

Massachusetts were dead, commerce was paralyzed, and the only thing that dragged the country out of its misery was the money that was being poured into it by the Government. It was not the money that was the cause of the trouble, but the fact that the money was being poured into it by the Government. The money was being poured into it by the Government, and the Government was the cause of the trouble. The money was being poured into it by the Government, and the Government was the cause of the trouble. The money was being poured into it by the Government, and the Government was the cause of the trouble.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT COMMENT WITHOUT FAULTING.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1867.

Wendell Phillips's

392 pages, with portrait, will be sent post-paid, to any person sending a subscription for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and sending the sum of one dollar and ten cents (\$1.10) or for two new subscribers \$3.00 a year.

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Wendell Phillips is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address: AARON M. POWELL,

Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,

39 Nassau Street, New York.

JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS FRIENDS.

In spite of the "Three wise men of Gotham," Boston and New York, who told that treason and murder ought to be punished, and that, had there been a will, a way could have been found; that it is most ungodly and unchristian "policy" to treat murderers like honest men in order to conciliate other murderers. The religion of these "wise men" consists in swapping morality for expediency. They have a high quality of expediency, except his conscience.

In contrast with these muddled philanthropists and elegiacs, tossing about words of whose meaning they know nothing, look at the sensible and clear-sighted statesman, Thaddeus Stevens, whose light on confederation, full of profound wisdom, will be found in our issue. He is a man of God, like all our great men, who take refuge in that grandeur of spirit, an effort to show his necessity. No amount of inconsistency on my part would lessen his guilt. He expended so much magnanimity, however, in going to Richmond to clap Davis's hand, that he had no time left to copy his own words. He would have told that traitor to take to his heels, and he would have taken to his heels to avoid comment on his new-fangled and wondrous magnanimity. I wish he could find time to cultivate a few bits of that honestly and old-fashioned virtue, justice. The nation and I should both be better for it. In regard to his statements, copied in another column, I do not say that they are true, but I do say that they are lies. He deserved death, and the government which leaves him alive, confesses that it murdered Wirtz. Had I been President, and ready to execute Wirtz, I should have shot Davis within twenty-four hours after his arrest, not as a traitor or belligerent, but as a murderer and butcher, whose only crime was that of being a traitor. But I am against life-taking, and my whole theory of rebel punishment is explained in a speech in April, 1865, on Lincoln's death, which I copy below.

I repudiated the idea of trying him by a jury; not, however, from any doubt that he could be convicted. Take him to Lawrence, Kansas, and let the people of that State decide. He would have to win the jury—does any man doubt that he would be convicted? But I would not move honorably with a jury trial than I would an assize.

In the winter of 1865 and 1866 I scouted the idea of punishing Davis in any way, because I saw that, with Johnson in the White House and Greeley in the Tribune—the first a traitor from excess of backsliding, the second equally so from want of will—there was no justice was an impossibility. I was anxious, in such unwelcome circumstances, to snatch all I could. Waiving, therefore, justice, I struggled for the negro's vote. And because he himself thus blocked the wheels of right, Mr. Greeley quotes me as if allowing or approving of the punishment was as old as the ark—his release a foregone conclusion—and I hold Johnson and Greeley responsible for this: Johnson because he planned and Greeley because he indorses it. My position is submission to the inevitable. Mr. Greeley's position is fellowship with the disgraced. Let me not, however, do injustice to President Johnson, by seeming to bring down to Greeley's level. The President released Davis; he never went to Richmond to congratulate and shake hands with him.

I go for substance, and not for forms. This whining about Davis's imprisonment would be a million times better if it were not so.

It is he who has inflicted on the country what he deserves? If I had been President, I would have kept him in prison until the indignity of the last survivor of the kindred of those starved at Andersonville confessed itself unable to devise any way of bringing him to trial, to make good a law that enable the nation "to execute justice between man and man." Imprisoned a few months too long! Let him be thankful that he did not fall into the hands of a barbarian like himself, and meet with retaliation, which would have been more cruel and starvation into filio, unless death were merciful that he falls to him to die. He has no more to fear of Davis. This nation is not strong enough as I have said every week for the last three years) to despise a million such. But we are strong enough to allow that crime should be treated as it is—unexcused. We are strong enough to have the foundations of our moral sense sapped by the sophisms and vagaries of our leaders. Jefferson Davis is one of the best men that ever lived in the country. The government has released him, not because it could not punish him—it has not tried to do so—but because it expects to strengthen its party by its ignoring of crime. The philanthropists who rejoice in this

disgraceful act and the other stone-throwers, do not try to describe our confidence hereafter.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

RECEIVED AT THE PUBLICATION OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK, JUNE 8, 1867.

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The only punishment which ever creates among us a new order of things made necessary to prevent the recurrence of their sin. It was not the blood of two years and thirty centuries which England shed after the violation of the rights of her people, which crushed the bones of the Stuart. Though the fight had lasted only a few months, those bones and gibbets gave Charles his only chance to recover. But the confederate, the Highlanders—just, and recognized as such, because necessary—these quenched his star forever.

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