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W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1796.

Selections.

GREAT FUNERAL.

Dead, in Richmond, Va., on the 3d inst., of a severe attack of the Great Union Army, in convulsions the most violent—in contortions and writhings the most painful—The Foul Spirit of Secession. It was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1860, and though but four years old it at one time possessed great vigor, but of late it has been in a declining condition. This mortal monster, though cut off in its childhood, lived long enough to work great wickedness in the nation. It ravaged the land with fire and sword, it drank the life-blood of millions of men, and filled the whole country with lamentations of widows and orphans. It at last grew so detestable that even its enemies, its foster-parents, showed the utmost resentment whenever called by its name, and now it is dead there—are none so poor to do it reverence.
The funeral ceremonies will take place at Charleston, S. C., on the 11th of April, when a Grand Procession will be formed.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

THE DEMON OF REBELLION,
Driven in a flaming Car by Ignorance, Arrogance and Envy.

JEFF. DAVIS and HIS CABINET,
With Devils around their necks.

THE REBEL CONGRESS,
Two and Two, each with Cap and Bells.

THE SPIRIT OF NULLIFICATION,
As Chief Physician.

PAUL. DEANERS,
Slavery. State Sovereignty,
Anarchy.

HIS SATANIC MAJESTY,
(With his tail between his legs) as Chief Mourner.

THE GREAT COPPERHEAD SERPENT,
With his fangs drawn and head buried by the Goddess of Liberty.

Twenty-Two Hundred Knights of the Golden Circle,
led by Clement Vallandigham in sackcloth, with beards and helmets.

THE GODDESS OF DISCORD—In Weepers.
In her right hand a torch expiring—in her left a bloody broken sword.

BENEDICT ARNOLD and AARON BURN,
With standard—Motto: "Birds of a feather flock together."

THE SOUTHERNER WHO WAS EQUAL TO FIVE YANKEES. (very grand.)
Standard—Motto: "We've driven the enemy into Richmond!"

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "SUPERIOR RACE."
In looking Car, bearing this Motto—"We retreat only when we may not be contaminated by the touch of inferior models."

SECESSION NEWSPAPER SCRIBBLERS,
With Motto—"We told you so!"

A BODILY OF THE ENGLISH TORY NOBILITY,
With Motto—"The Bulwark of Republicanism has burst, and blows us all to the devil."

NASSAU BLOCKADE RUNNERS,
Motto—"Our occupation's gone."

BRITISH BUILDERS OF REBEL CRUISERS,
Motto—"The Confederacy has gone to look after the Alabama."

THE GENIUSES OF THE NEW YORK NEWS, BERNARD BROWN, & CO.,
In their original blackness—Motto: "The days of our years are few and evil."

A CART, piled with Confederate Currency and Bonds, in flames, marked "Waste Paper."

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.
Standard—Motto: "Since I was so soon done for, I wonder how I was begun for."

MR. NASSY "MAKES A DELEGASHUN UV HISSELF" AND VISITS THE PRESIDENT.

INT'S REST, (which is in the state of) No Georgey, May 15, 1865.

All the states of the North, and the best of them recently subjugated, all the Societies, Associations and Churches that ever I heard of, have sent delegations for the purpose of volunteering 2nd advice Jenson, the no President. Feel that No Georgey should not be behind in the advice business, I elected myself a delegashun, borrowed a clem shirt, and traveled 2 delegashun. I want anzuz ex "a delegashun from No Georgey," and want to be unshamed in 2 the presents.

"Where is the delegashun?" ejaculated the President: "hurry em up, for I've thirteen more to receive this afternoon."

"Andrew Jenson," said I, impressively, "I represent No Georgey, a state that has just dun honor to the decess President."

"Too," returned he, "sieh staits honour patriots after they're dead."

"Present the innoashunshun, with skorn. Ez proof that the mander uv the President rung the popular bar uv No Georgey, let me say sir, that the Cauden and Andy Deeksters, at a meetin called for the decess President, voted 2 carry the corps uv the decess President over the road for half fare! I honor never be akorded to enny livin or dead individual. But let that pass. No Georgey needs no speesh pleader. There she stands. Look at her—of you hev a warescope."

"cum, Andrew, ez a original Democrat, who, whether ever sies he may hev committed, never shrank his tikkit or dillood his whisky. In behalf at that Democracy I speak."

"Ez hez been menshnd 2 yoo wunst er twice, a immense responsibility rests on yoo sholders. The Southern states struggled for their rices, but were speckled. They fought like heroes, but fell, becuz uv overpowerin numbers agin em. They're down—yoo're on beel on 2 their necks. What will yoo do? Will yoo grind em, or will yoo be magnanimous?"

"Wunst wuz a happy nashun, and we kin be so agin—it rests with yoo. Yoo must constitute the Democracy. Our party North is magnanimous. We stand ready to forgive yoo for havin drafted us, fer havin taid us to support a unconscionshun war, pro-

vidin yoo'll stop now. Woot our Southern bretherin back with gentle words. They air a high-spirited and sensitive race, that kin never be subjugated. Take em agin to yooer bazzum, and don't humiliate em by degradin conditions. Give em a chance 2 fergive us fer whalin uv em. Restore their niggars, pay their war debt, invite Magoffin and Vance and Brown and the rest uv the Gubners back 2 their various capitolis—give Lee and Forist and Borgard their possibuns in the regular army, and penshun the disabled confederate heroes.

"There mustn't be no hangin. Yoo've cot that unfortin staiteman, Davis—he fell in 2 yoor hands befor he wuz ignorent uv the style uv yoor [late Linkin's] minyuns. He mite have knode that the seijers never seed a woman takin to the woods with out chasin her. But he must not be hung. Democracy looks upon the matter thus:

"Yoo can't hang a man fer conspir agin the Government unless he takes up arms.

"Ef a few take up arms, it's only a riot, and no hangin matter, cept when Abhishinists like John Brown do it. In such cases, hangin is allur in order.

"Ef a number of staits do it, it's a revoloshun, and them ez yoo capcher must be trected ez belligerent ants, and prizners uv war. To hang prizners uv war, Andrew, is murder.

This woot precisely satisfy the South. At the North, less is required. The Democracy is teesly convulsed. Give our leaders enuff uv the offices 2 support em, with the privilege uv managin things 2 suit us, and the trouble is ore. On them terms we'll support yoor Administrashun, or any other man's, corjerly and hartily, and peace will agin wave her white pinnyes over the land, and will continue 2 wave em until the Southern hart is agin fired.

I hev dun, No Georgey hez spoke.
I rather speet my words will bare froot. Look out fur a change uv policy.

PETROLEUM V. NASBY,
Lait Paster uv the Church uv the Noo Dispensashun.

TRIBUTE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Extract from a Memorial Address on Abraham Lincoln, delivered at the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, in Saint John, N. B., June 1, 1865, at the invitation of the Citizens, by Charles M. Ellis, Esq., of Boston:—

Once justice, liberty, law, the nation; now, expediency, slavery, the States. You know what were the spirit and purpose of earlier days. But now public men, the rostrum, the pulpit, the professional chair, moralists, publicists, jurists, taught that the basis of all nationality was compromise, expediency. Ignoring the elements of national law, the principles of liberty, they sought to revive a long-expired system of morals and of men. Unhappily, nay, self-patriotic, they proclaimed that that morality which regarded absolute justice was puerile, foolish, impious; that one nation, any nation was possible only by compromise; that patriotism was the noblest practical limitation of universal philanthropy, and the only standard of duty was utility. The ethics of nationality had been forgotten. Secession, treason were the legitimate result. The policy of the parties, the measures of leading men, the statutes, decrees of the courts; popular preaching; the press, teachings of schools and colleges; the tests of social, political fellowship; the laws of 1793 and of 1850; the policy of territorial extension from Louisiana to Texas, Kansas, California; the dogma of Calhoun; the constitutional theory of Webster; the compromises of Clay; Andover; Princeton; Cambridge; judges; lawyers; divines; writers and scholars—all, all social, political, commercial influences joined in assertions that the original law of liberty was a sham. They united to undermine the ancient nationality.

Their rule was absolute, and seemed to be sure. Arrogant, intolerant, they began the work of proscription. The mails were rifled; speech and the press muzzle; liberty sacrificed; the States stood first; the Nation was their servant, and Slavery's Slavery ruled. Nationality was dying out. If peace had continued, revolution would have been completed, ruin have come.

A few moralists who taught justice; a few divines who preached the law of God; a few statesmen who held to the eternal obligation of divine law; poets who sang for freedom; and popular writers and orators who nursed the nation's love for liberty, most of them without position or power, and powerless to act against all this machinery of evil.—Channing, Garrison, Adams, Parker, Whittier, Stowe, Sumner, Chase, and such—kept alive the nation's heart.

So revolution was going on; the country was drifting to ruin. Slavery had controlled, and nearly practically extinguished both liberty and nationality.

But the tempest of war came, and cleared the air again! When the shot was fired on Sumter, and the flag hauled down, the scaffolding of the old parties, creeds, philosophies, fell to the dust in a moment. It was obvious that it was treason against patriotism; secession against nationality; compromise against principle; slavery against liberty; expediency against justice. Parties dissolved. All this machinery crumbled. The people hastened to undo the vile work of generations. The nation had been living on, and turned even the work of evil to its account.

It was plain, too, that all this machinery was thrown out of gear, useless, powerless, in a moment. For it had all depended on the civil administration of the government in its several branches, and the modes of controlling the masses in the walks and ways of peace; and now came war! The whole people must now as a military body, with their arms, march to the law of war. So all that vanished, mander, the naked, deadly, loathsome monster, must be met face to face. There could be no party, no compromise. It was life or death with them now.

All at once the old nation was alive again; morals were taught; religion was preached; justice decreed; the Constitution was read as it had been in the beginning. The war power, as legitimate, as necessary as the civil power, brought to an instant test parts of the political system that had never been thoroughly tried before.

It was the fortune of Abraham Lincoln to move with his people, its leader and head, in this vast movement of American society, sweeping on again in the tide of humanity, and in his brief term sweeping away before it to oblivion the shades of seventy years.

You have noted his gradual development, mind, heart and soul; and as the reason, sentiments, and conscience of the people stirred, he regulated the acts of the military and civil power; war armies; the resources of a continent; the events of generations, ages, crowded into these four years, so that, at the end, he brought safe this mighty ship back to her ancient course again.

So, in four short years, this man, who came, unheralded, unknown, from the mass of the people, by his native greatness, or because he was a man of the

people—a true man, untrammelled by social, scholastic, ecclesiastical, political or legal creeds, theories, or precedents, obliged to confront the powers and against the country, with the true principles and whole power of the government in open war; obliged as well as inclined to heed the heart and conscience of the people and of humanity, and that alone,—did more by his acts to shape the course after the law of human progress than any other man.

And without regarding the power he had vested in him by his high office and supreme command, it would be difficult to conceive how any man could have acquired over so vast an empire such complete moral control; as it is impossible to name one whose motives in the exercise of supreme power were so completely unquestionable. Therefore the people of his country recognize him as you all do; as the representative American—the most American of Americans—the exponent of American life.

Under him, what a revolution has been wrought! From profound peace, with no preparation for war, an army of two million men, war on the vastest scale; from a little navy of twenty-six vessels, now about seven hundred vessels of war; manufactures developed enough to reimburse this outlay of thousands of millions; the enfranchised labor of a race enough to repay it; the energy, courage, principles of the people developed; from an inferior the country became a first rate power; it has advanced more in these four years of trial than in fifty of prosperity, as a young man grows more in one year of adversity than in many of apparent success.

But all this material progress is nothing besides the moral regeneration of the country; nothing whatever.

Under him, by the blessing of the good God, the people preserved the country entire; the law of Liberty was restored to rule; Nationality triumphed. It is now plain that Nationality is Humanity; that in fighting our cause we have fought for you, for self-government, and liberty regulated by law everywhere; for civilization, and the progress of mankind.

The work of his day, his work, was well done, all done: the work of war felling and burning the forest. If the work of this day and the coming times, of clearing, culture, civilization, be done as well, it will be his glory to have redeemed America. If we fail, now or hereafter, and the roots of evil sprout and grow again, his will be the glory of having begun that work, ours the shame of its failure. Few, if any, names will stand out stronger or brighter in history than that of Abraham Lincoln.

How fortunate in his death! Having meekly, manfully, religiously, a faithful servant of his people and his God, done the greatest work of the ages; still the same simple, honest, trusting Christian, he laid aside the robes of mortality to see his country united, free, its Union sanctified and cemented by his martyrdom; its heart throbbing with love and gratitude inexpressible for him; and men of every clime, humanity joining in benedictions to him the good, the great, the true.

Blessed transition! Sufficient reward; that a life of such glorious service should have been crowned with a death not less serviceable to the holy cause to which his life was devoted, which enlisted for country and for him the sympathies of the world. On earth his name will last, long after the monuments men will erect shall have all crumbled to dust. As it is inscribed in the motto above you, "The memory of the just is blessed." The best monument will be the completion of the work that follows emancipation. Let the four million be freed as men be men. To teach a boy to work, set him to work. To make a man a good citizen, make him a citizen. If there be risks as there are, take them. There can be no risk so great as that of leaving a root or fibre of the evil in the ground. Let us leave no distinction which may increase; none to recall the evil days. Let us root out slavery, and all trace of it, now and forever.

Then will the world see the true glory of this war now closed, and of his life of devoted patriotism; that the law of all laws is the divine law; know the meaning and the strength of self-government; that no State can stand secure that violates the law of nature, the law of God.

These colonies are all but waves of a mighty race, sweeping to those and to other shores; to Plymouth rock and to Canada; to California, India, and Australia. In the course of centuries, the lessening differences of time and form will all be forgotten. Little will be remembered but such mighty convulsions in its course, if the unity and current of the life of the race itself be clear.

Possibly, at some future day, your colony and ours, of common origin; inheriting the same institutions; with the same native love for liberty and law, justice and the right; alike in climate, production, war position, with one history in common; one common destiny; contiguous; with no natural barrier; so free in intercourse; so glad to receive tokens of good will, may be even more closely united.

But, whether ever united, or only joined in friendly alliance as now, till all shall have developed laws of self-government, and in the progress of mankind, the people have become more a law unto themselves, you will ever feel a just pride that in this, their trial-day, our people, your kinsmen, proved true to the spirit of their fathers; defended their faith that religious truth is the basis of government, and will honor the name of Abraham Lincoln, the savior of his country, the martyr for American Liberty.

LETTER FROM ROBERT DALE OWEN.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND REPRESENTATIVE POPULATION.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

Sir: From the recollections, now twenty years old, of the time when we were Congressmen together, I derive an abiding faith in your probity, your patriotism, and your stern devotion to democratic principles. Suffer me to address you, and through you to the people over whom you preside, a few considerations touching a great measure of public policy. I know that it is your habit kindly to receive, if even from private and unofficial source, such honest suggestions as are of a character involving sectional harmony and the national safety.

There is an aspect of the negro-suffrage question which has, I think, attracted less attention than it merits; not the aspect of right; not the question whether, in restoring to a lowly and humble race, down-trodden for ages, their outraged liberty, we ought to give them the ballot to defend it; but a question more selfish, relating to our own race; one not of sentiment but of calculation; essentially practical and of imminent importance.

Permit me, first, to recall to your notice a few facts which any one, by reference to the census of 1860 and to the Constitution, can verify.

The actual population of the States composing the Union, and their representative population, have hitherto differed considerably: the actual population in 1860 being upward of thirty-one millions, (31,148,047), and the representative population about

twenty-nine millions and a half only (29,553,273). The difference between the two is nearly one million six hundred thousand (1,594,774). See Compendium of Census, pages 131, 132.

The reason of this is apparent. In the year 1860 there were, in round numbers, four million of slaves (3,950,331) in these States. These slaves were not estimated, in the representative population, man for man. Five of them were estimated as three; for by the Constitutional provision regulating the ballot-box, the whole number of free persons, and three-fifths of all other persons. Two-fifths of the "other persons" were left out. But two-fifths of four millions is one million six hundred thousand.

About two million four hundred thousand of the slaves are to be regarded as having entered, under the last Census, into the basis of representation. In other words, the white slaveholding population of the South obtained a political advantage the same as that which they would have reaped by actual addition to their population of two million four hundred thousand free persons. As under the last Census the ratio of representation was fixed at one hundred and twenty-seven thousand (Census, page 22.), the South, in virtue of that legal fiction of two million four hundred-thousand additional freedmen, had eighteen members of Congress added to her representation. Her total number of representatives being eighty-four, she owed more than one-fifth of that number to her slave property.

It follows that, if in a republican government, the number of free persons be the proper basis of representation, she had upward of one-fifth more political influence than her just share. Each one of her voters possessed a power (so far as the election of the President and one member of the House of Representatives was concerned) greater by one-fifth than that of each Northern voter.

No man friendly to equal rights, even if (being a white man) he restricts the principle to persons of his own color, will offer a justification of a partition of political power so unfair as this. It was not defended, on principle, by those who assented to it. It was accepted as a necessity, or supposed necessity, in the construction, out of discordant materials, of the American Union.

We of the North have hitherto acted upon it, as men under duress—our hands bound by the Constitution—as it were under protest. We preferred unequal division of power, as regards the two great sections of the Republic, to the chance of anarchy.

That was in the past. Are we, in the future, having got rid, by terrible sacrifice, of the cause of that injustice, still to tolerate the injustice itself, even in aggravated form? Doubtless, now that our hands are free, we have no such intention. Let us take heed lest we increase and perpetuate this abuse, as men often do, without intention.

Seldom, if ever, has there been imposed on any ruler a task more thickly surrounded with difficulties than that now before you, of reconstruction in the late insurrectionary States. Uncertain as we are of the sentiments and intentions of men just emerging from a humiliating defeat, little more can be done than to institute an experiment, and then wait to see what comes of it. It would be premature to lay down any settled plan from which, let events turn as they will, there is to be no departure. We are traversing unknown and treacherous seas, and must take soundings as we go. Nor should we omit the precaution of a sharp look-out for breakers ahead. It seems to me that we may expect such on the course we are pursuing.

The present experiment appears to be, to leave the work of reconstructing Government in the late rebel South to the loyal whites; or, more accurately stated, to the whites who shall have purged themselves from the crime of treason (actual or implied) so far as an oath, taken from whatever motive, can effect such purgation. Will this experiment, if it proceed unimpeded, result in the permanent exclusion of the negro from suffrage?

In proof that it will, it might suffice to remember that these men have grown up in the belief—have been indoctrinated from the cradle in the conviction—that the African is a degraded race. Add that the war has brought the blacks and whites of the South into antagonistic relations, exasperating against the former alike the rich planters, from whose mastery they fled, and the "poor whites," who always hated them, and to whom emancipation (raising despised ones to their level) is a personal affront.

But there is a motive for exclusion in this case stronger than anger, more powerful than hatred—the incentive of self-aggrandizement. They who are made the judges are to be the gainers—unfairly but vastly the gainers—by their own decision.

Observe the workings of this thing. By the Constitution the representative population is to consist of all free persons and three-fifths of all other persons. If, by next Winter, slavery shall have disappeared, there will be no "other persons" in the South. Her actual population will then coincide with her representative population. She will have gained, as to Federal representation, 1,600,000 persons. She will be entitled, not as now to 84 members, but to 94; and her votes for President will be in proportion; Congress, if it intends that the Constitutional rule shall prevail, will have to alter the apportionment so as to correspond to the new order of things.

Now, if the negro is admitted to vote, the Constitutional rule will operate justly. For then each voter in the South will have precisely the same political influence as a voter in the North. The unjust three-fifths principle will have disappeared forever.

On the other hand, if color be deemed cause of exclusion, then all the political power which is withheld from the emancipated slave is gained by the Southern white.

For though, by law, we may deny suffrage to the freedman, we cannot prevent his being reckoned among those free persons who constitute the basis of representation. His presence, whether disfranchised or not, adds, in spite of all we can do, to the political influence of the State, for it increases the number of its votes for President, and the number of its representatives in Congress. Now, somebody must gain by this. The gain is shared equally by every actual voter in the State. If, in any State, the number of blacks and whites is equal, and if, in that State, blacks are excluded from voting, then every white voter will go to the polls armed with twice the political power enjoyed by a white voter in any Northern State. But again, this is on the supposition that every white adult in the State is loyal, and therefore entitled to vote.

Are the half of all Southern male adults at this time, or will they be for years to come, more than loyal if even that I think you will not say that they are. It would surely be an extravagant calculation. If more than half the whites in ex-insurrectionary States shall actually qualify themselves as voters, will you not find yourself compelled to administer the Government, in the late secession portion of the Union, through the agency of its enemies? One-third would be a full estimate, in my judgment, for the truly loyal.

But let us assume that two-thirds of all the white male adults of the South become voters, and that they exclude from suffrage, by law or by Constitutional provision, all persons of color, what would be the political consequences under such a state of things? If, as we may roughly estimate, by destruction through war and by depletion of population through emigration to Texas, to Europe, and to late rebel States shall have been reduced until blacks and whites exist there in nearly equal numbers, then, in the case above supposed, each voter in these States, when he approached the ballot-box during a Congressional or Presidential election, would do so wielding THREE TIMES as much political influence as a voter in a Northern State. This vast advantage once gained by Southern whites, is it likely that they will ever relinquish it?

Nor, if we disfranchise the negro, is there any escape from such consummation, except by receding out from the Constitution the principle by which the whole number of free persons shall be the basis of representation. But that principle lies at the base of all free government. We abandon republicanism itself when we discard it.

Thus it appears that the present experiment in reconstruction, if suffered to run its course, and if interpreted as I think we have just cause to fear that it will, tends (inevitably, it may be said) to bring about two results:

First: To cause the disfranchisement of the freedman. Whether we effect this directly, as by provision of law, or by a disqualifying clause in a proclamation, or whether we do it by leaving the decision to his former masters and his old enemies, matters nothing except in form and in words; the result is brought about with equal certitude in either way. Passion, prejudice and self-interest concur to produce this result.

Second: It establishes—not the odious three-fifths clause, not even merely a five-fifths clause—but something much worse than either. It permits the investiture of the Southern white with a preponderance of political power, such as no class of men, in a democratic Republic, ever enjoyed since the world began.

do not—believe me in this, Mr. President—overlook or underestimate the grave embarrassments that beset your path, turn as you will. I call to mind the overbearing influence of passion and prejudice, and I admit that when these prevail, in exaggerated form, throughout a large portion of any nation, a wise ruler recognizes the fact of their existence, and regulates his acts accordingly. But the sway of passion and prejudice, despotic for a season, has but a limited term of endurance, and should be treated as an evanescent thing. It is too transient and unstable to furnish basis for a comprehensive system of policy. Tenderly it should be treated, but not falsely respected or weakly obeyed.

Mercy, God-like attribute as it is, may run riot. It is very well, by act of grace, to restore to penitent Southern insurgents their legally forfeited rights; let us be friends and fellow-citizens once more, as Christianity and equity enjoin. But to suffer each of these returning rebels, when about to cast his vote for President or for Representatives of the people, to be clothed with three times as much power as is possessed by a Northern voter exercising a similar right, is, very surely, a somewhat superficial stretch of clemency.

And what manner of men, I pray you, are those whom we propose thus to select from among their fellows—granting them political powers unknown to democracy, investing them with privileges of an oligarchical character? It is ungenerous to speak harshly of a vanquished foe, especially of one who has shown courage and constancy worthy of the noblest cause; but the truth is the truth, and is ever fitly spoken. They are men whose terrible misfortune it has been to be born and bred under a system the most cruel and demoralizing the world ever saw. The wisest of those who have been subjected to such a surrounding have confessed evil coming before us; schemes of wholesale incendiarism, involving deaths by the thousand of women and children; schemes to poison, by the malignant virus of the yellow fever, an entire community; deliberate plans to destroy prisoners of war by insufferable hardships and slow suffering; plots, too successful, alas! to shroud a nation in mourning by assassination.

Many honorable exceptions no doubt there are, in whom native virtue resists daily temptation. Such exceptions are to be found in all communities, no matter how pernicious the surroundings. In deciding National questions we must be governed by the rule, not by the exceptions.

The Southern whites subdivide into three classes: The slaveholders proper, many of whom are excluded from pardon by the Proclamation of Amnesty; the "poor whites," and what may be called the yeomen of the South—of which last our country feels that her worthy President is a noble type, and of which we may regard stout-hearted Parson Brownlow as a clerical example.

If this last class, whence have come the sturdiest Union men in Secessiondom, constituted, like the mechanic of New England or the farmer of the West, a large proportion of the population, we might hope that it would leaven and redeem the extremes of society around it. But it is found sparse and in inconsiderable numbers, except, perhaps, in Eastern Tennessee and the northern portion of North Carolina. The poor whites, of whom the clay-eating pine-land of Georgia and other Gulf States is the type, far outnumber them. Of this last class Mrs. Fanny Kemble, in that wonderful book of hers, "Journal of a Residence on a Southern Plantation," gives, from personal observation, a graphic description: "They are, I suppose," (she says) "the most degraded race of human beings claiming an Anglo-Saxon origin that can be found on the face of the earth—filthy, lazy, ignorant, brutal, proud, penniless savages, without one of the nobler attributes that have been found occasionally added to the vices of savage nature. They own no slaves, for they are, almost without exception, abjectly poor; they will not work, for that, as they conceive, would reduce them to an equality with the abhorred negroes; they snarl and snarl and snarl on the outskirts of this lowest of all civilized societies, and their countenances bear witness to the squalor of their condition and the utter degradation of their natures." (Journal p. 146.)

I have often encountered this class. I saw many of them last year while visiting, as member of a

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"They thid down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all laws, and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States whose slavery states have the exclusive management of the subject, the only the President of the United States, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, or foreign, from that instant the war power of Congress extends to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the census of slaves, bartered with, slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, according to the LAWS OF WAR; and by the law of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are met in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Government commission, some of the Southern States. Labor degraded before their eyes has extinguished within them all respect of industry, all ambition, all honorable exertion, to improve their condition. When last I had the pleasure of seeing you at Nashville, I met there, by the way, a gentleman charged with the duty of issuing transportation and rations to indigent persons black and white, a notable example of this strange class. He was a rebel deserter; a rough, dirty, uncouth specimen of humanity—tall, stout, and wiry-looking, rude and abrupt in speech and bearing, and clothed in tattered homespun. In no civil tone he demanded rations. When informed that all rations applicable to such a purpose were exhausted, he broke forth: "What am I to do then? How am I to get home?"

"You can have no difficulty," was the reply. "It is but fifteen or eighteen hours' ride, and the steamboat (the Cumberland) will steamboat to where you live. I will furnish you transportation; you can work your way."

"Work my way!" ("With a scowl of angry contempt.") "I never did a stroke of work since I was born, and I never expect to till my dying day."

The agent replied quietly: "They will give you all you want to eat on board, if you will help them to wood."

"Carry wood!" he retorted with an oath. "Whenever they ask me to carry wood, I'll tell them to set me on shore; I had rather starve for a week than work for an hour; I don't want to live in a world that can't make a living out of without work."

It is for men like that, ignorant, illiterate, vicious—fit for no decent employment on earth except manual labor, and spinning off labor as degradation—is it in favor of such insolent savages that we are to disfranchise the humble, quiet, hard-working negro? Are the votes of three such men as Stanton, Sumner or Garrison, Grant or Sherman, to be neutralized by the ballot of one such worthless barbarian?

Are there not breakers ahead? To such an issue as that may not the late tentative at reconstruction, how faithfully conceived and intended for good, practically tend?

The duty of the United States to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government is as sacred as the duty to protect each of them from invasion. Is that duty fulfilled when, with the power of prevention in our own hands, we suffer the white voter in the least loyal, the least intelligent and the least industrious section of our country to usurp a measure of political power threefold greater than in the rest of the nation a voter enjoys?

It is denied that we have the legal power in our own hands?

stacked and Confederate paroles were given, and the stars and bars fell before the old flag. I remember with what fierce fury those who surrendered at last, fought through the fragments that benighted Government under which, for three-quarters of a century, they had enjoyed prosperity and protection. I remember all that was done and suffered and sacrificed, before, through countless discouragements and reverses, treason's plot was trampled down and the glorious ending was reached. And in spirit, I follow victors and vanquished from the scene of conflict, I think that never was nation more gratefully and more fully repaid, and never did nation owe to her deliverers from anarchy and disorderment a deeper debt of gratitude and goodwill.

Then I ask myself a great question. Shall these soldiers of liberty, returning from fields of death to Northern fields of labor and of peaceful contest—of contest in which the ballot is the only weapon, and the bulletin of defeat or victory is contained in the election-returns—shall these veterans, who have never flinched before green, political strategem? Their weapons of war were laid aside, the reward of their conquest to be this, that man for man they shall be entitled to one-third as much influence in administering their country's Government as the opponents they conquered? Are the victors on fields of death to become the vanquished in the Halls of Legislation?

It is a question which the nation cannot fail, ere long, to ask itself; and who can doubt what the ultimate answer will be?

May God, who brought the great crisis of our nation's history, averting evil for good, has caused the worth of man to work out his own gracious end—directing us, without our will or agency, in paths of justice and of victory which our human wisdom was too feeble to discover—direct us also, throughout the arduous task before you, to the Just and the Right!

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New York, June 21, 1865.

A RAOY SPEECH.

LONDON, June 17, 1865.

There is very little, of any interest, pertinent to American affairs transpiring here, just now. We still keep up an intermittent discussion about the fate of Jeff. Davis, interspersed with what Mr. Carlyle used to denigrate as a "running shriek" as to the atrocity of manning him, of feeding him with soldiers' rations, and possibly terminating his miserable existence with "edge of penny cord;" but I am not aware that anything particularly novel, or valuable, or amusing has been evolved therefrom. Stop! I am reminded of a curious letter which has appeared in *The Star*, advocating the American view of the question, and so felicitously condensing the modern instances on record against the British Government in the matter of its behavior toward traitors, real and imaginary, that I must quote; though, doing so at the beginning of a letter, coupled with the declaration "I set out with, may look suspicious. I think, however, I should do the same if my budget were unusually full (as it has been of late) instead of proportionately scanty. The writer is Mr. J. Paul Cobbett, the son, I am told, of the famous William, and evidently emulating his father's wholesome democratic proclivities. He is worthy of the space I shall accord to him:

"The history of the United States has shown that, in point of humanity, the Americans are about the same sort of people as ourselves. To anticipate a want of that quality in them by speeches in our Parliament, and violence in our press, can be of no service to individuals in peril, and will to a certainty add to that heap of mischief which has already been made between the two countries.

Law, justice and expediency (taking the last of these in an honest sense) are the three things which our Government, in a series of cases, has had to consider. What, as to either of these, have we to say, why the American Government should not now be 'let alone'? Our advocates of a highly conservative policy perceive the necessity of condemning the ways of the Stuarts. They admit it to have been outrageous to force Sir Archibald Johnstone out of France, and Miles Corbett, Col. Okey, and Col. Barksdale out of Holland, and to execute these. They have no excuse for Charles the Second's attempt to kill Ludlow in Switzerland, or for the actual killing of Lord of Leinster. No; but then they draw their line at the end of our civil wars, between all the past admitted severities and a supposed new era of nothing but tenderness!

But, sir, what of the hanging of Governor Wall, and what of the shooting of Admiral Byng?—What of the international act of dragging home Napper Tandy, to send him to the scaffold? What of the inhuman treatment of Mr. Muir and his companions in suffering, and Pitt's endeavor against the lives of Tuke and Hardy? Washington was called a monster by thousands of pens and tongues, for the hanging of Major Andre; and that was absolutely right was a deed like that when compared with the hanging of the poor sailor Cushman in 1817, and the transportation of the Dorchester laborers, and the execution of Henry Cook of Hampshire, in 1831; or, again, the putting to death of those sailors who were unlawfully taken from the American ship *Chesapeake*!

Why, an impartial spectator, viewing many things we do, and hearing all we pretend to, might not unreasonably regard us as combining more of the sanguinary along with the hypocritical than any other nation tolerated by Providence. We have of late years been not only most severe punishers of State criminals, but even the promoters of crime for the purpose of obtaining victims to make example of. You may remember that instance so worthy of renown, in which Lord Brougham volunteered his justification of the employment of spies for the hatching of treasons. We are so vastly 'liberal,' too, in this kind of work that (if recent correspondence between two Ministers of the Russian Government had any truth in it), those Ministers had recommended to themselves on the fact that the Government were undertaking to use our police in the office of detecting and betraying foreign political conspiracies.

There is so much wildness in the rage against the American President, that we read almost in the same sentence denunciations of his savagery as a conqueror along with warnings to him that the Rebellion is still alive, and not without hope. Here is a happy sort of logic by which to inspire 'mercy' to the Rebel in the heart of the ruler!

It is said, again, in the same kind of reasoning, that Mr. Davis cannot rightfully be held to be criminal because he has not committed any crime by the Union Government. Writers on this part of the law have said, that a Government should keep good faith even with subjects in rebellion; that is, in all things to the extent which it makes agreements with them. But to what extent has the North 'treated with' the Confederates? Have our Ministers been in any way treating with the latter, while doing the same with Mr. Adams, as the representative of the whole 'United States'? There was, indeed, a guarantee given, and by an English officer, to the effect that the government of St. Elmo was undertaken by us on the office of detection and betraying foreign political conspiracies.

There are some people, however, who are content to say on any question of mercy or magnanimity. *The Times* newspaper howled out lustily for the putting of the First Napoleon to death. It said that caging him for life was no sufficient security; that our own safety could never be insured if he were suffered to live. I hear that this paper has now been making an ugly turn against the ex-President. That is characteristic of its practice. In abandoning the cause of those who come to misfortune, it commonly helps the weight of the fall by a back-handed blow from its own fist. *The Standard*, in January of 1835, pointedly recommended the execution of Mr. O'Connell. Such an act, it is declared, 'would not be without a second Napoleon.' It exhorted, in the words of the Jewish Psalm, 'Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth,' &c. It screamed out, 'How long, merciful God, are we to endure this man? And if this thunders sleep, is there no other agency of thy justice?'

Not wishing to be included in the large company of our mistaken prophets, I will not venture to foretell what views of expediency, or what feelings in the way of vengeance, the Government for the people of the United States may exhibit in the case of Mr. Davis. But, assuredly, no insinuations of in-

humanity, much less insults from our side, will be of any service to him."

There! you won't catch *The Times* or *The Standard* offering a word in reply to this; throughout the four years of our civil war they have persistently ignored all that could be urged on the side opposite to that on which they chose to range themselves. Nor are the great mass of Englishmen capable of accepting any parallel to be drawn between the rights of our Government to execute justice and their own. "You're different!" is the common sentiment, and in that remark how much is implied! It means that being a hop-and-scramble Democrat (which we all naturally expected to go to pieces, and to account for the puzzle of your national existence, without arrogating punishment against gentlemen whose errors are quite venial in being directed merely against you, and who, therefore, cannot be regarded as conspirators and traitors against any old, respectable monarchy or despotism on this side of the Atlantic. It's all very well for us, or Louis Napoleon, or Francis Joseph, or Frederick William to execute for treason; but you—you're a republic, you know, and can't expect us to regard you as the same thing. Latent in the British mind, but thoroughly pervading it, lurks this idea, rendering it incompetent to treat the question fairly. An untravelled Englishman doesn't understand putting a foreigner on his own level, or recognizing his equal rights. Hasn't Emerson a story of an Englishwoman who, hearing the word applied to her in France, resented it, saying, "No! it is you that are foreigners, not we—we're English!" Hence, half of John Bull's perversity towards us and others. Lowell's lines are wonderfully pertinent to the subject:

"Of all the sins that I can call to mind,
England does make the most unpleasant kind.
You're the sinners after, she's the saint,
What's good's all English, all that isn't saint.
What profits her is oiled right and just,
And if you don't read scripter so, you must.
She's praised herself until she fairly thinks
That she's no less a saint than when she wins.
Hail to the Ten Commandments in her pail!
Could the world stir, 'till she went to sea,
She ain't like other mortals, she's a fact;
She never stopped the clock when she was out,
Nor made payments, nor she never yet
Cut down the interest of her public debt.
She don't put down rebellions—let's me breed—
And she'll win't Ireland should be freed.
She's all the best, honorable and fair,
And when the Vortices they made her heir."

—*Corr. of N. Y. Tribune.*

LETTER FROM CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE TO A COMMITTEE OF COLORED MEN.

The following letter of Chief Justice Chase to a committee of colored men of New Orleans explains itself:

NEW ORLEANS, June 6, 1863.

"Gentlemen: I should hardly feel at liberty to decline the invitation you have tendered me, in behalf of the colored men of New Orleans, to speak to them on the subject of their rights and duties as citizens; if I had not recently expressed my views at Charleston in an address, reported with substantial accuracy, and already published in one of the most widely circulated journals of this city. But it seems superfluous to repeat them before another audience.

It is proper to say, however, that these views, having been formed years since, on much reflection, and confirmed in a new and broader application by the events of the civil war now happily ended, are not likely to undergo, hereafter, any material change.

That native freedmen of whatever complexion are citizens of the United States; that all men, held as slaves in the States which joined in the rebellion against the United States, have become freedmen through executive and legislative acts during the war; and that these freedmen are now citizens, and consequently entitled to the rights of citizens, are propositions which, in my judgment, cannot be successfully controverted.

And it is both natural and right that colored Americans, entitled to the rights of citizens, should claim their exercise. They should persist in this claim respectfully but firmly, taking care to bring no discredit upon it by their own action. Its justice is already acknowledged by great numbers of their white fellow-citizens, and these numbers constantly increase.

The peculiar condition, however, under which these rights arise, seem to impose on those who assert them peculiar duties, or rather special obligations to the discharge of common duties. They should strive for distinction by economy, by industry, by sobriety, by patient perseverance in self-improvement, by constant improvement of religious instruction, and by the constant practice of Christian virtues. In this way they will surely overcome unjust hostility, and convince even the most prejudiced that the denial to them of any right, which citizens may properly exercise, is equally unwise and wrong.

Our national experience has demonstrated that public order reposes most securely on the broad base of universal suffrage. It has proved also that universal suffrage is the sure guaranty and most powerful stimulus of individual, social and political progress. May it not prove, moreover, in the work of reorganization which now engages the thoughts of all patriotic men, the best reconciler and the most comprehensive lenity with the most perfect public security and the most speedy and certain revival of general prosperity?

S. P. CHASE.

Messrs. J. D. Boudance, L. Golia and L. Banks, Com.

LETTER FROM MAZZINI.

The following letter, from Mazzini, addressed to the London agent of the United States Sanitary Commission, is interesting:

DEAR MR. FISHER: Has there been published, or is there about to be published, a good accurate primary history of the late struggle, relating in one volume the events of the war, the progressive march which led to the solution of the tried problem, emancipation, and mainly the noble individual and collective efforts, the money raised by voluntary subscription, the doings of the Sanitary Commission, and all that tends to prove the immense vitality of your republican principle? What you have done is so heroic that I feel the profound necessity of having it publicly known in all our countries, and especially in my own. We would translate and spread the truth everywhere.

Your triumph is our triumph; the triumph of all, I hope, who are struggling for the advent of a republican era. Our adversaries were pointing to the worst period of the old French revolution as to the irretrievable proof of republics leading to terror, anarchy and military despotism. You have refuted all that. You have done more for us in four years than fifty years of teaching, preaching and writing, from all your European brothers, have been able to do.

Complete your work. The United States stand now a leading power in Europe, too, and power is duty. You are called on by God to enter a new career. Your function had been hitherto to constitute, to organize yourselves, and to realize, within your own boundaries, the republican principle which is your life. It was natural that whilst doing that, you should carefully abstain from interfering with European movements or with the general march of mankind. That task is fulfilled: a second one must now begin for you. The life of a great people is two-fold: war and peace. That is the common lot of all nations, and strength as has been displayed by the United States must lead to more than to the solution of a mere problem of existence, and of an incomplete one. It is an implement given by God for the good of all. The abolition of slavery binds you to the onward march of mankind; and the admiration of all Europe calls you to take your rank—a leading one—in that onward march.

Above American life, above European life, there is mankind's life, mankind's education, mankind's progress. That is the common lot of all nations, and strength as has been displayed by the United States must lead to more than to the solution of a mere problem of existence, and of an incomplete one. It is an implement given by God for the good of all. The abolition of slavery binds you to the onward march of mankind; and the admiration of all Europe calls you to take your rank—a leading one—in that onward march.

Remember this. Remember us, who are ready to help in the task. And remember the plan of which the first line has been visibly written by European despots in Mexico.

Believe me, dear Mr. Fisher, ever faithfully yours,

May 21.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1865.

THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION.

The Oration delivered before the City Authorities of Boston, in Music Hall, by Rev. J. M. MAXWELL, on the 89th anniversary of Independence Day, was highly impressive and eloquent. Below is its peroration.

"Let it not be inferred, from the tenor of these remarks, that I see no peril in the future. What shall be the treatment of the disloyal, and what the basis of citizenship in the reconstructed States, are questions of grave concern.

Are we exhorted to be kind to the rebels? That appeal is needless. We shall be kind to them. Many of us have very tender reasons for treating them kindly. We always have been kind to them; erring on that side, and yielding to their unjust demands, until they inferred that we could not be aroused to maintain our rights. We may accept it as an axiom, that the people of the North cannot be cruel toward the leaders in the South. All our danger, then, is on the other side. Let us not give other nations occasion to say that we make a commodity of justice. Let not the offenders themselves despise us for fearing to vindicate the majesty of the republic. Will good citizens feel altogether safe, in our country, if it is to have admitted rebels roaming at large in all parts of it for a generation to come? Let us not be so kind to the disloyal as to be unkind to the loyal. Should not those in the South who have fought on our side be cared for before those who fought against us? Those who have been true to the government should be protected first. This is justice, whose claims are sacred. Nor is it magnanimity, but a crime which nature abhors, to cherish enemies who are outraging our friends. Shall we leave blacks in the power of the exasperated foe, knowing, as we do, that the savage spite which cannot touch us will be wreaked upon their unprotected heads? I shall believe that the revolt of the rebel angels has succeeded, and that Satan now sits on the throne of God, if such horrible treachery can go uncondemned of heaven. While the Savior of men was riding in triumph to Jerusalem, 'He beheld the city, and wept over it.' But those tears did not prevent Him from saying, 'Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.' Imitating that divine act to-day, we raise our bitter cry over prostrate treason, even while we call on Justice to draw out her sharp sword. There is no malignity in our hearts, but a reverent prayer that the sovereignty of the nation may be magnified and made honorable. They would have it so. They trampled on our forbearance and warnings, and defied the power which should be a terror to evil-doers. Let justice be done without the least over-doing. Let their doom be so reasonable that no wicked sympathy shall dare lift its head. Let them be put where no 'foreign correspondent' can glorify them; where no lying pens of their own can fill the world with histories of their treason disguised as patriotism, and of their attempt to nationalize barbarism painted as a struggle for human liberty. Let them be so punished that their example can never prove contagious, and be buried where the bloodhounds of despotism can never scent their graves.

Two acts of the struggle for liberty in America are past; the third and consummating act is now upon us. The first act closed under Washington, when the colonies were acknowledged to be free and independent States; the second act closed under Lincoln, with the vindication of the sovereignty of the Union; the third act will close when equal rights are conceded to all men. God grant that the last act may not, like the first two, deluge the land with blood! May the evil tree be plucked up in the hour of its weakness, before its roots have undergrown and its branches overspread the Republic! The Emancipation Proclamation was but incidental to the war for the Union. Not in the purpose of man, but by the arrangement of God, it knocked off the chains of the slave. And it has done a negative, rather than a positive work. It has not introduced them into civil liberty. How this last act shall be achieved is the problem now forced upon the country. Our statesmen cannot evade it if they would; it is taxing their wisdom beyond any other question of the hour; and whoever solves it successfully will complete the grand American triumvirate. We could wish that the triumvirate, when full, might read—Washington, Lincoln, Johnson. Do any say that it is inconsistent to demand citizenship for the blacks in States now returning to the Union, while in many of the so-called free States only the whites are admitted to the ballot? But the people of these latter States have not rebelled. Security for the future may require of disloyal communities what should not be exacted of the loyal. Only those who have broken the peace are under bonds to keep the peace. 'But the question of suffrage belongs to the States.' So it does, while they are in their normal condition. Perhaps the day of military necessity is over; but is there not a necessity of State quite as pressing, which, if not yielded to, will ultimately become a military necessity. If you cannot do a righteous deed for its own sake, yet doing it to prevent war is better statesmanship than waiting for the war to come. A free government can be said to fulfill its purpose only when no class of persons under it has wrongs to be redressed. Emancipation is but a mockery of the blacks, especially while among their late masters, if they are not admitted to citizenship. Perhaps it did not occur to Mr. Lincoln, perhaps he thought it unwise at the time, to make his Proclamation perfect by adding to it: 'And, that the promises herein contained may not prove illusory in the end, I do also proclaim, and cause to be published and proclaimed, that, in reconstructing the State governments now disorganized, the blacks shall be admitted to all the rights of freemen on the same conditions with the whites.' How much present anxiety would have been prevented by some such golden clause! But we will believe that the question is in safe hands. Surely the Congress, if made wise by the events of the past, will not guarantee a republican form of government to any State, while there is manifestly, in that State, a spirit hostile to the very principles of republicanism. To the loyalty, wisdom and patriotism of our statesmen we confide this grave concern. They alone can decide it peacefully; and may God have them in His holy keeping!

Anticipating the gradual solution of all remaining difficulties, in a manner which shall fulfill the hopes of a generous patriotism, I see, before our country, a future too grand for my feeble portraiture; a development of the resources of nature, a growth of manufactures, a commerce, civilization and Christianity, which shall be the glory of the New World and the wonder of the Old. No man standing at the sources of the Amazon can bring within the range of his vision all its mighty course from the mountains to the sea; its broad tributaries, with their interlacing streams, its silent advance through primeval forests, and vaster sweep across luxuriant savannas; the sails of adventures, and of scientific explorers, moving up into its alluring mystery; the inexhaustible wealth of field and mine to which it is a natural highway; the current, so like an ocean, with which it proudly yields at last to the ocean's embrace. And so, standing to-day by the sources of this new stream in American history, we cannot foresee all its unfolding volume; its distant greatness, and grandeur, and majesty; the destinies, mortal and immortal, of both nations and individuals, which it will gather upon its simple bosom, and bear onward and onward into the unbounded hereafter. We can only lift up our overflowing hearts toward Him whose rod has brought the water out of the rock, and ask that He would direct its wondrous course; draining the richness of all the civilizations into it, and causing it to bless the ages through which it shall roll, until it mingles in that sea of latter-day glory, whose law is peace, and whose ends and waves are the pulsations of a perfect love."

DEDICATION OF THE STATUE OF HORACE MANN.

In common with a goodly number of the most worthy citizens of Boston and vicinity, we were present on the morning of the Fourth of July to witness the dedication of the statue of Horace Mann. Appropriate and eloquent addresses were made by Dr. S. G. Howe, Gov. Andrew, John D. Philbrick, Esq., Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, and President Hilly of Harvard College. A fervent dedicatory prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Waterston. *The Journal* says:—

The statue was erected, as is well known, to perpetuate the memory of Horace Mann, the first Secretary of the Board of Education; the founder of the first State Lunatic Hospital in this Commonwealth; the originator of the Normal School System; whose zeal and eloquence have done more for our common schools than any other's in the country; whose life was full of good deeds; to Horace Mann, the teacher and philanthropist—not to Horace Mann, the politician—has this monument thus been erected.

The statue, which is of bronze, about nine feet in height, was executed by Miss Emma Stebbins at Rome and cast at Munich, and cost about \$5000. It is erected on a pedestal of brown stone, and suitable dimensions and appropriate design, costing \$1500 additional. It is not one of the least interesting facts connected with this memorial that the fund raised therefor was subscribed principally by people in the humble walks of life. The larger portion of it was in sums from 25 cents to \$1 contributed by children and teachers of the public schools of the Commonwealth. The cost of the pedestal was defrayed by a special appropriation by the Legislature.

To Miss Stebbins, however, is more than ordinary credit to be given for the successful manner in which she has fulfilled the commission entrusted to her. She has labored unremittingly upon the work, moved as much by admiration of her subject as by love of the sculptor's art, which she has here proved herself no unworthy devotee. Horace Mann's genius and goodness, wrought in her new inspiration as she has wrought into the rugged bronze the almost living lineaments of the departed philanthropist.

The statue remained veiled until the conclusion of the address of the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. S. G. Howe. Bond's Band furnished the instrumental and children from the public schools the vocal music. The audience was assembled upon the portico of the State House, upon the steps leading thereto, and in the enclosure in front.

"THE NATION."

The first number of the new weekly periodical, having this comprehensive title, has punctuated its appearance, in the handsomest typographical dress, with a variety of well-considered and well-written articles on national affairs, literature, science, art, &c. It takes thorough ground on the question of reconstruction, and pertinently says:—

"The points we have to consider at the North, in deciding which course we ought to take in fixing the status of the negro at the South, are really reduced to two—the effect upon his condition of leaving him at the mercy of a hostile and semi-barbarous race; and the effect upon the national rule of shutting him out from all share in the local government. To suppose that he will receive fair play from white legislators, who are not responsible to him, who have no sympathy with him, and who, in their secret hearts, consider him a beast of the field, is to violate every rule of democratic government, and to make an open and shameless declaration of want of faith in our own principles. It is, moreover, to be guilty of cruelty as well as perfidy; for freedom bestowed on a man left in the position in which we have placed the freedmen, only increases the number of points at which he can be assailed and tormented. There is an alternative before those who fear to arm him for his own protection with the franchise, and it is one from which there is no honorable escape, and that is to continue, by some mode or other, to cover him with the sword of the national Government until he is either considered competent to take charge of his own interests, or his white neighbors can offer proof of the possession of humanity or of a sense of justice. The community in whose hands we now propose to place him and his family is, it ought not to be forgotten, that in which our prisoners were tortured only six months ago, and in which the St. Albans raid was considered honorable warfare."

A FEATHER IN THE WIND.

An incident of which I was an accidental witness yesterday, the 4th of July, reminded me of the inscription which it was found desirable to put up in Gen. Butler's office in New Orleans, namely:—"The venom of the he-and-shedder is precisely the same." As I passed two ladies on Washington Street, one of them seemed attracted by an engraving in a shop-window, and took her companion's arm to stop her, saying, by way of explanation, "It's a General Grant." The other said quickly, in an emphatic voice, "Don't look at it! Contemptible!"—and they both passed on, leaving me to judge to whom the word "contemptible" was properly applicable.

If such feelings are cherished and expressed in Boston, how must it be in South Carolina, Georgia, every rebel State which has felt, and has been forced to yield to, the power of the United States Government! Must we not believe the testimony that comes to us from so many quarters, that there is next to no Union sentiment in those States, and that women and men alike hate the power which has conquered them? Is it safe for us that men who took part in the rebellion should have any voice, either in the terms of reconstruction or the making of the laws after reconstruction?—C. K. W.

TRIBUTE TO GRIFFITH M. COOPER.

Memorial, adopted at the Waterloo Meeting of Friends of Progress, held June 21, 3d and 4th, 1865:—Since our last meeting, GRIFFITH M. COOPER, a venerable man, ripe in wisdom and experience, who has been with us at times in person, always in spirit and desire, has passed on to a higher life.

Through a long and varied career, as a naval officer; as a preacher of the Society of Friends; as a guardian of the Indians on the Cattaraugus reservation from the rapacity of speculators (employed in that capacity by the Society of which he was then a member); as an early and faithful advocate of Human Freedom, of Temperance and Peace; as a reformer, stepping beyond the limits of sect, and transcending the bounds of arbitrary authority, he ever sought to be true to his own light. His clear, frank and faithful word was ready, in public or private, for the best truth he knew and felt.

We offer this brief testimonial to the genial qualities and many virtues of a much-beloved friend, who, his course on earth well-finished, has gone to meet those of his dear family, "not lost, but gone before."

On behalf of the meeting,
WILLIAM BARNES, } Secretaries.
PHILIP B. DEAN, }

"THE MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY." This remarkable narrative, upon its original publication in the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly*, attracted more general attention and comment than any article printed for a long time. It is now republished in a separate form, by general desire, by Ticknor & Fields, Boston, and at a price (ten cents) which will give it universal circulation at this period.

Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield Street, has just published a small pamphlet, entitled "Is there a Devil? The Argument pro and con; with an Inquiry into the Origin of Evil, and a Review of the Popular Notion of Hell and Heaven, or the State of the Dead." By John Baldwin.

"DEMOCRAT'S ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY," and MRS. DEMOREST'S MIRROR OF FASHIONS, for July, is a jubilee number, and contains a National Jubilee Prize Song, Illustrated Scene on the Hudson River, Elegant steel plates, stories, household, and full-size patterns, etc. The price is only 25 cents per number, or \$3 per year. Office of publication, 20 Beekman St., New York City.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXXVII.

New York, June 29, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Subjugation is better than capitulation, if one compares Charleston with Richmond for example. So long as there appeared a resting place for the fugitive aristocracy of rebellion, the places which once knew them were abandoned totally when Sherman knocked at the back door, or threatened to. Hence in Savannah and in the nest of secession our army found printing offices but no editors, and the types were seized by loyal men for loyal purposes, to the great advantage of people and Government. Not so at the capital of the Confederacy, which, being the last ditch, could not be evacuated for any safer refuge, and therefore teemed with all grades of public enemies. This need have caused no inconvenience under a proper regimen of jails and other surveillance, but to tolerate in their places the conductors of the Richmond prints was to invite disloyal expressions and prolong the rebellious spirit of the discomfited Virginians. For a moment it seemed as if the military authorities had been corrupted by their subjects. The horror of treason was exalted on the scene of its overthrow, and out of a mixed material and restored civil rule there sprung up a reign of terror which drove its colored victims for protection to the very feet of the President. This, though quickly terminated, sufficed to encourage the country planters to betray their animus toward the freedmen. They met together, and resolved upon sundry oppressive articles to which they gave the validity of a social code, deviation from which was to constitute a misdemeanor. They voted five dollars, in one county, to be the maximum of a negro's wages, requiring a recommendation from his last employer, and excluding him from any plantation which he did not approach on business—that is, with a disposition to be starved at the appointed rates. They voted, in another county, that they would hire no colored man, perhaps they said slave, without the consent of his owner or according to his terms. Between the newspapers and these assemblies it became evident that a lesser revolution was brewing, and a warning was therefore extended to the one, and a prohibition to the other, with a nullification of their mischievous action. Gen. Terry's order lacked only one thing—that it was not issued from the White House; for it embodied a doctrine full of sense and humanity, and deserving of adoption by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. The hero of Fort Fisher is not to be troubled with paper constructions of whatever magnitude. He says to the F. V. A., your laws which discriminate against the blacks were made in support of slavery; that system having perished, the reason for such legislation has perished also, and your code abrogates itself. Hereafter, he continues, we know no distinction of color in this State, whether in respect of rights or protection. The laws are for all classes alike, and a common necessity rests upon all of being industrious and self-sustaining. No cant here of the right of a State to regulate its own affairs, as a covert permission to prolong the accepted sway of a slain barbarian. Only a simple enforcement of republican trials in converting the aristocratic society of the South.

Gov. Holden, of North Carolina, and his neighbor Gov. Pierpont, of Virginia, have spoken by proclamation and message respectively. One preaches a social sermon to the blacks, the other lauds their heroism in the war. Both declare that they have nothing to hold out to them, except a release from shackles and the lash. Gov. Pierpont more bluntly informs the legislator that neither he nor it has any concern with the freedmen; and as President Johnson has uttered the same disclaimer, it would seem as if the irrepressible negro were to be "let alone" severely. Unhappily they refrain from him when it is their business to shield him from molestation, while the bulk of the white population have a very different notion about interference. Riots which would have done credit to Mackerellville and the Five Points have broken out in Norfolk and in Portsmouth upon the withdrawal of our troops, and the victims in either case have been the unfortunate whom the President leaves in charge of the local minority, and the local minority are quite unable to recognize as a component part of the State.

Mr. Johnson's conference with the South Carolina delegation developed two motives for his policy that are worth being put on record. Attach no novel importance to his emphatic avowal that slavery must be rooted out of every State Constitution, and the anti-slavery amendment of the national charter be ratified, before the seceding communities can resume their places in the Union. No inferior position was possible for the nominee of the Baltimore Convention and the successor of Abraham Lincoln. What is the secret of Mr. Johnson's haste to renew the civil machinery of the South? He says he thought the loyal men there who had been crushed and overawed by the rebellion ought, now that the despotic weight is removed, to stand on the same footing with those at the North. Why does the President refuse negro suffrage? He does not say he had no lawful control over it. He rather implies that he has, but prefers to leave it with the States. He argues against it on the ground that the freedmen would vote as the capitalists, the land-owners, their former masters, should please. But such a mischance would subvert the political ascendancy of his loyal nuclei, and reduce them to that servitude to the aristocracy from which they have been emancipated no less than the blacks. I will not examine into this reasoning, but simply present the picture of the President's own State of Tennessee. There the loyalists are in a very decided minority, and owe their elevation to power entirely to the absence of their enemies in the Confederate service. This handful of Union men expect to disfranchise, first, the secession aristocrats, lay and clerical, including the large slaveholders and landed proprietors, who are certainly unrepentant and past conversion; second, those who have borne arms for the rebellion; and, third, the blacks. Such a course, besides being undemocratic, creates an opposition that cannot be smothered, and affords infinite room for conspiracies and commotions of which no man can foresee the end. Mr. Johnson selects too feeble depositories for his powers. He balances his pyramids on their apex, instead of planting them upon their base.

I have formerly had occasion to remark that there is no well-settled denial of the black man's right to the ballot, nor any formidable combination (at the North) to deprive him of it. Yesterday the *Daily News* outstripped the admission of the *World* and the *Observer* by arguing quite ably the inherent political right of the freedman; hitherto kept in abeyance during his involuntary servitude; and by declaring that the South, which compromised away two-fifths of her legitimate power at the formation of the Union, is now determined to recover this portion by employing the franchise of her colored inhabitants. Of course, such a statement must be accepted with a liberal allowance, not less because the truth of history is ingeniously perverted to render plausible the policy announced. The insinuation, however, that Southern statesmen may make political capital by demanding negro suffrage, is worthy some attention. In this way it is conceivable that a coalition might be brought about between the upper and the nethermost classes at the South, and the President may well be anxious for his loyal minority when he sees the mill in motion and the stones grinding.

M. DU PAYS.

The Anti-Slavery celebration at Framingham, on Tuesday, the 4th of July, held in accordance with a vote passed at the last New England Anti-Slavery Convention, was largely attended, and exceedingly interesting. An official account of the proceedings will appear in next week's *Liberator*. Speeches were made by Wendell Phillips, Charles W. Slack, Andrew T. Foss, Wm. Wells Brown, Charles C. Burleigh, and Stephen S. Foster. Those who were present were highly gratified, and nothing occurred to mar the pleasure of the occasion.

After the excitement is passed and Jefferson Davis is hung, we may be sorry! But in what is let us say, if Jefferson Davis is a death-warrant should drop from his pocket. If he is pardoned, let every prison-door open."

The Letter of Hon. Robert Dale Owen to President Johnson, on our first page, suggests considerations of the gravest importance. Read it.

Liabon, Iowa, June 21, 1865.

The Editor of the *Universalist*, having been censured by a correspondent for intimating that Jeff. Davis should be hung, replies:

"After the excitement is passed and Jefferson Davis is hung, we may be sorry! But in what is let us say, if Jefferson Davis is a death-warrant should drop from his pocket. If he is pardoned, let every prison-door open."

The Letter of Hon. Robert Dale Owen to President Johnson, on our first page, suggests considerations of the gravest importance. Read it.

Liabon, Iowa, June 21, 1865.

ADDRESS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.Delivered at the request of the Rhode Island Union League,
in the City Hall, Providence, June 1, 1865.

BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE UNION LEAGUE,
AND CITIZENS OF RHODE ISLAND:

Not seven weeks have elapsed since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the beloved and twice-elected President of the United States, was foully consummated in the national capital; yet, during that brief period, the awful intelligence has been conveyed—such are the wonderful means of communication—not only to every portion of our vast domain, but throughout the civilized world, exciting universally such horror and grief, such feelings of bereavement and heartfelt sympathy, such expressions of personal regard and warm appreciation, as have never been elicited by the death or martyrdom of any other human being. In our own country, within its multitudinous cities, towns or hamlets, within the pale of loyalty, that has not been draped with the emblems of woe, as though death had entered every household. The stoutest hearts have been made liquid as water—the strongest men have freely mingled their tears with those of women and children—and the nation has momentarily reeled at the blow. From twice two thousand presses; from three thousand pulpits; from the best brains and the most eloquent lips; from the bench, the bar, the forum, the legislative hall, the exchange, the public platform, this terrible atrocity has evoked whatever of condemnation can be uttered by the human tongue, and whatever of eulogy of the character and career of our murdered Chief Magistrate may properly be said. The expressions of affection, reverence, gratitude and admiration, in view of the humble origin, remarkable traits, and sublime achievements of the deceased, have already been innumerable. Every phase of his private and public life has been luminously exhibited, every characteristic feature closely scanned, every act searchingly tested. Nothing but the most repetition, therefore, is left for any one who now takes up the theme, however brilliant may be his imagination, or masterly his analytical talent.

In England the demonstrations of an all-pervading grief and horror have been almost as numerous and signal as in our own land. From the parliament to the private club, from the palace to the cottage, from the pulpit and the press, such testimonials of condolence, regard and friendship have come forth as to obliterate all national divisions, and cause the two countries to blend together in one great sorrow, as though they were indeed one people. God grant that they may never meet each other in battle array, nor in any way seek each other's detriment! God grant that they may be so animated by the spirit of justice, good-will and international amity as ever to rejoice in the prosperity and advancement of each other, and be ready to adjust, without bloodshed or mean exaction, whatever difficulties may exist now or arise hereafter! Confusion and infamy attend the plotters at home and the factious abroad, who shall seek to bring them into deadly conflict, no matter on what pretence! For, however unsatisfactory has been the attitude of the British Government towards our own since the rebellion broke out, it has been far more unsatisfactory to the rebels as shown in regard to their lustard Confederacy; and however base, malignant and unscrupulously partisan has been the London Times in hostility to the North and support of the South, it has not at any time represented the views and feelings of the people at large. If, during the long period that intervened before our Government evinced any disposition to grapple with slavery as the embodiment of the rebellion, and while the struggle on our part seemed to be only to restore the Union on the old slaveholding conditions, the English masses were comparatively unindifferent towards us, we alone are to blame. At no time, however, have they sympathized with the rebels, or spoken an approving or apologetic word in their behalf. On the contrary, they have held public meetings in all parts of the kingdom, since the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued, and, through addresses, speeches and resolutions, denounced the infamous conduct of the Southern secessionists, and enthusiastically applauded President Lincoln and his administration. Their word of cheer to us is—

"The bluff, bold men of Runnymede
Are with you still in times like these;
The shades of England's mighty dead
Your cloud of witnesses!"

Press on!—the triumph shall be won
Of common rights and equal laws.
The glorious dream of Harrington,
And Sidney's good old cause!"

With such a people we are bound, by ten thousand ties, to keep the peace—and they with us. It is an evil and a bitter thing to say, that there are grievances between us that can be redressed only by an appeal to the sword. That is the language of passion and craft, of falsehood and demagoguery. Be assured, fellow-countrymen, inasmuch as the traitors of the South and their Northern sympathizers have been followed in their nefarious efforts to permanently disrupt the Union, they will leave nothing undone, in order to glut their revenge, to involve this country in a foreign war, especially with England. Let the friends of freedom, on both sides of the Atlantic, be at least as vigilant and determined that no such machination shall succeed.

In France, and elsewhere, on the Continent, if not to the same extent, at least as deeply appreciative have been the manifestations of heartfelt sorrow and fraternal feeling, in view of the assassination of our lamented President. Every where his terrible murder has been penetrated, its diabolical object perceived, and the same righteous verdict rendered. The deed was intended to serve and perpetuate oppression in the United States; it shall mightily help to crush oppression in every land. It was meant to overturn free institutions on our own soil; it shall help to strengthen them at home, and propagate them abroad. It has quickened the march of liberty throughout the world. Of course, this grand result in no way mitigates the guilt of the assassin; it only furnishes a fresh illustration of the wonderful manner in which God causes the wrath of man to praise him—taking the cunning in their own craftiness, and carrying the counsels of the froward headlong.

Death, in itself, is not an evil, but a good; not a mysterious dispensation of Providence, but the operation of a natural law; not to be deplored as a calamity, but thankfully accepted as a blessing. It came to Mr. Lincoln in an unnatural and murderous form; but, happily, his transition was without conscious suffering; at least, from the moment the fatal bullet entered the brain till he ceased to breathe, he made no sign of recognition, and evidently experienced no pain.

In the midst of the convulsion occasioned by his fall, and the overwhelming emotions to which it has given birth, it is scarcely possible for the most careful and discriminating to pronounce his eulogy without a bias, or to assign to him the place he will permanently occupy in history. No man has ever been more unjustly assailed than himself. Now there is a generous disposition to extol him beyond measure. Undoubtedly he subjected himself, at times, to merited criticism and just rebuke, for he was fallible. Equally it is true that he deserves high praise, and is entitled to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen. Nay, more—he has a claim upon the liberal regard of mankind; and it is already promptly acknowledged.

Abraham Lincoln was, perhaps, the most remarkable product of American democracy (but not in a party sense) which has been presented to the world. It is a long stride from the position of a humble rail-splitter to that of President of the United States—from

commanding a flat-boat to being the elected head of a mighty republic. Yet he succeeded in raising himself from one to the other by a straight-forward course of conduct; by the vigor and sagacity of his mind; by a unselfish and ever active patriotism; and by a combination of admirable qualities for professional life and civil administration. His simplicity of character no elevation could alter, no popularity inflate. Most men look up to office, thinking it will change their essential littleness. He was of such mental and philosophical stature that he could look down upon it, in whatever shape presented, as only a convenient instrumentality to promote the common weal. No amount of training could have changed his plainness of speech or address. He was emphatically no respecter of persons, yet neither lacking in courtesy nor rude in manners. In the "White House" he was as simple in intercourse and easy of access to all comers, high or low, rich or poor, white or black, as at his own residence in Springfield. Of the vast multitudes that sought his presence for counsel or assistance, what one ever left him without increasing confidence, affection or respect? His kindness of disposition was almost an overmastering element. By nature the most genial, humane, tender-hearted, peacable of men, the primal source of his happiness was in making others happy; and he cheerfully made himself "the servant of all," in the spirit of humility and universal good-will. His love of approbation was strong and active, but it had no tincture of personal vanity, worldly selfishness, or vicious ambition. If his self-esteem was small, his firmness and conscientiousness were sufficiently large to make him strong and resolute in adhering to the right, as revealed to his understanding. To change his position was always to take a step in advance; but his circumspection was so immense that he could not be hurried to any conclusion, especially if the public welfare was involved in it. Hence he said—"I have been charged with being tardy, and the like. I am also charged with vacillating; but I do not think that charge can be sustained. I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position, I have ever retreated from it." "I told him," said Frederick Douglass, with whom he was conversing, "that he had been somewhat slow in proclaiming equal protection to our colored soldiers and prisoners; and he replied that the country needed taking up to that point. He hesitated in regard to it when he felt that the country was not ready for it. He knew that the colored man throughout this country was a despised man, a hated man, and that if he had at first come out with such a proclamation, all the hatred which was poured out on the head of the negro race would have been visited on his administration. He said that there was preparatory work needed, and that that preparatory work had now been done. And he added: 'Remember this, Mr. Douglass; remember that Milliken's Bend, Fort Hudson and Fort Wagner are recent events; and that these were necessary to prepare the way for this proclamation of mine.' "I thought," said Mr. Douglass, "it was reasonable; and I came to the conclusion that while Abraham Lincoln will not go down to posterity as Abraham the Great, or as Abraham the Wise, or Abraham the Eloquent, although he is all three, wise, great and eloquent, he will go down to posterity, if the country is saved, as Honest Abraham; and going down thus, his name may be written anywhere in this wide world of ours side by side with that of Washington, without disparaging the latter."

Mr. Lincoln took the reins of government at a period of national disintegration through red-handed treason; when everywhere "men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming upon the land"; when the flames of civil war had already made lurid the southern sky, and northern co-operative incendiaries were stealthily endeavoring to effect a universal conflagration; when the boldest held their breath, and the wisest confessed their inability, and the most far-seeing were in thick darkness; when every step was along the edge of a precipice, and the soil hot with volcanic fires; when the South was compact in rebellion, and the North so divided in allegiance as to make it extremely doubtful whether any reliable, dominant force could be found to uphold the Government; and when, through perfidy, usurpation and robbery, not a dollar was left in the national treasury, every Northern arsenal had been emptied to supply the South with arms and the munitions of war, the army rendered powerless by its reduction, and a feeble navy scattered to remote parts of the globe. In such appalling circumstances, what caution and sagacity, what deliberation as to ways and means, what balancing of chances and possibilities, what unquenchable hope and indomitable courage, what commanding qualities of head and heart were needed to so combine the popular elements and so secure the general approval as to save the republic, and place it on a foundation that could not be shaken! Abraham Lincoln was thus fortunately endowed, and, therefore, the rebellion is no more, and the Union made imperishable on the basis of universal liberty.

Fortunate indeed was it that he was not a man of hot impulse on the one hand, nor a lover of arbitrary power on the other. The crisis demanded neither inflamed blood nor an iron-one-man will, but absolute faith in the people, sound judgment, ready tact, abiding cheerfulness, inflexible perseverance, large common sense, strong powers of reasoning, incorruptible integrity, and unalloyed patriotism; and it found these attributes in him whose tragical death the civilized world is now commemorating by all possible expressions of grief and horror.

It is true, Mr. Lincoln was frequently subjected to the severest criticism and the most sweeping condemnation, from different motives, and for very different objects; but, whether the accusations came from one party or another, or whether they were well or ill meant, they were such as measurably to neutralize each other. Now he was accused of being mere drift-wood; without insight or decision; passively governed by the events of the hour; timidly following instead of boldly leading public sentiment; a trier in spirit and a trickster in policy; this hour mere clay in the hands of Blair, the next manipulated and controlled by Seward; "honest" enough, but utterly incompetent to fill a position of such trust; never born to be a commander, and too ignorant of the compass to be safely entrusted with the helm. Again he was charged with usurping constitutional powers, striking down freedom of speech and of the press, tyrannically suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, wilfully disregarding popular feeling and sentiment, and in other ways playing the dictator, and deserving impeachment.

One thing is certain: whatever he was at the time of his assassination, he was after it. The murderous deed made him neither the better nor the worse as to his merits or defects; and though the old maxim, "Never speak ill of the dead," may have been charitably observed by those who denounced him while living, but who are now among his most flattering eulogists, it can never justify transforming a despot into a patriot of the purest stamp, or an imbecile into one worthy to be associated with Washington!

"O, for an hour of Andrew Jackson!" was a cry often heard to the disparagement of Mr. Lincoln; "for then short work would be made with the rebellion, as it was with nullification. But the cases are not parallel. Extravagant credit has been given to Andrew Jackson for his summary dealing with the South Carolina secessionists. But what had he to fear? They had no supporters at the North, and scarcely any at the South, outside of the limits of that always seditious commonwealth; and within those limits their opponents constituted a formidable minority, able to make themselves both heard and felt. The question related to a tariff, not to slavery. With the whole country to stand by him, it required neither rare courage nor special administrative ability on his part to crush the contemptible nullifying junta; yet, in the final settlement of the question, some concessions were made to them. True; Andrew Jackson had an iron will, lion-like energy, and a military pres-

tige; but, if he had been called to grapple with the Slave Power in fierce rebellion and organized into an independent confederacy, and had nothing but an almost equally divided North to rely upon for support, he would have found that he had a very different task to perform, requiring much higher qualities than those of mere pluck and resolution. There is doubtless there will continue to be an honest difference of individual opinion, whether President Lincoln, in view of the appalling difficulties of his situation, and, for a time, the almost chaotic state of the nation, could have successfully or prudently gone farther or faster in his efforts to put down the rebellion; but it must be conceded that the collective judgment of the country and of Europe is favorably recorded as to his wisdom and statesmanship, and the excellence of his administration, culminating in a comparatively brief period, in crushing the most formidable rebellion recorded in the pages of history, giving liberty to millions held in brutal servitude, and placing the American republic, in all that is truly great and glorious, at the head of the nations.

Nevertheless, no special claim is to be made in behalf of Mr. Lincoln either as a philanthropist or reformer, in a radical sense. He made no such claim for himself, and sought no such distinction. In fairness, he is to be judged and compared within the sphere of politics, on the plane of official station, as President of the United States, restricted by constitutional limitation, and bound by his oath to maintain the sovereignty of the Federal Government, and preserve the unity and peace of the republic.

Before his election to the Presidency, he lived in a State where office-seeking was most likely to be successful by assailing the Anti-Slavery cause, and sanctioning whatever pro-slavery concessions a haughty slave oligarchy at the South might demand. But he was proof against temptation in that direction, and zealously exposed the unpopular side, subjecting himself to much ridicule and reproach, and, for a time at least, rendering his political prospects anything but flattering. Yet he ultimately was elected to the State Legislature and to Congress. Justly believing the Mexican war to have been waged without provocation, and for a most iniquitous purpose, namely, the seizure of territory for the extension of Southern slavery, he refused to give it his sanction as a member of the House of Representatives. He steadfastly maintained the right of petition, voting against laying on the table, without consideration, petitions in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and against the slave trade. Mr. Gott, of Pennsylvania, having introduced a resolution directing the committee for the District to report a bill abolishing the slave traffic in the District, Mr. Lincoln moved an amendment, instructing them to introduce a bill for the abolition of slavery within its limits; but providing compensation to the masters, and requiring the bill to be submitted to the people of the District for their acceptance or rejection. He ably supported the Wilmot Proviso, having voted for it. "In one way or another," to use his own language, "about forty times." He resisted to the utmost the perfidious repeal of the Missouri compromise, stood by ill-fated Kansas throughout her bloody struggle with Border Ruffianism and the minions of the Slave Power. In 1856 Mr. Lincoln's name headed the Republican Electoral ticket in Illinois, in support of the nomination of John C. Fremont for the Presidency. Whenever or wherever the South attempted to extend her slaveholding sway beyond her own limits and the compromises of the Constitution, he met her with inflexible purpose. Yet neither at that time nor at any subsequent period did he assume to be an abolitionist. He never sought to evade, abrogate or amend the Constitution in regard to any of its pro-slavery guarantees, but was for adhering to the instrument according to its uniform interpretation from the time of its adoption; justifying the act to himself on the ground of preserving the Union as a matter of paramount importance, and believing that, by restricting its extension, slavery would gradually perish. Herein he participated in the moral blindness and terrible infatuation which then prevailed throughout the country, but which, through Divine retribution for our great national iniquity, no longer deceives or misleads. When a candidate for the Senate of the United States, he made the memorable declaration—

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

Yet, on his way from Springfield to Washington in 1861 to be inaugurated as President of the United States, he could coolly say to the South—

"We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions—to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution. Fellow-citizens, friends, brethren, may I call you in my new position?"

Again, though six slave States had already organized themselves into an independent confederacy, and every other slave State but Delaware (where slavery had but a nominal existence) was openly taking the initiative steps to follow their treasonable example; and though the "Star of the West," on her errand of mercy to the starving garrison at Fort Sumter, had been ignominiously driven by shot and shell from the harbor of Charleston, and numerous forts, arsenals, custom-houses, post-offices, &c., &c., had been treacherously seized by them; yet, in a speech at Steubenville, Ohio, Mr. Lincoln had the faculty to declare—

"I believe the devotion to the Constitution is equally great on both sides of the river. It is only the different understanding of that instrument that causes the difficulty."

Again, at Pittsburg, Pa., he ignored the necessary and palpable relation of slavery to the rebellion by saying—

"Notwithstanding the troubles across the river, (pointing southwardly across the Monongahela, and smiling,) we are to be crisis in our history. It is only the different understanding of that instrument that causes the difficulty."

Whereas, it was an explosion as natural as a volcanic shower of stones and lava—the irrepressible conflict between the forces of freedom and oppression—the inevitable falling of the house because it was divided against itself. It was not a question of temper at all, but of principle—or eternal justice, the rights of human nature, and the sovereignty of God. No peace or prosperity could be predicated of such a "covenant with death," but only the "laying up of wrath against the day of wrath," to the ultimate overthrow of the nation.

At Cleveland Mr. Lincoln, referring to the slaveholding lords of the South, said—"Have they not all their rights now that they ever had? Do they not have their fugitive slaves returned now as ever?" By "rights" he meant complete domination over their slave victims to deal with them as with cattle and swine; and by his reference to the rendition of fugitive slaves, he indicated no purpose or wish to have it otherwise. Yet, when he reached Philadelphia, addressing the citizens assembled in the old Independence Hall, with singular inconsistency he said—

"All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that came forth from these sacred walls, within which the Declaration of Independence was adopted. May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I ever prove false to those teachings!" If this country cannot be saved upon the principle of the Declaration of Independence, it will be truly awful. But if it cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it!"

I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. My paramount object is to save the Union; and not either to save or destroy slavery."

Surely, such declarations are not only paradoxical but utterly irreconcilable. For, in saving the Union with four millions of bondmen still to clank their galling fetters and to pierce the ear of the Lord of saboth with their cries, what will it still be but a "house divided against itself," the overthrow of which would be as sure as the law of gravitation? And what would such salvation prove in the end but utter destruction?

Three weeks after this letter was written, on the 15th of September, 1862, Mr. Lincoln gave formal audience to a deputation from all the religious denominations of the city of Chicago which had been appointed to wait upon him; and frankly said to them—"I admit that slavery is at the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act, but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instrument." He also admitted that to the issuing, at that time, of an emancipation proclamation, he raised no objections on legal or constitutional grounds; and, moreover, that such a proclamation would help us in Europe, and somewhat at the North. Yet—strange delusion and marvellous incredulity—he hesitated to strike at that which confessedly caused the rebellion and constituted its vitality; first, because he feared it would be ineffectual, "like the Pope's bull against the comet"; next, because it might precipitate the secession of the Border States; next, because it would be difficult to know what to do with the emancipated; and, finally, because he could not see "what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation." Nevertheless, only nine days afterwards, he issued a proclamation, in which, after giving the rebellious States a hundred days' grace in which to lay down their arms and be pardoned, so that they could still hold their slaves securely as before under the Constitution, he threatened them, if they did not succumb within the time specified, that he would liberate all their slaves—a threat duly executed on the 1st of January, 1863.

Still confused and without a fixed policy, in his annual message to Congress only one month prior to the time solemnly decreed by him for the abolition of slavery in the eleven Confederate States, he recommended to Congress an amendment of the Constitution, to the effect that every State, loyal or disloyal, wherein slavery then existed, which should abolish the same therein before the year 1900, (1) should receive due compensation; but, in case any State should reintroduce or tolerate slavery therein, after being compensated, it should refund to the United States the bonds so received, and all interest paid thereon. Here was an indefinite lease of life given to that awful system, "without which," to borrow the President's language, "the rebellion could never have existed, and without which it could not continue"; manifestly evincing a most bewildered state of mind on the part of Mr. Lincoln. There was no need of such an amendment—to say nothing of the impracticability of its adoption—for he had openly admitted his constitutional right, under the war power, to give freedom to at least three-fourths of the entire slave population. It is difficult to account for such incoherence of reasoning and antagonism of measures.

On the 12th of July, in an interview with the members of Congress from the Border States, Mr. Lincoln besought them to "consent to substantial compensation for that which was sure to be lost in any other event," and added—

"I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and abundance, and the numbers shall be large enough to be company, and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go."

Two things are here noteworthy: first, that Mr. Lincoln did not recognize the right of the oppressed to immediate freedom, and he thus seemingly sanctioned their enslavement for an indefinite period; secondly, that when emancipated, he favored their transportation to South America, partly for the absurd reason that there they would find abundance of room, or, inferentially, if they remained, very close quarters here! As if in a state of freedom they would not be able to find easy accommodation in their native land, which is capable of receiving the population of the globe! And as if they would not be as much needed to cultivate the soil as ever!

So infested was the mind of Mr. Lincoln with the idea of the desirableness of colonizing the colored population abroad, that it was in consequence of his own urgent solicitations Congress, at its session of 1862, passed an act placing at his disposal the sum of \$800,000, to be expended at his discretion in removing, with their own consent, free persons of African descent to some country which they might select as adapted to their condition and circumstances. And this unwarrantable appropriation was made at a time when the national war debt was accumulating at the rate of five hundred millions of dollars a year!

Mr. Lincoln's interview at the White House with a deputation of colored persons, in order to ascertain their views on the subject and to state to them his own, while it was unquestionably well-intended, was equally ludicrous and humiliating. It is impossible to read what he said to the deputation, by way of enlightenment, without losing all gravity of countenance. It seems like a blistering satire upon the scheme proposed, rather than a serious argument in its support. But the single disastrous experiment made by the President, soon afterwards, in colonizing a few hundreds within the Haytian dominion, sufficed to break the spell that bound him, and he abandoned the project entirely. Ascertaining that these emigrants had been cruelly deceived, and were in a suffering condition, by no fault of theirs, the President lost no time in sending a vessel to give them succor and bring them back to their native country. Thus proving that he was actuated by humane, however mistaken views, and ready to acknowledge his error as soon as he saw it.

These reminders of the checkered views and efforts of Mr. Lincoln, in dealing with the terrible question of slavery, are not made to detract from his great merits, but solely in the spirit of justice; for excessive and unqualified panegyric is neither appreciation nor praise. Be this his charitable extenuation: no public man ever occupied so trying a position, or had so many conflicting passions, opinions, interests, prejudices and discords, out of which to bring liberty triumphant. The work to be done, in order to restore peace and save the republic, was the total abolition of slavery. But at the time of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration in 1861, how many, outside of the small band of Abolitionists, saw or were willing to admit that slavery and the rebellion were simply cause and effect, and, therefore, no quarrel must be given to the former if the government would see Confederate treason overthrown? What encouragement did the President find in the prevailing sentiment of the North—ay, even of his own party—to warrant him in going then, or at any subsequent period, one step farther than he did in the way of emancipation? Not that he was trimmer, or timidly disposed, or unwilling to assume grave responsibilities or perform unpleasant duties with alacrity; but only that he was largely endowed with sense to perceive that no decree of his, if either far in advance or hotly in defiance of *res publica* will, could avail anything; especially in such a feverish state of things, when the very elements were melting with fervent heat. He knew that though in the Electoral College he received 180 votes, Breckinridge 72, Bell 30, and Douglas 12, yet at the polls he only received 1,857,610 votes; Douglas 1,365,576; Breckinridge 847,953; and Bell 690,681. Making an aggregate of the political forces arrayed against him of 2,864,560, and leaving him in a popular minority of 946,950, whose party leanings were entirely with the South. Was that to be strongly entrenched? Was that a working power in such a crisis? Was it not a result to make the boldest pause, and the most impetuous circumspect? Surely, the verdict of history will

be that no man ever did so large a business on so small a capital in the service of freedom and humanity as Abraham Lincoln.

See what was done at the session of Congress prior to his inauguration, and terminating on the 4th of March, 1861—

"Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring.) That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE 12. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State."

This humiliating and iniquitous resolution was adopted in the House of Representatives, then largely Republican, by the strong vote of 183 to 65—more than two-thirds in its favor! It was also adopted in the Senate by a two-thirds vote—24 to 12.

Less than three weeks before the several States assembled at Washington, it was voted, (9 to 8) Rhode Island in the affirmative. When any territory north or south of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude as the Constitution of such State may provide." The following was also adopted (12 to 7):

"SECURITY 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive from labor, in all cases where the marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive was prevented from doing so by violence or intimidation, from mobs or other riotous assemblages, or where, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby deprived of the same; and the acceptance of such payment shall preclude the owner from further claim to such fugitive."

Such was the pro-slavery sentiment and purpose of the country presented to Mr. Lincoln, even by his own political party, when he entered upon his official duties, with the Southern confederacy in full operation, its cornerstone resting upon the doctrine "that the negro is not equal to the white man; and that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition." What hope was there that the country could be saved?

Even then, however, our noblest bard of freedom—JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER—could encouragingly sing—

"Yet o'er the blackness of the storm
A bow of promise bends on high,
And gleams of sunshine, soft and warm,
Break through our clouded sky."

East, West, and North, the shout is heard,
Of freedom rising for the right:
Each valley bath its rallying word—
Each hill its signal light!"

O'er Massachusetts' rocks of grey
The strengthening light of freedom shines,
Rhode Island's Narragansett Bay
And Vermont's snow-bung lines!"

From Hudson's frowning palisades
To Alleghany's lawless coasts,
O'er lakes and prairies, streams and glades,
It shines upon the West."

Nevertheless, it was not until eighteen months after the war was declared—eighteen months of hope deferred, and expectation blasted, and victory indefinitely postponed—blood flowing like water, but in vain—that it was deemed safe or expedient to strike a deadly blow at the root of the rebellion, by abolishing slavery throughout the Confederate States. The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, was the turning point of the struggle. From that day the doom of Rebellion was sealed—"the stars in their courses fought against Sissera"—the tide of victory was turned against the enemy with constantly augmenting power—and the nation, rising from its abasement, heard with trembling awe a voice from heaven, saying—

"I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them. And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you. Then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and your doings that were not good, and shall loathe yourselves in your own sight, for your iniquities, and for your abominations. Not for your own sakes do I this, saith the Lord God, but that ye know unto whom ye are ashamed and confounded for your own ways; O house of Israel! I the day that I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities, I will also cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded. And the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by. And they shall say, This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden; and the waste, and desolate, and ruined cities are become fenced, and are inhabited. I the Lord have spoken it, and will do it."

"Upon this act," said President Lincoln, "sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the consideration of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God." That favor has since been shown in a marvellous manner, and that judgment pronounced in strains of hosannah. For while "the deep damnation of his taking off," was powerfully affected the imagination and shocked the sensibilities of Christendom, it never would have found such expressions of grief and love except that he had died a martyr to the cause of universal freedom. This, alone it is that has sent an electric thrill through the world, drew millions of weeping mourners around his bier as with imposing solemnities it passed from the national capital through thronging cities and towns to distant Illinois, and will give him immortal historic renown. From the hour he put his signature to that Proclamation, he no longer stumbled in the dark, but began to grow in grace and in knowledge—to be animated by a conviction that he was to be an instrument in the hand of God to bring about great and glorious ends—to feel strong in his purpose to make no compromise with the dark spirit of slavery. His own solemnly repeated pledge is the sublime inscription that can be chiselled upon his monument or affixed to his statue—"I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that Proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an Executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be the instrument to perform it." His last official utterance, too, on this subject, in his grandly phenomenal inaugural address on the 4th of March last, is worthy to be written in starry letters upon the sky—"If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the Providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now will remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern there any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen in two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so it still must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Yes, dollar for dollar, blood for blood, torture for torture, life for life have been retributively exacted in full!

"So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it: four long-score years,
Till fate, ill-fitting, ill-report, laid through,
And then he heard the bells changed to bells,
The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took with him to the great answering mood:
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood."

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger pressed,
And those poor, patient eyes were closed,
Those gentle, long-labored limbs were laid to rest."

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness to his heart and on his brow,
What this vile murderer brought with evil words,
To thoughts of peace on earth, good will to men."

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last had free,
Sad life, so short just as its triumph came."

A deed account! Strokes have been struck before
By the assassin's hand, whereof none doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
But by foul error, like Cain's, stands alone."

Vile hand, that brandished murder on a strife,
What'er its grounds, so deadly and so swift,
And with the master's crown crowned a thief,
With much to praise, little to be forgiven."

"We hoped for peace: our eyes were weary
The blood-red dawn of Freedom's day,
We prayed for love to be the chain:
'Tis shorn by battle's axe in vain!"

Nor skill nor strength nor zeal of ours
Laid mired and heaved the hostile town;
Not by our hands is turned the key
That sets the sighing captive free."

A redder sea than Egypt's was
Laid and parted for the slave;
A darker dusk moves on in light,
A fiercer fire is guided by night!"

Let us adore the justice of God, even in our humiliation and bereavement, and patiently await that we richly deserve whatever chastisement we have received at his hands. Hitherto, with reference to our colored population, our lips have spoken lies, and our tongues have uttered perjuries; we have conceived mischief, and brought forth iniquity; our feet have run to evil, and we have made haste to shed innocent blood; we have groped for the wall like the blind, and stumbled at noon-day as in the night; we have spoken oppression and revile, and there has been no judgment in our going. Our ways have a righteous God recompensed upon our heads.

Where, now, is that satanic Slave Power which sought to exalt itself "above all that is called God"? Its sceptre is broken, its throne in the great of the rebellion? Where are the haughty and despotic leaders of the rebellion? Some are under the sod, others are outlaws and wanderers in foreign cities, shamed as lepers, and carrying the brand of Cain upon their foreheads; while others are incarcerated in jails, prisons and asylums, "gnawing their tongues for pain," and waiting for their doom pronounced. The chief of them all—chief in dissimulation and craft, in infernal pride and ambition, in guile and baseness, as well as in official station and authority—Jefferson Davis, is occupying a felon's cell within the strong walls of Fortress Monroe, and trembling for his fate. What fate deserves to be, the laws of God and of the land leave no room for doubt. It is to be hanged by the neck, on a gallows higher than his man's, till he be "dead, dead, dead." For either let him be capitally executed, or else let the nation ever abolish the gallows. Certainly, there is but one thing likely to save him from this ignominious fate, and that is his criminality, and pitiful danger as a poor old woman, running for life in military boots! This is the acme of the ludicrous—tragically comical, farce commingled—a thousand steps from the sublime to the ridiculous. It may be difficult to laugh at the poor wretch who is existing the derision of the world, and extorting the guffaw of the universe!

Where is the great and formidable rebellion? It is come—broken in pieces like a potter's vessel—lapped like a bubble. Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and Thomas have swept through the prostrate South with their victorious "mudsills," irresistible as fate, and with the besom of destruction; and Farragut, and Porter, and Dupont, and Gillmore have captured all her ports, and reduced all her fortifications by the sea. The star-spangled banner waves victoriously from every flag-staff from Maine to Texas, from the Lakes to California. Grant announces the bloody conflict closed in favor of Liberty and Right: Sherman has taken farewell of his gallant veteran soldiers, and the Government is sending home, by hundreds of thousands, its brave defenders, covered with the mud and dust of a hundred battle-fields, marked with many a scar and gaping wound, but crowned with the laurel of fame—sending them to homes long delayed by anxiety and sadness, but now made radiant with hope and vocal with joy. Now, therefore, may the inspiring strain be sung by the shore of the ocean, Atlantic, and echoed loud in thunder-tones from beyond the Rocky Mountains—

"H