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THE

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1865.

THOMAS B. THAYER, EDITOR.

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melt and sanctify the heart. It is a truth destined to literal fulfilment, that "where sin abounded, grace hath greatly superabounded." God is to become *all in all*. That man is not wisest, however, who waits for the unseen world to witness his first essays in holiness. No one can tell how fierce may be the throes of remorse that will there drive the obdurate to repentance. Most sagacious is he who can truly say, The goodness of God leadeth me to reformation. He can have in the present life the evidence in a joyous experience, that Christ is a seal of the divine compassion to all mankind.

ARTICLE VI.

The Re-election of Mr. Lincoln.

THE eyes of the world are turned forward to the fourth of March, and toward our capital, for the consummation, in the re-inauguration of President Lincoln, of one of the most important events in the history of the world. Never, since our government was organized, has a chief magistrate been re-nominated and re-elected to the high and solemn trust of President of the United States, when the exigencies seemed so clearly to demand it, and when the act, on the part of the people, required so much of the manly qualities of firmness against trials unparalleled.

When Washington was urged, by the wisdom of his day, to allow the use of his name for a second term, it was demanded by the fact that our government was an experiment; the people were much divided in opinion as to the fundamental principles upon which it was established; his name would prevent these schisms from breaking out into open ruptures; and four years more of service at the hands of him upon whom all the people looked as the father of the country would go far toward making the experiment of establishing the new

nation an actual experience, and grounding the government in the hearts and affections of the people.

In the present instance an untried civilian, holding, it is true, a prominent position as a lawyer, and somewhat widely and favorably known as a successful stump-speaker, but inexperienced in the ways of state-craft, is called from the head of the bar in Illinois, to the chief place in governing a great and free nation. By a powerful faction, his election is made the pretext, and is used as the watch-cry, to get up an insurrection. Before he comes into power, his predecessor allows the rebellion to grow to formidable dimensions. The rebellion is made strong, not so much by any political or moral power inherent in itself, or attaching to its cause, but by the absolute prostration in which the master-spirits of the rebellion left the lawful government, by the sympathy so unexpectedly and unjustly shown it by the royal despots of Europe; and more than all, by the political corruption which the slave power had sown broadcast over the loyal States for forty years, and by the prejudice in its behalf, and the ignorance as to the real plans and purposes of the insurgents, which had been fostered for political purposes by a large and powerful party North.

Against this formidable tide of unfavorable circumstances,¹ Mr. Lincoln administers the affairs of the nation for four years; and does it so prudently as to secure an enthusiastic renomination, and a triumphant re-election. The people have thus paid Mr. Lincoln the highest compliment for his honesty, his sincerity, and his patriotism. They have given proof, at the same time, of their integrity and moral purpose. They have most nobly vindicated their right to vote, against intimidation and threats, for whom they please as chief magistrate; and

¹ Mr. Lowell, in the "North American Review," of January, 1864, uses the following quaint but happy illustration: "Mr. Lincoln's perilous task has been to carry a rather shakely raft through the rapids, making fast the unrulier logs as he could snatch opportunity, and the country is to be congratulated that he did not think it his duty to run straight at all hazards, but cautiously to assure himself with his setting-pole where the main current was, and keep steadily to that. He is still in wild water; but we have faith that his skill and sureness of eye will bring him out right at last."—*The President's Policy*, No. 202, p. 243.

they have uttered a solemn warning to any and all discontented factions that may hereafter be beaten at the polls ; and who, in imitation of the slave lords of the South, may be tempted to rise in revolt against their will constitutionally expressed at the ballot-box.

Three years ago, after the rebellion was successfully set in motion, thoughtful men dreaded the event of a new election. They were fearful that by great exertions on the part of the traitorous faction South, by the active sympathy which was accorded to the rebellion in Europe, by the indirect aid and comfort which it was receiving from its former political allies North, the war might last during the whole of Mr. Lincoln's first term of office. This would bring upon us the excitement of a presidential election in the midst of a civil war. Would not this put our government to the test beyond all precedent ? Might it not imperil everything ? With such anticipations, the event has been awaited by the friends and foes of our government, both at home and abroad. The eyes of all Europe have been upon us. The event came. It came with much excitement. But the excitement was too deep and earnest to be marked by the characteristics of other and former presidential campaigns. It called out an array of talent, never before equalled in the history of any presidential contest. Some of the speeches of the recent campaign will live forever, and will be read in future as we read the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero. To the joy of our friends and the chagrin of our foes abroad, the election passed off as quietly as any ever known in the history of our country. Surely, we have reason to thank God, that the ship of State has survived the shock, and that the portion of the crew which mutinied against our captain is in a fair way to be brought to such terms as never to try the experiment of revolt again.

To us, looking at the probable consequences of this event upon the future of the world, it seems as though once again as of yore, "the morning stars might sing together and all the sons of God might shout for joy !"

The causes out of which has grown the momentous crisis

through which we are passing are not of recent origin. With the very roots of our national life, they run back into the incipient history of the colonies. They antedate the Revolutionary War, or the establishment of this empire of freedom on the western continent. It is a shallow oversight of the facts of history to mistake the election of Mr. Lincoln, which was made the *occasion*, for the *cause* of the revolt. His election simply brought the crisis to a head. We never mistake the poultice that draws a tumor to a head for the cause of the inflammation. The poultice is applied to bring the disease to the surface. If it does this successfully, we regard it as a favorable symptom; we apply the same remedy again, until the core of the disease is removed, and the inflammation completely allayed. The American people, finding that the election of Mr. Lincoln brought the disease in our body politic to a head, have wisely re-elected him, that the core of our national troubles may be drawn out, the fever allayed, and the body politic be restored to perfect health.

While, under the auspices of European nations, — chiefly of Spain, France, and England, — the newly-discovered continent was being settled, and before the civilization of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had arrayed the Christian nations against the barbarism of slavery, an unfortunate traffic in negroes was carried on between the colonies of the new world and the shores of Africa. This traffic was encouraged by the British crown to fill the coffers of a depleted treasury. At first Dutch, afterward Spanish, and finally even English ships, engaged in this questionable trade.²

It is a singular coincidence in history, that in the year 1620, the very year in which the Mayflower reached Plymouth, Mass., with its Puritan colony, a Dutch slave-ship touched at Jamestown, Va., bringing twenty negroes that were sold into a condition of perpetual servitude. These ships brought to our shores those antagonistic forces that have led to our present conflict. It cannot be more truly said that the future bird, in embryo, exists in the egg, than we may say that New Eng-

² "Hildreth's History of the United States," vol. i. p. 129. Vol. ii. p. 214.

land civilization with its love of freedom, its intelligence, its sense of justice, its schoolhouses, its colleges, and its churches, came across the sea in the *Mayflower*; and that the barbarism of Southern slavery, with its brutality and its ignorance, its impoverished lands and sparse population,—in short, that the whole civil contest in which we are involved to-day, with its history of violence and blood, came over in the Dutch slave-ship that brought the first twenty kidnapped negroes to these shores.

The establishment of slavery introduced into the colonies two adverse social systems. Out of these systems those forces have been developed the play and conflict of which form such an instructive portion of our country's history. The pioneer life which, in this new world, the fathers were compelled to live, tempered them with the spirit of democracy, and made them favorable to freedom and equality. Besides, the Puritans as well as Quakers who came to these shores found an additional incentive to favor free institutions, in the fact that they had themselves fled from persecution at home. The forms of government originally established were, of course, more or less crude and imperfect; but throughout New England, and all the States in which slavery was prohibited or abolished, there was a prevailing tendency toward thrift, freedom, and education. Whereas in the Southern colonies in which slavery was firmly established, social, moral, and political forces soon developed themselves that were hostile to those of New England.³ The ruling class became more and more aristocratic in spirit; labor,

³ Speaking of the influence of pioneer life, Hildreth says, "Though starting, in these respects, from a common basis, the operation of different causes early produced different effects, resulting in a marked difference of local character. The want in New England of any staple product upon which hired or purchased labor could be profitably employed discouraged immigration and the importation of indented servants or slaves. Hence the population soon became, in a great measure, home-born and home-bred (free). . . . In Virginia, on the other hand, plantations were isolated; each man settled where he found a convenient, unoccupied spot. The parish churches, the county courts, the election of burgesses, brought the people together, and kept up something of adult education. But the parishes were very extensive; there were no schools; and *parochial and political rights were soon greatly curtailed.*"—*History of U. S.*, vol. i. chap. xv. p. 510.

in consequence of slavery, was brought into disrepute ; and the poor whites, though not held in a condition of servitude, were degraded by the servile condition of the laboring class in the midst of whom they lived.⁴ Under circumstances like these the wealthy — those who were able to purchase négroes and to own their labor — became, by the inherent force of their social elevation, aristocratic in their feelings, habits, and customs.

The revolutionary struggle, uniting the several colonies in a common cause, the outside pressure of a common danger, and the inside attraction of a common object, had a tendency to modify and to hold these antagonistic forces in check. The fiery trial of the Revolution softened the hearts of all classes, brought them upon a common level, developed among them a "fellow feeling," and, for at least a generation, allayed the natural and irrepressible asperities that were hidden in the moral and political antagonisms inherent in the adverse social conditions of free and slaveholding communities. The great struggle exerted a healthy moral influence, made the people humane, and rendered the rich as well as the poor favorable to free institutions. Strange as it may seem, even the slaveholders deplored the existence of slavery, and looked forward to its early and complete extinction among them ! But owing to the inventions of Whitney's cotton-gin, which gave such an unexpected impulse to the raising of this staple product, and which rendered slave-labor so profitable, slave-masters were led to take counsel of their selfishness, and the humane tendency developed in revolutionary times was absorbed by the desire for gain ; and slavery, once looked upon as an evil that could not be defended, came soon to be regarded as a social, moral, and political blessing.

The natural fruits of slavery were now developed with a

⁴ " While the slave code was thus extended, the privilege and political power of the poorer whites underwent a corresponding diminution. . . . Even this small privilege (of participating in the elections) was begrudged to the poorer freemen ; and, on the usual pretext of tumultuous elections, and want of sufficient discretion in the poorer voters, it was now enacted (in Virginia, in 1670) *that none but householders and freeholders should have a voice in the election of burgesses.*" — *Hildreth's Hist. of U. S.*, vol. i. p. 524.

surprising rapidity. With every decade of years the slave-masters of the South became more and more imperious in their spirit and conduct; more exacting in their demands in behalf of the "peculiar institution;" and more outspoken in their defence of its barbarous inhumanities. The reason why slavery became such an irresistible and controlling element in the politics of the country was owing wholly to the jealousies and fear of the slave-masters for the institution, and their desire to find means to protect and defend its iniquities. It was in this way that the "irrepressible conflict" developed itself, and, ere long, led to unceasing strife and angry debate in and out of Congress. It led to acts of personal violence in the House of Representatives, and to deeds of blood on the floor of the Senate. It incited the people to mob-violence both North and South, established the courts of Judge Lynch in every Slave State, and led to an unmistakable reign of terror even before this war began, and Union men were hunted down like wild beasts. It embroiled us in an aggressive war with Mexico; for years, for the sake of Cuba, sought to involve us in another with Spain. It fitted out filibustering expeditions against the neighboring and friendly republics of Central America, inaugurated an incipient civil war on the virgin soil of Kansas, and finally, when the manhood of the North was aroused, and would brook no further aggressions against the peace and liberties of the country, and by the election of Mr. Lincoln said to slavery, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther!" it had the insolence to unsheathe the sword and put the nation on trial for its life.⁵

If slavery had been unknown among us, this country might for centuries have gone on developing the rich natural resources with which Providence has blessed it. Slavery has been the only dangerous element of discord among us. Though our people are of one race, speak the same language, and, so far as

⁵ When we review the history of this contest, and behold the circumstances in which our country has been involved by it, the remark of Thomas Carlyle, touching the present war, is not so very far out of the way: "It is the dirtiest chimney that's been afire this century, and the best way is *to let it burn itself out.*"

the general government is concerned, have lived under the same laws, yet this anomaly of slavery, in the midst of otherwise free institutions, has rendered our political condition *heterogeneous*. By his instincts and his interests the slave-master is compelled to be the enemy of free society. Slavery, by the irresistible force of its nature, cannot exist side by side in peaceable political fellowship with freedom. No man can study the history of our country, or of the world, without finding ample and incontrovertible proof of this fact.

The very first step to proclaim the colonies independent of the British crown gave signs of this conflict. The Declaration of Independence had to be modified to suit the slave-holding caste. At the adoption of the Constitution, slavery was the most serious bone of contention. From that day to the present hour, it has been at the bottom of almost every important question by which the American people have been agitated. Much of the animosity that came to the surface during the discussions on the embargo, the fishing bounties, the tariff, and, I may add, internal improvements, was the result, directly or indirectly, of the jealousy which, at a very early day, manifested itself between the two sections in which these adverse political and social systems existed. New England hated slavery, and consequently, slavery hated New England. It is surprising how soon after the organization of the government, a most uncompromising hostility was discovered among the planters of the South, against the commercial and manufacturing interests of the free North. The whole philosophy of this hate is explained by the word *free*. The social condition of the ruling class in the Southern States — their elevation above the poor and laboring classes — rendered them impetuous and fiery in temper, imperious in manner, dictatorial in spirit, and exacting in their demands to a degree impossible for words to express.

We are indebted to Carl Schurz for the just and happy remark, that weak minds always attribute great movements to transient and inadequate causes. The weak minds of other days said a few monks were anxious to get married, and

it led to the Reformation, and brought upon Europe a thirty years' war. One John Hampden was too mean to pay a few shillings of ship-money, and all England was set ablaze by the torch of revolution. A few merchants were too greedy to pay an importation tax on tea, and the American Revolution, with an exhausting seven years' war, was the result. So the children of these weak minds tell us to-day that the political heresies of Phillips and Garrison are the sole cause of the great convulsion by which this nation is rocked to its centre. It is thus that some of the effects are mistaken for the cause, and the deep and hidden sources of evil, from which we are suffering, are overlooked. The evil that has brought the present conflict upon us is radical and deep-seated. It had taken such complete possession of the body politic that it could not be driven out without tearing and rending the nation.

Wise and far-seeing statesmen of this and other countries saw that the conflict which, four years ago, reached its height and culminated in the election of Mr. Lincoln was inevitable, and must ultimately come in some form or other. Those who were in sympathy with class privileges, and who hated republican institutions, looked forward to this event with joy, hoping it would make an end of democracy. Those who hated castes and classes, and who desired the perpetuation of free government, awaited the event with fearful and heavy hearts, dreading the consequences to humanity that might ensue. When the crisis came, to the joy of the latter and the consternation of the former, the people met it in a noble and manly spirit. When the crash of rebel shell resounded from the sides and parapets of Fort Sumter, the nation sprung to its feet, and the people came to the rescue in a way that will live immortally on the page of history. The uprising of '61, like that of '76, will never be forgotten. These are events that few generations are permitted to see. When men volunteer by the hundred thousand, and when an army of a million rushes to the field in defence of country and the cause of freedom, it is a spectacle of heroic grandeur, seldom equalled, perhaps never surpassed. It has been justly remarked that "it is impossi-

ble to conceive the mental and moral condition of the American who does not feel his spirit braced and heightened by being even a spectator of such qualities and achievements.”

The re-election of Mr. Lincoln is the crowning glory of the contest. It is putting on the cap-sheaf, — proclaiming to the world that the harvest is ready to be gathered in. The victory of November last is grander than the triumph of Grant at Vicksburg, or of Sherman at Atlanta, — grander, because it is a moral triumph ; it bespeaks the conviction and firmness of the American people. It clearly proves that behind our brave armies and commanders in the field, there is a moral strength to which the results of this struggle may be safely trusted. It is by far the most emphatic notice the insurgents and their friends have received during the progress of the war, as to the spirit and purpose of the American people.

By the re-election of Mr. Lincoln the people of this country have given notice “to all whom it may concern,” that they are going to see this matter through, that they have put their hands to the plough with a determination not to look back, that they will not accept defeat, but press the matter to a victory. Mr. Lincoln’s election was made the pretext for the revolt, and it is eminently fitting that the insurgents should be notified by his triumphant *re*-election, that the revolt, after four years of careful deliberation, is pronounced causeless, unprovoked ; that it was conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity, and deserves no other fate but utter extermination.

Considering the difficulties which the President encountered, his re-election is as honorable to the American people as it is to him. It will do more to re-establish us in the confidence of Europe than all else we have done since the war began. It indicates a tenacity of purpose that proves us a nation, and not a mere accidental aggregation of States.

In order to appreciate Mr. Lincoln’s situation, and to estimate the debt of gratitude the American people owe him simply for what he *has* done, let us hastily and briefly review some of the difficulties he has encountered, in the course of the administration now drawing to a close.

1. We have already adverted to the fact, that when he came into office, the insurrection was under full headway ; whereas the means for resistance were not at hand. The treasury was empty. The land and naval forces of the United States, such as they were, had been purposely placed beyond the reach of the newly inaugurated authorities.

2. The people were in doubt. Every possible thing had been done to demoralize them, to throw them into confusion, and to destroy both their power and their determination for resistance. To their utter consternation, European nations stood ready to accord civilities to the parenticides who were seeking the life and striking at the very heart of their fatherland. The cry, starting in the South, re-echoed by their political allies North, went round the world, *that 12,000,000 of people could not be subdued*. The fact was studiously ignored, that 4,000,000 of them were slaves ; and that the interests, of at least ninety per cent. of the remainder of the population, were with the lawful government and not with the insurgents. We were told that the South were so united that they could not be overcome ; that the people were so brave they would falsify history, and show that in their case the laws of nature were reversed ; for they would fight until the last man of them was exterminated, — a thing that never was and never will be known in the history of the world.

3. The conditions of war imposed rigorous necessities to which our people were total strangers. Those who were in sympathy with the insurgents, and who were ready to betray the country into their hands, must in some way be dealt with, and their treacherous schemes circumvented. Could this be done ? Could the necessary rigor be employed against them without arousing among the thoughtless a mistaken sympathy in their behalf ? Were the people in a condition to understand, that it was no longer a struggle between the *ins* and *outs* for public patronage ; but stern and uncompromising war, involving the very life of the nation ?

4. At the beginning of the war some four or five border States trembled in the balance. One imprudent, hasty act, on

the part of the new President, would hurl these States over the brink of uncertainty into the yawning gulf of secession; and would add to the effective strength of the insurgents, at least 100,000 men.⁶ It was this, we judge, more than aught else, that prompted, and that in history will justify, the recall of Fremont's proclamation. It was this that delayed the action of the president with regard to emancipation. He waited to give the people of the border States time to see the consequences of rebellion, and to enable them by new elections to take their States from under the official control of men who were heart and soul with the traitors. He gave them time to exchange a Hicks in doubt, for one who saw that safety was alone to be found on the loyal side; to exchange a Letcher for a Pierpont; a Wickliffe for a Bramlett; a Harris for a Johnson; and a Jackson for a Gamble. Radical men raised a furious cry against border State influence, but history will vindicate the course the president pursued.

5. One of the greatest dangers to the safety of the country, when the war began, was found in the temper and disposition of our military men. Everything had been done to poison their minds with sympathy for treason. They might be good soldiers, brave as ever unsheathed the sword; but did they comprehend the nature of the crisis through which the country was passing, and would they fight earnestly and with vigor against the rebellion? They had nearly all been under the control and patronage of the slave power. Most of them were filled with a malicious hate of the negro, — with a most unreasonable prejudice against the new administration. Many of them went over to the insurgents. Most of those who did not might as well have gone; for their efforts in behalf of the government were vitiated by secret sympathy for the rebel-

⁶ If Mr. Lincoln had pursued a policy by which the border States would have been driven into the Confederacy; once in the grasp of the rebel authorities, might not these States, through the merciless conscription of the South, have been made to yield *more even than* 200,000 men to the effective strength of Mr. Davis? And when we consider the pressure brought to bear upon Mr. Lincoln to have him disregard the border State influence, is not his persistency in a safe policy to be commended in words of highest praise?

lion. The majority of our West Point graduates were rendered more or less inefficient by their sympathy for the South. While the Pattersons, the Stones, the Buells, the Porters, and the M'Clellans were in command, this fatal sympathy—the product of West Point education—was worth more to the enemy than a force of 200,000 men. It occasioned delay, brought on disaster, and involved the danger of a fatal reaction in the purpose and judgment of the people.

6. By these various causes the war was prolonged. The prolongation of war continued the enormous expenditures of the government. These expenditures increased the national liabilities. The increase of these liabilities called for a scale of taxation to which the people of the United States were entirely unaccustomed. Volunteering also ceased, and conscriptions had to be resorted to, to keep up the effective force of our armies. The very men who had done the most to prevent the war from coming to an early and successful issue were now ready to seize upon these difficulties to foment discord in the North, and to ride into power on the wave of reaction which they expected would set in. Discontent among the people, so far as it could be sown broadcast, not only increased the chances of success for the malcontents who were in actual arms against the government, but it gave hope to their allies North who were eagerly watching for a favorable moment to make a *sortie* in favor of the enemy. The plot of the “Sons of Liberty,” the schemes of the traders in contraband goods, the corruptionists who practised fraud in the elections, were all encouraged by disaster to our arms, and delay in crushing the enemy.

In a contest thus drawn out, Mr. Lincoln could not depend for support upon temporary excitements, — upon such a whirl of popular enthusiasm as followed the firing upon Fort Sumter. He had to fall back upon the well-grounded convictions of the people; and, therefore, he shaped his course accordingly. The means, not only of his personal, but of the country's, safety, had to be won in the midst of the colossal difficulties that thus surrounded his administration. Few, even of the thoughtful

men of the country, can now do full justice to the trials that beset Mr. Lincoln. History alone can fully develop and illustrate their character and weight. His remark, "I am not controlling events, but events are controlling me," will yet be quoted by future generations, as the essence of wisdom and statesmanship. He wisely waited for events to educate the country to stand by him ; in the mean time, he bent all his energies to develop the true spirit and purpose among the people, so that they might not forsake him in the midst of the storm. His re-election shows that he has been successful, and his success proves him to be *the man for the crisis*.

By his success in the recent election, the difficulties we have specified are mainly overcome. The administration gains an amount of strength from it, at home and abroad, that we can hardly estimate ; while the rebellion receives from it a shock more terrible than any battle it has yet lost. The political, social, and moral heresies to which slavery gave birth are doomed. The proclamation of emancipation will become a part of the organic law of the land, and will hereafter rank in importance with the Declaration of Independence.

This triumph insures us a final and a complete victory over the corrupting elements in our politics, which were entailed upon the country through the influence of the slave power. The large national debt, though onerous, perhaps, for a few years, will redound to our strength and prosperity. It will put out of the way all needless discussions with regard to a protective tariff. By the necessities of the case, ample protection will be afforded the manufacturing interests of the country. The debt being chiefly held by our people, the government will be made strong by being identified with the interests of the people.

The impoverished lands of the South — impoverished by slave-labor — will be redeemed by free labor. Freedom is a better customer than slavery. Commerce, interstate and international, will, in a decade, increase tenfold.

The blighting influences of slavery in the South will be supplanted by the thrift, the enterprise, and the free institu-

tions of the North. The New England system of free schools will, in a few more years, be established all over the present Southern Confederacy. Colleges and churches will take the place of negro-huts, and education and religion, in the true sense, will redeem the half-barbarous, half-civilized States now in revolt against the general government.

The insolent boasts of the Southern leaders are rapidly dying out. The recent speech of Mr. Davis at Macon is in striking contrast with the word he sent to Mr. Lincoln, about four years ago, when the latter called out 75,000 men, requesting him to send a coffin for each man, for they would be received into hospitable graves. The attempt to arm the negroes to fight against themselves, — against brothers, sisters, fathers and mothers, — against their own race, is the *last ditch* of the rebel stronghold. When the slave-masters fired upon Fort Sumter, it was clearly an act of *felo de se*. Mr. Davis's recent recommendation, in his message, to have them arm their negroes, reminds one of the story told of Blondin and his Milanese assistant whom he carried over Niagara. The Milanese had broken down in his affairs, and had resolved to drown himself. In this plight Blondin met him, and he gained his consent to the hazardous undertaking by the following logic: "If we go down, very good; you are drowned according to the original intention; if we arrive safe on the other side, our fortune is made." It is logic like this Mr. Davis is using to his fellow conspirators, to save himself and them from a condition of utter despair. The only difference we can see is, that the negro-arming operation is likely to prove infinitely more hazardous than the tight-rope performance of the French acrobat. The Southern slave-lords have occasioned us no small amount of trouble. They have been our political Xantippe, and have kept our national family in a continual uproar; but they will soon be no more. The motto found on a tombstone in a country churchyard, over the grave of James Robinson and Ruth his wife — "their warfare is accomplished" — may be used to commemorate the evil spirit and folly of these men.

It is well that at the beginning of this struggle we could not foresee its fearful consequences. We should have shrunk from the duty to which God called us. In looking back to the solemn hour when the shot and shell rained upon Sumter's parapets, we may well say, —

“ In whatsoever character
The book of fate is writ,
'Tis well we understand not it ;
We should grow mad with little learning there :
Upon the brink of every ill we did foresee,
Undecently and foolishly
We should stand shivering, and but slowly venture
The fatal flood to enter.”

God for a wise purpose hid from us the book of fate and led us blindfolded into the flood of war. He has given us strength for every emergency, and now gives fair promise that he will help us through. Once through, we shall come out of the conflict purified and strengthened. We solemnly believe that now, if the factious spirit of the North can be held in subjection and Mr. Lincoln is allowed a fair chance to finish the work we have intrusted to his care, the next generation will not be able to find marble white enough in which to perpetuate his form and memory! He will be hailed as the second father of the country.

May the people of America be true to themselves! May they follow the example of their fathers! If so, such will be their future prosperity and glory, that the following prayer of Cowley will be so literally answered that it will seem as though it had been offered for them : —

“ As heaven with stars, so let
The country thick with towns be set,
And numberless as stars
Let all the towns be then
Replenished thick with men,
Wise in peace, and bold in wars ?
Of thousand glorious towns the nation,
Of thousand glorious men each town a constellation !
Nor let their warlike laurel scorn
With the Olympic olive to be worn,
Whose gentler honors do so well the brows of peace adorn ! ”