The Pittsburgh Gazette.

PROTECTION OF FREEDMEN.

Actual Condition of the Rebel States.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER

"The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having resumed the consideration of the bill (S. No. 24) to maintain the freedom of persons held as slaves in the States designated in the proclamation and reported by the President of the United States, Mr. Sumner said:

Mr. President, I wish to speak on the current question in this chamber, which calls to mind the attempt to establish the foundation of the political system of the United States on the basis of the manhood of colored men, and heart-rending outrages, where human rights are trampled under foot. I refer to the report of a new letter of Mr. Lincoln. I feel that I ought to speak of nothing else. I should have spoken in the days of Kansas, when the first command was given to repeal the Missouri Compromise, and when, later on, with the repeal of the Compromise, I was forced to see how, with indifferent people, the law was trampled under foot by the machinations of slave masters. Sir, it is the duty of Congress to arrest the fatal tide. Congress must date to be true, it must date to be just. But I shall not be diverted from the question before the Senate, by thus unfolding the necessity of prompt legislation for the protection of the freedmen. I will be led necessarily and logically to speak of the condition of the rebel states.

All must admit that the bill of my colleague is excellent in purpose, it proposes nothing less than to establish on the basis of the law a real social state in which rights are conferred in the rebel states. This is done simply to carry out and maintain the proclamation of emancipation, by which the President is solemnly pledged to make good the emancipated slave in his freedom. Such is our pledge, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities there, of, will be vigilant and maintain the freedom of such persons. This pledge is without any limitation in space or time. It is expressly and as immortal as the Republic itself. Does any lady call it vain words? I trust not. To that pledge we are solemnly pledged. Wherever our flag floats as long as the exigencies we must see that it is so ready observed.

But the performance of that pledge cannot be intrusted to another, least of all, can it be intrusted to the old slave masters, emboldened against their slaves. It must be performed by the national Government. The power that gave freedom must see that this freedom is maintained. This is according to reason. It is also according to the examples of history. In the British West Indies we find this teaching. Three of England's greatest orators and statesmen, Burke, Canning, and Brougham, at successive periods united in declaring, from the experience in the British West Indies, that whatever the slave masters undertook to do for their slaves was always "arrant trifling," and that whatever might be in a plausible form, it always wanted "the executive principle." More recently the Emperor of Russia, when ordering emancipation, declared that all efforts of his predecessors in this direction had failed because they had been left to "the spontaneous initiative of the proprietors." I might say much more on this head, but this is enough. I assume that no such blunder will be made on our part; that we shall not leave to the old proprietors the maintenance of that freedom to which we are pledged, and thus break our own promises and sacrifice a race.

I have already alluded to emancipation in Russia. But this example is worthy our deepest study, unless we purposely reject history. All honor to Alexander II, the Emperor, by solemn proclamation, gave freedom to upward of twenty-three million serfs; but it was soon greatly known by what supplementary provisions this freedom was secured.

I have in my hands an official copy of this great act, published at St. Petersburg, by which it is evident that the serfs, after an interval of two years, are "entirely disfranchised." Under this proclamation, a new set of laws, magistrates was constituted, with "special court" and "justices of the peace" in each district, to superintend the working of the proclamation and to examine on the spot all questions arising from emancipation. This proclamation was not unlike our Bureau of Freedmen, which is thus vindicated by this example.

But the good work did not stop here. The Emperor did not leave the freedmen without protection, handed over to the tender mercies of their former owners. By a careful series of "regulations" accompanying the proclamation, prepared with infinite care, and divided into chapters and sections, the rights of the freedmen are secured beyond question. I hold a copy of this remarkable document in my hand. Here it is, a model for our imitation.

These "regulations" begin with the formal declaration that the freedmen, by the act of emancipation, "acquire the rights belonging to free farmers." The language is important. It is the "rights of free farmers," not in certain particulars, but in all particulars, not merely in exemption from the authority of their masters, but in complete enfranchisement. Surely, here is an example for us.

The "regulations" then proceed in formal words to fix and assure these rights civil and political. These rights are not left to inference or future discussion; but they are positively declared with all possible detail.

By one section the freedman is secured in all his rights of family and rights of contract, as follows:

"Sec. 3. Articles of the Civil Code on the rights and obligations of the family are extended to the freedmen; consequently they acquire the right, without the authorization of the proprietor, to contract marriage, and to make any arrangement whatever concerning their family affairs; they can equally enter into dealings and obligations authorized by the laws, as well with the State as with individuals, on the conditions established for free farmers; they can inscribe themselves in the guilds, and exercise their trades in the villages; and they can found and conduct factories and establishments of commerce."

Surely here is an example for us.

By another section the freedman is secured in rights of property. He may acquire and alienate property of all kinds, according to the "general laws; and besides, "the possession of the homestead" on which he has lived is guaranteed to him on certain conditions. Surely here is an example for us.

By another section the freedman is secured complete equality in the courts, as follows:

"He shall have the right of action whether civilly or criminally, to commence process, and to answer personally or by attorney; to make complaint, and to defend his rights by all the means known to the law, *and to appear as witness and as bail, conformably to the common law.*"

Mark these words. He may appear as witness and as bail." Surely here is an example for us.

By the other sections the freedman is secured *equality in political rights*, according to the measure of such rights in Russia, thus:

"On the organization of the towns, he shall be entitled to take part in the meetings and elections for the towns, and to vote on town affairs, and to exercise divers functions; and he shall also take part in the assemblies for the district, and shall vote on district affairs, and choose the chairman."

From all the provisions on this head, it appears that the freedman enjoys rights in choosing the local officers, and to be chosen in turn. Surely here is an example for us.

By still another section the freedman is secured equality at schools and in education; thus:

"He may place his children in the establishments for public education, to embrace the career of instruction, or the scientific career, or to take service in the corps of surveyors."

Surely, here again is an example for us.

Then, again, for the general protection of the freedman, it is provided that he "cannot lose his rights or be restrained in their exercise except after the judgment of the town according to fixed rules;" and still further that he "cannot be subjected to any punishment, or otherwise than by notice of a judgment, or according to the legal decision of the town to which he belongs." Surely here again is an example to us.

Thus does Russia by careful provisions, supplementary to the act of emancipation, secure her freedmen in all their rights; first, in the right of family and the right of contract; secondly, in the right of property, including a homestead; thirdly, in complete equality in the courts; fourthly, in equality in political rights; fifthly, in equality at schools and in education; and, finally, all these safeguards are crowned by declaring that they cannot lose their rights or be punished except after judgment according to fixed rules, thus completely fulfilling the requirement of our fathers, that "government should be a government of laws and not of men."

I trust that this example is none the less worthy of imitation because it is that of an empire, which is not supposed to sympathize with liberal ideas. Surely a republic cannot in this respect lag behind an empire. Besides, all that we have shown that the experiment has been successful. Clearly an experiment inspired so completely by the spirit of justice cannot fail.

My colleague is clearly right in introducing his bill, and pressing it to a vote. The argument for it is irresistible. It is essential to complete emancipation. Without it, emancipation will be only *half done*. It is our duty to see that it is wholly done. Slavery must be abolished not in form only, but in substance, so that there shall be no black code, but all shall be equal before the law.

As to the power of Congress over this question I cannot doubt it. My colleague assumes the power without professing to trace it to any particular source. It may be a military power merely as the proclamation of emancipation, and here the authority is precise and absolute as in the District of Columbia, or it may be in pursuance of the constitutional amendment, which provides that Congress may "enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation," or it may be to carry out the guaranty of a republican form of government.

There are measures of my own, already introduced by me, now on your table, looking to the same result as the pending bill, which proceed specifically on the two latter grounds.

One of these is entitled "A bill supplying appropriate legislation to enforce the amendment of the Constitution." From this bill I read two sections:

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That in further enforcement of the provision of the Constitution prohibiting slavery, and in order to remove all relics of this wrong from the States where the constitutional prohibition takes effect, it is hereby declared that all laws or customs in such States establishing any oligarchical privileges and any distinction of rights on account of color or race, are hereby annulled and all persons in such States are recognized as equal before the law; and the penalties provided in the last section are hereby made applicable to any violation of this provision, which is made in pursuance of the Constitution of the United States.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That in further enforcement of the provision of the Constitution aforesaid, the Courts of the United States in the States aforesaid shall have exclusive jurisdiction of all offenses committed by persons not of African descent upon persons of African descent, also of all offenses committed by persons of African descent, and also of all causes, suits and demands to which any person of African descent shall be a party; and it is hereby declared that all such

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1865. WINTER ARRANGEMENT. 1865.

PENNSYLVANIA CENTRAL R. R. TWELVE

PITTSBURGH, CINCINNATI, AND ST. LOUIS RAILROAD.

Winter Arrangement. 1865.

PITTSBURGH AND CONNELLSVILLE R. R.

Winter Arrangement,

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30th, 1865,

ALLEGHENY VALLEY RAILROAD.

CHANGE OF TIME.

PITTSBURGH, CINCINNATI, AND ST. LOUIS RAILWAY.

THE GREAT SHORT LINE ROUTE

VIA STEUBENVILLE.

TO COLUMBUS,

CINCINNATI,

LOUISVILLE,

INDIANAPOLIS,

ST. LOUIS,

And all the principal Cities,

WEST AND SOUTHWEST.

On and after

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1865,

Trains will leave and arrive at the UNION DEPOT as follows:

	Departs.	Arrives at
Fast Line	2.30 A. M.	6.30 P. M.
Mail	4.00 "	10.00 A. M.
Express	7.30 P. M.	12.35 A. M.
Steubenville Accommod'n	4.00 "	10.00 A. M.

S. P. SCUTE, Gen'l Ticket Agent, Steubenville, O.

M. D. MUHLENBERG, Ticket Agent, Union Depot, Pittsburgh.

PITTSBURGH, FORT WAYNE & CHICAGO RAILWAY, AND CLEVELAND & PITTSBURGH RAILROAD.

1865. Winter Arrangement. 1865.

On and after November 19th, 1865, trains will run as follows, viz:

Leave Pittsburgh.	For Chicago.	For Cleveland.	For Wheeling.
Express	2.30 A. M.	2.30 A. M.	
Express	1.45 P. M.	2.30 P. M.	2.30 P. M.
Express	2.45 P. M.		2.30 P. M.
Mail	7.00 A. M.	4.00 A. M.	2.30 A. M.
For Newcastle and Beaver			4.40 A. M.

Returning, arrive at Pittsburgh:

Express, at 2.30 P. M.; 7.00 P. M.; 10.00 P. M.; 4.00 P. M.

Leave Allegheny for:

New Brighton—5.00 A. M., 11.30 A. M., 4.20 P. M., and 6.40 P. M.

Rochester—2.05 P. M.

New Castle—2.20 P. M.

Economy—10.30 A. M.

Wellsville—2.30 P. M.

Returning, arrive at Allegheny:

P., Ft. W. & C., 8.30 A. M., 12.30 P. M., 12.30 A. M.

C. & P., 11.00 A. M.

GEORGE PARKIN, Ticket Agent, Union Passenger Station, Pittsburgh, Pa.

A. G. CASSELBERRY, Ticket Agent, Allegheny City.

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PITTSBURGH AND CONNELLSVILLE R. R.

Winter Arrangement,

On and after

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30th, 1865,

The trains will leave the Depot, corner of Rose and Water streets, as follows:

	Leave Pittsburgh.	Arrive at Connellsville.
Mail to and from Uniontown	7.15 A. M.	6.00 P. M.
Express	12.00 M.	6.00 P. M.
First McKeesport Accom'n	4.00 P. M.	8.50 A. M.
Second " "	6.00 P. M.	8.50 A. M.
First Braddock's "	6.00 A. M.	8.30 P. M.
Second " "	7.00 A. M.	8.30 P. M.
Sunday Church Train to and from McKeesport	1.00 P. M.	10.00 A. M.

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ALLEGHENY VALLEY RAILROAD.

CHANGE OF TIME.

On and after MONDAY, Nov. 20th, Passenger trains will leave and arrive as follows:

MAIL TRAIN leaves Pittsburgh at 7.00 A. M., arriving at Kittanning at 9.45 A. M. Leaves Kittanning at 5.10 P. M., arriving at Pittsburgh at 8.00 P. M.

EXPRESS leaves Pittsburgh at 12.00 M., arriving at Pittsburgh at 3.40 P. M. Leaves Kittanning at 7.00 P. M., arriving at Pittsburgh at 10.40 P. M.

ACCOMMODATION TRAIN—Leaves Soda Works at 7.00 P. M., arriving at Kittanning at 10.00 P. M. Leaves Pittsburgh at 1.40 P. M., arriving at Kittanning at 5.00 P. M.

Baltimore Express will arrive with Philadelphia Express, at 2.30 P. M., on Sundays.

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