STATE CONVENTION

FIRST DAY

Pursuant to a call issued by the Executive Committee of San Francisco, the Convention met in the city of Sacramento on Wednesday, October 25th, at 10 o'clock, A.M., in Bechel A.M.E. Church, Seventh street.

The delegations were called to order by Mr. R. A. Hall, Corresponding Secretary of the San Francisco Executive Committee, and read the following:

Call for the Convention

To the Colored Citizens of California

Men and Brothers:—You are hereby summoned to meet in Convention in the City of Sacramento, on Wednesday, the 25th day of October next ensuing, to consider and deliberate on subjects connected with our interests as citizens of this State.

We have received hearty and cheering responses from Sacramento, Napa, San Jose, Marysville, Port Wine, Benicia, and other places.

By order of the Executive Committee,

R. A. Hall,

Corresponding Secretary.

San Francisco, Aug. 3, 1865.

He then moved for the temporary organization by nominating Mr. Wm. H. Hall as Chairman pro tem. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Hall, on assuming the chair, stated the objects for which the Convention was called, and hoped the harmony and union of sentiment and action would prevail during our session. He then requested Rev. John J. Moore to invoke a blessing from Heaven on our labors. Mr. Moore addressed the Throne of Grace in a feeling and impressive manner.

Mr. Hall concluded the temporary organization by nominating Philip A. Bell as Secretary pro tem. Carried.

It was also moved that a committee of three be appointed on Credentials. Carried.

The Chairman appointed T. H. D. Ward, A. L. Jackson, and J. Madden, as said Committee, who retired to examine the credentials of delegates. During the interim the Chairman requested Mr. W. H. Yates to address the Convention.

Mr. Yates urged the necessity of union among our people, and hoped that there would be no exhibition of jealousy or ill feeling among us, but we

would all act for the general good of our entire race. He then introduced Rev. D. M. Briggs, Agent for the Freedmen's Bureau for the Pacific coast.

Mr. Briggs stated that we must not be discouraged if we did not succeed in obtaining our political rights. We must expect opposition, even as the Union man; the country was fast coming up to that point when equal political rights would be awarded to colored men, not only as a reward for their valor, patriotism and loyalty, but as justly due them as men and citizens.

He stated that prejudice was fast abating on this coast. He thanked the Convention for the honor of addressing them, but he came to listen and learn, not to speak or instruct.

Mr. Peter Anderson requested permission to offer a few remarks, which he had prepared for the consideration of the Convention. Granted.

The Committee on Credentials returned and reported that nine counties were represented by twenty-five delegates. The report was accepted, and the Committee retired.

On motion, the Chairman appointed the following Committee on permanent organization:

Mr. R. A. Clark, Sacramento.
Mr. B. Campbell, Yolo.
Mr. W. H. Christopher, Napa.
Mr. R. F. Shorter, Santa Clara.

The Committee retired, and Rev. Amos Johnson was introduced to the Convention, and made a very telling and patriotic speech.

The Committee on Permanent Organization reported the following as the permanent officers of the Convention:

President

Fred'k G. Barbadoes, of San Francisco.

1st Vice President

W. H. Harper, of Sacramento.

2d Vice President

Basil Campbell, of Yolo.

Secretary

Philip A. Bell, of Santa Cruz.

Assistant Secretary

W. H. Christopher, of Napa.

Treasurer

Jacob Madden, of Santa Clara.

Chaplain

Rev. P. Kellingworth, of Sonoma.

The report was received with acclamation, and the Chairman appointed Yates and Ruggles to conduct the President to the Chair. On taking his seat Mr. Barbadoes delivered the following address:

Sentiments of the Convention:—

For the fourth time the colored citizens of this State are assembled in Convention for the purpose of obtaining JUSTICE, and the consideration of subjects tending to our general elevation. The principal object which created
the preceding conventions, was the admission of our testimony in the court of justice in this State. This has been happily accomplished by our united efforts, and the generous and noble co-operation of the friends of justice in the Legislature. After a struggle of eight years, and in January, in the year 1863, the statutes of California were cleansed from that foul blot which had entirely obliterated from their face Equity and Justice. The principal objects of this Convention is to devise ways and means for the obtaining of that right, which, under the Constitution of the United States, is guaranteed to all her citizens, namely, the right of the elective franchise. This question is the important one of the day—not only to those of our race here and elsewhere—not only to this State, but it concerns, and directly affects the safety and prosperity of the American Government. I am confident that this and other subjects coming before your consideration, will be treated with firmness, intelligence, and moderation. I enter upon the discharge of the duties of this important and elevated office with serious misgivings, feeling that it is more to your kind partiality than my ability that I am indebted for the distinguished honor. I confidently rely upon you to assist me in the proper discharge of my duty, by the exhibition of that patience, forbearance and self-respect which has ever characterized our race. Permit me to assure you that it is my firm resolve to discharge these duties impartially; and will justice to all, and that I sincerely thank you for the distinction with which you have honored me.

Mr. Ward moved that Standing Committees be appointed on the following subjects: Business, Education, Industrial Pursuits, Public Morals, Statistics, Finance, and Elective Franchise. The motion was carried, and the Chairman stated that he would announce the Committees in the afternoon. Mr. R. A. Hall, Wm. H. Yates and A. L. Jackson were appointed a Committee on Rules.

After benediction by the Chaplain, the Convention adjourned until two o’clock P.M.

Afternoon Session.

At half-past two o’clock the Convention was again called to order by the President, and the exercises were opened with prayer by the Chaplain. Roll called. Minutes of last meeting read and approved.

The Committee on Rules presented their report, which was read. Mr. R. H. Small moved to amend the report by adding the 5th Rule, which was accepted.

Mr. President:—The Committee selected to prepare Rules to govern this Convention, beg leave to submit the following:

1st—The regular sessions of the Convention shall be held twice each day. Morning Session, from 9 to 12 o’clock. Evening Session, from 2 to 5 o’clock.

2d—A majority of the Delegates shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

3d—The rules of Order laid down in the Convention of 1855, shall be the standing rules of this Convention, in all points not herein provided for.

4th—No member shall be allowed to speak more than twice upon the same subject, without the special leave of the Convention, and not longer than ten minutes the first time, and five minutes the second.

5th—A fine of fifty cents will be imposed upon every member who shall be absent at roll call, unless he shall give a reasonable excuse, to be accepted by the Chair. Said fine to be applied to the Contingent Fund.

In accordance with the resolution presented this morning by Mr. Ward, the President appointed the following Standing Committees:

On Business


On Education

W. H. Hall, T. M. D. Ward, P. A. Bell.

On Elective Franchise


On Industrial Pursuits


On Statistics

J. R. Starkey, Dr. Bryant, M. L. Rogers.

On Finance


On Public Morals


A preamble and series of resolutions were presented by the Sacramento delegation, which were read, and on motion, referred to the Business Committee.

Moved, that all resolutions from members or delegations be read and referred to appropriate Committees. Carried.

The Santa Clara delegation presented a preamble and resolutions adopted at a public meeting in San Jose. Read and referred to Business Committee.

Mr. Shorter presented statistics from Santa Clara county. Read and referred to appropriate Committee.

Moved, by Mr. Ward, that the Executive Committee of Sacramento be admitted to seats in this Convention. Carried.

Moved, that we hold an evening session at 7 o’clock to-morrow evening, to receive statistical information from the several delegations. Carried.

Benediction by the Chaplain.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY

Morning Session, Thursday, October 26th.

President in the Chair. Prayer by the Chaplain. Roll called. Minutes of the last meeting read and approved.

Reports of Standing Committees called for. Committee on Education reported an address, which was accepted.

Committee on Statistics, Finance, Industrial Pursuits, and Public Morals, reported progress.

Business Committee reported a Preamble and Resolutions, which were received, and while under discussion Mr. Anderson rose and said that it is probable that the minutes of this Convention will be published in pamphlet form, and the cost will probably be $100; he would therefore suggest that the
Afternoon session.

Mr. E. P. Duplex had kindly consented to make a summary report of the remarks and speeches. The report of the Business Committee was continued, and the resolutions were amended and referred to appropriate committees.

The Chairman of the Committee on Education made his report, which was read. A motion by R. A. Hall that the report be adopted by sections was agreed to.

The Chairman of the Committee, in presenting the first resolution, mentioned it in some very well-timed and appropriate remarks, urging the adoption of the resolution. It was obvious, he said, to every intelligent mind that we required greater educational advantages, the law at present only allowing schools where there are ten children, with discretionary power on the part of the Commissioners to establish schools for a lesser number. The law should be amended so as to give to every child the privileges of education. If they were not to have a separate school, let them be admitted to those already established. As a law-abiding and tax-paying class we are entitled to greater privileges in this respect than we now enjoy, and which it is unfair to deprive us of.

The first resolution was adopted.

The Chairman of the Committee, after reading the second resolution, stated that the Institute at San Jose, under the superintendence of Mr. P. W. Cassey, was in successful operation. The site, with the improvements thereon, had been purchased two years ago for twenty-five hundred dollars, but it was now worth four thousand. With the increased advantages possessed by San Jose the property will certainly still further advance in value in the course of a couple of years more. At present the Institute was but poorly attended. The Principal was a gentleman of distinguished ability. According to the most reliable information, the entire colored population of California is 4,086. A tax of one dollar levied upon each person would purchase the Institute, and leave a surplus of eighty-six dollars in the treasury; and with the probable success of an application for endowment by the legislature of $5,000, would place the Institute on a firm basis, and establish a school of a high order.

Mr. E. F. Shorter said he was one of the founders of the Institute. The land on which it is situated, embracing some four or five acres, could have been obtained at one time for fifteen hundred dollars. He also stated that he was well acquainted with the owner of the site, who resided in San Francisco. The location was well adapted for a high school. The Institute was first established by subscription, the teacher receiving fifty dollars per month for his services. After employing two teachers, the Institute had obtained the eminent services of the present able and experienced incumbent, Mr. E. P. Cassey. W. A. Smith petitioned the Public School Commissioners for assistance towards sustaining the Institute, and they responded by granting a subsidy of fifty dollars per month in furtherance of that laudable object, the resident children to derive the benefit thereof gratuitously.

Mr. R. A. Hall, who attended the Convention for specific purposes, thought the present was the culminating time. Education was the theme that...
demanded our chiefest attention and labor. Now was the time when it became a paramount duty, with us to carry out our resolves; to long for knowledge, without putting our shoulders to the wheel in earnest, would never help to raise us out of the slough of ignorance. It was with pride that he saw the master spirits of the nation devoting their attention and assiduity to the education of the Freedmen, which, when obtained, would enable them to stand erect as men, compete with, contend for, and demand their rights as men, irrespective of race or complexion.

Mr. Suggs next addressed the Convention. He endorsed the resolution for many reasons. When a slave in Louisiana, after having five times, he was presented to a slaveholder. Upon one occasion, when a gentleman, a friend of his master, was learning him the A, B, C, he was corrected by the master. The gentleman was astonished. He learned, under the light of the fire, to write. Ruggles, in eloquent terms, urged when white men slandered his race, and felt grieved that some colored men did not refute the charges. What was one dollar to give twenty dollars towards the purchase, he would give fifty dollars. He wished it to revert, in all ages to come, that the Pacific coast could boast such splendid school advantages.

Resolved, That the report be adopted by sections. Carried.

The following is the Report and Resolutions:

The Business Committee having duly considered the importance of the duty assigned them, respectfully present the following preamble, resolutions, and recommendations, as their report:

Whereas, This Government has just recovered from the terrible stroke of a just retribution of Almighty God, for the fearful crime of slavery, which has brought the nation reeling and tottering upon the brink of ruin, where his highest hopes trembling in the great balance of immovable events; and, whereas, in the fearful reckoning of Divine Justice our nation was not guilty, and God's gracious hand stayed the destructive and devastating war, upon his crimson wings, and the voice of the turtle of peace is heard in our land, therefore,

Resolved—That we rejoice in the suppression of the war and the overthrow of the rebellion in our land—the most formidable ever waged against justice and humanity.

Resolved—That we rejoice that this war has resulted in the overthrow of slavery, and its total extinction by Federal legislation, in an amendment to the Constitution.

Resolved—That we have a new love for the American Union, and shall ever willingly lay down our lives in defence of the great principles of our Republic—fore the glory of our country, the freedom of our race, the rights of our citizenship, and the preservation of the Union—maintained upon Republican principles.

Resolved—That if the American Government will become sufficiently just to accord us the full rights of citizenship, we will flock to the American standard by hundreds of thousands at the call of the nation, to support those principles against enemies of the country—domestic or foreign.

Resolved—That, as five millions of our race are equally interested with the rest of the American people in the great principles that are now involved in the issues of the nation, therefore it is our highest and most sacred duty to bring into requisition every available means to assist us in the great contest for our claims, to manhood and "Equality before the Law."

Resolved—That we believe the most potent elements any class of men can wield in the defence of their natural and political rights, are virtue, patriotism, political franchise, and social unity.

Resolved—That we recommend our brethren in this State, and throughout the country, to aim to develop the highest state of Christian morals, by establishing true Christian and moral institutions, under the direction of wise and pious leaders.

Resolved—That we especially recommend our brethren to maintain temperance among men.

Resolved—That we recommend our brethren to aim at the same high order of
education developed among the white race, and to make such persistent efforts, on the public educational provisions, and to establish such institutions, as will insure to us and our children the desirable condition.

10. That wealth is an element of social power necessary to raise any people to an independent and influential position, and that we, as a people, should particularly direct our aims, our efforts, and pursuits, to its honorable acquisition.

11. That no people can acquire wealth except they engage in those business pursuits by which it is originally produced.

12. That the real source of the production of wealth, is agriculture, manufacturing, mechanism, commerce, and scientific professions.

13. That we recommend to our people to engage more generally in these independent pursuits of industry.

14. That no people can secure the highest respect of others while they put themselves at their feet to be their dependents.

15. That a State Executive Committee of one member from each Judicial District be appointed by this Convention, to whom shall be referred the unfinished business and the duty of carrying out the work organized and commenced by this Convention.

16. That while we acknowledge the unserving fidelity to the Government, we are greatly dissatisfied with the policy pursued by the Government, (since our immortal and glorious Lincoln fell); respecting those issues of the country that most immediately affects the colored Americans.

17. That no Christian nation with any real sense of justice or humanity, could ask a class of people to assist in saving the Government from destruction, and after they had sacrificed hundreds and thought their lives to that effect, to then deny them of the common rights that nature has endowed them with; rights involving principles upon which the Government founded its political institutions, pronounced by them to be the natural rights of all men.

18. That it is the imperative duty of parents, or guardians of children, to have them so far as possible, educated in some branch of business pursuits, by which they may be producers.

19. That as memorialization is the common medium of appeal, by the American citizen, to the law making power, against all political grievances, therefore it is our right, and duty, to petition the Legislature of this State to have the State Constitution so amended as to secure its colored citizens the right of suffrage.

20. That we appeal to them for our right of suffrage upon the principle of human justice, taught in the great Divine Rule, "do unto others, as you would they should do unto you," upon the principles of man's natural equal rights; on the principles of maintaining the principles of the Republic, and claim upon every true American, true Union loving man, Patriot and Christian, for their signature to our petition.

21. That an able and faithfully conducted press is indispensable for the public vindication of our equal rights before the law, and to fully and impartially advocate our general interests.

22. That there be a committee appointed by this Convention to prepare an address to the people of this State, on the subjects of general education, industrial pursuits and moral institutions, the said address to be published, with our minutes, in pamphlet form, by a publishing committee. (Referred to public committee.)

23. That this Convention recommend to our people in this State and throughout the country, to set apart through their religious leaders, a day of fasting and prayer, that Almighty God may control the nation's conduct, at its next meeting, to ensure its legislation in favor of justice, humanity and equal rights to all men.

24. That members of the State Executive Committee be instructed, and the members of this Convention, be requested to form County Executive Committees throughout the State, auxiliary to the State Committee, to further the objects and effects the object of this Convention.


Adjourned until the extra session, at 7 o'clock, P.M.
Mr. Hubbard stated that since the colored citizens of California last assembled in Convention several of our friends and representatives were formerly joined with us in our deliberations, had been removed by death and by permission of this Convention he would, on Friday evening, deliver an oration on the duties, characters and services of the late Mr. H. Newby, John Prentiss, Jr., John G. Wilson and Wm. N. Bedford. He then moved that a Committee on Condolence be appointed. Carried.

The Chair appointed Messrs. J. H. Hubbard, P. Kellingworth, and R. B. Small.

Moved that we adjourn, to meet to-morrow morning in Mr. Briggs' church, on Sixth street. Carried.

Prayer by the Chaplain.

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY

Morning Session, Friday, October 27th.

Convention met this day in M.E. Church, Sixth street, at 9 o'clock. The President called the House to order.

Prayer by the Chaplain.

Ball called. Minutes of last meeting read.

While the Secretary was reading the minutes, Mr. Yates moved that only so much of the minutes as related to the business of the present meeting be read. Carried.

Mr. Yates moved that the 16th resolution be re-committed to the Committee, with instructions to amend. He said we were not in a position to dictate to Government; we were not able to judge what was to come. President Johnson has the ghost of John Tyler to warn him against treachery; the living shade of Millard Fillmore to bind him to the principles he professed, and the Constitution to define his every act, it is impossible for us to throw cold water on what has been accomplished. The time was not very distant when the black man was looked upon as a political leper, and for our friends to defend us was political death. More has been accomplished within the last four years than it ever expected to see in my day and time. We are willing to pay the price of liberty, as has been fully demonstrated.

Mr. Moore urged that the time had arrived for men to speak out boldly, and let the world know what we think as men. He is opposed to anything like crouching. We have a perfect right to read and criticize the acts of our Government. President Johnson will hear the appeal of the most humble black man, who properly presented, Messrs. Small and Clark advocated the passage of the resolution, in some well timed remarks.

R. A. Hall hoped that all sensitiveness would be laid aside, and that all business before the House would be deliberated upon and be disposed of as speedily as possible.

Mr. Yates withdrew his motion to re-commit. Resolutions 12, 13 and 14, were referred to the Committee on that subject. Carried.

Mr. Yates offered the following resolution:

Resolved—that we sympathize with the Fenian movement to liberate Ireland from the yoke of British bondage, and when we have obtained our full citizenship in this country, we should be willing to assist our Irish brethren in their struggle for national independence; and 40,000 colored troops could be raised to butt the horns off the hypocritical English bull.

Mr. Yates was opposed to English Autocracy, for as soon as the war broke out that "cotton superseded wool," favoring Fenianism, beliefed in universal liberty, that the Irish position was one of oppression, alike with the slave. The assertion was made that the slave would fight, but the freemen would not. We nobly refuted that in the glorious 54th Massachusetts, which was composed of different material from any regiment that preceded it; many of the men were formerly slaves, and to be taken as a prisoner, Andersonville would have been of different material from any regiment that preceded it; many of the men were formerly slaves, and the only difference between them and the colored men of the same regiment was that the colored man could do what the white man would not.

The resolution was not introduced for any buncombe; he was serious in advocating the resolution. The resolution was not introduced for any buncombe; he was serious in advocating the resolution. The resolution was not introduced for any buncombe; he was serious in advocating the resolution. Mr. Hubbals opposed the resolution. He considered the Irishman the most beneficent of all nations; were controlled largely by the Roman Church. We will forget self to extend a helping hand across the ocean to the Irishman.

Mr. Small favored the resolution, and thought one of the proudest things we nobly refuted that in the glorious 54th Massachusetts, which was composed of different material from any regiment that preceded it; many of the men were formerly slaves, and to be taken as a prisoner, Andersonville would have been of different material from any regiment that preceded it; many of the men were formerly slaves, and the only difference between them and the colored man could do what the white man would not.

Mr. Small favored the resolution, and thought one of the proudest things we did. We are not in a position to amend. He said we were not in a position to amend. He said we were not in a position to amend. He said we were not in a position to amend. He said we were not in a position to amend. He said we were not in a position to make theistration, as evidence of the progress in wealth, morals, education and industrial pursuits of the colored people of California. That we have made and are making continual progress in all the above, is undeniable, and we offer our

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY

Afternoon Session.

The President, F. G. Barabooes, in the Chair.

Prayer by Rev. J. H. Hubbard.

Ball called. Minutes of last meeting read and approved.

J. R. Sturkey, Chairman of Committee on Statistics, presented the following report, which was adopted:

Statistical Reports

The Committee on Statistical information, in presenting their report, beg leave to say that they regret the limited means which have been afforded them to base a report such as they would like to present to the Convention, as evidence of the progress in wealth, morals, education and industrial pursuits of the colored people of California. That we have made and are making continual progress in all the above, is undeniable, and we offer our
Religious and Moral Institutions

Mechanics, Manufacturers, etc.

CALIFORNIA, 1865

Soap and Tallow Manufactory ................................ 1
Fancy Soap Manufactory ...................................... 1
Hair Restorative ............................................... 1
Fancy Hair Workers .......................................... 2
Laundries ...................................................... 10
Junk Stores ................................................... 2
Teamsters ....................................................... 20
Real Estate Agents .......................................... 2
Barbers .........................................................

Liberal Professions

Clergymen .................................................... 10
Editors ........................................................... 2

Total Wealth of City and County, $750,000

SACRAMENTO COUNTY

Number of Adults in City and County ..................... 470
Number that cannot read or write .................................. 375
Number [of] Children in City and County .................. 150
Number attending school ....................................... 49
Number not receiving instruction ................................ 101
Sabbath Schools, membership of ................................ 44
Eight Teachers, two Superintendents .......................... 10

A library belonging to each school, consisting of 350 volumes.

SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY

Number of Churches ......................................... 1
A.M.E. Church, Rev. J. H. Hubbard, Pastor in charge, 32 members.
Baptist connection, Rev. Amos Johnson, 22 members.

Number of Mechanics ........................................... 47
Farmers ......................................................... 120
Stock-raisers ................................................... 800

Number of Public Schools .................................... 10
Public Day Schools ............................................ 2
Public Night Schools .......................................... 2
Colored Children in Catholic Schools ....................... 60 Adults

Livingstone Institute

Funds ........................................................... $3,000

Caulkers' Association

Members ......................................................... 9

Business Pursuits

Mechanics, Manufacturers, etc.

Painters ......................................................... 4
House Carpenters ............................................. 4
Ship Carpenters .............................................. 3
Caulkers ....................................................... 9
Boot Makers ................................................... 4
Tinslers ........................................................ 2
Brick Layers ................................................... 2
Plasters ......................................................... 2
Blacksmiths .................................................... 1
House Makers .................................................. 2
Sengar Makers ................................................ 2
Timers .......................................................... 1
Upholsterers ................................................... 2
Dress Makers ................................................... 10
Seamstresses .................................................. 5
Milliners ........................................................ 3
Ladies Hair Dressers ........................................... 9
Tobacco Manufacturers ........................................ 4

No persons in the county supported by the public, or benevolent societies.

Amount of Church and public property belonging to colored residents .......... $4,600
But one colored person in the County Hospital.

Amount of real estate and other property ........................................ $137,245
Total amount of property represented by the people of color of this city and county, as far as can be ascertained .......... $161,845

YOLO, COLUSA AND TEHAMA COUNTIES

Made by Basil Campbell

Adults ......................................................... 16 Children 5
Total population .............................................. 21
Number who can read and write .................................. 15
Property owned in the county .................................. $17,000
Farmers and Stock-raisers ..................................... 5
Stock-raisers without farms ................................... 4
No school in the county.

As there are no delegates from the adjoining counties, of Colusa and Tehama, I beg leave to report the...
condition of those counties, as far as I am acquainted. In the county of Colusa there are
Adults ........ 12     Children ........ 18
Total population .... 30
Number who can read and write .......... 5
Property owned in the county .......... $22,300
Farmers and Stock-raisers .......... 7
Stock-raisers without farms .......... 2
No school in the county.

In the county of Tehama there are,
Adults ........ 17     Children ........ 21
Total population .... 38
Number who can read and write .......... 15
Property owned in the county .......... $29,300
Farmers and Stock-raisers .......... 7
Stock-raisers without farms .......... 2
No school in the county.

Recapitulation of the three counties

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Number that can read and write</th>
<th>Property Owned</th>
<th>Farmers and Stock-raisers</th>
<th>Stock-raisers without farms</th>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>17</td>
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</table>

EL DORADO COUNTY

Male Adults .... 190
Female Adults .... 75
Children ........ 40
Total ........ 305
Number that can read and write .......... 223

Mechanics .......... 4
Miners .......... 50
Farmers .......... 14
Hair Dressers .... 10
Laborers .......... 40
Aggregate amount taxable property .......... $75,000
One Church, owning two lots.
No school in the county.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY

Total population .... 175
Real estate and personal property .......... $75,000
One Church, of the Methodist persuasion.

One colored school, sustained by the Common School Fund, P. W. Cassey, teacher. He received for his services $50 per month. In addition to this, P. W. Cassey keeps a boarding-school, which, at the present time, is well patronized. There is an educational institution in

MARIPOSA COUNTY

Number of Families .......... 10
Children .......... 20
Quartz Miners ........ 10
Ranchers .......... 20
Placers .......... 5
Blacksmiths .......... 2
Barbers .......... 1
Painters .......... 1
Boot-maker .......... 1
Tailor .......... 1
Estimated value of property .......... $20,000

MERCEDES COUNTY

There being no delegate from this, the adjoining county, Mr. Rogers made the following report:

ONE SCHOOL, established by the Board of Education, owing to the limited amount of money in the School Fund the parents are assessed $1.50 per month for each scholar. In several districts where there are not ten colored children, those that are living in such districts are growing up in ignorance.

There are no colored churches.

Rev. P. KELLINGWORTH
Delegate from Sonoma.

CALIFORNIA, 1865

Most of the colored people are engaged in agriculture—very few are employed as menials. They are sober, industrious, religious, and plain-dealing people.

SONOMA COUNTY

Adults ........ 10     Children ........ 20

Occupations

Farmers .......... 10
Carpenters .......... 2
Blacksmiths .......... 7
Barbers .......... 12

One church, and one school-house.

REV. P. KELLINGWORTH
Delegate from Sonoma.

MERCED COUNTY

Estimated valuation of property .......... $31,000

One school, established by the Board of Education, owing to the limited amount of money in the School Fund the parents are assessed $1.50 per month for each scholar. In several districts where there are not ten colored children, those that are living in such districts are growing up in ignorance.

There are no colored churches.

M. L. ROGERS
Delegate from Mariposa.
Report of Committee on Elective Franchise

The Secretary said that he wished to give a Homographic Chart of this Convention, and he therefore moved that each delegate be requested to furnish the following information: Time and place of birth, when arrived in this country, present place of residence, and occupation, and social or family condition. Carried.

Mr. R. A. Hall, Chairman of the Committee on Elective Franchise, presented the following:

Report of Committee on Elective Franchise

TO THE HONORABLE THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Seniors.--The undersigned, citizens of the United States and of the State of California, respectfully present to your honorable bodies, the Senate and House Assembly, this, their petition, and showing for your honorable bodies and the American people of California, to-day to their decision upon the great subject of Negro suffrage. It is the most important issue ever addressed to public opinion, and embraces the political, social and economic welfare of all classes. The action of Congress, the Supreme Court, the Executive, and the people of this country, will, in the final analysis, be determined by the action of the Legislature of the State of California.

The Baptist Church is entirely out of debt; the Methodist owes about $400. One Public School; average attendance about 20. Two Sabbath Schools, fair attendance. Mining Companies, 3; in two of which well defined ledges have been struck. The Rare Ripe Company has been incorporated, and about $2,000 has been expended upon it. The highest yield per ton, $25. No work has been done owing to some of the stock having to pass through administration. Will resume again in a few days. The morals of the people are good. No drinking saloon, billiard saloon, nor gambling dens, in the county. No professional gamblers.

Black State Conventions

Male Adults.......................... 11
Female Adults.......................... 8
Children............................... 8

CITY OF MARYSVILLE AND VICINITY
[Comprising part of Yuba County.]

Number of Adults.......................... 136
Children under five years of age............. 24
Children over five years of age.............. 26
Total.................................. 286
Estimated wealth........................ $163,600

Occupations

Barbers................................. 18
Vegetable, fruit dealers.................. 6
Fork raisers............................ 7
Soap manufacturers...................... 1
Fancy hair workers...................... 2
Druggists................................ 1
Junk dealers........................... 1
Bath house keepers...................... 3
Carpenters............................. 2
Engaged in Laundry business............. 10
Cooks.................................. 5
Farmers................................. 25
General jobbers......................... 12
Hostlers................................ 10
Seamstresses........................... 3
Dress-makers........................... 4
Public Porters........................... 11
Miners................................. 12

Number of Churches, 2—both unfinished, though occupied.

In conclusion, your Committee regret that they have not been able to present a more general report, in consequence of the small number of counties represented in the Convention, and the very short time they had to prepare the reports, and the impossibility of procuring, at the present time, sufficient information to enable your Committee to prepare a report based upon the entire colored population of the State. All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. R. Starkey,
Dr. Bryant,
W. L. Rogers,

Committee.

Constitution of California

Article II

Section 1:--Every male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State six months next preceding the election, and the county or district in which he claims his vote, thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now, or hereafter may be authorized by law: provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the Legislature, by a two-thirds concurrence vote, from admitting to the right of suffrage Indians, or the descendants of African descent, in such special cases as such a proportion of the Legislature may deem just and proper.

The report was read, and on motion to adopt, Mr. Wm. H. Hall delivered the following impressive and eloquent speech:

MR. PRESIDENT:—I have refrained from introducing upon the time of the Convention until now, but the importance of the question presented here for consideration, brings us before the American people of California, to-day to ask their decision upon the great subject of Negro suffrage. It is the most momentous issue ever addressed to public opinion, and embraces the political welfare of all parties, as well as the duration and destiny of our Republic and institutions.

Fifteen years ago, when the despotism of slavery was at the height and platitude of its power, and every interest, social and political, subserved its end, California, in drafting a Constitution as one of the sovereign States of the Union, decreed that no bondsman ever should be held by legal enactment or constitutional law within her limits. In laying down this...
broad principle of liberty and self-government, her citizens were not alike to elevate him as a brother, but they seemed to be guided by an instinct of the virtue and morality of the people, a remembrance of the Republic was breathing devout prayers to the Majesty of Heaven, and learning privilege to recollect Hooker's just emerging from the darkness of a long night into the bright political law, and the breadth and scope of Constitutions. What power upon those inimical to free labor, what can corruption whose fatherland has so long kept the undimmed fires of freedom be, permitting then of years, of corruption the experiment, through the devastations of floods and fires, and Heaven still continuing to bless the land. The motives that prompted the adoption of a free constitution in 1850, were those of policy, and are equally paramount now in the conflict of the great rebellion; she has no means to resort to her dialogal element for the enjoining of thousands of Southern chivalry, when gold and silver were like drops of precious blood oozing from a decaying paper currency, to restore confidence to the farmer, the mechanic and the merchant, and once more to unbar the closed doors of the manufactures to export their produce, and again to make the manufacturers home of commerce, the industrious toil of the same number of white freemen. They knew they owed finally and expediency and expediency slave laws, but the greater law of self-preservation outweighed all supposed obligations and conscripted this young State to freedom. Sir, we have lived and prospered under all the experiments that they have been making. Through the clouds, or the gallant Porter7 ploughing the majestic waters of patriotism who have been baptized in the grace of the emancipation proclamation, it was impolitic, at the adoption of the State Constitution, to persist in being a people by permitting the same lurking, ambitious spirits to agitate the loyal Negro, under the beneficent government they have significantly over the family of nations? Do same men believe that the temper pitiless the atrocities at Andersonville, capable to purify the Tory blood that Richmond, which laid its corner-stone amid the agony of human suffering? A mere fanaticism, not sacred enough to quiver the lips of those who rejoiced in the massacre of Union soldiers upon the bloody plains of Fort Pillow, cannot attest the fixed determination of unfeeling hearts. A thousand pandemoniums, the President, a million voices in the great variety of learning that goes to it, in effecting a mighty work and changing the tide of events; she has no sins to atone for to the hearts of men for liberty and...
and independence so brilliantly burning. Why is it the charmed land that cradled renowned Lutner and moulded the transcendent genius of Schiller? Do these people prose seer? For their love and sacrifices for liberty have illuminated all Europe and the world, from the dread outlines of past ages to the memorable revolution of 1848. Do I hear that it is the chivalric soul of gigantic France, whose own great Lafayette dedicated life and fortune to the maintenance of the rights of man? They departed from the electric arc of the Marseillaise battle hymn of liberty, or will they attempt to wipe from memory the aspirations of their sincere but dreamy Lamartine? Will we all of these people of difference of nation, of language, and of creed, have preserved the element of their support. If you are inspired by that patriotism that branded the name of America with the impress of its very fires, then all will be well. But if expediency and narrow contracted views govern your councils, and the unmistakable purpose of Divine authority be disregarded, then, like the perverse nations of old, grand and now beautiful monuments will be mingle with their mouldering decay.

After Mr. Hall concluded, Rev. Mr. Moore said:

**MR. PRESIDENT:** On rising to address this Convention upon the momentous subject of *a new basis of our claim*, the first great right of an American citizen, we are deprived of in this State by a Constitutional prohibition. I am not about to suppose of the able statesman of the Whig party who has assumed the responsibility of moulding and shaping, his eloquence, has captured every thought in the house—such an attempt would be the most votive act of my life. Yet, sir, I cannot let this great question of the franchise pass, without adding a word in behalf of our claim to that right.

I wish, sir, to make a few remarks upon the ground of our appeal to the State Legislature, and concord to make America but of our right of suffrage, which I have now taken the liberty to present the able report, made a brilliant effusion to the legislature, and the two eminent bodies to produce this State and to give me the law of this State? If candid, they will answer no. Why, then, will a Christian people commit such a flagrant wrong, when they are deprived of in this State by a Constitutional prohibition, I am sure, that for me to attempt to supercede the able body which presented that report, would be the most votive act of my life. Yet, sir, I cannot let this great question of the franchise pass, without adding a word in behalf of our claim to that right.

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**BLACK STATE CONVENTIONS**, 1865

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**CALIFORNIA, 1865**
The debate was further continued by Mr. R. H. Small, who said he would not be false to his constituents and to his principle if he did not express his sentiments of the adoption of the report and the Memorial or of the passage of the resolution, and to appeal for the people. There is nothing more powerful than eloquence to sway the minds of the people. We should, by our orators, present a stirring, eloquent appeal to the dominant race for our rights. There is nothing of greater influence than the living, breathing agent. If the press is also an important element, the periodical is greatly needed. We have many white friends whose newspapers speak nobly in our favor; but we can best tell our own story, and advocate our own cause, in the favor of adopting the report.

The conclusion of Mr. Small's remarks the report of the Committee on the subject was adopted. Rev. T. H. Ward, Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Pursuits, presented the report of the Committee, which was prefixed with appropriate remarks.

Report of the Committee on Industrial Pursuits

We, the Committee, to whom was assigned the duty of reporting on Industrial Pursuits, beg leave to submit the following:

1. That we recommend the colored people of the Pacific States and Territories, to secure farms, purchase homesteads, enter largely in mechanic and manufacturing occupations and eagerly embrace every method and opportunity which will insure profit, honor and independence.

2. That our colored traders, mechanics and manufacturers, receive from us every encouragement possible.

3. That we recommend the formation of agricultural associations, established on the principle of joint stock companies, putting the price of shares at such a rate as will make them accessible to all classes of men.

4. That we recommend the passage of the report and the Memorial or of the adoption of the resolution, and to appeal for the people. There is nothing more powerful than eloquence to sway the minds of the people. We should, by our orators, present a stirring, eloquent appeal to the dominant race for our rights. There is nothing of greater influence than the living, breathing agent. If the press is also an important element, the periodical is greatly needed. We have many white friends whose newspapers speak nobly in our favor; but we can best tell our own story, and advocate our own cause, in the favor of adopting the report.

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III—That it will effectually settle the too frequent incursions of hostile Indians.

IV.—It will greatly add to the wealth of the country, in the cultivation of adjacent lands and the development of the mineral resources of a hitherto unexplored portion of the great Pacific slope.

V.—That it will afford labor to a class of people whose sympathy, hopes and aspirations are thoroughly identified with the growth, prosperity and glory of the American Republic.
Whereas, We, the delegates chosen by the people of the city and county of Sacramento, to meet in Convention on the 25th day of Oct. 1865, and agree in conjunction with the delegates accredited from the several counties of the State of California, believe that the time has come when every man of color should aim at the elevation of his race; and to do this, we must unite in advancing measures which shall have a tendency to strengthen our influence with our more favored citizens, therefore be it

Resolved—That it is with pride we cite the fact, that in those States wherein we have the right of franchise, there is not on record an instance of our having obtained the privilege; that as we have stood by the side of the Union, Liberty and Justice, with the bayonets, so we would do with the ballots.

Resolved—That education be the conservator of liberty, we desire to have extended to our children greater educational facilities, in justice to us as a law abiding and tax paying people.

Resolved—That we emphatically condemn any course other than one calculated to promote harmony, union of thought and action amongst us, as suicidal to our interest as a people.

Resolved—That we would be untrue to our race, unless we pledged ourselves to try by all fair and peaceable means, to impress on the dominant race, that the country is only half saved, slavery only half abolished, if necessary, to obtain equal rights for our race.

Resolved—That the Fenian resolution presented yesterday be referred to the Executive Committee. Carried, unanimously.

Mr. Shorter said that Santa Clara county was with this Convention and its actions, in financial and other matters, heart and hand. He was willing to make any sacrifice for his people. He had offered his household gods on the altar of freedom—he had sons and nephews in the army. He was willing to forgive our enemies—but we want our rights.

Mr. Hoyt (by permission) addressed the Convention on matters appertain­ing to the interest of the country.

Mr. Killingworth, of Santa Rosa, said his constituents were willing to sustain the action of this Convention, by their means, and by greater sacrifices, if necessary. He was born a slave, as was also his wife. He is seventy-five years old. At sixty-two he paid $3,000 for himself and wife, in Atlanta, Georgia. Lost his wife in this country, and her bones lie in the free soil of El Dorado. He is willing to make any sacrifice for his people. Never received any schooling; what little he knew he picked up. He wished the Negro would profit by study. The black man, although people of color, are not always our best friends. He is now enjoying his best days in freedom and amongst his children. He is very old now, and must soon depart; he would advise, but go to sleep and wake in glory with the angels.

Rev. M. C. Briggs said this Convention had given him more gratification than any similar assemblage he had ever attended. It is the opening of the gates of the colored race. Was satisfied that the deliberations and actions of this Convention would convince all of the ability of colored men to legislate and claim their rights. He was pleased with the religious reverence with which the resolutions had been received. On the subject of education, he was opposed to asking for an endowment; would consider that a precedent for sectional schools. Claim all your rights, from the primary to the high school. He rejoiced the Convention had not met in his church last night. It was a misunderstanding on the part of the Sexton. He expected they would have met there, and they might have used as much gas as was wanted. He also said that suffrage belongs to all men, whether foreign or to the negro born. As regards the Fenian resolution presented yesterday, it may be a matter of expediency, but he did not always feel justified in using policy. He always stood up for justice and principle, and if justice fails, he is willing to fall with it. After some more pertinent remarks, Mr. Briggs took his seat.

Mr. Moore moved that the Fenian resolution offered yesterday be referred to the Business Committee. Carried.

Whereupon he presented the following substitute, which was adopted:

Whereas, The colored citizens of California sympathize with the oppressed of all nations, and every race and clime, and express our willingness to extend our aid to every effort of the oppressed to free themselves from bondage, whether it is personal servitude or political disfranchisement, we therefore resolve

that, The results of the late unfortunate and unsuccessful revolutions of Poland and Hungary to free these countries from the tyranny of Russia and Austria, cause regret and commiseration to every friend of human liberty.

That the prejudice against foreigners born in America, whose prejudices are excited against us by the mistaken Democratic party, every effort to rid Ireland of English bondage, and establish Irish Independence, are matters of our national adoption.

34. That the conduct of many of the leading men of Great Britain during our late war was hypocritical—against the true opinions of the English peo-
ple, and showing that the aristocracy are governed by interest more than by principle.

Moved, by W. H. Ball, that so much of the report of the Committee on Education as refers to asking the Legislature for an endowment to the San Jose School be struck out. Carried.

Mr. Hoyt advised the forming of joint stock companies for farming and other purposes. He had had experience in some of the Western States. In one countries joint stock companies for agricultural purposes were very successful—the individuals generally made more money than those who worked separate-ly.

The Committee appointed to nominate a State Executive Committee, presented the following Report:

There are fifteen Judicial Districts in this State, all of which are not represented in this Convention, and we believe some have a very small population. Our Committee have therefore made the selection according to their best judgment:

1st District—Los Angeles, San Bernadino, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Barbara—no nomination.


4th District—Northern part of San Francisco—John J. Moore.

5th District—San Jose, Tulome, Mono, and Alpin—Mr. W. Lee.

6th District—Sacramento and Yolo—Basil Campbell.

7th District—Marin, Mopa, Solana, Sonoma, and Lake—ed. Hatton.

8th District—Klamath, Del Norte, and Humboldt—no nomination.

9th District—Shasta, Siskiyou, and Trinity—J. J. Pindell.

10th District—Sutter, Yuba, Colusa, and Sierra—Edward P. Duplex.

11th District—El Dorado, Amador, and Calaveras—James Cefos.

12th District—Southern part of San Francisco, and San Mateo—A. A. Hall.

13th District—Fresno, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus, and Tulare—Miss. I. Rogers.

14th District—Nevada and Placer—D. D. Carter.


The Committee recommended the following resolutions:

I.—That two additional members be appointed to represent the State at large.

II.—The Committee to complete their organization by selecting their officers and making all necessary appointments.

III.—The Committee have power to fill all vacancies.


The report was adopted, with the recommendations.

On motion of E. A. Clarke, P. A. Bell, of San Francisco, and W. H. Harper, of Sacramento, were appointed to represent the State at large.

Rev. J. J. Moore read an instructive essay on our moral, religious and political duties, which was referred to the Publishing Committee. The President left his seat, and it was occupied by Mr. H. Hall, when it was moved that a vote of thanks be tendered to the Executive Committee of Sacramento for the arrangements they made for holding the Convention. Carried.

Moved, that a vote of thanks be tendered to Rev. M. C. Briggs for the gratuitous use of his Church yesterday. Carried.

Moved, that a unanimous vote of thanks be tendered to the President of this Convention, for the judicious manner in which he has presided over the deliberations of the Convention, the impartiality of his decisions, and the

ability with which he has performed the arduous duties of his office. Carried by acclamation.

Mr. Hall, on retiring from the Chair, which had been temporarily vacated by the President, said:

In tendering you, sir, the complimentary resolutions offered by the gentlemen from El Dorado, (Mr. Small,) it affords me the highest gratifica-tion to perceive by their import, and the unanimity of their adoption by this Convention, a sense of appreciation and gratitude for the faithful services you have ever devoted to the elevation of your race. I am not inclined to egotistical commendation, but when I see the representatives of a people, hitherto charged with envy and distrust, indicating that the sacrifices of long trials and duties are duly remembered, it fills me with the hope of the black men who are to occupy the places now filled by us. Trusting that you may be animated to press forward in the noble work of liberty, let each one of us faithfully perform our duty without pausing, until our labors are rewarded by the bestowal of that right which, under the glorious principles of the Constitution of the United States, is the only patent of manhood issued, viz.: the right of Elective Franchise.

After the address by the President, it was moved that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Vice Presidents and Secretaries, for the able discharge of their duties.

Moved that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to Rev. J. J. Moore, Chairman of the Business Committee, and the members thereof, for their prompt and efficient duties in producing and arranging business. The above motions were carried by acclamation.

The President then inquired if there was any further business before the Convention, and no response being made, he called upon the Chaplain, Father Kellingleigh, to pronounce a benediction.

The Chaplain requested to join in singing the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Me eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.
After which he pronounced the benediction, and the President solemnly declared the Convention adjourned sine die.

P. C. Barbadoes, 
President.

W. H. Harper, 1st Vice President.

Rasell Campbell, 2d Vice President.

F. A. Bell, Secretary.

W. H. Christopher, { Asst Sec'y.

E. F. Duplex, { 

DELEGATES

San Francisco


O. W. Ruggles, R. A. Hall.

J. R. Starkey, E. W. Parker.

M. H. Hall, P. Anderson.

M. H. Yates, E. P. Milton.

M. N. Collins, represented by proxy.

J. Smallwood, represented by proxy.

J. Madison Bell, not present.

Sacramento


A. D. Berghardt.

Santa Clara

R. F. Shorter, J. Madden.

Napa

W. H. Christopher.

El Dorado

J. Cofos, R. E. Small.


Sierra

P. A. Bell, proxy for G. W. Smith.

ADDRESS BY THE STATE CONVENTION OF COLORED CITIZENS

TO THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA

Fellow-Citizens:
The Convention of colored citizens, assembled in Sacramento on the 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th of October, present their claim for equal rights before the law, and proceed to show on what principles they predicate their claim, and why those rights should be awarded them in common with all other citizens.

First--As freemen by creation, by the laws of California, and by the laws of the Republic. The Declaration of Independence, the great charter of the Government, on which is based our National Constitution, and all the laws of our country says "all men are created equal," and, as a sequence, are entitled to equal privileges or "inalienable rights" with which they are "endowed by their Creator," and "among those rights" (others being connected therewith) "are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The other rights which are indissolubly connected with the foregoing, and without which those expressed would become a nullity, are the protection of the laws, and an equal voice in framing those laws and choosing the adminis-

trators thereof. The Constitution and laws of California make all men free, slavery or involuntary servitude is forbidden within her borders, hence all whose citizenship can be established are fully entitled to equal rights before the law. Slavery existed for three quarters of a century and was sanctioned by the Government; it was sustained by compromises, not by the Constitution, until the Government declared that slavery and Republican principles were incompatible with each other and could not co-exist, and made it illegal.

Then, to effect that object, and to establish a Republic based on Freedom, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, and the Constitutional Amendments, abolishing slavery for ever from the land, were introduced, These positions and facts are known, and need no argument from us to establish them.

Second--We claim the privileges of citizenship by right of birth, as natives of the soil, against whom no attainder can exist. The former slavery of a portion of our race works no corruption of blood in them; they are now freemen, and consequently citizens, and as such are subject to all the liabilities and entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens.

Our citizenship being established, we maintain that there are other stronger reasons why the rights which are in equity guaranteed to all citizens should not be withheld from us. We are loyal to the Government, and yield willing obedience to the powers that be. No taunt of treason lurks within the bosom of our race; no charge of disloyalty has ever been brought against one having Negro blood in his veins. Our love of country is proverbial; our devotion to the land of our birth, its customs, habits and institutions, and our reverence for the laws which govern us, are unquestioned. We have given evidence of our fealty to the Union by the arduous labors which we have performed at our country's call, and by the sacrifice of thousands of lives to preserve intact the Republic of the United States before the world, as exemplified in this Government. Notwithstanding the ignominy with which we have been treated by the American people, we have ever maintained a spirit of forgiveness, and a willingness to sustain and defend our reputation as peace-loving, law-abiding citizens, and a desire to perpetuate the name and glory of our common country.

Third--We assert our right to the immunities of citizenship by our intelligence and moral worth, our reputation for truthfulness, the religious and devotional characteristics of our race, and our ability to understand and appreciate the principles of the Government under which we live. We accept, and defy contradiction, and the criminal, sanitary and eleemosynary statistics of the country will sustain our assertion, that of the colored population throughout the United States, there are fewer criminals and paupers than among any other class of the community. We are a self-sustaining community, and no burden on the body politic, while we contribute to the general expenses of Federal and State Governments.

Fourth--We claim the Elective Franchise on the universally conceded ground that representation and taxation should accompany each other. By representation is not meant the mere fact of being included in the apportionments, but by having a voice in choosing representatives. We are taxed in common with all other citizens. We pay cheerfully not only the State and Municipal tax on property and for business purposes, but we also pay our tax, Poll tax, and all others which are assessed. We do not demand at that. We live under a wise, liberal and beneficent Government, which extends its parental protection, like the sunlight of heaven, on all who come within its sphere. We are willing to aid in sustaining the Government by means, as our brethren have by arms, we only claim those rights which should be awarded to all citizens of the Republic. We also claim additional educational facilities for our children. By the present and unjust and partial laws of our country's call, and by the sacrifice of thousands of lives to preserve intact the Republic of the United States before the world, as exemplified in this Government. Notwithstanding the ignominy with which we have been treated by the American people, we have ever maintained a spirit of forgiveness, and a willingness to sustain and defend our reputation as peace-loving, law-abiding citizens, and a desire to perpetuate the name and glory of our common country.

Fellow-Citizens--We present to you our views on this important subject, and refer you to the proceedings of our Convention for a fuller explanation of our action on these important subjects.
We call your attention to the various subjects which were under the deliberation of the Convention.

First—And most important, is the position we took as regards Truth, Virtue and Christian piety. Although the discussion of these subjects was not the primary cause for which the Convention was called, yet they overbalanced all other subjects, for without them no good can be accomplished. We took high grounds on these subjects, and we earnestly invite your attention to the report of the Committee on Public Morals, and the resolutions pertaining thereto introduced by the Business Committee, and we feel confident that your mature judgment will endorse the action of your representatives.

Second—The Elective Franchise demanded a large portion of our deliberations. This is an important subject, as relating to our interests in this country and our rights as men and citizens. With prayerful consideration we enter upon our duty, and our minds were sorely exercised in view of the great responsibility which rested on us. We commend to your notice the action of the Convention, the able report of the Committee on that subject, the convention argument produced, and the powerful speeches made on the occasion.

Third—The education of our offspring was not neglected. You are doubtless well aware of the disabilities we labor under as regards the educational progress of the rising generation. In consequence of the unrightful interpretation and deviation from the law, in many localities our children are growing up in ignorance. We call upon you to use your influence, in your respective localities, to make sure of the benefits of the Public Schools. We are of the opinion that education is the foundation of Virtue and religion instilled into the youthful mind. The principal, Professor Peter W. Casey, is well known in this State, and by scholarly acquirements and Christian character he is eminently fitted for his position. That, however, should not cause us to lessen our efforts to obtain a repeal.

Fourth—We next call your attention to the report of the Committee on Industrial pursuits. The subjects introduced, and the action taken thereon, merit and should receive careful consideration. To gain an eminence in the new field of political equality, toward which our journey tends, we must prove ourselves equal in art, industry and labor, as well as in knowledge and piety, to all others. We must not be satisfied with mediocrity, we must endeavor to excel.

Fifth—On the subject of Statistics we are not as full as we would wish. In consequence of the limited attendance at the Convention, the Committee on that subject had not sufficient materials on which to work. Their report, however, is alike instructive and interesting, and although limited, it is reliable.

Sixth—We have organized a State Executive Committee, consisting of men who are well known throughout the State for their ability, unting industry, and devoted to our cause and the welfare of mankind.

Seventh—We have pledged our fealty to the Government as order loving, law-abiding citizens. We are responsible for your loyalty, and fell proud of our responsibility.

In conclusion—Brethren, we urge you to continue the good work we have auspiciously commenced. Form committees in your respective Counties, muster and encourage them by your irreproachable conduct, by your industry and devotion to the cause of Truth, Virtue and Christian piety.

REFERENCE NOTES
1. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was created as a Federal agency under the War Department by an act of Congress, passed March 3, 1865. Its existence as a separate branch of the national government was extended by various acts of Congress until June 30, 1872. It was disestablished by an act of Congress, passed March 3, 1872. It was disestablished by an act of Congress, passed March 3, 1872.
2. The Fenian Movement was a secret revolutionary society, organized around 1858 in Ireland and the United States to achieve Irish separation from England by arms. It went under many names, including the Fenian Brotherhood and the Irish-American Brotherhood. John O'Mahony, one of the movement in the United States, gave the society its name, which was reminiscent of the ancient Irish military corps of Fenians.

3. Andersonville was the notorious Confederate prison in southeastern Georgia for Union prisoners, who were packed together with little food and hardly any medicine. From June to September 1864, 8,589 prisoners died in Andersonville.

4. Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) was the famous Irish liberator, orator, and abolitionist. The reference is to John Joseph Hughes (1797-1864), Roman Catholic prelate. Hughes claimed to reprobate slavery and yet he opposed the manifesto of his Irish friends, Daniel O'Connell and Theophilus Mathew, who urged the American Irish to vote against the slave interest (1842). On one occasion, after traveling through the South, slavery ceased to shock him and he wondered if emancipation would not be detrimental to blacks. When the Civil War came, he accepted the conflict as a fact and encouraged the support of the Union. During the notorious anti-black Draft Riots of New York City in 1863, however, he invited the rioters, of whom a large proportion were Irish, to his Madison Avenue residence. From a chair in the balcony, clad in purple robes and other insignia of office, he gave them his blessing and urged them to "stop these proceedings and support the law."

5. Joseph Hooker (1814-1879), West Point graduate and Union general in the Civil War, had earlier gained attention for his gallantry in the Mexican War. During the Civil War he distinguished himself in subordinate commands in the Peninsula campaign, at the second battle of Bull Run, and in the Antietam Campaign. Made a brigadier general in September 1862, he later succeeded to the command of the Army of the Potomac in January 1863.

6. David Dixon Porter (1813-1891), American admiral, led the mortar flotilla of the fleet commanded by D. G. Farragut in the successful assault on New Orleans (1862) and in 1863 contributed to U. S. Grant's success in the Vicksburg campaign. For these services on the Mississippi he was made a rear admiral.

7. In October 1814, Massachusetts, acting in behalf of her sister New England states, issued a call for the Hartford Convention, which gathering was designed to halt continued New England participation in the War of 1812 and possible secession from the Union. Although the Convention never assembled, its association with such ideas as state-rights, secession and nullification discredited its aims and led to the ruin of the Federalist Party.

8. In 1805, Massachusetts, acting in behalf of her sister New England states, issued a call for the Hartford Convention, which gathering was designed to halt continued New England participation in the War of 1812 and possible secession from the Union. Although the Convention never assembled, its association with such ideas as state-rights, secession and nullification discredited its aims and led to the ruin of the Federalist Party.

9. American Revolutionary patriot and signer of the Declaration of Independence, George Walton (1741-1804) was later governor of Georgia (1779-1780, 1789-1790) and briefly U.S. senator from 1795 to 1796.

10. The reference is to Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), German dramatist, poet, and historian and one of the greatest of German literary figures.

11. The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which got under way on August 24, 1572, involved the mass killing of French Protestant (Huguenot) leaders. It was preceded, on August 22, by an attempt ordered by Catherine De Medici on the life of Admiral Coligny. When this attempt failed, plans were made for a general massacre.

12. Phillip II (1527-1559) was the King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily (1556-1598) and, as Phillip I, King of Portugal (1580-1598). He ascended the throne on the abdication of his father, Emperor Charles I of Spain and V of the Holy Roman Empire. During Philip's reign persecution and the Inquisition were employed to eliminate any resistance to his policy of centralizing power under an absolute monarchy.

13. George Jeffreys (1645-1689), first Baron of Wem, was a judge noted for his merciless cruelty. He was responsible for the judicial murder of Algernon Sidney (1622-1693), the English republican and opponent of Oliver Cromwell's dictatorship, and the brutal trials involving Richard Baxter (1615-1691), the nonconformist clergyman and others. One day during the Bloody Assizes, in the western counties, he caused nearly two hundred to be hanged and some eight hundred transported, and many more imprisoned or whipped. Jeffreys was later imprisoned and died in the Tower of London.

14. The reference is to Joseph Story (1779-1845), lawyer and congressman whose profound legal scholarship won him considerable prominence. In 1811 (at the age of thirty-two), he was appointed an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, the youngest person ever to hold that position.

15. John Marshall (1755-1835) was fourth chief justice of the United States Supreme Court (1801-1835). William McKandies Guinn (1805-1885), politician and Indian fighter, from California (1851-1857), was a proslavery Democrat who denounced the Proviso of 1846, which provided for the exclusion of slavery in California, and strongly supported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854.