National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

TWENTY-FIVE MORE YEARS OF AGITATION.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer June 7.

It is the opinion of Mr. Wendell Phillips, that unless negro suffrage can be fixed throughout the United States by an Executive *coup d'etat*, twenty-five years of agitation will be needed to accomplish it through the agency of party politics. This is a pretty decided admission by high authority that the negro question has not been put at rest by the war. Direct intervention, or Executive coercion in favor of colored suffrage is hardly to be expected at the hands of the present Chief Magistrate. The negro machinery seems to have taken to running backward of its own accord. The loyal Legislature of Tennessee has distinctly recognized the difference between black and white, by the passage of several disqualifying acts and provisions. The Legislature of Virginia, elected by loyal men, is imbued with anti-progressive notions which promise less than nothing in favor of the colored friend and brother. Everywhere that the work of reconstruction is going on, the suspices are decidedly anti-African. Nothing is more certain than that, in the colored aspect, the work of National regeneration is very far from being complete; and there are not a few who insist that it is not even begun.

Twenty-five more years of agitation; twenty-five more years of negro politics; twenty-five more years in which theories of the rights and needs of the colored men of the South will obscure and dominate every consideration of public and general interest; twenty-five more years in which political parties will revolve around the negro question, and the merits of public measures, and of public men, will be measured by the bearing they will have upon the claim set up in favor of the admission of persons of African descent to an equality of rights with persons of European ancestry. And how is this agitation to be carried on? In two ways: by a ferocious and bigoted propagandism, in the pulpit and lecture hall, and through the press, and by the setting loose of demagogues to bargain and plot, by every imaginable style of party coalition and combination. The priest will certify to the sacredness of the design, and promise the especial aid of the Almighty for its accomplishment; the political *shyster* will demonstrate its legality, and its conformity with the spirit of our institutions; and the party camp-followers will be ready to embark in any arrangement of forces, however inimical to the general welfare, to carry it into effect.

The thing to be done, will be to put down opposition in the North, as preliminary to putting it down in the South. No general advance can be made upon the latter until the former is brought into a state of unity. How this unity is to be produced, is, as yet, a matter of deliberation—not in respect to the principle, but in respect to the policy and mode of proceeding. The principle of the right of the majority to coerce the minority is established. Our system of political ideas no longer owns free will as its basis, but begins and ends in coercion. The country belongs to the government, the people to the Administration, and the minority to the majority. The plan for political operations is, divide and conquer. Opposition to the Negro Fifth Monarchy in the North has been severed, by the war, from opposition in the South, and, having put down the one, the next thing in order will be to put down the other, and this is to be the work of twenty-five years more of agitation.

And what then? What will be the condition of the country when the twenty-five years are accomplished: what the state of the white people, what of the black? Upon the best of philanthropic authority we are assured that forty years of most unwholesome and distracting agitations, and four years of war, have, as yet, gained nothing for the negro. Five thousand millions of dollars in direct expenditure, ten thousand millions in damage, dilapidation and incidental loss, two millions of lives, a million of cripples, government unbalanced, Constitution trodden down, and every principle of Administration, however venerable for its age or revered for its justice, displaced and distorted; industrial system broken up, society filled with the seeds of disorder, and a whole land poisoned with hatreds and enmities, all for the black man, and yet nothing accomplished! What a lesson for agitators!

And yet this is not the whole story, nor half of it: it is not a thousandth part of it. For all this, the condition of the negro is worse—infinitely, incomparably worse. The blood of the negro rushes in a deep and rapid tide along the track of the philanthropist; the dark forest where ferocious Abolitionism harbors, is horrid with the shrieks of his victims. The history of Anti-Slavery benevolence is, from beginning to end, a history of torture and unmerited suffering: a record of cruelty such as that of the worst of times and the most barbarous of peoples can hardly parallel. The triumph of Abolitionism in America consists in transforming four millions of well-fed and happy laborers, into three millions of paupers—paupers with no home, no country, no recognition: the other million having gone starving, freezing, rotting, to their graves. And yet, in proportion as these sad trophies are multiplied, philanthropy grows more and more inexorable. In spite of the self-evidence of the fact that its steps are marked with blood, and harbingered by shrieks—in spite of the self-evidence of the fact that just in proportion as each of its plans has been carried into effect, the negro has been made more helpless and miserable, philanthropy still insists upon going forward, and completing its dreadful mission. It dares not look back upon the heaps of dead which strew the path it has travelled; but with an additional Cain-mark upon its soul for every murder, and a new hatred for every pang which has assailed its conscience: with enmity against God for refusing indorsement to its theories, and malice against humanity for failing to be tractable to its plans; with a new desperation for every impediment, and a fresh spite for every failure, it rushes on, as if to drown the intolerable memory of the past in some untried combination of horrors in the future.

From this point, in the history of the country, we have a right to look back to the time when, in a spirit of faithfulness that was little appreciated, we ventured to inquire: When slavery is abolished, what is to become of the negro? What will be the fate of the parasite when the bond is broken which subsists between him and his protector? We have not forgotten the lordly style in which we were informed that it was not our business to ask such questions—that this was a matter which, when the proper time should arrive, the party in power was fully competent to manage; nor the sneering tone in which we were given to understand that, though this might be a vast problem for our weak powers, there were those who could solve it off-hand, without our assistance. We regret to say that we do not see the solution. We do not see it in the facts; and when it is inquired after, the answer is, twenty-five more years of agitation. And what then?

Twenty-five more years of agitation, and what then? Who can calculate the effect of twenty-five years of agitation in this country furrowed all over with the marks of forty years of agitation, and hideous with the scars of four years of war? When we said, four years ago, that precisely in proportion as the negro of the South was dislocated, he would be rendered helpless and unhappy, we said that to, the truth of which every day of these four years has become testimony. Four years ago, there were not four millions of people as happy and contented as the negroes of the South, upon the face of the earth; now there is not a people so miserable. Why go on in this dreadful crusade? What hope is there but of heaping up still higher that pyramid of human misery whose size is, even now, so appalling?

Selections.

THE PERILS OF PEACE.

[These letters from THEOPHILUS PARSONS, one of the best lawyers and most accomplished jurists in Massachusetts, the Law Professor in the first Law College, are but a small portion of the work he has done towards enlightening public sentiment since 1861. We print them at once as testimony how strong an advocate negro suffrage has gained within the last year, and as the opinion of one of deserved weight throughout New England.]

NO. I.

THESE perils will come, almost equally, from two classes of error: one, that of persons who cannot forget the terrible price we pay for peace, and cannot forgive the enormous crime which has cost us so much, and who, when they say that justice is now a duty, mean by justice, consciously or unconsciously, vengeance. The other error is theirs who, in the desire for peace and the prosperity of peace, forget that justice is now at once a duty and our only safe course; and who refuse to learn the lessons of the hour or to profit by them.

One of the most important questions before the government and the country is, shall the freedmen have the right of suffrage. And this question has many aspects, and is not without its difficulty. They are certainly and manifestly unfit, in important respects and to an important degree, to exercise this great political power for the good of the country, or for their own good. Is not this reason enough for withholding this power? Yes, unless there are reasons for giving it, of still greater force.

The veil on the face of Providence has been so far removed during recent events, that there is now throughout our land more faith than ever before, that God reigns, and works his will in his own way, and by his own appointed means. And there must be with this, some belief that great events are intended to teach great lessons; and that these lessons cannot be ignored or disregarded without great peril.

Slavery has been permitted by that Providence to reach, in a part of this country, a fulness of power and influence which it has never attained before or elsewhere; and then to display its essential character, and its influence upon human character. It has caused the most groundless and the fiercest rebellion ever waged. It has instigated the murders of Unionists in the rebel States; the fires set to crowded hotels; the efforts to introduce contagion and disease into our large cities; the rewards offered in the public prints of the South for the assassination of our leading men; the actual assassination of our President; and the murder of thousands of prisoners by starvation. For all time and all nations it has given *proofs* of its nature and its influence; proofs written in blood, burned in with fire, certain as death. Of all these, the deliberate and continued murder of great multitudes of our prisoners by starvation is the most noticeable, for it is the only one of these crimes *which was never committed before*. It is a crime of a magnitude so vast, and of such enormous atrocity, that it cannot be ignored or forgotten. And, at the same time, it is new on the earth. Prisoners have been slain on the field, or in cold blood after victory; but no history, of earlier or later ages, of barbarous or civilized, of Christian or heathen nations, has ever taught that it was possible for human nature to become so depraved as to commit this wickedness. Shall we be *rational*, if we do not see that this was now permitted, that all men might know and no man ever forget, that the influence of slavery sinks human character to a lower abyss of depravity than it ever reached before?

And then, shall we be *rational*, shall we not utterly fail in our duty to Him who has permitted this fearful revelation—shall we be *safe*, if we do not use the most persistent efforts and all the means in our power to exterminate and annihilate the influence of slavery upon the character of our country? Not the men who have yielded to this influence; them we cannot exterminate, and no one desires to. It is a characteristic of our age, that while principles are of more consequence than ever before, men are of less. And what we should exterminate, without one thought of mercy, are the principles of slavery and the influence of slavery.

And how is it possible for us to say that all white men shall vote because they are white, and that no black man shall vote because he is black, without at once adopting a principle of slavery, and yielding at once to its influence, and doing our best to recognize as right, and confirm and perpetuate this influence? There is no objection whatever to restricting suffrage to him who pays a poll-tax, or who can read or write, or affixing to it any limitation intended to protect this important franchise, if bearing equally on the whites and the blacks. But what is there besides the influence of slavery which could ever suggest to us, that he who is white, be he what else he may, shall vote, and he who is black, be he what else he may, shall not vote. What else than slavery, reaching in its influence beyond the boundaries of its legal existence, ever suggested this distinction to those of the free States in which it is found. Is there anything we could do to-day which would be more efficacious to make the influence of slavery operative and triumphant than precisely this distinction?

We certainly hope that every State which was in rebellion may become a loyal State. A State means the men who are in it, and a State is not a loyal State unless it has within its boundaries loyal men enough to make loyalty the prevailing character of the State. We can find these, however, in only one or more of three classes; for they who do not belong to one or other of them are too few to be of much importance.

These three classes are, first, white men who have been owners of slaves and still hold the wealth of the country; second, white men who owned no slaves because they were too poor to buy one, and who are commonly described as the "white trash" of the South; third, black men who have been slaves. Now, in which of these three classes—remembering what is never to be forgotten, the fatal influence of slavery on human character, an influence bad enough for the slave but infinitely worse for the white—may we find the men to whom we should be most willing, or least unwilling, to intrust the right of suffrage? What slavery has made the slave-owner, needs not now one word of remark, for proofs far more significant than any words, are before the world. And what has it made the poor whites? To say no more, it has made them despisers of labor; it has ingrained into their very natures the feeling that usefulness is at once a misfortune and a degradation; and that it is right for them who do not work to feel unlimited contempt for all on whom rests the necessity or the habit of labor. It was this contempt which, as near as I can find out, was meant in the South by "chivalry."

The very first and most essential requisite for them who are to be the citizens of a loyal State, is loyalty. The most decisive evidence of unfitness is disloyalty. Tried by this test, to which of the three classes above mentioned should we give the franchise? from which should we withhold it?

The negroes of the South are wholly untaught; the bulk of them are probably wanting in all, or very nearly all, of what we regard as the beneficial fruits of education or culture. Hence their unfitness to be voters. Some persons may think them so far a distinct and inferior race of persons, that they should be kept permanently in a lower position, and can never become what citizens of a republic should be. I do not think so. Their present unfitness I admit. But I believe it has been caused by slavery. And I believe that the slavery which has made them unfit, has made the slave-owners and the poor whites at least *as* unfit. And yet if South Carolina is to be recognized as a republican State, there must be somewhere on its territory citizens with the power to vote. And it is perfectly plain that all we can do is to give this right to those of the inhabitants of the State who are least unfit, and withhold it, if at all, only from those who are disqualified by distinctly greater unfitness.

That the whites of the South abhor the idea of negro suffrage is certain. We have already evidence that while they admit that secession and slavery have gone, and only ask that in the matter of confiscation and punishment we should be lenient—even their "Unionists"—those at least of recent conversion—cannot endure for a moment the thought that their former slaves should vote by their side.

Is this a reason why the former slaves should not be permitted to vote; or is it a reason why they should be permitted? This depends upon whether we think the feeling, the habit, and the condition of mind and character which make negro voting so intolerable to the whites, those which we wish to encourage, or to suppress; those which we desire to perpetuate as long as we can, or to get rid of as soon as we can. And accordingly as men would take one of these views or the other; so I do believe they would answer this whole question of freedman franchise. So, at least, they should answer it, if they would be consistent.

While I admit the present unfitness of the freedmen I attribute it, as I have said, to slavery. Therefore I hope that with the absence of slavery a large part of this unfitness will disappear. Habits of self-support, of free labor for wages, of family relations and rights, and education, for which they are now so eager, will inevitably make them what they are not now. And it is worth remembering, that if they can vote, the means of education will be given them far more certainly and more liberally, than if they are dependent for education upon those whose feeling it will be and whose interest it will be to perpetuate their own domination by perpetuating the inferiority of the blacks.

Nor let it be forgotten that the possession and exercise of this right of voting is itself an education. I believe that history will say, a thousand years hence, that it has been one of the most powerful Educators of mankind. May it not also be obliged to say, that we withheld it as long as we could from precisely that portion of our people who needed it most!

The intense opposition to negro suffrage on the part of the whites is one of the means by which slavery will seek to keep itself alive. For slavery, after all, is not dead; had it been dead Lincoln would have been this day alive; for slavery was his assassin. And slavery will be willing to yield to necessity and renounce its name and hide its face, if only it may live on in the dark, and in its influence. Therefore it will offer and will contend bitterly for all manner of compromises and conciliations. And these will be accepted by all who do not feel that we have tried compromise and conciliation with slavery long enough, and that our duty and our safety equally demand that this poisoning influence shall be exterminated, be its disguises or pretences what they may.

Can any one doubt that the former existence of slavery was the great danger and the great disgrace of our country? But it seems to me just as certain, and indeed a necessary consequence, that the great peril of the present day is the willingness, on any ground, or for any reason, or in any way, to let that influence live on and perpetuate itself.

If it be obvious that it is the influence of slavery on the character of the whites of the South which now makes them abhor the thought of negro suffrage, it ought to be equally obvious, that to withhold the suffrage from the negroes is the surest way to indulge and confirm that influence. In other words, it is all we can do to perpetuate the unfitness for this franchise, equally of the blacks and of the whites.

It is very important to remember that a decision now, to withhold this franchise, is a decision not for all time—for injustice is never immortal—but certainly for a very long time. For then *they* cannot vote on this question. They never can receive this franchise except as the free gift of those who now regard it as the only intolerable consequence of our victories. When will the time come that they will be willing to confer this gift? Can it ever come until the scourge of more calamity and convulsion shall compel them and us to learn a lesson, for which it might be hoped that both we and they had already paid enough?

Then it may be said that every State has—must have—under our National Constitution, the exclusive [illegible] who shall have the right of suffrage; and if we give it now to the freedmen it may be taken away in a year, even in spite of the votes of the freedmen. But if it could be made an organic condition of the reception of these States as loyal States, that there shall never be a limitation of the franchise resting on difference of color, the two houses of Congress, each of which is the exclusive judge of the election of its members, would probably reject members chosen by a vote which violated this condition. I admit, however, that there are difficulties attending this question, and indeed some difficulties belonging to the whole subject, to which I have not averted. This is always true of every important measure, for it is never possible to foresee or to provide for all consequences. We may hope that the future which develops these difficulties, will find a remedy. It is, however—or ought to be—a truism, that the surest way to guard against a future danger is, to do present justice.

T. P.

Cambridge.

NO. II.

"The New York Evening *Post's* Washington dispatch says government has knowledge that the spirit of the rebellion is not entirely vanquished, and it will be necessary in many portions of the South to maintain military power for some time."

The above paragraph I read in the *Advertiser* of the 28th inst. I do not know precisely what it means; but it neither states nor indicates more than should have been expected.

If there is anything certain about war—its principles, rights, or usages—it is, that a successful party may persist in warlike measures, until it obtains reasonable security against the recurrence of the war, or against the renewed operation of the causes from which the war has sprung.

An opinion is held by some, perhaps by many, that when a State which went into rebellion comes out from rebellion, when it chooses to declare that it gives up rebellion and acknowledges the national authority, by this act it resumes, of itself, its place in the Union as a State, with all the rights and powers which belong to a State.

This opinion I regard as utterly erroneous, and as the source of important error.

That the State which went into rebellion may cease to be rebellious, and when it is thereafter permitted to resume its place in the Union, will then possess all the rights of a State, is certain. But it is not true on any ground of law or of right, or on any principle of reason or of justice, that a State, which by its own act—not of right but in fact—went into rebellion and waged war with the country, may come out from active rebellion, at its own time, in its own way, by its own act, and for its own advantage, and become at once just what it was before the rebellion.

They began the war at their own pleasure and by their own act, without our concurrence. They cannot end it as they began it—they cannot rehabilitate themselves in all the rights they renounced—without our concurrence.

A war between independent nations is terminated by a treaty, to which the successful party does not consent until it obtains the security it requires. There can be no treaty termination here; but there is not one particle the less of right, on our part, to hold the defeated rebels as in the grasp of war until we obtain the security we require.

There can be only two questions. One is: What security ought we to require? The other is: By what means should we obtain this security.

To answer the first question, let us consider what it is against which we require security.

Not against a renewal—or at least not against an early renewal—of secession. Against that, the exhaustion of the South and the completeness of our success might seem to provide sufficiently.

But secession, or rebellion, was not caused merely by the existence of slavery; nor has their war upon the country been sustained in all its pertinacity and ferocity merely by the fact that there were four millions of slaves. The *active* cause of all this was the antagonism between the two sections which slavery had caused, and the mutual contempt and hatred which it had generated. The free States felt for the foolish arrogance of the rich in the slave States, and for the laziness and ignorance and degradation of the poor whites, as much, perhaps more contempt, than the South felt for the greed and thrift and universal industry of the North and West. But the hatred of the free States for the people of the slave States was less, and might better be expressed by the milder word, dislike. While the hatred of the South for us burned like fire. It was inflamed both by envy of our growth and prosperity, and by the fear that the increasing strength of the principles to which we owe our prosperity endangered that slavery the love of which was their vital principle.

But for all this, I hope for a true, real and permanent reconciliation between these sections; provided, the cause of the antagonism be entirely removed. Slavery will be dead [illegible] as soon as a few more States adopt the proposed Amendment to the Constitution. But the inferior slavery will not die so soon; not for many years, if we do our best; and not for many generations or centuries, unless we do and persist in doing our very best to extirpate and eradicate that hatred of color or race as the basis of the [illegible] of civil or political right, which is the [illegible] soul of slavery.

It might be thought that because our government [illegible] antagonism, and [illegible] tend and indulgent to [illegible] dying slavery will leave as its legacy of [illegible] the Southern mind and heart. For words [illegible] are wasted on one whom facts have not already taught that any efforts at conciliation with [illegible] influence—for what efforts of this kind [illegible] withheld!—only feed its arrogance [illegible]. And common sense tells every one that [illegible] of the cause of a mischief is the [illegible] possible way of getting rid of the mischief.

Thus far, in my former paper and in this, I have considered only what safety and justice require of us to do. [illegible] to what way and by what means shall we do what it is at once our duty and our right to do in the best way we can?

To this question I can give an immediate answer. The rebel States should be held as in the grasp of war, or under military possession or government, until they come to the country with a Constitution which provides—*not* that negroes shall vote; *not* that the State shall never alter its Constitution; *nor* that it shall have less power than any other State of affixing what limitation it will to the elective franchise; but simply that no concession of and no limitation of the elective franchise shall ever be founded upon or regulated by a difference of color.

Let me not be misunderstood. I should greatly regret the indiscriminate concession of the elective franchise to all the negroes of the South just as they now are. I would have this franchise carefully protected by the best limitations which can be devised to prevent, as far as may be, its falling into unfit hands. I would let the several States affix these limitations. But my point is, that we shall have no peace in this country until these limitations are wholly independent of color or race.

It may be asked, has not President Johnson determined this question, so far as one precedent may do it, by his proclamation concerning North Carolina?

The negroes cannot vote in the election of members of the convention, whose business it is "to restore the State to its constitutional relations with the Federal government." The Federal Executive might very properly resort for the definition of the right to vote for the members of the Convention to the law of the State before the rebellion, adding only adequate precaution to prevents its exercise by the disloyal. The very thing now to be desired is, that the State may be held under the power of the Federal government until *the white voters* of the State present a Constitution providing against any dependence of the elective franchise upon race or color.

Now, let it be remembered, that the appointment of a "Provisional Governor" for a special purpose, in no degree whatever lessens the hold of the Federal government upon the State, or renounces its power; it is in fact an exercise of this power—and the "Military Commander of the Department," so far from being displaced, is ordered to assist the Provisional Governor in the discharge of this special duty.

The main question is this. Has the Convention not only the power to present *any* Constitution which it will, but must the Federal government accept the Constitution, if it be only republican, however disloyal it may be; or however unsatisfactory? It seems to be clear that it is not so. The Convention is to present "[illegible] a republican form of [illegible] of the United States." It is obvious that a judgment must be passed upon the question, whether the Constitution presented be *such* a Constitution. This question the President will not probably undertake to determine alone. The natural course would be to refer it to Congress, which will be in session when, or soon after, the Constitution having been submitted to the people by the Convention and approved by them, is presented for consideration.

I am not without the hope that the Convention will, whether from a sense of justice or from a belief that otherwise their labor would be useless, present a Constitution providing against this wrongful distinction. I hope, more confidently, that the public opinion of the free States will be clear and strong and manifest by that time, and will find in Congress no unwilling instrument; and therefore that a Constitution containing or permitting a difference of civil or political rights founded on difference of color or race, will be rejected; and thus a precedent established in the right direction.

But what are we to do with Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri? I do not know all the facts sufficiently to form a definite opinion. But I am aiming at a practical good; and if circumstances compel the admission of Constitutions in those States with this mischievous distinction, I should regret it, as I regret that it is found in some of the Constitutions of the free States. But I should consider the great work done, and well done, if all the other slave States can be held under military government, as they certainly can be, until they offer a Constitution free from this distinction; then, it would not long survive anywhere.

But how long must they be so held! A month, a year, or fifty years, as the case may require. We cannot answer this question, but they can. The sooner they come back in the right way, and the only right way, the better. The longer military government must remain, the more it may be hoped that the sense of equality before the law, habits of self-support, the enjoyment of family rights and relations, education, and the enforced suppression of disorder and cruelty, may prepare for the possession of the power of self-government, both blacks and whites.

I am perfectly aware that the Constitution of the State may be changed at any time. This difficulty is not, so far as I can see, to be overcome. But while the Constitution remains, the absence of all political distinction between blacks and whites will be as an organic condition of the existence of the State. Congress has before it, at every session, questions of disputed elections. The universal rule and practice is to reject illegal votes, and indeed there can be no other rule. And if a man presents himself to either House at whose election votes in sufficient number were refused, either by fraud or personal wrong, or by a law which directly violated the Constitution of the State, can any one doubt as to the right or the duty of the House to declare the election void?

Cambridge. T. P.

RECONSTRUCTION.

JOHN STUART MILL, the eminent English Liberal and writer on the Science of government, has addressed the following letter to a friend in this city:

AVIGNON, May 13, 1865.

DEAR SIR: I had scarcely received your note of April 8, so full of calm joy in the splendid prospect now opening to your country, and through it to the world, when the news came that an atrocious crime had struck down the great citizen who had afforded so noble an example of the qualities befitting the first magistrate of a free people, and who, in the most trying circumstances, had gradually won not only the admiration but almost the personal affection of all who love freedom or appreciate simplicity and uprightness. But the loss is ours, not his. It was impossible to have wished him a better end than the crown of martyrdom to his other honors, and to live in the memory of a great nation as those only live who have not only labored for their country but died for it. And he did live to see the cause triumphant and the contest virtually over. How different would our feelings now be if this fate had overtaken him, as it might so easily have done, a month sooner!

In England, horror of the crime and sympathy with your loss seem to be almost universal, even among those who have disgraced their country by wishing success to the slaveholders. I hope the manifestations which were instantaneously made there in almost every quarter may be received in America as some kind of atonement or peace-offering. I have never believed that there was any real danger of a quarrel between the two countries; but it is of immense importance that we should be firm friends; and this is our natural state, for, though [illegible] a portion of the higher and middle classes of these [illegible] [illegible]

As to the mode of dealing with [illegible] who have the advantages of [illegible] much better than [illegible] always [illegible] would be [illegible]. I should be sorry to see a life taken after the war is over (except those of the assassins), or any evil inflicted in mere vengeance; but one thing I hope will be considered absolutely necessary; to break altogether the power of the slaveholding caste. Unless this is done, the abolition of slavery will be merely nominal. If an aristocracy of ex-slaveholders remain masters of the State Legislatures, they will be able effectually to nullify a great part of the result which has been so dearly bought by the blood of the free States. They and their dependents must be effectually outnumbered at the polling places; which can only be effected by the concession of full equality of political rights to negroes and by a large immigration of settlers from the North; both of them being made independent by the ownership of land. With these things, in addition to the Constitutional Amendment (which will enable the Supreme Court to set aside any State legislation tending to bring back slavery in disguise), the cause of Freedom is safe, and the opening words of the Declaration of Independence will cease to be a reproach to the nation founded by its authors.

I am, dear sir, yours very truly,

J. S. MILL.

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

[The following is a letter from William Beach Lawrence to Senator Sumner on the Suffrage question, and is of consequence from the character and position of its author. Mr. Lawrence is a jurist of great learning, but has been known always as an extreme conservative, as a defender of slavery *per se*, and has by no means been free from suspicion of active sympathy with the Rebellion. He is the Editor of the last edition of "Wheaton's International Law," and his elaborate notes to that volume are written always with a strong leaning to the Southern or Secession view of the questions discussed. His present testimony is therefore all the more remarkable and valuable.]

"As you are aware, I have hitherto differed from you *toto cœlo* on all the questions growing out of the existence of two races differing in physical conformation in the same country, and that, while not denying that there were great objections to the then established system, I opposed, in every way open to a private individual, a disruption of those relations, on which I conceived, owing to the peculiar products of the slave-labor of the South, the material prosperity of the world depended, as well as the common interests of both races. It was, I then thought, impossible by attempting to liberate them and to keep them among us, to prevent the extinction, without leaving any posterity, of four millions of sentient beings. Such, I argued, had [illegible] liberty, had in our Northern States come in contact with the whites, who, although not individually their masters, yet, as a dominant class, as effectually prevented the moral and social advancement of the free colored man, as if the sternest slave code was still in force.

"I well remember when all negroes and mulattoes were in New York excluded from every employment except of the most servile character. No license could be obtained by one of them to drive a cart, nor were they permitted to learn the ordinary mechanical trades, as any association with them was derogatory to the white apprentice. I recollect that, when in college, it was a matter of astonishment among the students how a black man, who had obtained quite a distinguished clientage, had learned his trade. It was ascertained that he had had the good fortune to be a convict in the state prison, from whence he had graduated an accomplished boot and shoe maker.

"Even the States which granted political rights, accompanied them with some derogatory distinction, as in New York, where a special freehold qualification was required from a colored voter. This State retains to this day on her statute-book a law not only rendering void all intermarriages between whites and negroes and mulattoes, but subjecting to a penalty of two hundred dollars the person celebrating the marriage. With the descendants of the Africans are included also our American Indians. It is possible to imagine that such a law can have any practical effect, except to substitute with those who may desire such relations, that concubinage which our Northern morality has held out as one of the worst phases of Southern slavery. It would seem to be a mere stigma on the proscribed races, without any mitigating apology.

"Were the status of the population of the United States, North and South, white and black, what it was in 1859, there is nothing which I then urged on public attention that I should feel disposed to change. It would, however, now be absurd to argue against the irresistible logic of facts. No one can deny that, practically, African slavery in the United States is at an end. Those who doubted the policy or expediency of emancipation may, therefore, well unite with the most ardent Abolitionists in the adoption of such measures as may best comport with the new order of things. Every friend of humanity must desire to avert from the freedom of the South that fate, which, owing to the powerless condition of the emancipated Northern slave and the exceptional relations between the two races, has constituted the strongest argument against the abolition of the old system. We are called on now to solve the problem how two distinct races can coexist in the same country, without the individuals of the one being subject to the will of the individuals of the other; and this problem is to be solved on the most gigantic scale.

"The sole question is, whether four millions of people who possess the same freedom from personal restraint and the same liberty of doing what they please as the other inhabitants of the country, and who compose, in certain localities, a population equal, if not greater, than that of the party to which the political power is attributed, shall be an integral portion of the body politic—or whether for all purposes of government, including those of self-protection, they shall remain practically alien. It is only by sharing in the right of electing their rulers that those avenues to knowledge, by which their moral and intellectual standard is to be elevated, can be secured. It is the only way by which they can be protected from that exclusion, even from mechanical pursuits, which so long embarrassed the emancipated slaves of the North. Without the franchise, it may be doubted whether the partial affranchisement is not a positive injury instead of a benefit, as they may be entirely at the mercy of a hostile legislature. Objectionable as were in many respects the ancient relations between masters and servants, under ordinary circumstances the latter had in the former, at least against third parties, a protection, which can now only be supplied by the power of the individual to protect himself, as a component member of the community.

"As a mere matter of policy, I can have no doubt of what expediency would dictate, and if the horrors which marked the transition from slavery to freedom in San Domingo are to be averted in our extreme Southern settlements, it can be the most effectually done by making the emancipated slave at once comprehend that he has already everything that he can hope to gain by an insurrectionary movement.

"I well remember, many years since, to have been deeply impressed by a remark made to me at my house in New York by Mr. Phillips, of Salem, then a member of Congress, as to the efficiency of universal suffrage as a protection against lawless outrages. He ascribed to it that absence from riots for which our great American cities were then justly distinguished. The ballot-box [illegible], regarded as a safety valve through which passed thousands of real or imaginary grievances, which might otherwise have vented themselves in [illegible].

"These views are not now for the first time expressed. Ever since I have been in this State I have earnestly and zealously contended for the abrogation of a provision in our Constitution, for which no analogy is to be found in that of any other State, unless it is in the discrimination against colored voters in New York. I refer to the freehold qualification required from naturalized citizens only, and which I conceive to be [illegible] with the spirit of the United States Constitution, which, by imposing certain disabilities, meant to make those equal with natives in all other respects. A freehold qualification may be required from all voters, but not from one class, while universal suffrage is accorded to all other classes of citizens. My argument is that all citizens, whether naturalized or native, whether with blue or black eyes, are in the same precise category, and any restrictions must apply equally to all, and if colored persons are to be deemed citizens, the conclusion is inevitable that they stand, as to all political rights, in the same position with the whites.

"It is only [illegible] the doctrine of the Dred Scott case, which excludes from being citizens of the United States all persons of African descent, and allows to each State the right to give a qualified State citizenship, that such discrimination as that which exists in the Constitution of New York can be maintained. If the opinion of Chief-Justice Taney be the decision on the point presented, and not a dictum only, it is presumed that, with the feelings now prevalent, it would be overruled on the first occasion, if it has not already been. I have, therefore, assumed that negroes and mulattoes are citizens, and they have also been so recognized by the executive and legislative departments of the government of the United States.

"The same arguments, however, which have effectually in this State maintained the disfranchisement of naturalized citizens, may prevail in those cases in which the State Constitution makes the discrimination against colored persons, as long as those State Constitutions remain in force. To consider how far the validity of those Constitutions, in general, is affected by recent events, would lead to a discussion beyond my present limits. It is evident that if any argument as to the Rhode Island constitution, in its discrimination between native and naturalized citizens, be correct, the new *status* of the colored man would abrogate, wherever it exists, the provisions of the State Constitutions excluding him from the same political privileges as are enjoyed by other citizens.

"But there is another point in connection with this subject, for which I contended when a proposition was made here some years ago for a Constitutional Convention. I mean the right of every member of the community to participate in the formation of the organic law, and which is the grand principle on which all our institutions rest. You may place what restrictions you please, not incompatible with the Federal Constitution, on the future right of suffrage, but the State Constitution must originate with and be assented to by a majority of all the people, including as well those whom it disfranchises as those whom it invests with the suffrage. Such was the course, you will recollect, as to the *plebiscite*, on which the title of Napoleon III. rests, as well as in the case of the annexation of the several states of Italy to the government of Victor Emmanuel. It may also not be uninstructive to notice that the same principle was recognized, on two occasions, in the State of New York; and the present Constitution, as well as the previous one, was made by a convention elected by universal suffrage, and without regard to the qualifications required for voting by the then existing constitutions. The fact, I believe, is the same in reference to the Constitutional Conventions of other States. It seems to me that as to the colored people at the South taking part in the Conventions which may be called to form or modify existing Constitutions, the sole question is, are they citizens of the United States? If so, their right is perfect.

"By the by, the term citizen, in the sense in which we employ it, is unknown to English law, and Attorney-General Cushing, equally with Attorney-General Bates, was unable to give a satisfactory definition of what was meant by a citizen of the United States. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for it. In the constitutional governments of Europe, voter and citizen are equivalent. 'The right of citizenship *(droit de cité)*,' says the Dutch publicist Thorbecke, 'is the right of voting in the government of the local, provincial, or national community of which one is a member.'

"It was, as you well remember, the disabilities to which the free colored people were subjected in the free States which induced Chancellor Kent, in his Commentaries, to deny to them the title of 'citizens,' and to distinguish them as 'native subjects.' It is a solecism to call those citizens who are perpetually disabled from aspiring to the elective franchise; and declaring a person a citizen, logically carries with it all the attributes attached to that character.

"I have written the preceding *calamo currente*, but though my language has not been studied, the views are the result of deep reflection.

"I am, yours truly, W. B. LAWRENCE."

NEW ENGLAND FREEDMANS' AID SOCIETY.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

THE annual meeting of this association was held in the Music Hall in the evening. Judge Thomas Russell presided.

Judge Bond of Baltimore was the next speaker and was received with cheers. He said that it was an erroneous idea that slavery was dead. Truth crushed to earth will rise again, and so will a lie. One form of slavery is dead, but how multifarious its forms may be, remains for history to develop. The South is to come back and take part in the government of the United States. The questions before the American people are, how the States shall come back, upon what terms they shall come back, and what we shall dictate to them, not what they shall ask. They exist now as States without government. The Constitution requires that we shall give them a republican form of government. If you give the government to all the people of the United States, there is no question but what they will have it. Who has bewitched Bostonians to think that the men who are to come to Congress from these States will ever vote for a revenue bill which is to pay a debt which was run up in whipping them. How many of them have the bonds of the United States? How many of them have not got the bonds of the Southern confederacy?

Slavery exists in everything except name throughout the South, and how is it to be abolished? There is but one way, that way is to give the freedmen the fundamental power of the citizen—the ballot. Another erroneous idea, said the speaker, is that we must have some test, some limitation upon the right to vote. This is a question of dynamics. The more power I can get on my side the better I like it. The more negroes I can get to vote on my side the better. But you say how can you do this? Their State Constitutions are against it. Didn't the people of Maryland abolish their Constitution, and the people of North Carolina four years ago? We did not acknowledge the new thing they made, but we all acknowledged the right of the people to abolish their Constitution. Their old Constitutions are abolished, and if you go back to the Constitution of the United States you must call upon the people of the United States, living in these States, to form their government. Then in Virginia we shall have a majority of the people on our side about whose loyalty there is no question. In South Carolina we shall have nearly the whole. We shall divide the Southern vote and prevent from going to Congress those who will resist the payment of the United States debt and repudiate it. Judge Bond then advocated the educating of the freedmen. They exhibited, he said, more capacity than any foreign emigrants who landed on our shores. There were less criminals among the blacks proportionally than among the whites. The negro, he said, has got as much intelligence as his master, and a great deal more loyalty. There is no safety for the South if the black man is not given the right to vote, if the cup of freedom they were about to drink is dashed from their lips, and they are told it was all a mistake. The returning of Anthony Burns to slavery is but a very small thing, he said, compared to returning a whole nation to slavery. Let North Carolina and every

other State knock, and knock again, until they are tired, unless they do as Maryland has done—unless there shall be neither slavery or involuntary servitude in it except for crime, and unless they have given the colored people the only thing that will protect them—the elective franchise. Judge Bond spoke at considerable length, and the feeling he expressed elicited the hearty approbation of the audience.

THE FORCE OF THE LABOR DESTINY.

From the Cincinnati (O) Gazette, June 7.

THE freed negro has had bountiful notices from all sorts of government officials and from philanthropic speakers that he must understand that although he is free he must work, and must not expect that the government will support him in idleness. Is it not time that some one was bestowing some of this benevolent advice or menace on the free whites of the South? So far as experience goes, they are the class that expect to live without work, and to be supported by the labor of others, and we think an account would show that the Southern whites have expected and received much more support from the government than the blacks. Why is it that the only class in the South that the government has found willing to work, receives all the exhortations and warnings to labor, while the class that always lived by the labor of others is omitted as if it had no lesson of self-support to learn?

Is there not in all this an idea that the whites expect the former relation to continue under a different name? The course of the handlloders of the South, as we gather it from the Southern journals that have been resurrected or started anew, under a shallow pretense of accepting existing facts, exhibits no disposition to accommodate themselves to existing conditions; but on the contrary, they show a determination to exclude the blacks from opportunities to labor, in order to demonstrate t[illegible]cipation is a failure. For this many [illegible] their lands lie uncultivated, while the [illegible] the freed blacks is the principal them [illegible] journals.

But the design trips itself, for not content with showing that the freed negroes will not work, these statements also tell that many of them are begging for work at wages much less than the cost of their subsistence in slavery. This is a test to show how much worse the condition of the blacks is now. We have seen in the same article charges that the blacks were idle, and statements that one offered to work for $13 a year, and another for his board; and as even blacks are too smart to beg for work without wages when wages are offered, we conclude that these are samples of the wages their former masters offered.

We do not expect that the relation of slavery can be overthrown without a disturbance of labor. Slavery is a poor training for freedom. Even the emancipated Israelites had to be kept in the wilderness until all the old stock died. But in this case the chief difficulty grows out of the fact of a master class holding the lands—the only means of subsistance—accustomed to live by the unpaid labor of the negroes, and still determined to do it, if their lands go uncultivated until the negroes shall be reduced to their terms. The Southern planters are by no means convinced that slavery is abolished. They look upon it as still an open question, and are fighting it with all the savage spirit that belongs to slavery.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1865.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

IN the Period of Panoramas a few years ago, an artist painted the views of a voyage on the Mississippi river. In his exhibitions he told this story:

He was drifting one night by moonlight not far from the shore, when he passed a house, so near, as that he could hear the music and see the dancing of a merry-making. Not long after, he came to another, almost exactly like the first. He thought little about it, but very soon he was surprised at finding himself passing a third, of similar character. This awakened his attention, and he discovered that he was sweeping round in one of those mysterious whirlpools sometimes found; and only by energetic exertion was he saved from being swallowed in the miniature Maelstrom.

From the high bluffs of a moral outlook, the political and religious Press of the country presents a view very similar to that circling navigator in his moonshine. Both appear to sail without chart, compass or object, unless for the sake of sailing, as they seem to have no port or haven in view.

If they are pointed to the great polar star of principle, they answer much as did the old slave Mopus, in Mr. Olmstel's "Atlantic Seaboard States." Left one night in charge of the craft of which he and his master constituted the entire crew, he was told to keep her running exactly toward the North star, then in full view. The skipper then turned in to take a nap. Soon after, the wind changed, and while Mopus was busy filling and lighting his pipe, the boat swung round and put off South, before a stiff breeze, and when the captain awoke he found himself back to the point left hours before. "What have you been about, you black rascal," he roared out to old Mope. "Didn't I tell you to keep her heading straight to the North star?" "O yes, massa, but den de lord a'mighty you do' know how she run—we passed by de North star, two hours ago."

Such, largely, is newspaper navigation in our country to-day. It has reference to no principle; respect for no law of eternal right.

In peace the religious press bears the greatest sway. In war the politician. In war, the former takes refuge in the latter, like women and children in a garrison, in Indian, or border alarms. But under the influence of both, we drift round and round, as interest, caprice or passion impels us.

And so a new journal, like a new sect, becomes a necessity, if a divine man, or a new truth, is let loose in the world.

Almost a hundred years ago, we launched our ship of state, full rigged for a brave race with the nations. Our chart was the Declaration of Independence—"All men created equal," was inscribed on every banner.

True, we had five hundred thousand slaves; but then we regarded them as only so many curses, inflicted or entailed by Great Britain, to be soon swept out of existence as slaves, and born into new life as men, by the genius of the new dispensation. Slavery, however, soon became a source of profit, as was believed, and then it became both the "peculiar" and most cherished institution. The Declaration of Independence was postponed or repealed in its behalf. The Constitution was interpreted into its service and security; and the Bible, Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha, was declared by almost the whole American Church to contain God's curse upon Cain, Canaan, or some black offender unto or poste diluvian, whose sins sentenced him and his posterity to slavery, forever; and constituted his paler brothers executioners of the Divine displeasure!

And so our new land of promise, our "Paradise Regained, our Eden "restored from the ruins of the Fall"; became at once a lake of fire and brimstone to Ethiopian sinners, where they must weep and wail and gnash their teeth.

"For broken laws,
Five thousand years have their creation
Through Canaan's cause!"

We hewed our way out of British tyranny with the sword. That done we exchanged the sword for the sceptre and insignia of slaveholders, to become worse tyrants and despots than the earth then bore on her bosom, or has borne since. From half a million victims we multiplied the number seven fold. We extended the slave territory in unexpected proportion by fraud, falsehood, robbery and war, and greatly augmented the horrors of the system. We enacted Fugitive Slave laws, at which Nero should have shuddered, and executed them with the point of the bayonet, at the base of Bunker Hill, and in the very shadow of Faneuil Hall. We stripped from the negro the right of suffrage in almost every State. For, be it known, fifty years ago, the free colored man enjoyed that sacred right, in nearly every State of the Union.

Then suddenly we dashed along over almost a hundred years of July, as though God had no ear for the groans of the enslaved, or thunderbolts for their deliverance. Infinite Patience would endure no more. [illegible] of the last four years tell the rest.

[illegible] liberty of the Press has been largely [illegible] political, pecuniary, literary and [illegible] but to what purpose? It has been the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. It has conducted us round and round, ignominious like, from the Declaration of Independence to the Dred Scott decision, which unhallowly inculcated, that Africa had no rights which America, boasted land of Equal Liberty, was bound to respect; and onward still in crime and cruelty we have followed it, until we dashed ourselves against the frowning rocks of that righteous indignation, at which, long ago, Jefferson and many good men trembled.

And now we enter on a new career. We seal the dread volume of the past with the blood of half a million brave men, and open a new dispensation. To rebuild the ruins, is the work of the present hour. Some there are who would dig deep and lay our foundations on that rock of eternal justice, which underpins the moral universe. One voice, at least, is heard, demanding that negro suffrage be enacted as a measure of policy as well as of principle. He believes that the only way to secure lasting Peace to the country in the general, was to adopt that measure; and to avoid being loaded down with the Confederate Debt in special, we must surely retain the supremacy in the hands of the present Administration, and not allow it to be overborne by a return to power of Southern rebels, and their more desperate and dangerous allies at the North. In such an evil emergency, he declares he would have the rebel debt repudiated, at whatever cost.

An energetic force in the telegraph into a lying report of the address, and then with the whole Press, religious, political and literary, with a very few honorable exceptions, howls with indignant horror, that the cry of *Repudiation* of the National Debt, has been raised in a quarter too infinetial to be overlooked!

In a few days, however, the falsehood was exposed and the truth appears.

But the Press now makes no haste. Slowly, if at all, [illegible] adorns reports, for which it is so [illegible] the *Evening Post*, true to its noble [illegible] a party in the calumny.

But the course of the *Tribune* seems most inexplicable of all. It not only doubts the correctness of the report, but it absolutely begins to prepare the North for the assumption and payment of that very Confederate Debt! It says:

"But let us accept, for the moment, the authorized version of Mr. Phillips's threat, and still we hold it most objectionable and immoral. We hold that a Public Debt can only be invalidated by the solemn judgment of the sovereign people, and that it was assumed or incurred without due authority.

"The war on Mexico for example, was, in our view, a most unjust and wholly unnecessary measure; it should not have been commenced and need not have been prosecuted. We opposed that war to the utmost limit of our constitutional right; yet we never threatened to repudiate the debt incurred by it, nor to refuse to pay taxes levied to support it. So of the Florida war, which Mr. Webster, Whig, who abhorred the last war with Great Britain, never questioned the validity and obligation of the debt incurred in its prosecution."

The *Tribune* admits the possibility at least of an assumption of the Rebel Debt, says it would naturally be inextricably mixed up with other debts, and then asks, how you would set about repudiating it? would you also repudiate these? "Could you tell what to repudiate?"

Precisely by this mode of reasoning was the war with Mexico induced. At first, the annexation of Texas was opposed by the Whig party of the North, nearly to a man. Twenty members of Congress, the venerable John Quincy Adams at their head, issued a manifesto "To the People of the North," in which they declare "that annexation effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal government, or any of its departments, would be identical with dissolution." And they farther said that such an attempt "to eternize an institution and power of nature, so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests, and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of the free States, in our opinion, would not only inevitably result in a dissolution of the Union, but would fully justify it." And yet they only asserted that the people of the free States ought not to submit to it, but we say with confidence, *they would not submit to it.*"

And so, *for a time*, said the entire North.

And yet that Whig party accepted the measure of annexation, of course, under protest. Then came the Mexican massacre, dignified with the name of war, but disgracing the word war, forever more. The war, too, was unconstitutional, as the Whig party, as the *Tribune* admits; not, however, so much under protest, but that it furnished the party in its hero, with a President; one, too, whose only possible or conceivable claim to the office was won in the murderous war with Mexico, against which the party so protested, and the bloodhound employed in butchery of the Seminole Indians a few years before, who had become obnoxious to Georgia slaveholders, by giving refuge and asylum to their fugitive slaves.

Such a man was fit President for such a party; and fit also to furnish that wife to the Confederate President who hoped in her circumambiency of crinoline to hide her diminutive husband from the eagle eye of Col. Pritchard's scouts, and the wrath of an outraged nation. Fit also to be head of the Administration that gave us the Compromise measures, as they were called, including in its catalogue of crimes the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, repealed not till the third year of the war just closed. Only a party so demoralized by first listening to wrong, then tampering with, then consenting, then embracing, would or could have closed a career so infamous, by paying the debts of Texas after its most adulterous marriage with such a harlot. Surely the *Tribune* is right in repudiating all repudiation, after that.

Three years before the nomination of Gen. Taylor, had it been told the Whig party what it would do in that lapse of time, it would indignantly have answered: "Is thy servant a dog that it should do such things?" But dog or not dog, it did them.

And the quotations above are but the beginnings of a tampering with injustice, that may end, mortal man knows not where! The descent to hell is as easy now as two thousand years ago.

The *Tribune* first gives currency to a false report. Then it refuses honorably to retract it. Then, naturally enough, but most ominously, it enters on an argument to show how, after all, we may find it necessary to pay even the Confederate debt.

The rebellious spirits at the South, conquered, but not converted, may well take heart, as they surely do. Ironclad serfdom they may yet establish on the ruins of liberty, under the full consent of the North, and with all the constitutional protections against "domestic violence," still in force. And all their debts too may be provided for, as cheerfully as was the ten million gratuity to Texas.

The scheme of annexing Texas had burned in Southern hearts for years, before any such rays of hope as these had reached them from the North.

Let the Press, generally, pursue its present course, and the doom of this nation is sealed forever. Reconstruction on the basis of white suffrage, largely or solely, and ten years ago, will be enacted; the Democratic party of that period will return to power, ten-fold more the child of hell than ever; and then, God save the country, if the infinite economy can be extended so far.

OUR OUTSIDE ARTICLES—it is hoped the length of some of them to-day will not prevent a careful reading. Those on Suffrage are from two of the ablest minds of this or any other country, and from their reasonings and conclusions—statesmanlike, wholly unmixed with any partisanship—there seems no ground of dissent.

Sermons at full length will not often appear in the STANDARD; they are too long for proper and profitable newspaper reading, even though proportionably broad and high. Abstracts are far preferable, and more certain to be read.

Dr. Chevner disappeared from the STANDARD, three or four years ago; but meantime, the country has shaken at his thunders, from the Church of the Puritans to Washington, and across the valley of the Mississippi. His Fast Day Sermon on our last page, will stir the blood and spirits of whoever shall read it. Its argument is irresistible. For its theology, he alone is responsible. His appeals to the conscience and the soul, belong alike to the whole empire of conscience and soul.

TURKISH BATHS.—At 13 Laight st. has been opened a new fountain of cleanliness and healing. So much is true at least. But visitors will not realize all the enjoyments, or immediate effects of the Turkish Bath, so vanishingly portrayed by oriental travellers. Still, to those who can afford it, this approximation will prove doubtless a solid benefit, and may save large bills of the doctor's and druggists. For a cleanly, healthy skin, is among the best preventives of every form of disease.

BREAKERS AHEAD

THE book of wisdom tells us that the watchman, when inquired of by an impatient waiter whether the morn was near, answered—"The morning cometh, and also the night." Is it to be so with us? In another long, dark night of bondage to Southern ideas to follow the morning of freedom that has lately dawned upon us? No question can be more important for us to ponder carefully, and to answer rightly.

The expressions of feeling and purpose which the press brings to us from individuals in every Southern State, and the action of important bodies in Tennessee and Virginia, echo and enforce the voice of reason to us. Was it not plain already that men so able and unscrupulous as the leaders of Southern society would, when defeated in arms, resort to stratagem, and thus save what could be saved of their influence in their several States, and in the nation at large? Already meetings have been held (like the one at Memphis spoken of in the STANDARD two weeks ago) of leading Southern men who intend still to be leaders, intend still to use the mass of the people as movable furniture, and propose to *take them* back into the Union, as they formerly *took them* out of it. Already we hear of "distinguished citizens" of this or that rebel State being in Washington to confer with the President in regard to reconstruction. It is plain that we are to have a long and severe struggle with impudent demands as Lee made upon Grant, and Johnston upon Sherman, before the surrender of their armies. People who have committed the crime of treason complicated with overconceivable aggravation, people who were perjurers and thieves before they were open traitors, and who have since been wholesale and retail dealers in murder, public and private, of every kind and degree, now come before us with the coolest assurance, plying still the part of leaders and demanding, as such, to be treated with distinguished consideration.

This is all wrong. We want no "distinguished citizens" who have continued to live in rebel States through the whole course of the rebellion. The parties we need to negotiate with in the South are that mass of the population in each State which has been *without* individual distinction, which found itself in the rebellion by force of circumstances there by the authorities which had always held it under control, and which will find the rule of the United States easy and blessed when compared with that of the "lords of the lash." The best course for every "gentleman of distinction" in the Southern States (next after making public confession of his guilt and giving himself up for punishment) is to sink into the profoundest obscurity, learn some method of making an honest living, and make no attempt again to lead those whom he has so grossly and so disastrously *misled* in the quarter of a century last past. Their distinction is their condemnation. To be suffered to live in the country in the most private manner, without imprisonment, would be great indulgence to them. Will they unblushingly demand citizenship, and even leadership, after the infamous perversion of both these functions of which they have been guilty? That they will, we have no doubt, in every rebel State; and that public declaration that they have been fighting in a just and honorable cause, and that they have done nothing to be ashamed of, ought to be sufficient for our warning. At least, the action of official functionaries in Virginia and Tennessee, upholding the ideas upon which the rebellion was founded, and opposing any sound method of reconstruction, ought to be recognized as fair warning of the danger impending over us.

The words of the murdered Lincoln (in his second inaugural address) ought to be our warning. He allowed to the South no more for our mercy and forgiveness to run in your numbers, sooner and another will come until the purpose is answered for which the first was given. Our obstinacy cannot divert or weary out God's course of discipline. We have had plague after plague, increasing in severity, to drive us to reformation. We have had even the deaths of the first-born, so that the whole North, like the South, is a land of mourning. Shall this not be sufficient? Will our official functionaries, the executive and legislative powers, expose themselves to the severer judgments by refusing to decree and execute justice? And if they shall be stupid enough to run this fearful risk, will the people consent to share it by continued allowance of their injustice towards our oppressed?

To do justice, to execute righteousness in regard to our down-trodden colored population, to begin to live by the rule which, for eighty-nine years, we have made a false pretence of living by this—is all that can save us. And an indispensable element of this course is to keep all power out of the hands which have been accustomed to use it against the negro; but above all, we should keep power out of the hands of those who declare their continued opposition to the negro; men, for instance, like the delegation from Georgia who (the *Tribune* of Saturday says) had an interview with the President at Washington that very day. They announced their entire willingness to accept the abolition of slavery, and to return to the Union, but they were "unanimously opposed" to negro suffrage, and in favor of magnanimity." They are said to have been "highly gratified" at their interview with the President.

The same *Tribune* contains a letter from Augustin L. Tavean, a citizen of Charleston, S. C., who is also in favor of magnanimity. He reasons the matter to the extent of a column and a half of fine print, talking not only calmly about the past and the future, but in a spirit which the *Tribune* heartily approves, believing that it will be met by a kindred exhibition of generous manliness on the part of the North. The *Tribune* begs that Mr. Taveau and his fellow-planters will deal justly and kindly by the blacks who were lately their slaves, "and lead them on through fairly rewarded industry and systematic education to enlarged usefulness, competence, and fitness for all the duties of man and citizens." But Mr. Taveau's letter makes it plain that he proposes another kind of treatment. He does propose to do the very thing which we wish to prevent, and readers as the most dangerous element of the present crisis.

He first claims from the North "magnanimity," by which he means an utter ignoring on their part of any guilt or dishonor in the conduct of the South, and an extension to its leaders of "the right hand of fellowship." He makes no specific reference to such tribes as the jesuitry, treasonry, and theft, which prepared the way for the rebellion, nor to the piracies, murders, and outrages of every atrocious sort that accompanied it. So much does he seem to take it for granted that these were appropriate means to a good end, and so little does he conceive the applicability of moral considerations to our late contest, that he seriously asks, in regard to the North—"Ought she not rather to be proud of the bravery shown by her natural allies?" He hopes that the North will not, by any deficiency in the spirit of magnanimity shown toward us, "compel the South to withdraw that hearty approval which she gave to Gen. Lee's surrender." Could impudence go further? Wait, reader, before deciding, until you have read the next item.

In regard to slavery, this is his idea. That once vexatious and formidable question is now, he trusts, forever buried, Providence having seen fit to interpose, and raise up John Quincy Adams to destroy it. That was his mission. And "—Saint Augustin proceeded to say—"as a Christian men, we must accept it in this light, and like Job, who after the loss of oxen and asses, flock and slaves, refused to curse God, say 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.'"

Calm and reasonable himself, Mr. Taveau begs his fellow Southrons not to blame the negro for taking liberty when given him by the U. S. armies. "He was well fed in his cage, but he prefers the privilege of selecting his own food; let him go"—says Mr. Taveau and he proceeds piously to suggest—"as an all-wise and directs our affairs, perhaps it may prove a blessing to the race of the Negro Race in this country, and that he was only sent here as a pioneer to clear up the way."

ness for his successor, the white man; perhaps he has performed his mission, and may possibly, like the Indian, gradually disappear from his present localities."

Does he propose, then, that the Chivalry shall earn their own living? Not at all. Here is wherewith to fill that gap. An immense number of foreign immigrants are to "listen to the hymn of the Free South," and flock thither to be hired by the ex-slaveholders, who are still to retain their broad lands. (Don't you see?) At now notice this Southern picture of the future of the South—"Let the South alone, it will treat the immigrant, and gradually instruct him in his new task;" and then, finally, divide the old plantation into farms, and farm them out to worthy [white] tenants. Freed from the care of driving negroes, he will then, for the first time, realize the true ease and comforts of a country life; and, giving more of his time to the cultivation of his mind, he will be better fitted for the *management of the affairs of State.*

The slaveholding class are still to be the ruling class, according to Mr. Taveau. Vast numbers in the country share this idea, and will bend all their energies to realize it. The first steps are now taking in many of the rebel States which are designed to lead to this consummation. This effort should find an equal vigor and a tireless activity of opposition among all lovers of freedom. If the President should favor this Southern movement to the extent which his recent reports, all that he has done and all he may prove too little to gain the one great security for future safety—Suffrage for the negro in advance of reconstruction.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECH.

SUNDRY journals doubt the accuracy of the report of Wendell Phillips's speech which we printed last week, but there is no room for doubt. The controverted portion of that speech—everything concerning repudiation—was printed from Mr. Phillips's manuscript; and in relation to it he says in a private note, from which we take the liberty to copy—

"I sent you exactly, word for word, what I did say, having fully prepared it beforehand, and repeating it in the same terms in the afternoon of the same day."

We reprint the passage:

"I look on reconstruction based on white suffrage as but another form of repudiation, the assumption by the nation of the Confederate debt. The two things are parts of the same whole. No man acquainted with the present mood of the white race at the South believes that its representatives in Congress will ever vote to pay our present debt or its interest, unless theirs is included. That is one feature of reconstruction on a white basis. We are to plunge into that gulf of war debt which now threatens to swallow up the European nations. Much of their war debt was fraudulently imposed on a people unable either to resist or protest, and, in my opinion, whenever the masses there obtain their rights, they will properly and justly repudiate much of those debts.

Any imposition upon us of that Confederate debt, carried by means of white suffrage reconstruction, will be a fraud upon the people. Mr. Sumner's resolves, adopted by Congress, have attempted a barrier: an insufficient one, I fear, if the plan of reconstruction on a white basis be adopted. For myself I protest in advance against both parts of this one measure, white rebel suffrage and the assumption of rebel debts, as fraud on the people. Fraud vitiates all contracts. A man or a minority may be bound by national acts to which they silently submit; but not by those against whose validity they protest at the time. I, for one, here avow my purpose to be bound by no such fraud, whatever it may be believed, even by educated folks. Nearly every one thinks that slavery might be restored, if they keep quiet—that the Copperheads will manage that for them. They believe that we are about to assume the Confederate debt, in part, by stamping their rebel rags with a United States stamp of a lower denomination! Dr. Harrold, an Episcopal priest (and an intelligent man, too), asked me if the North would not be willing to establish a system of apprenticeship for the negroes! To a man they think that that double-headed monster, the Rebel Debt, is to be taken on our regular army; and that the old hoary villains of politicians will resume their seats, and recommence their old practice of torturing the body politic.

We have the Women are by far the wisest. They still believe that Jeff. Davis will come out right side up somehow; they "love that grey uniform"; they ask "what the United States flag is like?" and we are educating them in this respect by suspending the pictures over every door, so that they are obliged to walk under the hated symbol when they come to beg for rations or transportation. Next to the women in virulence are the officers, the "Majors," and "Colonels," and "Generals," who flaunt about the streets in full rebel uniform—everything except the sword! Gen. ——— had a talk with one "Gen." Lovell the other day, and he came down from Colombia to Orangeburg in full dress, with his "staff" ditto. It is a grand mistake to suppose that such persons will be conciliated by allowing them to play such pranks; and it might be worth while to inquire whether the feelings of honest Union soldiers should not be taken into account. The rank and file form the best part of the Southern population. They are heartily tired of the war, and conduct themselves with more propriety than any other class of the natives.

I have been engaged in visiting plantations, at the owners' request, with a view to assist in making labor contracts with their former slaves. A Commission has now been appointed for that purpose, and I am heartily glad of it; for a more disagreeable task I never undertook before. There is but one remedy for the South—viz: colonization by means of immigrants from the North and from Europe, with the right of suffrage granted to all who can read and write, irrespective of color.

I remain, my dear friend,
Yours ever,

THE following extracts from another private letter just received from Charleston, are entitled to the fullest belief—the writer being a calm and competent on-looker upon the general condition of affairs in that State:

"I think this rebellious spirit might have been crushed out, or at least kept at bay, had the proper influences been exerted by the ruling powers. But there has been too much trucking; too much conciliation; too much downright sympathy manifested on the part of officials toward the bitter, disloyal class; and too much disregard for, and bitter contempt toward the blacks, the only loyal element found in this accursed hot-bed of treason.

"I have seen men compelled to contend, even fiercely, against not only the native abettors of treason and disloyalty, but against the military, who have been the pretended defence and protection of the loyal and helpless.

"Peaceable colored citizens have been kicked out of their homes, knocked down in the streets, bled with brickbats and bayonets, cut with sabres, and actually mauled in their place of business by United States soldiers, and that too, in some instances within my own knowledge, at the instigation, and for the gratification of returned rebel officers and soldiers, who have just completed a four years' campaign of blood and murder against the defenders of our (should be) glorious Union.

"Liberty to the four millions of bondmen may have been proclaimed, but it is not enjoyed. Those former lords of Southern soil, whom our bayonets have spared, are spared, are returning to their estates, wreaking their vengeance upon the defenceless remnants of their former chattels, still whipping, starving, shooting them into their accustomed obedience and drudging service. Within twenty miles of Charleston, and not a quarter of that distance from detachments of our army, men are shot down, who attempt to assert their freedom by leaving the old plantation. Whole plantations of negroes are worked in chain-gangs, tied and whipped, till they acknowledge themselves contented with their condition, and willing to work as in the former days. The forests from a Charleston to Summerville, from Summerville to Branchville, from Branchville to Orangeburg, from Orangeburg to Columbia, from Columbia to Augusta are fetid with the decaying bodies of colored men, who have been shot down when trying to escape from their oppressors; and this, too, since peace was declared and liberty proclaimed throughout the land. The word, having been sufficiently slanted, has by general consent been returned to its sanbard; but this terrible question of reconstruction, and that other of equally vital importance, the complete restoration of the four millions to the rights and privileges of freedom; how and when are they to be met? Who can be relied upon to grapple with them, with sufficient heart and earnestness to ensure their success?

"I might, perhaps, with some propriety, claim exemption from further labor and endurance for the oppressed in this city of Charleston. Do not Federal bayonets bristle at the corner of every street? Are there not plenty of Northern mercantile and commercial men in every part of the city? Did not the reporter of the Boston *Journal* carry our auction-block to the "Hub of the Universe" and exhibit it as a monstrosity? Do Governor Magrath and Mayor Macbeth both say that the government of the United States must be respected here and obeyed? And not so little sympathy is expressed for the poor Freedman, so little interest is manifested in their behalf, that it was then a half dozen of their friends should be withdrawn, they would go paying that God would, in great mercy, care for and protect his little ones. Sufficient of powder and shot may have been expended, but the work of philanthropy and mercy has thus been arrested. I am sometimes disheartened at the magnitude of the work before this nation; but closer up with the resolve that so far as I am individually concerned, no right or comfort or blessing of any kind shall be withheld from this long-enslaved people, which depends upon my efforts or my life.

"It was voted at a large public gathering, when Mr. Garrison, Thompson, and others were here, that the old Anti-Slavery Society should celebrate the next 4th of July in Charleston and Independent Philadelphia should be chief orator. We do not hear much of it now, though I think if Mr. Redpath remains here we will try and celebrate it. He is talking of going North, and if he should go before that time, we may fail. He is a wonderful worker, and has wrought wonders here, in the public schools, and other ways.

PERSONAL

The sale of the sketches of the late John Leech has realized about £30,000 for his family, and the Queen has added a modest pension.

Mr. Guinness, the great brewer of Dublin stout, has been knighted—and his bear bottles will henceforth bear the title of Sir Benjamin. What wonder is it that Tennyson hesitates to accept this doubtful compliment?

Gen. Conby has, by orders from Secretary Stanton, hunted out and arrested the man who offered last Winter, in an Alabama paper, to be one of a certain number of persons to pay a million dollars for the murder of Mr. Lincoln, and he is on his way, under guard, to Washington.

It is understood, says a Washington correspondent, that Mrs. Bessy or Betsy Perrine has been found guilty by the military commission, who have imposed a light sentence upon her. She has had an audience with the President and seems to be pardoned. The President holds the matter under consideration.

The notorious John Mitchel says in the New York *News* that he "asks and expects nothing except the benefit and protection of the laws of the land." He would find the full benefit of the laws of the land, if they were enforced in his case, rather oppressive to his neck, says the Boston *Advertiser*.

Pro-Slavery Gen. Halleck, whose prominent staff officers were Virginians, has been removed from command in Richmond, and Gen. Alfred H. Terry is his successor. We augur the best from the change, for we know of Gen. Terry as an anti-slavery colonel in days and places where it cost something to be anti-slavery.

Daniel R. Goodloe, originally from North Carolina, and now associate editor of Forney's *Chronicle*, has been appointed Marshal of the District of Columbia, in place of the infamous Ward Lamon.

Horace G. Maynard of Tennessee, who was an applicant for the Marshalship, prefers to be a candidate for the vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court caused by the death of Judge Catron.

The President has appointed Judge Sharkey Provisional Governor of Mississippi. Judge Sharkey has been a member of a Union man during the rebellion, it is said, and the appointment will be satisfactory to the (white) Union element in that State—what there is of it.

Among the Virginians indicted for treason by the Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court at Norfolk, last Wednesday, are Generals Robert E. Lee, Breckinridge, Early, Kemper, and Harry A. Wise, with Governors Letcher and Smith, Judge James Lyons, and other prominent leaders.

Judge Underwood of the U. S. District Court of Virginia has arrived in Washington with copies of the evidence upon which the Grand Jury found the indictments. He has asked the cooperation of Attorney-General Speed and intends to prosecute the trials at the earliest possible day.

Among the traders who lately arrived at Cincinnati to purchase dry goods, was a former slave of Jeff. Davis named Montgomery. He is 54 years old, and quite intelligent. He was Jeff. Davis's slave over twenty years and served him as carpenter and machinist on his brother's plantation of 2,000 acres. The entire 2,000 acres are now cultivated in cotton by his former fellow bondmen, who, he says, are working industriously and more effectively than under the former rule.

Gen. Sherman once took great offence at having his manners, and particularly his habit of gruffness, compared to the manners of a Pawnee Indian, and expressed his contempt for the author of the slur in a public manner. He was much chagrined shortly after to find that the correspondent who had been guilty of the offensive comparison, had heard of his contemptuous criticism and had amended it by publicly apologizing to the whole race of Pawnees!

The (London) *Times* says of Carlyle's Friedrich, "the great soldier of the 18th century is indebted to Mr. Carlyle for the best conceivable history of his military exploits and his domestic administration." Another London paper remarks:

From Mr. John Watkin we have received three photographic studies of Mr. Thomas Carlyle, all good and characteristic. The one showing the historian leaning on his hand, is life as life.

Who will furnish America with a good picture of the great Englishman?

Bishop Colenso gave a powerful lecture, at the Mary-abone Institute, in London, upon Missions in Zulu, the many of which are the greatest sufferers (e. g. burning to death and treatment of witches), from the Bible. Sir John Boowring presided. A great many anti-Colenso tracts were distributed to us at the door by the London City Mission. The Bishop goes soon to Zulu-land.—*M. D. Conway's London Letter.*

MR. SUMNER'S EULOGY.—I read Mr. Sumner's eulogy on Mr. Lincoln, last evening. It places the subject on the pinnacle of human excellencies, and shows the author to be equal to his theme. But it is the discussion of negro suffrage that elevates the whole speech into the region of sublimity. It is not the virtues of the dead that are to save the Republic, but the enfranchisement of the living, even though their skin be black, that will give peace and prosperity to the nation.

W. G. SNARRS.

Baltimore letter to Boston Com.

LIEUTENANT GEN. GRANT, as he was in the Astor House, New York, is thus described:

Standing square in front of the fire-place, with figure reflected in the mirror, stood a medium-sized, stout man, with a moderately large head, heavily haired, close-cropped as to beard and mustache, keen eyed and square-jawed, clad in a brown sack coat, with light checked trowers and patent leather pumps; a man who was no "Adonis," nor "Hiawata," on which he vigorously drew, and his right hand, conscious perhaps of the demands to be made upon it, resting lightly on the hotel.

A Christian lady in Washington sent Payne, the assassin, a pocket-handkerchief and a message that she should pray for him, and that others prayed for him. He received the present with the air and bearing seemingly of a gentleman, returning his thanks, and as for the prayers he said no one praying for him should labor alone: that he prayed for himself. This last remark was made with much emotion, his eyes filling; that under his nature is two-fold; he is gentle, and yet as terrible as a lion. He has more endurance than falls to the lot of most men. He will go four days at a time without eating or sleeping, and still be strong. He has sat in his court room thirty-two days without relief from the usual course of nature, and during all that time has not entered a complaint as to his health. He is yet young, his face is beardless. When dressed as a gentleman, he

of *Louisiana*.—Hon. Louis Red, has claimed exemption [illegible] HE HAD TAKEN UP ARMS FOR [illegible] ed in the Legislature [illegible] of Louisiana!" [illegible] ernment or the Confederacy

that has "reconstructed" Louisiana?

ABOUT PAYING THE REBEL WAR DEBT.—The Cincinnati *Gazette* says: "We cannot see how the rebel war debt could be assumed by the government without demoralizing all the obligations of the people either to pay the debt or to support a government which would thus put fidelity and treason on a par, and would lay down the same obligation to pay the debt incurred in a war to destroy the Republic, as one incurred in a war for its defence. Wendell Phillips expressed this, and his determination upon such a contingency, and he has been assailed for it by the press of both parties. The Republican papers probably labored under a misrepresentation of what he did say. They will probably make haste to relieve themselves of any implication that they would countenance the assumption of the rebel war debt, by retracting their denunciation. The Democratic journals, with whose tones they were in such complete accord, will see no necessity for any correction, for they would go first for assuming the rebel war debt, and then for repudiating both."

We have received the original lists of subscriptions at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, and print a portion of them herewith. But the papers are forwarded to us were in such condition that it was wholly impossible to decipher all the names. Those, therefore, who find their subscriptions omitted, are requested to forward names and amount for subsequent insertion.

REV. DR. MASSIE.

As we go to press, we are greeted and gladdened by a call from the distinguished divine, and well-known friend and champion of impartial freedom, civil and religious, Rev. Dr. Massie of London, just arrived in this country. He will be well remembered by multitudes of the people East, West, and North, who had the pleasure of seeing and hearing him, when on a visit to our public, religious, and benevolent character, two years ago. To such he needs no introduction; and from such he will not fail of cordial greeting and earnest cooperation in the work of his mission. He brings the following certificate signed by the officers of the London Freedmen's Aid Association, which unfolds one of the principal objects of his present visit.

LONDON, May 29th, 1865.

DR. JAMES W. MASSIE, an esteemed member of the London Freedmen's Aid Association, has informed us of his intention to visit the camps of the Freedmen in the valley of the Mississippi and in Tennessee, during the prosecution of a projected journey in the United States of America.

We commend him to the kind notice and assistance of the various Freedmen's Commissions in America, where his lot may be cast. We believe his heart is deeply engaged for the Religious, Moral, and Physical well-being of the colored inhabitants of America; and we sincerely desire that his and all our labors for the good of others may be blessed by God and returned to us in glory and praise.

T. FOWELL BUXTON, Chairman.
SAMUEL GURNEY, Treasurer.
WM. ALLEN, Sub-Treasurer.
WAKEFIELD ALLEN, Member of Committee.
FRED. TOOKINS, Hon. Secretary.

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting of the Church Anti-Slavery Society was held in Worcester, as by appointment, Wednesday evening of last week, at the Summer St. Chapel. A letter was presented, tendering his resignation as President, from Rev. J. C. Webster, late of Hopkinton, now removed to Wheaton College, Ill. The resignation was not accepted, and the old board of officers was reelected, with the substitution of two new names from this city on the Executive Committee. The following resolutions, submitted by the Secretary, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, were discussed and adopted:

1. Resolved, That at this the seventh annual meeting of the Church, in the bare exponent of the Christian church in regard to the sin of American slavery and the cry of its victims, we naturally turn to the various Freedmen's Commissions in America, where the cry of Christ in our land, of every denomination, should be arrayed against the crime of slavery and the spirit of the nation, in order that the "Word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified" and in order that the nation itself perish not by the terrible cancer which has already made such an inroad upon its constitution."

2. That we humbly bow to the sovereignty of the Supreme Ruler, who has chosen the Freedmen's agency of His people, but the scourge of a wasteful civil war, to bring an end to a system of enormities which bade defiance to every expedient, which merely could devise or power effect, but a TOTAL EXTINCTION.

3. That while we deem the full gaze of American slavery as virtually gained, our duty now is to see that its means done, nor its mission ended, until the word WHITE is erased from all State Constitutions and Statutes of legislation, nor until the loyal negro everywhere, shall be treated with the full measure of rights and privileges of American citizenship, and his own special protection against the rancorous hate and malevolence of his late diabolical oppressors.

4. That among the events which have crowded the year, calling for devout gratitude on the part of Christian Abolitionists, none have been more signal than the admission to the bar of the U. S. Supreme Court at Washington, of a representative of the race, in regard to which history was infamously suborned to testify in that very Court but a few years since, that they had no rights which white men were bound to respect.

5. That in the person of the colored advocate, John S. Rock, the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Taney's impious decision, that the negroes could not be held as citizens of the United States, has been virtually revoked. And the judicial crime of such a decision never been more fully atoned for by the blood through which the nation has since passed, it may now be hoped that Divine Justice will be satisfied; and that the Rebel Rogues who have colored up to before the National Tribunals in the end will prove (OUR not of offence but of defence to the freedom of his race, the liberties of his country, and the rights of mankind).

6. Resolved, That we, as a Christian people, adoring awe of Almighty God, who has suffered the late expiring act of slavery (while putting a nation to grief for the honored dead), to reveal to the world its own inherent baseness as well as that of the malignant rebellion naturally born of it, and its just desert of the felon's doom. And we, in view of the express the right requisition of Christianity, as well as the only saf

is fine backing. But who he is, and where he came from is the great mystery.

Two fine monuments have, within a few weeks, been erected over the graves of two of Connecticut's greatest heroes—Colonel Foote and Maj.-Gen. Sedgwick.

That of Gen. Sedgwick was erected last week over his grave in the little cemetery in Cornwall Hollow, but a short distance from his beautiful residence. It consists of an obelisk surmounting a base, both together rising to a height of sixteen feet, and made of the white granite from Rhode Island. The whole design of the monument is a noble one, and is very simple and plain, yet very beautiful. The following is the inscription it bears:

MAJ.-GEN. SEDGWICK,
Born in
Cornwall Hollow,
Sept. 13, 1813,
Killed near Spotsylvania, Va.
May 9, 1864.

Both of these monuments mark the resting-place of these two great heroes of the war are quite unpretending, even less so than those of some civilians whose lives have been unmarked by great events.

An agent of the Treasury Department of Charleston writes that when Mr. Chase had an interview with the Mayor and the leading citizens of Charleston, he told them that the government will purchase all the cotton furnished at 75 per cent. of the market price in New York; that it will not recognize the State or municipal authorities of South Carolina under rebellion; that the President is desirous of having the elective franchise extended to the blacks, but will not claim that a State withholding it shall be denied representation; that it is held that true wisdom commanded suffrage for the negro. The citizens maintained that as the blacks outnumbered the whites, they would elect negro Governors, Mayors, and so on. Mr. Chase replied by citing the mark of Tacitus, that when the plebeians have power they always elect patricians to represent them, and argued that in a democratic country, the ballot-box should be open to all. This does not sound like an unauthorized exposition.

The Springfield *Republican* has made up a slate for the coming political campaign in Massachusetts. It stands thus: For Governor, Mr. Bullock; for Lieut. Governor, Mr. Moses Kimball; for Secretary of State, Mr. Wm. S. Robinson; for Treasurer, Mr. William Hyde, of Ware. The temperance men it is rumored, will get one on a ticket of their own. The *Republican* says:

"That Massachusetts has reached and retained so high a place and influence with her sister States in this great struggle, while at the same time none of her domestic interests have suffered from neglect, is due in the greatest degree to Gov. Andrew. We doubt if there is another man in the State that could have filled the Executive chair with such honor to himself and to us during these crucial years. Future generations will justly regard Gov. Andrew's administration as the most important in the history of the State up to this time, and it is not likely that any in the future will compare with it either in the need for a wise head and a great heart, or in the opportunity for distinction. But the war is over; Gov. Andrew's particular work is done, and he gladly retires to private life, not to remain there long, we trust, however, but to be called to other and higher stations, where are other duties to be performed and fresh laurels to be won."

Very good; but why then did the *Republican* always oppose Gov. Andrew, and strive last year to defeat his nomination?

The following is a translation of a letter which Garibaldi has addressed to the editor of the London *Public Opinion* on the relations between England and America:

SIR: I always considered from the beginning that the American question was one which concerned all humanity, and that while the cause of the South was in reality a part of the English public were opposed to the restoration of union in the great republic, which arose, it is well known, from causes by which pro-zisted between England and America; but it was a sad thing that the good sense of the people who first established the principle of the emancipation of the slave did not manifest itself in the United States of North American, who showed themselves to be the instruments of Providence in carrying out that sublime idea.

My friends of the cause agree, then, for the good of oppressed humanity! Sons of the same mother, may they see that their noble race is now-a-days the outwork of the rights of humanity, and that Europe foments dissension between them because it fears them, and because it knows that if they were on good terms it would be impossible for it to execute its designs, which are fatal to liberty everywhere!

Yours, etc.,
G. GARIBALDI.

Caprera, May, 1865.

John Stuart Mill in his recently published "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy" has the following vigorous protest against Mr. Mansel's theory of a Supreme Being:

"If, instead of the 'glad tidings' that there exists a Being in whom all the excellences which the highest human mind can conceive of exist in a degree incomparable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a Being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, and it is a part of the religion of this government, except that 'the highest human morality we are capable of conceiving' does not sanction them—we infer, and I hope we may fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this Being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever such a Being may have over me, there is one thing he shall not do: he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no Being good who is not what I mean by good. I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go!"

The prisoners, now on trial at Washington before the Military Court, says the Washington *Star*, are properly cared for and fed, an attendant being constantly on duty at each cell. In the case of Mrs. Surratt the prison diet has been varied somewhat, to the extent of allowing her toast, etc., when she has been ill. She spends most of her time in reading a prayer-book. Harold's mood is mercurial, sometimes exuberantly buoyant and sometimes as much depressed. Mudd pays considerable attention to his personal appearance, and is particular as to cleanliness of body. Like Mrs. Surratt he occupies much of his time in reading religious books. Atzerodt is stolid and uncommunicative for the most part. O'Laughlin conducts himself quietly; seems to feel his situation the most deeply of any of the prisoners, and walks his cell much of the time. Payne displays the same cool audacity invariably, whether in his cell or at the court-room, and exhibits not unfrequently that devil-may-care, reckless, and good humor that springs from high physical condition. Arnold appears in his cell as in the court-room, quiet and pleasant, and gives his attendants little trouble. Spangler, despite his lugubrious face, is said to be uniformly light-hearted and exceedingly talkative. His appetite is superb, and when the ordinary sailor prison allowance is given him and he is asked if that is enough, he signifies that he can manage a little more. He has already learned to distinguish the voices of the different guards, and calls to them as they pass, seeming inclined for conversation to break the loneliness of his confinement.

THE TREATMENT, CONDITION, AND PROSPECTS OF THE COLORED RACE.

We collect from a large number of exchanges the following testimony as to the general condition of affairs in different Southern States. It exhibits the relations of the government to the negro, as well the temper of the Southern people toward the emancipated slaves, and the destitution, disorganization, and hopelessness that follow upon the sullen acquiescence of the whites in the new order of things. Acquiescence, indeed, is too strong a term, for the anger of the slaveholders against the abolition of slavery they have proved powerless to resist, vents itself in acts of appalling cruelty to the negroes still in their power, as well as in neglect of the obvious means to secure their own prosperity in the future.

We group these evidences by States, beginning with Virginia and its capital. The following correspondence of the *Tribune* will tell its own story:

AN APPEAL FROM THE RICHMOND NEGROES FOR PROTECTION.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: In presuming to address you as perfect strangers, we trust the importance of the subject will plead our excuse. We are all colored men, free born in the State of Virginia, and have resided there over since our birth. Many of us have large families to support, and have done it honestly by our own industry, both before and through the four years of the rebellion with all its troubles, and can give any references that can be required of honest men, of what class soever. We further claim to know no superior save in education. Most of us are men that own real estate, and have paid our taxes to the government, and are not only willing to pay taxes, but are willing to lay down our lives to protect the federal government that has brought liberty to our children in this System.

We are compelled to think, from every day's observation, that our interests need a decent government. After all that has been said of the freedom of the colored people, there is but a shadow of it. We have our sabres drawn, whose equivalent is the bludgeon of the colored people, and we positively say that our present treatment is worse than we ever had before. We are required to put some white person before us to pass to attend to our daily occupations, under which we are marched off to the Libby Prison, and there called the negro bull pen. To more effectually accomplish this disgraceful act upon the poor unfortunate people, Gov. Pierpoint has appointed the former Mayor of this city, and with him all the former "nigger-hunters" and whippers, and together has sent many people's houses and taking them out and confining them in the City Hall until nearly all the Libby Prisoners are in place of the mounted guard to the bull pen. In the same to-day they had about 50 or 60. We are constantly looking for the bundle, knowing we are marched off to the City—they were in the bull pen. These are sentiments for the truth of which we, the undersigned, are responsible, and we wish them known everywhere.

We have tried to have the facts published here, but the papers refuse to publish anything like fair for negroes, for they rejoice to see us so treated. We are frequently pointed at by the people, with the remark: "That's Yankee freedom—march on to the bull pen, then to the corn field"; for the government authorities have appointed some to this out-of-place place, and then taken to work on farms. All that is needed to restore slavery in full is the auction-block as it used to be.

We remain, in our humble servants,

N. H. ANDERSON, MADISON CARTER,
RICHARD CARTER, SPENCER SMITHEN,
ROBERT W. JOHNSON, and many others.

Richmond, Va., June 7, 1865.

The special Richmond correspondent of the same paper confirms the statement of the foregoing.

Notwithstanding the fair and frequent promises of loyalty made by Mayor Mayo, his first acts have been to continue the responsible police authority in the men who have been the scourge and terror of what few Union men were there during the rebellion, and to the negro the direct and brutal hatred.

Those who have suffered in Libby, Castle Thunder, Belle Isle, and other pest-holes of the past, will recognize the names of officers Adams, Chocolate, Sesses, Bibbs, Granger, Moore, Kelly, Pentagon, Griffin, Jenkins, More, Hall, and Wicks. They are among those now affording life and protection to property here. Over 800 colored men have been arrested to-day for no purpose other than that of oppression, and the common remark among the rebels is, "Did I not tell you the North would oppress the negro more than ever the South did?" Even colored soldiers have been arrested, asked for passes, and received no very complimentary rebuffs for serving in defence of the Union.

The colored man referred to as being struck in the presence of Chaplain Stickney, was a Mr. Ferguson, barber on Franklin st., near Fourteenth st. Lieut.-Col. J. H. Warren, commanding Fourth Maine, is the officer who refused to punish the offender. With reference to the colored man in the coffin, I would state that he was assaulted while passing down Main st. by some drunken soldiers, and in defence drew a knife, cutting one of them on the arm, but not, however, so as to disable him from duty. He was subsequently taken before Lieut.-Col. Kreutzer, Second District, corner of Main and Twenty-fifth sts., and although the case has not as yet been reported to Gen. Patrick, the Colonel has taken upon himself to order the colored man imprisoned referred to, i. e., standing the man in a coffin with his head barely exposed, on which some cruel fiends had placed rattlesnakes to attract the flies. The man has been leaning at an angle of 25 degrees against the side of the house, in full view of passers-by on Main st.

The matter has fallen before the government within the week by eminent gentlemen who leave here for Washington to-morrow morning. These abuses have been growing worse and worse, until this last act of rebuke and insult, which positively has made the Congress drunken soldiers, and in defence drew a knife, cutting one of them on the arm, but not, however, so as to disable him from duty. He was subsequently taken before Lieut.-Col. Kreutzer, Second District, corner of Main and Twenty-fifth sts., and although the case has not as yet been reported to Gen. Patrick, the Colonel has taken upon himself to order the colored man imprisoned referred to, i. e., standing the man in a coffin with his head barely exposed, on which some cruel fiends had placed rattlesnakes to attract the flies. The man has been leaning at an angle of 25 degrees against the side of the house, in full view of passers-by on Main st.

The matter has fallen before the government within the week by eminent gentlemen who leave here for Washington to-morrow morning. These abuses have been growing worse and worse, until this last act of rebuke and insult, which positively has made the Congress loose all evil passions. Had the gentleman who wrote you from here, under date of June 2, headed "Virginia, How is it?" been present at the Convention of the Colored Institute Association, he would have certainly concluded disloyalty in this vicinity could not have had too high a coloring, nor suffered from "misrepresentation."

Application will be made in the morning by the Superintendent of the Colored School for a free pass of the children to and fro, and to secure to his evening school the usual attendance of males.

A. M. N.

Writing next day he says:

The close scrutiny and fierce supervision over the negro and his pass have been continued to-day, though with less trouble to the police and guard, the colored people only appearing on the street in the discharge of some immediate duties. The over-zealousness of the police has been represented to Gen. Patrick, who stated that, in the carrying out of an existing order, abuses at first, in the early days of the rebellion, were not so quite certain they would soon right themselves, *and he recommended the colored people to bear with their own business and aid the civil authorities in the prosecution of their work.*

While standing upon the corner of Franklin and Twelfth sts., conversing with educational committee-men, Officer Cowen remarked to a colored lad who, claiming himself free, had, however, a pass from his employer to attend to some business in the Second Ward market—that "Richmond was worse to-day than when the Confederates had it." The officer replied, "Well, didn't I tell you so, you d—d fool, the Yankees would make you worse than ever."

Of the general condition of the State this is the testimony of Mr. Teackle Elliott, a Virginian, defeated in the recent election.

There never has been in period within the last thirty years when there was more sensitiveness, more sensitability about the Negro question, than there is at this particular time, both in our affairs; and my circular, and my connection with "Negro Affairs" since its establishment on this shore of the Chesapeake, have brought me into more of it than any man—as Assistant Superintendent, with the addition of a negro school at my house, were my *political* domain—than any other man. Like Mr. Fox, I have seen everything and did everything. I have gone through the ordeal

Miscellaneous Department.

THE SPILT PEARLS.

The story translated by TRENCH from the "Bustan" of SAADI.

Thy counsels of the College crave—
O, gentlest Hafiz mine!
Thanks! thy service, this shall shine
Like one bedewed by dews.

"Fly like a ribbon—as the night!
Wise counsel—well I know!
Advised, shall my heart be light?
A madness, sooth—no less!"

"The Pearl, Sea—Sky—Sky features fair
Not could more on him
Love's wine, bitter, bitter, yet wear,
And fear, his sting!

"Once, when a pearl, by rain
Fell, in a shell, it lay
Proud, lonely, and—as dull I claim,
Dull Shell! more lonely!

"Wonderfully, warm, dull!
Not could more on him
Sky, sea, and sun, and every
Thing—dull, dull, dull!

"Proud, lonely, and—as dull—
Dull shell! no—not
Sky, sea, and sun, and every
Thing—dull, dull, dull!

"Dull, dull, dull—and yet, O, my
Sky, sea, and sun!
Dull shell! no—not
Sky, sea, and sun