CARL SCHURZ'S REPORT.

Continued from Fourth Page.

1. That county patrols had already been in existence in some localities and had to be dispensed on account of their open hostility to Union people and freedmen. (See Col. York's report, Acc. Doc., No. 23.) 2. That the Governor proposed to arm the people, upon the ground that the inhabitants refused to assist the military authorities in the suppression of crime, and that the call was addressed, not to the loyal citizens of the United States, but expressly to the "young men who had so distinguished themselves for gallantry" in the Rebel service (see correspondence between Gov. Sharkey and Gen. Osterhaus, Acc. Doc., No. 4); and, 3. Because the State was still under martial law, and the existence of organized and armed bodies not under the control of the military commanders was inconsistent with that state of things.

But there are other more general points of view from which the question must be looked at in order to be appreciated in its most important bearing. I may state, without fear of contradiction, that in every case where permission was asked for reorganizing the militia, the privilege or duty of serving in that armed organization was intended to be confined to the whites. In the conversations I had with Southern men about this matter, the idea of admitting colored people to the privilege of bearing arms as part of the militia was uniformly treated as a thing not to be thought of. The militia, whenever organized, will thus be composed of men belonging to one class, to the total exclusion of others. This concentration of organized physical power in the hands of one class will necessarily tend, and is undoubtedly designed, to give that class absolute physical control of the other. The specific purpose for which the militia is to be reorganized appears clearly from the uses it was put to whenever a local organization was effected. It is the resurrection of the old patrol system which was one of the characteristic features of the regime of Slavery. The services which such patrols are expected to perform consist in maintaining what Southern people understood to be the natural order of society. Indications are given in several of the accompanying documents. Among others, the St. Landry and Bossier ordinances define with some precision what the authority and duties of the "Chief of Patrol" are to be. The militia, organized for the distinct purpose of enforcing the authority of the whites over the blacks, is in itself practically sufficient to establish and enforce a system of compulsory labor without there being any explicit laws for it; and being sustained and encouraged by public opinion, the chiefs and members of "county patrols" are not likely to be over-nice in the construction of their orders. This is not a mere supposition, but an opinion based upon experience already gathered.

As I stated above, the reorganization of the county patrol system upon the basis here described will result in the establishment of a sort of permanent martial law over the negro. It is, therefore, not even necessary that the reaction against that result of the war, which consists in emancipation, should manifest itself by very obnoxious legislative enactments, just as in some of the Slave States Slavery did not exist by virtue of the State Constitution. It may be practically accomplished—and is in fact practically accomplished wherever the freedman is not protected by the Federal authorities—without displaying its character and aims upon the statute book.

NEGRO INSURRECTIONS AND ANARCHY.

That in times like ours and in a country like this, a reaction in favor of compulsory labor cannot be ultimately successful, is as certain as it was that Slavery would not last forever. But a movement in that direction can prevent much good that might be accomplished, and produce much evil that might be avoided. Not only will such a movement seriously interfere with all efforts to organize an efficient system of free labor, and thus very materially retard the return of prosperity in the South, but it may bring on a crisis as dangerous and destructive as the war of the Rebellion itself.

I stated above that I did not deem a negro insurrection probable as long as the freedmen were assured of the direct protection of the National Government. Wherever they are in trouble, they raise their eyes up to that power, and although they may suffer, yet, as long as that power is visibly present, they continue to hope. But when State authority in the South is fully restored, the Federal forces withdrawn, and the Freedmen's Bureau abolished, the colored man will find himself turned over to the mercies of those whom he does not trust. If then an attempt is made to strip him again of those rights which he justly thought he possessed, he will be apt to feel that he can hope for no redress unless he procure it himself. If ever the negro is capable of rising, he will rise then. Men who never struck a blow for the purpose of gaining their liberty when they were slaves, are apt to strike when their liberty once gained, they see it again in danger. However great the patience and submissiveness of the colored race may be, it cannot be presumed that the active participation in a war against the very men with whom it again stands face to face has remained entirely without influence upon its spirit.

What a general insurrection of the negro would result in, whether it would be easy or difficult to suppress it, whether the struggle would be long or short, what race would suffer most, are questions which will not be asked by those who understand the problem to be, not how to suppress a negro insurrection, but how to prevent it. Certain it is, it would inflict terrible calamities upon both whites and blacks, and present to the world the spectacle of atrocities which ought to be foreign to civilized nations. The negro in his ordinary state is docile and good-natured; but when once engaged in a bloody business, it is difficult to say how far his hot impulses will carry him; and as to the Southern whites, the barbarous scenes the country has witnessed since the close of the Rebellion indicate the temper with which they would fight the negro as an insurgent. It would be a war of extermination, revolting in its incidents, and with ruin and desolation in its train. There may be different means by which it can be prevented, but there is only one certain or effect: it is that the provocations be avoided which may call it forth.

But even if it be prevented by other means, it is not the only danger which a reactionary movement will bring upon the South. Nothing renders society more restless than a social revolution but half accomplished. It naturally tends to develop its logical consequences. Left to hindered by adverse agencies which work in another direction, nor can it return to the point from which it started. There are then continual vibrations and destructions between the opposites which keep society in the nervous uneasiness and excitement growing from the lingering strife between the antagonistic tendencies. All classes of society are interestly disturbed with things as they are. General explosions may be prevented, but they are always imminent. This state of uncertainty impedes all successful working of the social forces; people, in the end of devoting themselves with confidence and steadiness to solid pursuits, are apt to live from hand to mouth, or to indulge in fitful experiments; capital ventures out but with great timidity; the lawless elements of the community take advantage of the general confusion and dissatisfaction, and society drifts into anarchy. There is probably, at the present moment, no country in the civilized world which contains such an accumulation of anarchical elements as the South. The strife of the antagonistic tendencies here described is aggravated by the passions inflamed and the general impoverishment brought about by a long and exhaustive war, and the South will have to suffer the evils of anarchical disorder, until means are found to effect a final settlement of the labor question in accordance with the logic of the great revolution.

THE TRUE PROBLEM—DIFFICULTIES AND REMEDIES.

In seeking remedies for such disorders we ought to keep in view, above all, the nature of the problem which is to be solved. As to what is commonly termed "reconstruction," it is not only the political machinery of the States and their constitutional relations to the general Government, but the whole organism of Southern society that must be reconstructed, or rather constructed anew, so as to bring it in harmony with the rest of American society. The difficulties of this task are not to be considered overcome when the people of the South take the oath of allegiance and elect Governors and Legislatures and members of Congress and State captains. That this would be done had become certain as soon as the surrenders of the Southern armies had made further resistance impossible, and nothing in the world was left even to the most uncompromising Rebel but to submit or to emigrate. It was also natural that they should avail themselves of every chance offered them to resume control of their home affairs and to regain their influence in the Union. But this can hardly be called the first step toward the solution of the true problem, and it is a fair question to ask whether the hasty gratification of their desire to attain such control will not create new embarrassments.

The true nature of the difficulties of the situation is this: THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC HAS BY PROCLAIMING THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, COMMENCED A GREAT SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH, BUT HAS, AS YET, NOT COMPLETED IT. ONLY IN NEGATIVE PART OF IT IS ACCOMPLISHED. THE SLAVES ARE EMANCIPATED IN POINT OF FORM, BUT FREE LABOR IS NOT YET FREE IN FACT. AND NOW, IN THE MIDST OF THIS CRITICAL PERIOD OF TRANSITION, THE POWER WHICH ORIGINATED THE REVOLUTION IS EXPECTED TO TURN OVER ITS WHOLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT TO ANOTHER POWER WHICH, FROM THE BEGINNING WAS HOSTILE TO IT, AND HAS NEVER YET ENTERED INTO ITS SPIRIT, LEAVING THE CLASS IN WHOSE FAVOR IT WAS MADE COMPLETELY WITHOUT POWER TO PROTECT ITSELF AND TO TAKE AN INFLUENTIAL PART IN THAT DEVELOPMENT. THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD WILL BE SEARCHED IN VAIN FOR A PROCEEDING SIMILAR TO THIS WHICH DID NOT LEAD EITHER TO A RAPID AND VIOLENT REaction OR TO THE MOST SERIOUS trouble and CIVIL DISORDER. It cannot be said that the conduct of the Southern people since the close of the war has exhibited such extraordinary wisdom and self-abnegation as to make them an exception to the rule.

In my dispatches from the South I repeatedly expressed the opinion that the people were not yet in a frame of mind to legislate calmly and understandingly upon the subject of free negro labor. And this I reported to be the opinion of some of our most prominent military commanders and other observing men. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine circumstances more unfavorable for the development of a calm and unprejudiced public opinion than those under which the Southern people are at present laboring. The war has not only destroyed their political supremacy, but it has broken up their whole social organization. When the Rebellion was put down they found themselves not only conquered in a political and military sense, but economically ruined. The planters who represented the wealth of the Southern country are poorly laboring under the severest embarrassments, partly reduced to absolute poverty. Many who are stripped of all available means and have nothing but their land, cross their arms in gloomy despondency, incapable of rising to a manly resolution. Others who still possess means are at a loss how to use them, as their old way of doing things is, by the abolition of Slavery, rendered impracticable, at least where the military arm of the Government has enforced emancipation. Others are still trying to go on in the old way, and that old way is in fact the only one they understand, and in which they have any confidence. Only a minority is successfully trying to fully adopt the new order of things. A large number of the plantations, probably a considerable majority of the more valuable estates—is under heavy mortgages, and the owners know that, unless they retrieve their fortunes in a comparatively short space of time, their property will pass out of their hands. Almost all are to some extent embarrassed. The nervous anxiety which such a state of things produces extends also to those classes of society which, although not composed of planters, were always in close business connection with the planting interest; and there was hardly a branch of commerce or industry in the South which was not, directly or indirectly, so connected. Besides, the Southern soldiers, when returning from the war, did not, like the Northern soldiers, find a prosperous community which merely waited for their arrival to give them remunerative employment. They found, many of them, their homesteads destroyed, their farms devastated, their families in distress, and those that were less unfortunate, found at all events an impoverished and exhausted community which had but little to offer them. Thus a great many have been thrown upon the world to shift as best they can. They must do something honest or dishonest, and must do it soon, to make a living, and their prospects are at present not very bright. Thus that nervous anxiety to hastily repair broken fortunes, and to prevent still greater ruin and distress, embraces nearly all classes and imprints upon all the movements of the social body a morbid character.

In which direction will these people be most apt to turn their eyes? Leaving the prejudice of race out of the question, from early youth they have been acquainted with but one system of labor, and with that one system they have been in the habit of identifying all their interests. They know of no way to help themselves but the one they are accustomed to. Another system of labor is presented to them, which, however, owing to circumstances they do not appreciate, appears at first in an unpromising light. To try it, they consider an experiment which they cannot afford to make while their wants are urgent. They have not reasoned calmly enough to convince themselves that the trial must be made. It is indeed not wonderful that under such circumstances they should study, not how to introduce and develop free labor, but how to avoid its introduction and how to return as much and as quickly as possible to something like the old order of things. Nor is it wonderful that such studies should find an expression in their attempts at legislation. But the circumstance that this tendency is natural, does not render it less dangerous and objectionable. The practical question presents itself. Is the immediate restoration of the late Rebel States to absolute self-control so necessary that it must be done even at the risk of endangering one of the great results of the war and of bringing on in those States insurrection or anarchy, or would it not be better to postpone that restoration until such dangers are passed? If as long as the change from Slavery to free labor is known to the Southern people only by its destructive results, these people must be expected to throw obstacles in its way, would it not seem necessary that the movement of social "reconstruction" be kept in the right channel by the hand of the power, which originated the change, until that change can have disclosed some of its beneficial effects?

It is certain that every success of free negro labor will augment the number of its friends, and disarm some of the prejudices and assumptions of its opponents. *I am convinced one good harvest made* BY UNADULTERATED FREE LABOR *in the South, would have a far better effect than all the oaths that have been taken and all the ordinances that have as yet been passed by Southern conventions.* But how can such a result be attained? The facts enumerated in this report, as well as the news we receive from the South from day to day, must make it evident to every unbiased observer that unadulterated free labor cannot be had at present unless the National Government holds its protecting and controlling hand over it. It appears, also, that the more efficient this protection of free labor against all disturbing and reactionary influences, the sooner may such a satisfactory result be looked for. One reason why the Southern people are so slow in accommodating themselves to the new order of things, is that they confidently expect soon to be permitted to regulate matters according to their own notions. Every concession made to them by the Government has been taken as an encouragement to persevere in this hope, and, unfortunately for them, this hope is nourished by influences from other parts of the country. Hence their anxiety to have their State government restored *at once*, to have the troops withdrawn and the Freedmen's Bureau abolished—although a good many discerning men know well that, in view of the lawless spirit still prevailing, it would be far better for them to have the general order of society firmly maintained by the federal power until things have arrived at the final settlement. Had from the beginning the conviction been forced upon them that the amalgamation of the new order of things by the admixture of elements belonging to the system of Slavery would under no circumstances be permitted, a much larger number would have launched their energies into the new channel and, seeing that they would do "no better," faithfully cooperated with the Government. It is hope which fixes them in their perverse notions. That hope nourished or fully gratified, they will persevere in the same direction. That hope destroyed, a great many will, by the force of necessity, at once accommodate themselves to the logic of the change. If, therefore, the National Government firmly and unequivocally announces its policy, not to give up the control of the free labor reform until it is finally accomplished, the progress of that reform will undoubtedly be far more rapid and far less difficult, than it will be if the attitude of the Government is such as to permit contrary hopes to be indulged in.

The machinery by which the Government has so far exercised its protection of the negro and of free labor in the South, the Freedmen's Bureau, is very unpopular in that part of the country, as every institution placed there as a barrier to reactionary aspirations would be. That abuses were connected with the management of Freedmen's affairs; that some of the officers of the Bureau were men of more enthusiasm than discretion and in many cases went beyond their authority, all this is admitted. But while the Southern people are always ready to expatiate upon the short-comings of the Freedmen's Bureau, they are not so ready to recognize the services it has rendered. I feel warranted in saying that not half of the labor that was done in the South this year or will be done there next year, would have been or would be done, but for the exertions of the Freedmen's Bureau. The confusion and disorder of the transition period would have been infinitely greater had not an agency interfered which possessed the confidence of the emancipated slaves; which could disabuse them of any extravagant notions and expectations, and be trusted; which could administer to them good advice, and be voluntarily obeyed. No other agency, except one placed there by the National Government, could have wielded that moral power whose interposition was so necessary to prevent Southern society from falling at once into the chaos of a general collision between its different elements. That the success achieved by the Freedmen's Bureau is as yet very incomplete, cannot be disputed. A more perfect organization and a more carefully selected personnel may be desirable, but it is doubtful whether a more suitable machinery can be devised to secure to free labor in the South that protection against disturbing influences, which the nature of the situation still imperatively demands.

IMMIGRATION.

A temporary continuation of national control in the Southern States would also have most beneficial effect as regards the immigration of Northern people and Europeans into that country, and such immigration would, in its turn, contribute much to the solution of the labor problem. Nothing is more desirable for the South than the importation of new men and new ideas. One of the greatest drawbacks under which the Southern people are laboring is that for 50 years they have been in nonsympathetic communion with the progressive ideas of the times. While professing to be in favor of free trade, they adopted and enforced a system of prohibition, as far as those ideas were concerned, which was in conflict with their cherished institution of Slavery; and as almost all the progressive ideas of our age were in conflict with Slavery, the prohibition was sweeping. It had one peculiar effect, which we also notice with some Asiatic nations that follow a similar course. The Southern people honestly maintained and believed, not only that as a people they were highly civilized, but that their civilization was the highest that could be attained, and ought to serve as a model to other nations the world over. The more enlightened individuals among them felt sometimes a vague impression of the barrenness of their mental life, and the barbarous peculiarities of their social organization, but very few ever dared to investigate, and to expose the true cause of these evils. Thus the people were so wrapt up in self admiration as to be inaccessible to the voice even of the best intentioned criticism. Hence the illusion they indulged in as to the absolute superiority of their race, a delusion which, in spite of the severe test it has lately undergone, is not yet given up, and will, as every traveler in the South can testify from experience, sometimes express itself in singular manifestations. This spirit, which for so long a time has kept the Southern people back, while the world besides was moving, is even at this moment still standing as a serious obstacle in the way of progress.

Nothing can therefore be more desirable than that the contact between the Southern people and the outside world should be as strong and intimate as possible; and in no better way can this end be subserved than by immigration in mass. Of the economical benefits which such immigration would confer upon the owners of the soil it is hardly necessary to speak.

Immigration wants encouragement. As far as this encouragement consists in the promise of material advantages it is already given.

There are large districts in the South in which an industrious and enterprising man with some capital, and acting upon correct principles cannot fail to accumulate considerable gains in a comparatively short time, as long as the prices of the staples do not fall below what they can reasonably be expected to be for some time to come. A Northern man has beside the advantage of being served by the laboring population of that region with greater willingness.

But among the principal requisites for the success of the emigrant are personal security and a settled condition of things. Personal security is honestly promised by the thinking men of the South; but another question is whether the promise and good intentions of the thinking men will be sufficient to restrain and control the populace, whose animosity against "Yankee interlopers" is only second to their hostile feeling against the negro. If the military forces of the Government should be soon and completely withdrawn, I see reasons to fear that in many localities immigrants would enjoy the necessary security only when settling down together in numbers strong enough to provide for their own protection. On the whole no better encouragement can be given to immigration as far as individual security is concerned than the assurance that the National Government will be kept to protect them until such protection is no longer needed.

The South needs capital. But capital is notoriously timid and averse to risk itself, not only where there actually is trouble, but where there is serious and continual danger of trouble. Capitalists will be apt to consider—and they are by no means wrong in doing so—that no safe investments can be made in the South so long as Southern society is liable to be convulsed by anarchical disorders. The greater encouragement can, therefore, be given to capital to transfer itself to the South, than the assurance that the Government will continue to control the development of the new social system in the late Rebel States, until such dangers are averted by a final settlement of things upon a thorough free-labor basis.

How long the National Government should continue that control depends upon contingencies. It ought to cease as soon as its objects are attained; and its objects will be attained sooner and with less difficulty, if nobody is permitted to indulge in the delusion that it will cease *before* they are attained. This is one of the cases in which a determined policy can accomplish most, while a half-way policy is liable to spoil things already accomplished. The continuance of the National control in the South—although it may be for a short period only—will cause some inconvenience and expense; but if thereby destructive collisions and anarchical disorders can be prevented, justice secured to all men, and the return of peace and prosperity to all parts of this country hastened, it will be a paying investment. For the future of the Republic it is far less important that this business of reconstruction be done quickly, than that it be well done. The matter well taken in hand, there is reason for hope that it will be well done, and quickly, too. In cases like these, great changes are apt to operate themselves rapidly. At present the Southern people assume that free negro labor will not work, and therefore they are not inclined to give it a fair trial. As soon as they find out that they must give it a fair trial and that their whole future power and prosperity depends upon its success, they will also find out that it will work, at least for better than they have anticipated. Then their hostility to it will gradually disappear. This great result accomplished, posterity will not find fault with this Administration for having delayed complete "reconstruction" one, two or more years.

Although I am not called upon to discuss in this report the constitutional aspects of this question, I may be pardoned for one remark: The interference of the National Government in the local concerns of the States lately in rebellion, is argued against by many as inconsistent with the spirit of our federal institutions. Nothing is more foreign to my ways of thinking in political matters, than a fondness for centralization or military government. Nobody can value the blessings of local self-government more highly than I do. But we are living under exceptional circumstances, which require us above all to look at things from a practical point of view; and I believe it will prove far more dangerous for the integrity of local self-government, if the national control in the South be discontinued, while, by discontinuing it too soon, it may be rendered necessary again in the future, than if it be continued when, by continuing it but a limited time, all such future necessity may be obviated. At present these acts of interference are but a part of that exceptional policy, brought forth by the necessity, into which the Rebellion has plunged us. Although there will be some modification in the relations between the States and the National Government, yet those act of direct interference in the details of State concerns will pass away with the exceptional circumstances which called them forth. But if the social revolution in the South be now abandoned in an unfinished state, and at some future period produce events provoking new and repeated acts of direct practical interference—and the contingency would by no means be unlikely to arise—such new and repeated acts would not pass over without most seriously affecting the political organism of the Republic.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

It would seem that the interference of the national authority in the home concerns of the Southern States would be tendered less necessary, and the whole problem of political and social reconstruction be much simplified, if, while the masses lately arrayed against the Government are permitted to vote, the large majority of those who were always loyal, and are naturally anxious to see the free labor problem successfully solved, were not excluded from all influence upon legislation. In all questions concerning the Union, the National Debt, the future social organization of the South, the feelings of the colored man are naturally in sympathy with the views and aims of the National Government. While the Southern white fought against the Union, the negro did all he could to aid it; while the Southern white sees in the National Government his conqueror, the negro sees in it his protector; while the white owes to the National Debt his defeat, the negro owes to it his deliverance; while the white considers himself robbed and ruined by the emancipation of the slaves, the negro finds in it the assurance of future prosperity and happiness. In all the important issues, the negro would be led by natural impulses to forward the ends of the Government, and by making his influence, as part of the voting body, tell upon the legislation of the States, render the interference of the national authority less necessary.

As the most difficult of the pending questions are intimately connected with the status of the negro in Southern society, it is obvious that a correct solution can be more easily obtained if he has a voice in the matter. In the right to vote he would find the best permanent protection against oppressive class-legislation, as well as against individual persecution.

The relation between the white and black races, even if improved by the gradual wearing off of the present animosities, are likely to remain long under the troubling influence of prejudice. It is a notorious fact that the rights of a man of some political power are far less exposed to violation than those of one, who is in matters of public interest, completely subject to the will of others. A voter is a man of influence; simply as that influence may be in the single individual, it becomes large when that individual belongs to a numerous class of voters who are ready to make common cause with him for the protection of his rights. Such an individual is an object of interest to the political parties that desire to have the benefit of his ballot. It is true, the bringing face to face at the ballot-box of the white and black races may here and there lead to an outbreak of feeling, and the first trials ought certainly to be made while the national power is still there to prevent or repress disturbances; but the practice once successfully inaugurated under the protection of that power, it would probably be more apt than anything else to obliterate old antagonisms, especially if the colored people—which is probable as soon as their own rights are sufficiently secured—divide their votes between the different political parties.

The effect of the extension of the franchise to the colored people upon the development of free labor and upon the security of human rights in the South being the principal object in view, the objections raised on the ground of the ignorance of the freedmen become unimportant. Practical liberty is a good school; and, besides, if any qualification can be found applicable to both races, which does not interfere with the attainment of the main object, such qualification would in that respect be unobjectionable. But it is idle to say that it will be time to speak of negro suffrage when the whole colored race will be educated, for the ballot may be necessary to him to secure his education. It is also idle to say that ignorance is the principal ground upon which Southern men object to negro suffrage; for if it were, that numerous class of colored people in Louisiana, who are so highly educated, as intelligent and as wealthy as any corresponding class of whites, would have been enfranchised long ago.

It has been asserted that the negro would be but a voting machine in the hand of his employer. On this point, opinions seem to differ. I have heard it said in the South that the freedmen are more likely to be influenced by their schoolmasters and preachers. But, even if we suppose the employer to control to a certain extent the negro laborer's vote, two things are to be taken into consideration: 1. The class of employers, or landed proprietors, will, in a few years, be very different from what it was heretofore; in consequence of the general breaking up, a great many of the old slaveholders will be obliged to give up their lands, and new men will step into their places; and 2, the employer will hardly control the vote of the negro laborer so far as to make him vote against his own liberty. The beneficial effect of an extension of suffrage does not always depend upon the intelligence with which the newly admitted voters exercise their right, but sometimes upon the circumstances in which they are placed; and the circumstances in which the freedmen of the South are placed are such that, when they only vote for their own liberty and rights, they vote for the rights of free labor, for the success of an immensely important reform, for the prosperity of the country, and for the general interest of mankind. If, therefore, in order to control the colored vote, the employer, or whoever he may be, is first obliged to concede to the freedman the great point of his own right as a man and a free laborer, the great social reform is completed, the most difficult problem is solved, and all other questions it will be comparatively easy to settle.

In discussing the matter of negro suffrage, I deemed it my duty to confine myself strictly to the practical aspects of the subject. I have, therefore not touched its moral merits, not discussed the question whether the National Government is competent to enlarge the elective franchise in the States lately in rebellion by its own act. I deem it proper, however, to offer, a few remarks on the assertion frequently put forth, that the franchise is likely to be extended to the colored men by the voluntary action of the Southern whites themselves. My observation leads me to a contrary opinion. Aside from a very few enlightened men, I found not one class of people in favor of the enfranchisement of the blacks; it was the class of Unionists who found themselves politically ostracised and looked upon the enfranchisement of the loyal negroes as the salvation of the whole loyal element. But their numbers and influence are sadly insufficient to secure such a result. The masses are strongly opposed to colored suffrage. Anybody that dares to advocate it is stigmatized as a dangerous fanatic. Nor do I deem it probable that in the ordinary course of things prejudices will wear off to such an extent as to make it a popular measure. Outside of Louisiana only one Southern gentleman, who occupied a prominent political position in the South, expressed to me an opinion favorable to it. He declared himself ready to vote for an amendment to the Constitution of his State bestowing the right of suffrage upon all male citizens, without distinction of color, who could furnish evidence of their ability to read and write, without, however, disfranchising those who are now voters, and are not able to fulfill that condition. This gentleman is now a member of one of the State Conventions, but I presume he will not risk his political standing in the South by moving such an amendment in that body.

The only manner in which, in my opinion, the Southern people can be induced to grant to the freedmen some measure of self-protecting power is the form of suffrage, is to make it a condition precedent to a "readmission."

DEPORTATION OF THE FREEDMAN.

I have to notice one pretended remedy for the disorders now agitating the South, which seems to have become the favorite plan of some prominent public men. It is that the whole colored population of the South should be transported to some place where they could live completely separated from the whites. It is hardly necessary to discuss, not only the question of right and justice, but the difficulties and expense necessarily attending the deportation of nearly 4,000,000 of people. But it may be asked, What would become of the industry of the South for many years if the bulk of its laboring population were taken away? The South stands in need of an increase, and not of a diminution, of its laboring force to repair the losses and disasters of the last four years. Much is said of importing European laborers and Northern men; this is the favorite idea of many planters who want such immigrants to work on their plantations. But they forget that Europeans and Northern men will not come to the South to serve as hired hands on the plantations, but to acquire property for themselves, and that even if the whole European immigration at the rate of 250,000 a year were turned into the south, leaving not a single man to the North and West, it would require between fifteen and twenty years to fill the vacuum caused by the deportation of the freedmen. Aside from this, the influx of Northern men or Europeans will not diminish the demand for hired negro labor, it will on the contrary increase it. As Europeans and Northern people come in, not only vast quantities of land will pass from the hands of their former owners into those of the immigrants, but a large area of new land will be brought under cultivation; and labor such as is furnished by the colored people, will be demanded in larger quantities. The deportation of the labor so demanded would, therefore, be a very serious injury to the economical interests of the South, and if an attempt were made, this effect would soon be felt.

It is, however, a question worthy of consideration whether it would not be wise to offer attractive inducements and facilities for the voluntary emigration of freedmen to some suitable district on the line of the Pacific Railroad. It would answer a double object: 1. It would aid in the construction of that Road, and 2. If this migration be effected on a large scale, it would cause a drain upon the laboring force of the South, it would make the people affected by that drain feel the value of the freedman's labor, and show them the necessity of keeping that labor at home by treating the laborer well, and by offering him inducements as fair as can be offered elsewhere.

But whatever the efficiency of such expedients may be, the true problem remains, not how to remove the colored man from his present field of labor, but how to make him, where he is, a free freeman, and an intelligent and useful citizen. The means are simple protection by the Government until his political and social status enables him to protect himself, effective to his legitimate ambition the stimulant of a perfectly fair chance in life, and granting to him the rights, which in every just organization of society are coupled with corresponding duties.

CONCLUSION.

I may sum up all I have said in a few words.

If nothing were necessary but to restore the machinery of Government in the States lately in rebellion in point of form, the most direct mode to that end by the people of the South might be considered satisfactory.

But if it is required that the Southern people should also accommodate themselves to the results of the war in point of spirit, these movements fall far short of what must be insisted upon.

The loyalty of the masses and most of the leaders of the Southern people consists in submission to necessity. There is, except in individual instances, an entire absence of that national spirit which forms the basis of true loyalty and patriotism.

The emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as actual Slavery in the old form could not be kept up. But although the freedman is no longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all Independent State legislation will show the tendency to make him such. The ordinances abolishing Slavery, passed by the Conventions under the pressure of circumstances, will not be looked upon as barring the establishment of a new form of servitude.

Practical attempts on the part of the Southern people to deprive the negro of his rights as a freedman, may result in bloody collisions, and will certainly plunge Southern society into restless fluctuations and anarchical confusion.

Such evils can be prevented only by continuing the control of the National Government in the States lately in rebellion until free labor is fully developed and firmly established, and the advantages and blessings of the new order of things have disclosed themselves. This desirable result will be hastened by a firm declaration on the part of the Government that national control in the South will not cease until such results are secured. Only in this way can that security be established in the South which will render numerous immigration possible, and such immigration would materially aid a favorable development of things. The solution of the problem will be very much facilitated by enabling all the loyal and free labor elements of the South to exercise a healthy influence upon legislation; it will hardly be possible to secure the freedmen against oppressive class legislation and private persecution unless he be endowed with a certain measure of political power.

As to the future peace and harmony of the Union, it is of the highest importance that the people of the States lately in rebellion be not permitted to build up another "peculiar institution," whose spirit is in conflict with the fundamental principles of our political system, for as long as they cherish interests peculiar to them in preference to those they have in common with the rest of the American people, their loyalty to the Union will always be unstable.

I desire not to be understood as saying that there are no well-meaning men among those who were compromised in the Rebellion. There are many, but neither their number nor their influence is strong enough to control the manifest tendency of the popular spirit.

There are good reasons for hope that a determined policy on the part of the National Government will produce innumerable and valuable conversions. This consideration counsels lenity as to persons, such as is demanded by the humane and enlightened spirit of our times, and vigor and firmness in the carrying out of principles, such as is demanded by the national sense of justice and the exigencies of our situation.

In submitting this report I desire to say that I have conscientiously endeavored to see things as they were, and to represent them as I saw them. I have been careful not to use language stronger than was warranted by the thoughts I intended to express. A comparison of the tenor of the annexed documents with that of my report will convince you that I have studiously avoided overestatements. Certain legislative attempts at present made in the South, and especially in South Carolina, seem to be more than justifying the apprehensions I have expressed.

Conscious though I am of having used my best endeavors to draw from what I saw and learned, correct general conclusions, yet I am far from placing too great a trust in my own judgment, when interests of such magnitude are at stake. I know that this report is incomplete, although as complete as an observation of a few months would enable me to make it. Additional facts might be elicited, calculated to throw new light upon the subject. Although I see no reason for believing that things have changed for the better since I left the South, yet such may be the case. Admitting all these possibilities, still I would entreat you to take no irretrievable step toward relieving the States lately in rebellion from all national control, until such favorable changes are clearly and unmistakably ascertained.

To that end, and by virtue of the permission you honored me with when sending me out, to communicate to you my views as to measures of policy proper to be adopted, I would now respectfully suggest that you advise Congress to send one or more "investigating committees" into the Southern States, to inquire for themselves into the actual condition of things, before final action is taken upon the readmission of such States to their representation in the legislative branch of the Government and the withdrawal of all national control from that section of the country.

I am sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
CARL SCHURZ.

Near Chatham Village, on the line of the Hudson and Berkstown railroad, Monday afternoon, an axle of a freight car broke, throwing part of the train from the track and instantly killing Edward Blinn, brakeman, also seriously and perhaps fatally injuring Mr. Flint, the conductor. A Mr. Russell was also badly hurt, and several other persons were more or less bruised and cut. The cars were smashed to ruins.

The acquaintances of Mr. Denton Shirley of Edwardsville, Indiana, manifested their regard for him in a facetious little visit last Monday week; the result of the interview being, that Mr. S. was found in his barn with 43 cuts or stabs upon his head and face, his leg laid across a block and his foot cut off. Singularly enough, he was thought to be in a way of recovery.

Morris Ellsworth, the convicted negro murderer, has been reprieved by Gov. Parker of New-Jersey until Jan. 10. A medical examination will be made to test the question as to his sanity, and if pronounced not of sound mind he will undoubtedly have his sentence commuted to imprisonment for life.

LE TEMPS.—This paper is one of the youngest among the dailies of Paris, but in point of ability and influence it already ranks among the very first organs of the Progressive party, not only of France, but of Europe. It cannot speak out on the great questions of the day so freely as the papers of countries enjoying liberty of the press; but it has furnished abundant proofs that its devotion to Liberal principles is uncompromising. In its sympathy for the United States during as well as after the war it is not exceeded by any paper of France. It is far superior to all other French papers in its cosmopolitan views of the great European complications, and of the Nationality questions, which the French press, as well as that of the other European countries, are mostly treating from the narrow standpoint of the interests of a particular State. *Le Temps* is edited by M. A. Neffzer, formerly editor-in-chief of *La Presse*. Among its regular contributors are named E. Foresade, E. Scherer, Charles Dollfus Maurice Block, Louis Ulbach, B. Bareiau, A. Laugel, A. Revolo and other well known names. It also announces the forthcoming appearance in its columns of original contributions from Ollion Barrot, Ch. de Remusat, Louis Blanc, James Simon, Eugene Pelletan and other celebrities. A prominent feature of the paper is its brilliant array of foreign correspondents. Its London correspondent is Louis Blanc. The editors of *Le Temps* have recently begun a weekly edition, specially intended for foreign countries. We have received the first numbers of this edition from M. A. Repetti, No. 645 Broadway, New-York, agent in the United States. To all those of our readers who read French, and wish one of the best papers of Europe, we can heartily recommend the weekly edition of *Le Temps*.

Family Markets,

OR LIVING EXPENSES IN NEW-YORK.

FRIDAY, Dec. 22—P. M.

Below we give carefully arranged and complete tables, revised each week, showing the cost of nearly all the ordinary articles of food, beside some other household expenses. Our quotations are the *retail* prices asked by Fulton and Washington Market dealers and down-town grocers. Street and sidewalk peddlers of stale, cheap articles, usually sell for less, while the up-town markets and grocery men charge more than quoted. Vegetables, fruits, and meats are cheapest at Washington Market—fish at East Fulton Market. On some articles the range is great, depending in part upon quality, but quite as much upon location. The markets already begin to wear a holiday look, and the rush of customers leads one to suppose that everybody is making Christmas purchases. Seldom if ever, have we seen Washington Market as crowded as it was to-day, and every other person was trying to buy a goose. There is also a large demand for evergreen or Christmas trees, small ones of which are sold at 25c. each, and from that up to 50@75c. for good specimens, but those of 10@15 feet in height, well formed, sell for $1 50@2 50 per tree. Fish are scarce and high to-day, the cold weather interfering with catching them. Meats are nearly unchanged, with an abundant supply. Poultry is plenty, but with cold weather and a large demand all kinds are selling at high prices. We quote:

BREAD AND CRACKERS.

	Cents.		Cents.
Wheat Bread, loaf	5@10	Crackers, Bos'n, ℔ lb	20
Rye do.	10@—	Soda, ℔ lb	12@13
Extra Pilot, ℔ lb	10@12	Butter, ℔ lb	12@—
Crackers, sweet, ℔ lb	18@20	Graham, ℔ lb	16
Ginger Snaps, ℔ lb	10@—	Milk Biscuit, ℔ lb	20@21

BUTTER, CHEESE AND EGGS.

Butter, prime, ℔ lb	30@32	Cheese, ℔ lb	22@25
Medium	45@48	Pineapple, ℔ lb	35@—
Cooking	25@28	Eggs, 5@6 for	25
Roll	40@45		

FISH—FRESH.

Bass, striped, ℔ lb	20	Haddock, ℔ lb	10@12
Black, ℔ lb	15	Perch, yellow, ℔ lb	15
Catfish, ℔ lb	15	White, ℔ lb	15
Cod, ℔ lb	12	Pickerel, ℔ lb	18@20
Roe, ℔ lb	10	Pike, ℔ lb	20@25
Fluke, ℔ lb	20@25	Salmon Trout, ℔ lb	25
Founders, ℔ lb	12@15	Smelts, ℔ lb	20@25
Frost, ℔ lb	10@12	White Fish, ℔ lb	25

FISH—DRY, SMOKED, SHELL, ETC.

Cod, Dry, ℔ lb	11@12	Mackerel, salt, each	12@15
Pickled, ℔ lb	8@10	Mackerel, smk'd, ℔ lb	8@10
Clams, soft, ℔ 100	25@—	Smoked, kit	62@75
Hard, ℔ 100	75@$1 25	Oysters, common stew, ℔ 100	$1 25@$2 00
Crabs, ℔ doz	25@35	Good stewing, ℔ 100	$2 50@$3 00
Roe, smoked, ℔ lb	25@—	Saddle Rock, do, ℔ 100	$3 00@$5 00
Haddock, smoked, ℔ lb	15@18	Pickled, ℔ 100	$3@$4 50
Halibut, smoked, ℔ lb	20@22	Salmon, smoked, ℔ lb	25@30
Herrings, Smoked ℔ hunch	10@15	Pickled, ℔ lb	22@25
English, ℔ lb	10@15	Shad, smoked, ℔ lb	18@20
Scaled, ℔ box	75@—	Scallops, ℔ qt