# MEMPHIS APPEAL.

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THURSDAY, ..... MARCH 1, 1866.


WEEKLY APPEAL.—This mammoth newspaper is published this morning, and may be had at the counter of the APPEAL office, strongly wrapped for safe mailing. It contains ANDREW JOHNSON'S Veto Message—golden words! which we regret that we are unable to print in gilded letters.

BEST FOR THE BLACK MAN!

On the reading of the Veto Message of the President, the white galleries applauded, but the occupants of the *black galleries hissed!* There could not be a more forcible illustration of the want of intelligent foresight of the black people, or a stronger proof of the good disposition of the whites towards this unfortunate race. Had the vetoed bill passed, making the Freedmen's Bureau a permanent and fixed branch of the Government, what would have been the condition of the black man? Assuredly, his tribunal of justice, as against the white man, would have been the Bureau—officered by white men. From their decision there would have been no appeal. Now, it is to be ignore all human nature to suppose, that these agents would have been, always and everywhere, such pure and devoted philanthropists as to be proof against the prejudices of race, and the influences of interest that might be brought to bear, so to be a sure protection of the interests of the negro. Human nature is perpetually and forever the same; and if it has been next to impossible for Treasury agents to resist the corrupting influences of cotton, is it to be looked for that agents, who should have unchecked and irresponsible power over the labor of these freedmen, should all be proof against the temptation to combine with other white men to so use this power as to promote their own interests, rather than the interests of the negro?

If there is any one who should rejoice, and devoutly thank God for raising up ANDREW JOHNSON to prevent this engine of arbitrary power being created over them, it is the black man. His surest and best protection is in the *law*, and the good feelings and respect of the people amongst whom his lot is cast. His own good conduct will, when he and they are left together—free from the extraneous intermeddling of strangers to both—to adjust their relations, command whatever intermediations may be found necessary in the laws to secure the perfect protection of all his rights and interests. The perpetuation of the Freedmen's Bureau would have postponed, rather than promoted this harmonious settlement of the relations of the two races. It would have been to transfer him from the old slavery, softened as it was by interest, if not kindly feeling, to a mastery not less inexorable, where the temptations for its abuse would be all on one side, and that side adverse to the freedman.

BEECHER ON THE SITUATION.

HENRY WARD BEECHER, addressed a very large audience a few nights ago at the Academy of Music in the City of New York, in which he took occasion to hit back at WENDELL PHILLIPS for his Brooklyn speech. He sustains the President in his policy, but still advocates negro suffrage. For that matter, he goes a-box-shot beyond PHILLIPS, and advocates *woman-suffrage*, too. He is, therefore, a Radical still, in whom there cannot be said to be the least grain of copperheadism. He *ought* to be, good authority for people of the Radical persuasion. He is sorry that the President felt it his duty to veto the Bureau bill, but then he is, also, "sorry that the bill was so drawn that he was obliged to feel it his duty to veto it." He comforts his brother Radicals, however, with the assurance that the black man will be protected under the Constitution, but admonishes them not to run into extremes in his behalf. Says he—

"Men who have knowledge of the freedmen can be swayed by their sympathy and by generous sentiments so as not well to consider that while legislating to save the freedmen, it may be at the expense and by the use of instruments in which his very safety itself resides; and that, when the passion of pity is moderate, it is well there should be opportunity for reconsideration."

And again—

"When labor in the South is properly developed, when the fields are properly cultivated, and when the blacks depend, on good treatment, they will begin to have some sense of justice. I do not see that in reason we can deny the rights of labor by promoting the general peace and prosperity of the Southern states. I long ever strenuously to relieve their rights; yes, the true political doctrine. Many of them assert the right to secede from this government, and they believed it. What has been the result? The war has settled that question; they believe that not, that it cannot be, and they believe that it ought not. The flag is settled; the South is still remaining in the Union; the South will recognize as the law and say so? Will you give up the fact, though you believe it to be wrong, that you are bound to keep them out till they don't believe the contrary? The question is not what we think of the propriety of that question to the court and arbitrament of war, and was so declared against us, and we must abide the verdict—how long? Can you in honor say any thing more than that?"

These are the teachings of the Radical BEECHER. He returns to the guarantees of the Constitution, and asks if these, with all natural laws and the laws of political economy on the same side, are not enough to satisfy any reasonable man; and he adds this stinging remark—

"I cannot pay any compliment to the South, to their courage and their intensity of sincerity and zeal, greater than the state of panic and fear which I see in the Northern mind."

He goes on to say—

"Men seem to be stricken with fear that you have lost all thought of God, and Providence, and natural law, and all power of moral influence and political influence. I have faith that faith in the cause, and that faith in God, and that faith in you, that when you wake up in a full consciousness of what you are and what you have done, the South will be twice as strong, with what we have now on our side. They would be men, in strength and in power, if we can but give them the right to guarantee to him by the Constitution."

He does not thing much of those philosophers who would keep the Southern States in a state of pupilage, indefinitely, in order to make better members of the Union when they do come in:

"On the other hand, look for one moment at the effects of a prolonged exclusion of the Southern States. It is weaning the citizens of those states more and more from the National government. For the war, we thought they had thought of Washington except to curse him. They have not felt his power. They have felt, by the steel raining through them, that came from the National Government. We have not felt it in our hearts. We have felt it in our flesh. We have felt it in our blood. We have felt it in our wounds. We have felt it in our graves. We have felt it in our hopes. We have felt it in our fears. We have felt it in our prospects. We have felt it in our children. We have felt it in our wives. We have felt it in our fathers and our mothers. We have felt it in our brothers and our sisters. We have felt it in our friends. We have felt it in our country. We have felt it in our Union. In that the way to make them love it is to keep them out? Is that the way to make them feel their power of the Government?"

He enforces these views by the following forcible illustration:

"Many of the things which we seek to accomplish by force, we can be enabled to accomplish by moral means. I have seen this anxiety to do everything by force, illustrated in my own family, waiting for a child I have seen the power of good moral suasion. I have seen a child refuse to legislate, which I would be by force to do, and I have seen the power of wholesome legislation, and I have seen the child, when I was gone, still I would have my force, I would have my force, and we have seen the child, when I was gone, still I would have my force, I would have my force, and we have seen the child, when I was gone, still I would have my force, I would have my force, and we