has at length reached this position, numbering 21,600 inhabitants, to 21,107 in Salem, and 20,704 in Lynn.

JEFF DAVIS'S FAMILY IN ADEMY.

JEFF DAVIS'S FAMILY IN ADEMY. Two sons and a daughter of Jeff Davis passed through Adams on Tuesday, en route for Montreal, in charge of the mother of Mrs. Davis and two servants. The Journal says a large crowd was attracted to the Delaware House, where quite a singular scene took place. A number of women went in, and amid the most extravagant professions of delight and affection, repeatedly kissed the children.

TEXAS. The Houston Telegraph says the army worm is ravaging in the interior. A planter in Wharton county says the freed negroes in that county are generally doing better than in any other part of the State. He says that he has seen a freed negro who has no trouble with them, and who is doing well.

A Freedman's Yearning. It is related of Simon Cameron, that in talking with Jeff Davis about secession he would follow them, slavery be abolished, and he would with his own hands plant corn in the streets of Charleston; that last spring Mr. Cameron planned the cotton plantation, as he predicted, hired a soldier to attend to it, and has lately received four cars of grain as the product.

We remind our friends that Major Gen. Canby has said, in his letter to the civil Government: "The attempt to enforce police law or regulations that discriminate against the negroes by reason of color, will not be permitted. The star card has been issued by the military authorities, and the colored men have entered the 'no star' cars since two or three days, and the drivers have been unable to procure the assistance of the police to help them out. Police officers have no longer any right to interfere in such cases, and they know it. Let everybody get freely into all the public conveyances.—N. O. Times."

The Times' Washington despatch says that at a recent political meeting in Chicago, Gen. Sherman, one of the proprietors of the Journal of Commerce, and one of the most prominent men in the Union, was beaten by a large number of citizens, including among them a magistrate named Frederick Dent, Dr. Geo. Mudd, brother of the assassin, and others. Dent, the magistrate, subsequently sent the negro to jail for attempting to defend himself.

A Canada correspondent of the New York Herald says Marble, of the New York World, and one of the proprietors of the Journal of Commerce, and one of the most prominent men in the Union, was beaten by a large number of citizens, including among them a magistrate named Frederick Dent, Dr. Geo. Mudd, brother of the assassin, and others. Dent, the magistrate, subsequently sent the negro to jail for attempting to defend himself.

AGATE. The Cincinnati Gazette furnishes that paper with a table showing the amount of pay and mileage drawn by Southern Senators during the last session of Congress. The total amount which these gentlemen drew from the Treasury of the United States in the way of pay and mileage during the session in which they were all the time in the United States was \$560,787. Some people would call this robbery—but we cannot think of applying the term to any act of such honorable and "chivalrous" gentlemen.

LOYALTY IN KENTUCKY. The Louisville Journal says that the anti-secession element in Kentucky is the secession, rebel element. Every rebel in the State voted and declared his vote. The morning after the election, accordingly, the secessionists, who boasted of having voted the "unseparated," found themselves without a single son of Ham to look after their growing crop of corn, potatoes and tobacco.

A correspondent, who has travelled through North Carolina, says the worthlessness of the negroes, of whom such complaints are made, consists in the fact that they are not disposed to work for nothing. And their impudence consists in not bowing as low as the white man to those who have always maltreated them.

Discharged soldiers cannot have their discharge papers. The brokers and speculators who buy them for a song expect to sell them back at an immense profit when Congress shall have appropriated lands to the use and benefit of volunteers honorably discharged the service.

We regret to learn from the Anglo-African that Misses Ada Howard and Edmond Lewis, of Boston, had their trunks taken from their boarding-house in Richmond, conveyed to a vacant lot, and rifled of their contents. The young ladies were left without a change. Miss Lewis is the gifted sculptress, whose bust of Col. Shaw did her so much credit.

Agents are in Richmond engaging negroes to proceed to Cayuga County, New York, for the purpose of selling timber. They had already secured a large number, agreeing to pay them one dollar a day and their board.

The building on Long Wharf, Newport, R. I., belonging to the Bay State Steamboat Company, and used as a storeroom, was destroyed by fire Monday evening, with about \$70,000 worth of furniture, bedding, &c., belonging to the different boats of the line.

St. Roch, one of the suburbs of Quebec, was visited the 17th inst. by an extensive conflagration, which destroyed between sixty and eighty buildings.

It is said that the President has ordered the payment of \$621,000 to Massachusetts, toward the settlement of the total amount due on her war debt, which is expected to be about \$3,000,000.

Arrangements are on foot to erect a monument in Detroit to fallen heroes. The association is formed, and \$250,000 in subscriptions obtained. The cornerstone will be laid with great ceremonies.

Mr. W. L. G. Greene, formerly of the Boston press, has become connected with the Washington Republican. He is a man of perseverance, considerable industry and ability, and is likely to make his mark at the national capital.

THE NATION.

THE NATION. A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND ART. Will be published July 6, 1865. Its main objects will be to discuss the day, and above all, of legal, economical and constitutional questions, with greater accuracy and moderation than are now to be found in the daily press.

Second—The maintenance and diffusion of true democratic principles in society and government, and the advocacy and illustration of whatever in legislation or in manners seems likely to promote a more equal distribution of the fruits of progress and civilization.

Third—The earnest and persistent consideration of the condition of the laboring classes at the South, as a matter of vital interest to the nation at large, with a view to the removal of all artificial distinctions between them and the rest of the population; and the securing to them, as far as education and justice can do it, of an equal chance in the race of life.

Fourth—The enforcement and illustration of the doctrine, both that the whole community has the strongest interest, and that moral, political and material, in their elevation, and that there can be no real stability for the republic so long as they are left in ignorance and degradation.

Fifth—The fixing of public attention upon the political importance of popular education, and the danger which a system like ours runs from the neglect of it in any portion of our territory.

Sixth—The collection and diffusion of trustworthy information as to the condition and prospects of the Southern States, the openings they offer to capital, the supply and kind of labor which can be obtained in them, and the progress made by the colored population in acquiring the habits and desires of civilized life.

Seventh—Sound and impartial criticism of books and works of art. The Nation will not be the organ of any party, sect or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation, by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred.

The criticism of books and works of art will form one of its most prominent features; and pains will be taken to have this task performed in every case by writers, possessing special qualifications for it.

It is intended in the interest of investors, as well as of the public generally, to have questions of trade and finance treated every week by a writer whose position and character will give his articles an exceptional value, and render them a safe and trustworthy guide.

A special correspondent, who has been selected for his work with some care, is about to start in a few days for a journey through the South. His letters will appear every week, and he is charged with the duty of simply reporting what he sees and hears, leaving the public as far as possible to draw its own inferences.

The following writers, among others, have been secured, either as regular or occasional contributors: HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, J. R. LOWELL, JOHN G. WHITTIER, SAMUEL JOYCE, (Ex-Pres. Trial College, Hartford), Prof. TORNEY, (Harvard), Dr. FRANCIS LEEBES, Prof. CHILDS, (Harvard), CHARLES E. NORTON, Judge BOND, (Baltimore), EDWARD QUINCY, Prof. W. D. WHITNEY, (Yale), Prof. D. C. GILMAN, (Yale), Judge DAILY, Prof. DEWEES, (Columbia College), Judge WYLAND, FREDERICK LAW OLNEY, Rev. Dr. MCCLISTOCK, Rev. Dr. THOMPSON, Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS, Rev. Dr. BELL, C. J. SMITH, HENRY T. TUCKERMAN, BAYARD TAYLOR, C. A. BRACE, C. L. BRIDGE, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER, THORNDIKE TYLON, GAIL HAMILTON, &c. &c.

Terms, \$3 per annum. JOSEPH H. RICHARDS, Publisher, No. 130 Nassau st., New York. June 16.

COLLECTORS. By Finance Committee at Abington Grove, Aug. 1, 1865, for Expenses.

Bourne Spooner, \$3 00 Wm. A. Jackson, 0 25 John Withers, Jr., 1 00 H. H. Brigham, 1 00 D. Bowen, Milford, 1 00 H. Clapp, 0 25 John R. Manley, 1 00 M. S. Lewis, 0 30 J. Beal, 1 00 L. G., 0 05 J. A. Fiske, 0 50 Mrs. Perry, 0 50 W. H. Tucker, 1 00 Mrs. Knapp, 0 50 M. A. Phillips, 0 50 E. Richards, 1 00 H. W. Blanchard, 0 50 Mrs. C. E. Hunt, 0 50 W. B. Henshaw, 1 00 Mrs. A. W. Clapp, 0 50 E. Y. Perry, 1 00 E. H. Bates, 0 25 S. Shaw, Abington, 1 00 E. E. Bennett, 1 00 Mrs. Putnam, Charles- Alden Sampson, 1 00 town, 1 00 Joseph Stoughton, 1 00 Mrs. S. R. Young, R. F. C., 0 15 Lowell, 0 60 C. W. Waipple, 1 00 Wm. Sparrell, 1 00 Suffrage, 0 50 Lewis M. Lathrop, 0 50 E. H. Day, 0 50 Geo. W. Steacy, 0 50 Samuel Reed, 0 50 D. B. Bartlett, 0 50 Mary May, 0 50 Alfred Brown, 0 50 Mrs. M. M. May, 1 00 J. H. Carter, 1 00 E. D. Draper, 1 00 J. H. Jacobs, 0 50 Eldridge Sprague, 1 00 C. Packard, 0 50 B. R. Robinson, 0 25 S. C. Deal, 0 50 Cash in various sums, 15 32

WOOL. Underlined, late in the employ of Messrs. HALLOWELL & CO., has prepared the wool. He takes this method of calling attention to his facilities for selling, his store being admirably located, and his acquaintance with manufacturers large. Consignments are respectfully solicited, and consignors are assured that the wool will be sold at the highest price, and will be fully handled. Liberal advances made when required. Orders from manufacturers for the purchase of fleece or pulled wools, either in the Boston, New York or Philadelphia markets, will receive comparative attention.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Jr. Ayer's Sarsaparilla. Underlined, late in the employ of Messrs. HALLOWELL & CO., has prepared the wool. He takes this method of calling attention to his facilities for selling, his store being admirably located, and his acquaintance with manufacturers large. Consignments are respectfully solicited, and consignors are assured that the wool will be sold at the highest price, and will be fully handled. Liberal advances made when required. Orders from manufacturers for the purchase of fleece or pulled wools, either in the Boston, New York or Philadelphia markets, will receive comparative attention.

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Poetry.

THE CHAIN OF THE BONDMAN.

Amel! Alleluia! The conflict is o'er!
The chain of the bondman, all reaching with gore,
Is finally broken, our country is free!

PEACE.

BY CALER DUNN.

The cloud that dimmed the Southern sky
Floated, shattered, o'er the nation's head;
Its riven mists, dissolving, fly,

LINES.

Written on the occasion of the Funeral of the late Mrs.
Seward, of Auburn, N. Y.
Only a few grief-laden weeks have passed
Since through the world that requiem was rung,

The Liberator.

THE SAFEGUARDS OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Extract from a capital Address on "The Safeguards of Personal Liberty," delivered at Concert Hall, Philadelphia, by Hon. William D. Kelley, and published by the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of Colored People of Pennsylvania.
Pennsylvania, to bring her Government into harmony with these principles, in March 1780, less than four years after the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed the emancipation of her slaves, having previously secured, by constitutional provision, the right of suffrage to every freeman without regard to color.

have called upon the loyal people to elect delegates to a convention to frame a constitution. This would have been in accordance with ancient precedent, so far as precedent exists, for the Fathers recognized every man who fought, and paid taxes, as a citizen.
You can nowhere find in the Constitution anything like a discrimination between white and black. When it was adopted, the colored freeman was a voter in every State in the Union except South Carolina. It is denied that he was such in Virginia and Delaware, where the exercise of suffrage was regulated by legislative provision; but their Bill of Rights covered the case, and I have proof, abundant and perfect, that negro suffrage was practiced in Delaware. It never was meant by our fathers of the Revolutionary and Constitutional eras that freemen should be excluded from the exercise of suffrage by reason of color. I would, therefore, have gone back to Revolutionary times for my precedent; I would have taken the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States as my guide; and would have allowed all loyal men over twenty-one years of age to vote. (Applause.)

who were here when the war broke out, that six full regiments of infantry, two or three of cavalry, and several batteries were raised in this district and chiefly in our city. From several different parts of the State, thousands of men, who have come out of the war with only fifty to one hundred men to each regiment. We are further told that all of these regiments recruited from three to four hundred men during the war. These six regiments were numbered respectively the 1st, 2d, 4th, 10th, 11th and 20th.
The 1st regiment went out in command of Col. Geo. D. Maney, who was promoted to brigadier-general, and having served through the war, has safely returned to his home in this city. This regiment embraced the famous Rock City Guards, comprising three companies of the most wealthy, talented and distinguished young men of the city. They were unmistakably the flower of our youth, replete in education and general accomplishments. At the battle of Perryville the 1st regiment suffered a frightful loss. It was completely demolished, and out of three hundred of the Rock City Guards only about seventy came out of the deadly conflict. They only mustered thirty men when the regiment, which was with Johnson's army, surrendered its skeleton. Out of this fine body of brilliant young men, but little more than a corporal's guard have returned to their native city. The terrible fatality to this regiment has cast a gloom over every family in the city, who by sympathy and affection were centered in their noble boys, who they thought would one day be the pride of their old age.

THE NEGROES OF NEW YORK.
The New York Citizen contains a long and elaborate article on the colored population of the metropolis, their habits, residences, places of resort, and wealth, from which we extract the following personal information:
Among the colored citizens is Mr. Thomas Downing. His long connection with the restaurant business in one spot—at the corner of Wall and Broad street—has given him a reputation which many of his brethren who are in the same business covet. Mr. Downing is now about seventy-five years of age, and is worth about fifty thousand dollars.
George Downing is the oldest son of Thomas Downing, and is a man of remarkable talents, fine education, and has devoted a great deal of his time to the elevation of his race. His opposition to the school question some years ago in Rhode Island, when an attempt was made to exclude his children from the public school, has given him the reputation of being a representative man.
James McCune Smith, M. D., is the most wealthy colored man in New York city, being worth about \$100,000. He was educated at Glasgow, Scotland, where he received his M. D. He has been a resident in this metropolis for about thirty years. As an orator he is eloquent, and at times brilliant, but always clear and to the point. He has been for six years chief of the editorial staff of the Anglo-African, which position he has filled very acceptably. Dr. Smith is of good personal appearance, has a fine and well developed head, broad and lofty brow, round and full face, firm mouth, and a bright eye. His complexion is nearly Anglo-Saxon. He resides at No. 163 South Third street, Williamsburg.

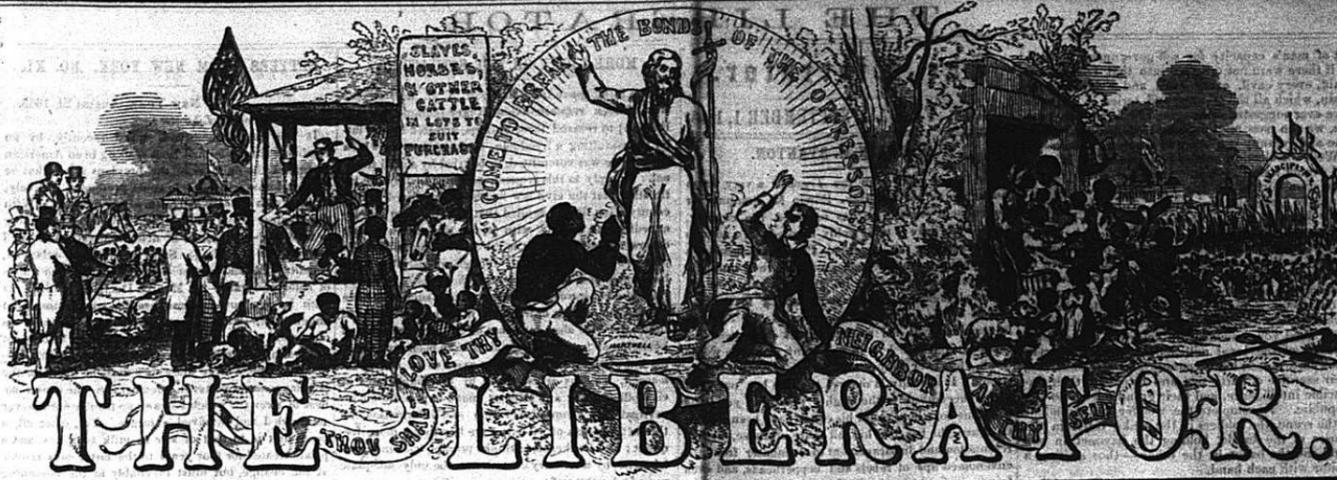
THE HORRORS OF ANDEERSONVILLE.
The New York Post publishes a letter from the counsel for Capt. Wertz, asking the public to desist from forming an opinion of his client before trial. Immediately following this letter is one from a Georgia planter, who is to appear as a witness in this case. His description of the den of horrors at Andersonville is enough to make the stoutest heart shudder. After giving a description of the prison from its building by Capt. Winder, he describes in a measure the sufferings of the prisoners. He says the position was selected by Capt. Winder, who, when it was suggested to him that the trees be left standing for the shade of the prisoners, replied: "That was just what he was not going to do; he was going to make a pen for the damned Yankees, where they could rot faster than they could be sent there."
He says that Winder and Wertz were regularly engaged in swindling the prisoners out of their proper food. As the greed of gain grew upon these men, the corn-bread was reduced in its quality, being then manufactured of equal proportion of ground feed and corn, unbolled, unsifted, uncleaned, indeed, from the dirt and trash which peas naturally accumulate; and at last, when the number of prisoners increased to over thirty thousand, the meat rations per week were reduced to a piece of bacon for each man about three inches long and two wide, with one pound of the bread above described per day. Then, also, the custom of carrying the prisoners' food into the stockade in wagons was abolished. They drove up to the gates, which were slightly opened, and the scanty food, foul and unwholesome as it was, was thrown inside by the guard to be scrambled for by the wretched prisoners, the strongest and those nearest the gate getting the largest share, the weak and sickly getting none. If the remainder, who were finally allowed to pass out of this military Golgotha, were not dead, they were, unwashed, befouled devils, and thanks were to be given to Henry Wertz for lack of effort to produce such a consummation.

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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Finance Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz - WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, Jr.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

VOL. XXXV. NO. 35.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1804.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." "I lay this down as the law of nations. I say this with authority, for, in the place of all municipal institutions, SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, as far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDERS OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Selections.

THE PROGRESS OF EMANCIPIATION IN RUSSIA.

[We have the grateful privilege of laying before our readers a letter from a veteran philanthropist - perhaps, if we except Lord Brougham, the earliest living advocate of emancipation. Monsieur Tourgueneff belongs by birth to the Russian nobility. He participated in the closing campaigns of the final coalition against Napoleon I., and afterwards held a high office in the state department of his native country, and was the intimate and respected adviser of Alexander I. When that well-meaning but feeble-willed monarch died in 1825, there was a contest in favor of a constitutional government which was promptly and bloodily suppressed by Nicholas I. M. Tourgueneff, who was at that time abroad for his health, was most unjustly implicated in this attempt, and capitally condemned - from that time till 1867, he was in exile, for some time in England, but chiefly in France, his real cause of offence being not his political views which were indeed liberal, but his conspicuous zeal in behalf of his unfortunate countrymen, who languished in serfdom. In 1857 he published a work entitled "Russia and the Slavians," in three volumes, in which he both gave a sketch of his own life and efforts in behalf of emancipation, and discussed at length the plan which, in his mature judgment, would be most successful for that desirable end. He there expressed his conviction that the deliverer of the serfs could be no other than the serf himself, and events have approved his sagacity. A few weeks ago, we wrote to congratulate him on the accomplishment of his heart's desire, and to express the hope that he might favor The Nation, and through it the people of the United States, with observations on the workings of emancipation in Russia. The following is his response. It is doubly valuable from its direct and indirect bearing upon the two great questions that concern the freedmen of America - land and suffrage. - Ed. Nation.]

To the Editor of The Nation:

You are quite right when you mention the immense satisfaction I felt in seeing, by the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, the wishes of my whole life fulfilled. After thirty-three years of absence, it was given me to see my native land again. It was in 1837, the memorable moment when the Emperor Alexander first raised the question of emancipation, and declared it was time for it to be accomplished. I might have expected, the idea of emancipation met with great opposition from different sides. At first, I must say, the opposition was directed so much against the personal emancipation of the serfs as against the appropriation to them, when liberated, of the land they held. The proprietors, assembled in different committees which were established over the empire to discuss the matter, rebelled even by giving up their right of possession in the person of the serf, and mentioning only their right to the land occupied by the peasants, claimed pecuniary indemnities if that land were delivered to them. The honorable gentlemen whom the Emperor entrusted with this important task, forming a committee ad hoc, declared from the first as a principle that the emancipated peasants must have land, and in the same quantity as they had hitherto occupied, on condition of a pecuniary indemnity to be paid to the proprietors. That principle prevailed, thanks to the Emperor's firmness.

During the discussion of that question in Russia, I published several writings on the matter. My chief purpose and warmest desire being to secure the peasants as soon as possible their personal freedom and complete liberty of labor, I proposed a system of emancipation claiming the entire property of their homes - that is to say, cottages and orchards, and a small quantity of arable land, and that without the slightest indemnity from their masters, which was to be left to Government. A sum of about two hundred millions of dollars, according to my calculation, would have been sufficient for it.

Meanwhile, I inherited a small landed property, inhabited by about four hundred persons of both sexes. I hastened to Russia, and put in practice my method. I abandoned one-third of the land, including their houses, to the peasants, and let them have the two remaining thirds for a certain sum of money. In my agreement with them it was settled that, if the emancipation which the Government was preparing (1859) turned out more advantageous to them, they were to accept it in preference to mine. It is needless to add, that when the official emancipation was proclaimed, the peasants and myself found it more advantageous, and adopted it. If I were to compare the two methods, I should say that mine tended chiefly to the liberty of the peasant's person and labor, and that of the Government to give them a quantity of land sufficient for their subsistence. The great inconvenience of this last method, is, that it obliges the peasants to pay a heavy rent to redeem their land, and that during forty-nine years, their passion to possess land is so strong that they cheerfully submit to such hard conditions. The redeeming rent (rente de rachat) must be paid by the peasants either in money, according to an estimation fixed by law, or by work done by the proprietor, i. e., by corvee. This last mode of payment, sanctioned by law only for a short period, disappears more and more every day, so that the majority of the peasants even now do not work for the proprietors, but pay their rent in money. I can say more: about two millions of peasants were entirely liberated with regard to the proprietors, thanks to an immediate payment of the redeeming rent. In such cases their annual rent (redemption) is capitalized, and the Government gives the proprietor an obligation for the amount of the capital, which bears five per cent. interest, and will be redeemed in the course of forty-nine years by annual drawings (tirages). The peasants then pay their redeeming rent to Government, and thus become free and independent proprietors. Since some time, both peasants and proprietors seem to find this proceeding the most profitable, and agreements of this kind become more and more frequent every day.

I can hardly say how happy I was when I saw, last year, for the first time, my dear, beloved, and

deeply respected Russian peasants free at last, and proprietors of the land they had till then cultivated as serfs! What a change! The same creatures, serfs yesterday, are now men, conscious of their human dignity; their aspect, their language, are those of free men. In the meanwhile, in getting rid of their serfdom, they have preserved their usual good sense, wisdom, and bonhomie; no impertinence, no arrogance whatever, can be detected in them; they are full of self-respect, yet polite. I saw them discussing with the authorities some business of theirs; they maintained their new rights, and when wrong, never hesitated to acknowledge it. You may have seen in my book, sir, that I always had a high opinion of the Russian peasants' moral qualities. Well, all I saw last year was beyond my expectation.

Your reformers can tell you, that, in loving dearly the slaves, one can hardly help feeling a very different sentiment towards their owners. To be fair, I must say that I am perfectly reconciled with the Russian proprietors. Although many of them were not delighted with emancipation, now it is accomplished there is no vestige of animosity between the two classes, nobles and peasants; a happy reconciliation has taken place. It is true, in this again example came from the peasants; the great merit of the nobles is in having at last acknowledged their moral worth.

You will excuse me, sir, if I go on praising the Russian peasants; but quite lately their behavior in circumstances very important for themselves and the country in general, was so striking and noble that it deserves the attention of every serious and benevolent man. The facts are these. You perhaps have read in the newspapers that the Russian Government issued a law on the municipal organization of the country. It is founded upon just and wise principles; it is very like what was formerly tried in France by the celebrated Turgot, or what exists now in Belgium, and is by far more liberal than the present French municipal system.

Every district and every chef-lieu has every year an assembly of deputies, who name a permanent committee for three years. This committee is charged with the municipal administration, under the control of the assembly. Every one is called by law to the election of deputies. Well, it happened in many places that the peasants were the more numerous, and could, therefore, dispose of all the places in the administrative committee. They were so informed. "No," was their answer; "we want one or two members of the committee taken from amongst ourselves: they will watch over our interests. As for defending them, as for action, the nobles we name will do better than we, for they are more learned than we are. In one of the assemblies the nobles, moved by the tact and moderation of the peasants, insisted, and almost forced a peasant to become president of the administrative committee of the district. When the salary of the members of the committee had to be decided, the peasants generally considered it too high for them, and, letting the nobles and the merchants have it, got it diminished by one-half for themselves. We must not forget that the men who behave in this way towards their former lords and masters were serfs yesterday, and that they are for the first time called to discuss not only their own affairs, but the affairs of the whole district also. Do not think, however, that their modesty reaches total abnegation. In one district the nobles, full of the prejudices which are now so absurd, showed some displeasure in finding themselves side by side with peasants, acting the same part as they, voting with them, and so on. There the peasants knew how to maintain their rights and independence, and voted for men of their own class.

All the district assemblies, after having voted the formation of the administrative committee, name a canton (canton) for the larger assembly in the chief town in the province, which, of its turn, chooses among its own members the members for the provincial administrative committee. The central committee seems to interest the peasants less than those of the districts, and this too is owing to their modesty and moderation. In the course of time they will learn that they, as well as the nobles, can play a part in the general committee.

Another field is offered by the new law to the activity of the peasants in the local or municipal tribunals. The law unites several rural communes in one canton (canton). Each canton, each commune, chooses an ancteur, assisted by a conseil. In every canton is a tribunal to judge the peasants' affairs. Ancieurs and judges are elected by peasants; noblemen are not submitted to these tribunals, but it has happened that some of them preferred having their difficulties with peasants settled by municipal judges rather than by the usual tribunals. This jurisdiction, established merely for peasants, has great importance, owing chiefly to the privilege of deciding, not only according to general law, but also according to local customs. Opportunities have not been wanting for the good offices of the peasants to show itself in these municipal tribunals and councils, and the success of the institution is clear to every one.

After expatiating at such length on the Russian emancipation, allow me, sir, to say a few words about another emancipation also accomplished by the Russian Government. I am the more desirous because it seems to me to be little known in Europe, and to be appreciated in a very insufficient and erroneous manner. I mean the emancipation in the Kingdom of Warsaw, where, it is true, proclaimed personally free by a decree of Napoleon I., and the introduction of the French code civil; but, in fact, they remained in the same condition as before, on account of the law which united in the hands of the proprietor the judicial and executive power, with the right of corporal punishment. The peasants were always unhappy in Poland; the Polish aristocracy, whom history adorns with such brilliant qualities, could never be praised for the Christian virtue of brotherly love, if they ever considered the peasants as brethren. Their indifference to the decline and fall of that unfortunate nation. A paper published in the Quarterly Review (April, 1853) exposes the state of Poland in that respect in a very striking manner. I have explained with some detail the emancipation of the Polish peasants in a paper, written in Russia, which I intend publishing. The third and last chapter speaks of the Kingdom of Poland, and is translated in French. That translation, as yet unprinted, I can send you if you like, and you may put it to whatever purpose you choose.

I have felt, as you may well imagine, the most

interest in all that has been going on in America during these latter years. I lamented, from the depths of my soul, the death of your President, who, by the strength of his honesty, the firmness of his noble mind, placed his name in history next to the greatest man of modern times, your immortal Washington! I lamented his death the more because his latest speeches and manifestations made us hope that the glorious triumph of the North Americans would put an end to all the evils suffered by every one in your country. The promoters of the criminal and immoral insurrection have undoubtedly deserved the highest punishment, but they have undergone it already, they suffer it still. In fact, what punishment can be more awful than to witness the whole world applauding the triumph of the North, the triumph of right and liberty, and the total ruin of the cause those miserable men have been fighting for? Compared with such a failure, all ordinary punishment seems a trifle, a deliverance rather.

As to the negroes, who must just now particularly preoccupy those who have spent their lives in defending the unhappy creatures, I see with intense pleasure that many distinguished men in America are trying to secure for them the right of suffrage. As I write, I have on my table the Anti-Slavery Standard of July 1, and I find therein Gen. Holden's discourse the following words: "No people have ever yet founded a free government. It seems to me that the poor negroes, in receiving the right of suffrage, would not, by that alone, enjoy at once self-government; and I think that, putting aside both right and expediency, the general welfare requires the removal (as far as it is possible) of all the barriers that unfortunately exist between the two races. If you deprive the blacks of the right of suffrage, you continue to keep them aside, separated from the community; and, in spite of personal liberty, they will always be considered by the whites as certainly inferior; and that feeling which is their curse, even their danger. One must not chaffer with man for the rights of man. The rights that law, in whatever country, gives men must be the same for every one. The words of the Hon. Governor find, in my opinion, a striking refutation in what took place and is still taking place in Russia and Poland. The peasants there did not "bound at once" from the state of serfs to that of freemen, but enjoy, nevertheless, a real self-government as the political state of the countries allows. Evidently our peasants were in a condition far superior to that of the negroes, but it is just on account of their inferiority that the most efficacious means must be employed to change their state; and nothing can be better than the right of suffrage, elevating them at once to the same level with the whites. Prejudices alone would then remain to be deplored and fought against; the law would be free from all reproach, the legislator would have done all he could possibly do.

Under the impression of what is going on in my own country, I cannot help wishing that the Americans would give the freedmen some land, not of course, in sending them to settle far away as colonies, but in allowing them to settle wherever they can have some land of their own. Then only will they feel and appreciate the advantages of a free and independent life. Then only will they try to increase their welfare, and that would certainly give hands to the great proprietors for cultivating their cotton. The freedman, when once he has understood the advantages of working on his small bit of land, will not be satisfied with it alone: he will go and look for other work, in order to make his life more and more easy and happy.

Accept, sir, my best compliments and kind regards.

N. TOURGUENEFF.

Vert-Bois, July 14, 1865.

SPEECH OF GEN. SCHENCK.

Gen. Schenck delivered an address at Portsmouth, Ohio, on the 18th inst., in which he repeated the declarations concerning the President's policy made in his Chillicothe speech. At Portsmouth the General spoke as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

I may be allowed to say here, that I had an interview with the President just before I left Washington, some ten days ago, before coming home to meet my fellow-citizens in the canvass for the approaching election. I sought that interview for the special purpose of informing myself as to his views in reference to the executive power, and his general purpose as to the restoration of the rebellious States. I knew the frankness of his character, his devotion to the country, the energy with which, having determined in his own mind what is right, he would pursue it to the end; I knew the resolve, which is the concomitant of the floor of the Senate, in the commencement of this struggle, denouncing the traitors as they deserved; and I knew that, though he might make some mistake, there could be no mistake about his patriotism, and that that resolution would be carried out to its fullest extent. With this confidence in our chief ruler, I sought an interview with him.

In that interview I expressed to him the doubt and jealousy that existed in the minds of the people of the country, and especially in the minds of the people of Ohio - doubts whether, under the policy he had adopted, we were not going too far in bringing back by untried processes these rebel States into full communion with those that had never left the Union fold. I told him that that doubt might perhaps rest on a misunderstanding as to the extent to which he proposed to carry that policy. I said, and I think you will justify me in having said so, that if his purpose was to establish temporary governments, experimental in their nature, by the appointment of these provisional officers, in order to test their disposition to go ahead, and come back in good faith, and with the full purpose of abiding by their obligations to the nation's government; and if, in addition to that, he proposed to keep enough of the military power stationed in different parts of the late rebellious States to supervise their conduct, and reach forward the strong hand, if necessary, to keep them in the right way, we would be satisfied with such experiments. And, moreover, I said we would be better satisfied still if we should definitely understand that it was no purpose of the Executive to forestall the action of Congress, the representatives of the people, but that, when they should assemble and determine whether, in addition to having their local executive privilege in the States, these people were ready to return to full communion with the government, by being represented in the councils of the nation.

I am glad to be able to say that the assurance I had from the President justifies me in saying that, although this was the policy he meant to pursue, it was only an experiment. He said that he had no purpose of interfering with the action of Congress; the experiments being made were but a progress of these people for a better and more improved condition. And so far as keeping watch

over them by armed force is concerned, he said that what had taken place in Richmond, Virginia, and assured me that where they acted in bad faith by selecting men for office because they were rebels, the military would be ready to sweep away their work. [Cheers.]

With this understanding, I for one, as a citizen of Ohio, and representing a portion of her people, stand here to-day, giving my unqualified support to the course pursued now by our President, intending to wait and see what will be the outcome of this trying period.

THE NEGROES.

Everybody knows how, during the progress of this rebellion, we have had to contrast black patriots with white rebels. Everybody knows that while the white people of the South have nearly unanimously lifted their pariah hands to strike down our national flag and destroy the government it represents, the poor, oppressed and down-trodden black men, even the slaves upon their plantations, have sympathized with our Union soldiers, and served them in every possible way. Everybody knows that not only has this been their universal disposition toward the Union cause, but that in the dark hours of the nation's trial, when the struggle was so evenly balanced, these blacks were called upon to furnish their arms, their hearts, their life-blood, in the contest that was to settle our common destiny. And this day we have more than 100,000 of them bearing their muskets, under the stars and stripes of our country. Something, therefore, is due to them; how it shall be paid is a question yet to be decided. The President has thought it well, in attempting to lead these insurrectionary States back, to interfere as little as possible with the laws of their several States. He has, therefore, when called upon them to present to the rest of the nation, asked that satisfactory to the rest of the nation, asked that the right of suffrage before the rebellion, and were willing now to purge themselves of the disabilities to which they have recently been subjected.

We know not what sort of Constitution they may present; whether they will provide for the enfranchisement of their late slaves, or whether they will continue to deny it to them. But I take the bold stand here, and am prepared to maintain it, that when they present their Constitutions, whether they provide for negroes voting or not, until a further condition is complied with I shall oppose their admission to the privileges of the other States. As far as voting is concerned, I am free to admit that I would rather have the vote of a black man with a white heart than the vote of a white man with a black and rebellious heart. [Cheers.] But I am not willing to receive either of them yet. [Renewed cheers.] I am for keeping all of them out until I am free of such disposition on the part of the rebels as will insure that no other rebellion will again break out, and destroy our peace and prosperity.

THE QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE - A PROPOSITION.

If no other representative of the people makes the proposition before me, I pledge to you my promise that early in the next Congress I will propose this further amendment, that from this time forward, for all the States alike, the Constitution of the United States shall be so changed as that representation shall be founded upon voters, and not upon population. [Applause.] And I especially ask the attention of any Democrats who may be present, for I want them to answer whether there is anything anti-democratic or anti-republican in this proposition. By the present three-fifths rule, supposing the slaves still remain in bondage, the following are some of the results:

Maine, by the census of 1860, had a population of 626,959, and on this population was allowed five representatives.

Alabama had a population of 526,431, just 100,000 less than Maine, but she was allowed, under the three-fifths rule, seven members - two more than Maine.

Vermont had a population of 314,389, upon which she was allowed three representatives.

South Carolina had a population of 291,385 - 20,000 less than Vermont - and upon that, because of the large number of her slaves, she was allowed six representatives - twice as many as Vermont, though Vermont has the greatest free white population.

Pennsylvania, with a population of 2,849,266, is allowed twenty-four representatives; while North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana, all combined, have an aggregate free population of 2,829,785 - 10,000 less than Pennsylvania alone - and yet they are allowed thirty-nine representatives - fifteen more than the same population in a free State.

But let the Constitution of the United States stand unchanged, slavery being extinguished, and what will follow? Why, that the other two-fifths will be represented; and how many of these are there in the slave States? 1,580,212 more will be represented, when you come to add the other two-fifths. This will give to the South, in addition to the great advantage she already has, fourteen more votes in Congress. Then the Southern States I have mentioned in connection with Pennsylvania will have fifty votes in Congress to her twenty-four, while having only the same voting population.

By the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution that I propose, it is true that it may become a question with the people of Ohio whether they will, in case the South enfranchises its black population in order to get a representation for them, do the same for the colored people. For myself, I am willing to meet the South on this ground. If they can afford to give the ballot to their millions, surely we can afford to give it to our thousands.

But this is a question for the future, and I shall not discuss it now. Let us amend the Constitution so as to make it to the interest of the Southern States to have their negroes vote, if they think proper. In the process of time, as the negroes become educated, and fitted for the right of suffrage, if they wish to widen their representation by giving them the right to vote, well and good. But, until they do that, they must stand where they do in regard to representation.

This is the platform upon which I propose to stand. I shall not discuss the question whether we shall force upon the rebel States negro suffrage. I will not discuss the question whether we shall allow them to vote in any of the States. I would simply amend the Constitution in favor of freedom and in favor of equal representation, as that these people shall see it to their interest to let every intelligent lover of freedom vote, and give them the privilege of so doing if they choose.

General Grant was most enthusiastically received by his loving fellow-citizens of Galena. He was so moved that actually he made a speech that contained thirty-two words!

SPEECH OF GEN. HOWARD.

General Schenck, in his Ohio speech, takes the ground that suffrage and representation should be identical; and while he is willing that the rebel States should exclude the blacks from voting, he insists that they should not be counted in the basis of representation. This scheme would deprive the late slave States of thirty members of the House of Representatives and thirty electors for President, which they would have if the blacks as well as whites were counted; and it would do away with one of the gravest objections to the present plan of reconstruction - that it at once deprives the negroes of the most important privilege of citizenship, while it makes their mere presence in their respective localities a source of immense political power to their late masters. This power is great enough to give in some places a voter recently in arms against the Government twice, and in other places thrice, the influence in the election of President and members of the House of Representatives, which is enjoyed by a voter in Ohio and New York.

EXTRACT FROM AN INTERESTING SPEECH DELIVERED BY GEN. HOWARD, OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, AT A RECENT MEETING OF THE MAINE FREEDMEN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

I see that it is stated that Gen. Cox, who is a candidate for Governor of Ohio, has given it as the result of his experience and observation, that the white and black races cannot permanently live together in the country. Now, I have the highest respect for Gen. Cox. I esteem him as a thorough soldier, a true patriot, a Christian gentleman. But my experience leads me to a conclusion diametrically opposite. If my individual likes and dislikes may be disregarded, I know that I can employ a negro, and he and I can live together; and, if that is the case, there is no reason why another two cannot do so likewise. It shows that it is not a natural, instinctive repugnance in us against the blacks. Further, I am conscious that I could employ twenty-five negroes on a farm, and live with them, not only without hating them, but could love each and every one of them. I will use that strong term. But you say, "that is not social equality." Social equality is an absurdity. It does not exist anywhere, not here in Augusta. But, "in talking of employing negroes, you suppose the white man was superior." Perhaps in the average he is. But "would you like to see white men employed by negroes?" In answer I would say, that in Washington one of the wealthiest citizens is a colored man, and he employs white clerks, who cannot only endure the degradation, but are very glad of the employment. He transacts a very large business at home and in the West. This may seem to you an anomaly - an absurdity. It is not; it is simply un-common. There is a prejudice, and there is a conventionalism against it, but the prejudice is not racial nor instinctive, and all conventionalisms are liable to change.

Let me call your method of solving the problem - how to rid ourselves of this prejudice. It is, get more of the spirit of Christ. That will substitute love for hate in our prejudices. But you will say, "this is not practical; the love of Christ is not so wide-spread as to render this available." Well, then, interest will do it. We cannot dispense with their labor. Our intercourse, which we must hold with them as our employes, will serve to dispense our prejudices. This is my opinion, and I can back it up with facts. Maryland has become a free State by her own act. In the southern part of Maryland the slave-owners were devoted to the institution. It was of "divine origin." Slavery was the "normal condition of the black race." They hung to it as long as they could, but fortunately in the northern part of the State were brave men, who fought against it, and they finally triumphed. Immediately the former owners of slaves were determined to drive off their hands from their old homes.

They could live with them as slaves, but not as freemen. How is it now? They have agents whom they send to Richmond and elsewhere, to collect freedom for labor for them. They must have their help, and they are engaging many as they can get. They are willing to pay from \$18 to \$15 for ordinary hands; they want the women for house labor, and the prospect is that there will soon be more negroes in that section than there were formerly slaves and free people of color. They will have no trouble in living with the whites, nor will they have with them. Thus it will be everywhere.

There are many other things connected with the operations of the Bureau which I have not touched upon. I might speak of marriage, how hard we are trying to bring families together; how many marriages solemnized by ministers of the Gospel, and striving to encourage and secure a higher state of morality among this people. In the matter of binding out children, too, we discountenance all such apprenticeships, without the consent of parents. Where it has been done without their consent, we help parents to find their children and bring them back. The question of colonization is sometimes brought up. We say, colonize as many as you please, with the consent of the colonized. If they wish to go to Liberia, or elsewhere, the Government and the Bureau will help them, but it will force no one. Thus it will be seen that we have

different systems in operation, and we shall continue to keep them in operation, until circumstances render any one of them detrimental to our object, when it will be immediately abandoned. I think that all we have to do is to aim at absolute justice to the blacks and whites, watching the signs of antagonism of the two races, and keeping our hands off in Mississippi and Georgia, and disturbances elsewhere, but these are individual cases and not the rule. The work is going on comparatively well, I think; and, while we should be prepared for any contingency, we have a right to be sanguine. I believe that when God sent us forth to liberate this oppressed race, he did not mean that they should be wholly engulfed. He intended that they should be free, and free to some purpose. If we attempt to renege them, or to bind any heavy burdens upon them, He will chastise us again and again. The signs of the times are that God meant that we should do right.

The Bureau has to depend upon voluntary associations for a great deal of its work for sending teachers into the field, and partially to relieve the poor and distressed. No appropriation was made by Congress for the work before us; and when money once gets into the treasury, we cannot get it out again without special appropriation. When Congress meets, I shall lay our wants before it. Until then we must depend, to some extent, on the associations already formed. Of this society (the Maine Freedmen's Relief Society) you know something. Its officers are generally personally known to you, and on one of the papers it is an auxiliary of one of the great national associations which give the Bureau material aid.

I am opposed to a permanent establishment in Washington, for the purposes for which the Bureau labors. I think our only efforts should be with a view to an end of all this. The subjects are entirely matters for State control; and when any State shows that it is able and willing to undertake the work - willing to take care of its own poor, and to deal justly by its colored people - we shall be disposed to let them. Not until then.

The Bureau over which I have been placed is a responsible position in its administration, and especially needs the Divine blessing. It is God's work. It is a benevolent department of the Government, placed at Washington, that the Christian churches and voluntary benevolent societies, and all lovers of justice, may have a friend near the head of the Government. They can rest assured that their interests will be cared for, so far as it is in the power of the Bureau to do it. The responsibilities of the administration are yours and the country's, as well as mine; and if we discharge them in the fear of God, doing what is right in His sight, and doing justly with the poor for whose welfare the Bureau was established, we may truly make our nation what we all wish it to be - a nation whose God is the Lord.

THE PRESIDENT AND REBEL SUITORS FOR PARDON.

The scene at the White House on Tuesday, when the fire-eaters had a piece of the Executive mind, is thus described in the Washington Republican of that evening:

Some fifty persons were present, most of them seeking pardons. A Mr. Keitt of South Carolina, (now Lawrence M.), he having been killed by a loyal bullet at Fort Wagner, approached the President, and informed him that he desired a pardon. "What have you done?" asked Mr. Johnson. "I opposed secession until my State decided to go out of the Union, then I determined to go with it. I never joined the army. I did nothing to bring on the rebellion," was the reply. "You," rejoined the President, "are like all the rest; you did nothing. Now," he added, "my expectation is that you should join the rebel army, but who acquiesced in rebellion, were the most mischievous and dangerous men we had. I cannot pardon you, sir." Mr. Keitt made several other efforts. Among other things he reminded the President that he had come all the way from South Carolina, and had been in Washington some time; that hotel living here was very high, and altogether his daily expenses were extravagantly large, and that he would like to get away as soon as he could go.

The President responded that the hardships of which he complained were the direct results of the rebellion; that he did not bring on, or contribute to bring on the rebellion; that he was not responsible for it, and could not extricate Mr. Keitt from the difficulties he complained of, nor hasten his pardon on account of them. The President was firm. His answer was a finality. Exit Keitt. A Mr. Birch, member of the late rebel legislature of Virginia, next approached the President, and applied for a pardon. Similar questions were put to him by the President as were asked Mr. Keitt. From the answers it appeared that Birch did nothing, only, as a member of the Virginia Legislature, in obedience to instructions, he voted that Virginia should secede from the Union of the United States. "That is all he did; that was 'nothing.'" The President refused to pardon him. Exit Birch.

Next came a rebel clergyman who asked the President to grant him a pardon. "What great sin have you committed that you come here in clerical robes to crave Executive pardon?" "I was a rebel," was the answer, "and I desire your Excellency to pardon me that I may be restored to citizenship, and be able to support and live under the Government of the United States." "You rebel preacher," responded the President, "have done the Government a great deal of harm. You have preached devilish doctrines to the people. You forgot that it was your duty to yield to the powers that be. You must rest awhile upon the stool of repentance. I decline to grant you pardon at present." Exit rebel clergyman.

The President here remarked, addressing the entire crowd in the room, that it was a little singular that most of the non-combatants who had come here from the South for pardon assert that they did nothing, were opposed to the rebellion at the beginning, only acquiesced, and thought the rebel government ought to have surrendered, and that they were not bloodstained; yet not one of them took advantage of the amnesty proclamation offered by Mr. Lincoln, an act which would have shown sincerity on their part, and contributed so much toward saving the enormous expenditures of life and treasure. "I will grant no more pardons for the present," was the emphatic conclusion of the President, and turning to Col. Browning, he directed him to issue the order to the Attorney-General.

The Tribune's despatch says, General Grant remarked recently, that sufficient evidence had been adduced, during the late conspiracy trial and since, to convict Jeff. Davis of complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln, and that the fate of the conspirators settled that of Jeff.