## THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

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PHILADELPHIA, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1866.

DOUBLE SHEET-THREE CENTS.



IN MEMORIAM

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The Martyr-President of the United States.

"He Lives in the Hearts of the People."

MEMORIAL CELEBRATION AT WASHINGTON.

Heads of the Nation Do Honor to His Memory.

ORATION BY HON, GEORGE BANCROFT.

AN ELOQUENT AND IMPRES-SIVE EULOGIUM.

The Eminent Historian Places the Heart Tribute of the People on the Great American Martyr's Tomb.

APPEARANCE OF THE AUDITORIUM

Occasion.

Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc.

Special Telegraphic Correspondence of the Evening

WASHINGTON, February 12. The city is crowded unusually to-day. A great many persons from a distance have arrived during the past twenty-four hours, in the hope of obtaining admission to the celebration; but as each Congressman and Senator has but two tickets, only the favored few can be present, The Capitol grounds have been filled with people all the morning. These will be regaled this at ternoon with music from the rotunda by the Marine Band.

The floor of the House of Representatives is reserved especially for the President, Cabinet, and members of Congress, and it will have to contain nearly two thousand persons.

The galleries will accommodate about fifteen hundred persons, and only that number of tickets will be issued.

The Hon. George Bancroft, orator of the occasion, has been and is the guest of President Johnson. He has been unable to receive visitors, so busy has he been in preparing this

Those who have seen it pronounce it the ablest effort of the great historian's life; and none doubt that it will be a tribute to the memory of Mr. Lincoln worthy of, and acceptable, to the

Mr. Baucrett has labored incessantly for several weeks in the composition of the oration, which embraces a succinct account of the martyr's life and public services, observations [on the great acts and ideas leading to the development of his wonderful genius, his eminent social qualities, his religious convictions and hopes, and ending with a panegyrical peroration of great beauty of diction, classical construction, and patriotic impressiveness. It will be telegraphed in full as it falls from the lips of the orator, the Congressional wires being used from the Capitol for that purpose.

The following order is being carried out in full, and there is but little trouble experienced.

The Capitol will be closed on the morning of the 12th to all except the members of Congress.
At 10 o'clock the doors leading to the rotunda will be opened to those to whom invitations have been extended, under the joint resolution of Congress, by the presiding officers of the two Houses, and to those holding tickets of admission to the galleries issued by the chairman of the joint committee of arrangements. The door-keepers will have imperative orders to admit no one before 10 o'clock, except members of Congress, and no one after that hour who does not exhibit either a letter of invitation or a ticket

The Hall of the House of Representatives will be opened for the admission of Representatives and those to whom invitations have been ex-tended, who will be conducted to the seats assigned to them, as follows:-The President of the United States will seated in front of the Speaker's table.

The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court will occupy seats next to the President on the right of the Speaker's table.

The Diplomatic Corps will occupy seats next to the Supreme Court, on the right of the Speaker's table.

The heads of departments will occupy seats next to the Pre ident, on the left of the Speaker's

THE PROPERTY AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY

officers of the army and navy, who, by name, have received the thanks of Congress, will occupy seats next to the heads of departments on the left of the Speaker's table.

Assistant heads of departments, Governors of States and Territories, and the Mayors of Washington and Georgetown, will occupy seats directly in the rear of the heads of departments.

The Chief Justice and Judges of the Court of Claims, and the Chief Justice and Associate Claims, and the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, will occupy seats directly in the rear of the Supreme Court.

The heads of bureaus in the departments will

occupy seats directly in the rear of the officers of the army and navv.
Representatives will occupy seats on either

side of the hall, in the rear of those invited, and reserving four rows of seats on either side of the main aisle for Scnators.

The diplomatic gallery will be reserved exclusively for the families of the members of the Diplomatic Corps, who will be provided with ticacts of admission to that gallery.

The galleries on either side of the hall will be reserved for ladies, and gentlemen accompanying them, provided with tickets, until half-past

eleven o'clock. The front gallery at ten o'clock, and the ladies' galleries after half-past eleven o'clock, will be open to all holders of tickets. The Joorkeepers will be instructed not to admit any person unprovided with a ticket, and to collect the tuckets from those who enter the gal-

The reporters' gallery will be reserved strictly for those reporters entitled to admission into the reporters' galleries of the Senate and of the House, who will be furnished with tickets of admission. The reporters for the Congressional Globe in the Senate and in the House will occupy the reporters' desk in front of the Cierk's

The House of Representatives will be called to order by the Speaker at 12 o'clock.

The Marine Band, stationed in the upper vestibule, will perform appropriate music, ceasing when the exercises are to be commenced.

The Senate will assemble at 12 o'clock, and after prayer and the reading of the journal, will proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives, following their President pro tempore and their Secretary, and preceded by their Sergeant-at-Arms. On reaching the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Senators will take the seats reserved for them on the right and lett of the main aisle.

The President pro tempore will occupy the Speaker's chair. The Speaker of the House will occupy a seat at his left. The chaptains of the Senate and of the House will occupy seats on the right and left of the presiding officers of their respective Houses.

The orator of the day, Hon. George Bancroft, will occupy a seat at the table of the Clerk of the House. The chairmen of the joint committee of arrangements will occupy scats at the right and left of the orator, and next to them will be seated the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House,

The other officers of the Senate and of the House will occupy seats on the floor at the right and the left of the Speaker's platform. All being in readiness, the Hon. Lafayette S. Foster, President of the Senate pro tempore, will call the two Houses of Congress to order.

Prayer will be offered by the Rev. Dr.

Boynton, Chaplain of the House of Representa-

The presiding officer will then introduce to the audience the Hon. George Bancroft, of New York, who will deliver the memorial address, The benediction will be pronounced by the

Rev. Dr. Gray, Chaplam of the Senate. On the conclusion of the benediction, the Senators, following their President pro tempore and the Secretary, and preceded by their Sergeant-at-Arms, will return to the Senate Cham ber: and the President of the United States, the orator of the day, and those present by invitation on the floor of the House, will withdraw. The Marire Band, stationed in the rotunds will, after the Senate shall have returned to the

Senate Chamber, perform national airs. The Capitol will then be open to the public. The Commissioner of Public Buildings, Ser-geants-at-Arms of the Senate and of the House, and the Doorkeeper of the House, are charge with the execution of these arrangements.

SOLOMON FOOT, Chairman on the part of the Senate, E. B. WASHBURNE. Chairman on the part of the House,

ORATION

OF THE HON. GEORGE BANCROFT,

THE HISTORIAN,

BY REQUEST OF BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

IN THE

Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States,

Monday, February 12, 1866.

After the confusion of entering had been quieted, and the assemblage called to order by the Hon. Solomon Foot, the Hon. George Banwoft proceeded to deliver the following oration: Senators, Representatives, of America:

GOD IN BISTORY. That God rules in the sffairs of men is as certain as any truth of physical science. On the great moving power which is from the beginning hangs the world of the senses and the world of thought and action. Eternal wisdom marshals the great procession of the nations, working in patient continuity through the ages, never halting and never abrupt, encompassing all events in its oversight, and ever effecting its will, though mortals may slumber in apathy or oppose with madness. Kings are lifted up or thrown down, nations come and go, republics flourish and wither, dynasties pass away like a tale that is told; but nothing is by chance, though men in their ignorance of causes may think so. The deeds of time are governed, as well as judged, by the decrees of eternity. The caprice of fleeting existences bends to the immovable omnipotence which plants its foot on all the centuries, and has neither change of purpose nor repose. Sometimes, like a messenger through the thick darkness of night, it steps along mysterious ways; but when the hour strikes for a people, or for mankind, to pass into a new form of being, unseen hands draw the bolts from the gates of futurity; an all-subduing influence prepares the minds of men for the coming revolution; those whose plan resistance find themselves in conflict with the will of Providence, rather than with human devices; and all hearts and all understandings, most of all the opinions and influences of the unwilling, are wonderfully attracted and compelled to bear forward the change which becomes more an obedience to the law of universal nature than submission to the arbitrament of man.

GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

In the fulness of time a republic rose up in the wilderness of America. Thousands of years had passed away before this child of the ages could be born. From whatever there was of good in the systems of former centuries she drew her nourishment; the wrecks of the past were her warnings. With the deepest sentment of faith fixed in her inmost nature shy disenthralled religion from bondage to temporal power, that her worship might be worship only in spirit and in truth. The wisdom which had passed from India through Greece, with what Greece had added of her own; the jurisprudence of Rome; the medieval municipalities, the Teutonic method of representation; the political experience of England; the benignant wisdom of the expositors of the law of nature and of nations in France and Holland, all shell on her their selectest influence. She washed the gold of political wisdom from the sands wherever it was found; she cleft it from the wherever it was found; she cleft it from the rocks; she gleaned it among rains. Out of all the discoveries of statesmen and sages, out of all the experience of past human life, she compiled a perennial political philosophy, the primordinal principles of national ethics. The wise men of Europe sought the best government in a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; and America went behind these names to extract from them the vital elements of social extract from them the vital elements of social forms, and blend them harmoniously in the free commonwealth which comes nearest to the illustration of the natural equality of all men. entrusted the guardian-hip of established rights to law, the movements of reform to the spirit of the people, and drew her force from the happy reconculiation of both.

TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE BEPUBLIC. Republics had heretofore been limited to small eautons or cities and their dependencies; America, doing that of which the like had not before been known upon the earth, or believed by kings and statesmen to be possible, extended her re-public across a continent. Under her auspices the vine of liberty took deep root and filled the land; the hills were covered with its shadow; its boughs were like the goodly cedars, and reached unto both oceans. The fame of this only daughter of freedom went out into all the lands of the earth; from her the human race drew hope.

PROPHECIES ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY. Neither hereditary monarchy nor hereditary aristocracy planted itself on our soil; the only hereditary condition that fastened itself upon us was servitude. Nature works in sincerity, and is ever true to its law. The bee hives honey, the viper distils poison; the vine stores its juices and so do the poppy and the upas. In like manner, every thought and every action ripens its seed, each in its kind. In the indi-vidual man, and still more in a nation, a just idea gives life, and progress, and glory; a false conception portends disaster, shame, and death. A hundred and twenty years ago. a West Jersey Quaker wrote:—"This trade of importing slaves is a dark gloominess hanging over the land; the consequences will be grievous to posterity." At the North the growth of slavery was arrested by natural causes; in the region nearest the tropics it throve rankly, and worked itself into the organism of the rising States. Virginia stood between the two; with soil, and climate, and resources demanding free labor, and yet capable of the profitable employment of the slave. She was the land of great statesmen; and they saw the danger of her being whelmed under the rising flood in time to struggle against the delusions of avarice and pride. Ninety-lour years ago, the Legislature of Virginia addressed the British King, saving that the trade in slave was "of great inhumanity," was opposed to the 'security and happiness" of their constituents, in time have the most de-influence," and endanger their tence." And the King answered at "upon pain of his highest 'would very existence." "upon pain that displeasure, the importation of slaves should not be in any respect obstructed." "Pharisaical wrote Franklin in behalf of Virginia, "to pride thyself in setting free a single slave that happened to land on thy coasts, while thy laws continue a traffic whereby so many hun dreds of thousands are dragged into a slavery that is entailed on their posterity." view of this subject," said Patrick Henry in 1773, "gives a gloomy prospect to future times." In the same year George Mason wrote to the Legislature of Virginia:—"The laws of impartial Providence may avenge our injustice upon our posterity." In Virginia, and in the Continental Congress, Jefferson, with the approval Edmund Pendleton, slave-trade as piracy; and he fixed in the Declaration of Independence, as the corner-stone of America—"All men are created equal, with an inshenable right to liberty," On the first organization of temporary governments for the continental domain. Jefferson but for the default of New Jersey, would, in 1784, have con secrated every part of that territory to freedom. In the formation of the national constitution Virginia, opposed by a part of New England vainly struggled to abolish the slave-trade a once and forever; and when the ordinance of 1787 was introduced by Nathan Dane, without the clause prohibiting slavery, it was through the favorable disposition of Virginia and the South that the clause of Jefferson was restored, and the whole Northwestern Territory-all the territory that then belonged to the nation-wa reserved for the labor of treemen.

DESPAIR OF THE MEN OF THE REVOLUTION. The hope prevailed in Virginia that the abo-lition of the slave-trade would bring with it the gradual abolition of slavery; but the expecta tion was doomed to disappointment. In sup-porting incipient measures for emancipation lefferson encountered difficulties greater than he could overcome; and after vain wrestings the words that broke from him, "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever," were words of despair. It was the desire of Washington's heart that Virginia should remove slavery by a public act; and as the prospects of a general emancipation grew more and more dim, he, in utter hopelessness of the action of the State, did all that he could by bequeathing freedom to his own slaves. Good and true men hud, from the days of 1776, thought of colo nizing the negro in the home of his ancestors. But the idea of colonization was thought to

increase the difficulty of emancipation; and in spite of strong support, while it accomplished much good for Africa, it proved impracticable as a remedy at home. Madison, who in early life disliked slavery so much that he wished "to depend as little as possible on the labor of slaves;" Madison, who held that where slavery exists "the republican theory becomes falla-cious;" Madison, who in the last years of his life would not consent to the annexation of Texas, lest his countrymen should fill it with slaves; Madison, who said "slavery is the greatest evil under which the nation labors—a portentous evil-an evil, moral, political, and economical a sad blot on our free country," went mourn-tully into old age with the cheerless words: "No satisfactory plan has yet been devised for taking out the stain."

NEW VIEWS OF SLAVERY. The men of the Revolution passed away. new generation sprang up, impatient that an in-stitution to which they clung should be condemned as inhuman, unwise, and unjust; in the throes of discontent at the self-reproach of their fathers, and blinded by the lustre of wealth the acquired by the culture of a new staple they devised the theory that slavery, which they would not abolish, was not evil, but good. They turned on the friends of colonization, and confidently domanded, "Why take black men from a civilized and Christian country, where their labor is a source of immense gain and a | the wisdom of little children?

power to control the markets of the world, and | send them to a land of suorance, idolatry, and indolence, which was the home of their forefathers, but not theirs? Slavery is a blessing Were they not in their ancestral land naked, scarcely lifted above brutes, ignorant of the course of the sun, controlled by nature? And in their new abode, have they not been taught to know the difference of the scasons, to plough, and plant, and reap, to drive oven, to tame the horse, to exchange their scanty dialect for the richest of all the languages among men, and the stupid adoration of follies for the purest religion? And since slavery is good for the blacks, it is good for their masters bringing opulence and the opportunity of edu cating a race. The slavery of the black is good in itself; he shall serve the white man forever." And Nature, which better understood the quality of fleeting interest and passion, laughed, as it caught the echo; "man" and "forever!"

SLAVERY AT HOME.

A regular development of pretensions followed the new declaration with logical consistency. Under the old declaration every one of the States had retained, each for itself, the right of manu-mitting all staves by an ordinary act of legislation; now, the power of the people over servi-tude through their legislatures was curtailed, and the privileged class was swift in imposing legal and constitutional obstructions on the people themselves. The power of emancipation was narrowed or taken away. The slave might not be disquieted by education. There remained an uncontessed consciousness that the system of bondage was wrong, and a restless memory that it was at variance with the true American tradition; its safety was therefore to be secured by political) organization. The generation that made the Constitution took care for the predominauce of freedom in Congress, by the ordinance of Jefferson; the new school aspired to secure for slavery an equality of votes in the Senate; and while it hinted at an organic act that should concede to the collective South a veto power on national legislation, it assumed that each State separately had the right to revise and nutlity laws of the United States, according to the discretion of its judgment.

SLAVERY AND FOREIGN BELATIONS.

The new theory hung as a bias on the toreign relations of the country; there could be no re-cognition of Hayti, nor even of the American colony of Liberia; and the world was given to understand that the establishment of free labor in Cuba would be a reason for wresting that island from Spain. Territories were annexed; Louisiana, Florida, Texas, half of Mexico; slavery must have its share in them all, and it accepted for a time a dividing line between the unquestioned domain of free labor and that in which involuntary labor was to be tolerated. A few years passed away, and the new school, strong and arrogant, demanded and received an apology for applying the Jefferson proviso to

SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.

The application of that proviso was interrupted for three administrations; but justice moved steadily onward. In the news that the men of Cahiornia had chosen treedom, Calhoun heard the knell of parting slavery; and on his death-bed he counseled secession. Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison had died despairing of the abolition of slavery; Calhoun died in despatr at the growth of freedom. His system rushed irresistibly to its natural development. The death struggle for California was followed by a short truce; but the new school of politicians who said slavery was not evil, but good, soon sought to recover the ground they had lost; and confident of securing Texas, they demanded that the established line in the Territories between freedom and slavery should be blotted out. The country, believing in the strength and enterprise and expansive energy of freedom, made answer, though reluctantly:- "Be it so; let there be no strife between brethren; let freedom and slavery compete for the Territories on equal terms, in a fair field, under an impartial administration;" and on this theory, if on any,

the contest might have been left to the decision or time. The South started back in appallment from its victory; for it knew that a fair competition foreboded its defeat. But where could it now find an ally to save it from its own mistake? have next to say is spoken with no emotion but regret. Our meeting to-day is, as it were, at the grave, in the presence of Eternity, and the truth must be uttered in soberness and sincerity. In a great republic, as was observed more than two thousand years ago, any attempt to overturn the State owes its strength to aid from some branch of the Government. The Chief Justice of the United States, without any necessity or occasion, volunteered to come to the resence of the theory of slavery. And from his court there lay no appeal but to the bar of humanity and history. Against the Constitution, against the memory the nation, against a previous decision, against a series of enactments, he decided that the slave is property; that slave property is entitled to no less protection than any other property, that the Constitution upholds it in every Territory against any act of a local legislature, and even against Congress itself; or, as the President tersely promulgated the saving: "Kansas is as much a slave State as South Carolina or Georgia; slavery, by virtue of the Constitution, exists in every Territory." The municipal character of slavery being thus taken away, and slave property decreed to be "sacred," the authority of the courts was invoked to introduce it by the been abolished; and in one of the courts of the United States a judge pronounced the African slave-trade legitimate, and numerous and power-

ful advocates demanded its restoration. TANEY AND SLAVE BACES. Moreover, the Chief Justice, in his elaborate opinion, announced what had never been heard from any magistrate of Greece or Rome-what unknown to civil law, and canon law, and feudal law, and common law, and constitutional law; unknown to Jay, to Rutledge, Elisworth, and Marshall-that there are "slave races." The spirit of evil is intensely logical. Having the authority of this decision, five States swiftly followed the earlier example of a sixth, and opened the way for reducing the free negro to bondage; the migrating free negro became a slave if he but touched the soil of a seventh; and an eighth, from its extent and soil and mineral resources, destined to incalculable greatness, closed its eyes on its coming prosperity, and en-acted—as by Taney's decision it had the right to do—that every free black man who would live within its limits must accept the condition of slavery for himself and his posterity.

SECESSION RESOLVED ON. Only one step more remained to be taken. Jefferson and the leading statesmen of his day held fast to the idea that the enslavement of the African was socially, morally, and politically wrong. The new school was founded exactly upon the opposite idea; and they resolved first to distract the Democratic party, for which the Supreme Court had now furnished the means, and then to establish a new Government, with n gro slavery for its corner-stone, as socially, m rally, and politically right.

As the Presidential election drew on, one of the old traditional parties did not make its appearance; the other reeled as it sought to preserve its old position; and the candidate who most nearly represented its best opinion, driven by patriotic zeal, roamed the country from end to end to speak for union, eager at least to con-front its enemies, yet not having hope that it would find its deliverance through him. The storm rose to a whirlwind: who should allay its wrath? The most experienced statesmen of the country had failed; there was no hope from those who were great after the flesh; could relief come from one whose windom was like

The choice of America fell on a man born west of the Alleghanies, in the cabin of poor people of Hardin county, Kentucky—Abraham Lincoln.

His mother could read, but not write; his father could do neither; but his parents sent him, with an old spelling-book, to school, and he learned in his childhood to do both.

When eight years old he floated down the Ohio with his father on a rait which bore the family and all their possessions to the shore of Indiana; and, child as he was, he gave help as they foiled through dense forests to the interior of Spencer through dense forests to the interior of Spencer county. There in the land of free labor he grew up in a log-cabin, with the solemn solitude for his teacher in meditative hours. Of Asiatic literature he knew only the Bible; of Greek, Latin, and mediaval, no more than the translation of "Æsop's Fables;" of English, John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." The traditions of George Fox and William Penn passed to him dimly along the lines of two centuries through dimly along the lines of two centuries through his ancestors, who were Quakers.

HIS EDUCATION. Otherwise his education was altogether Ameri-Otherwise his education was altogether American. The Declaration of Independence was his compendium of political wisdom, the Life of Washington his constant study, and something of Jefferson and Madison reached him through Henry Clay, whom he honored from boyhood. For the rest, from day to day, he lived the life of the American people; walked in its light; reasoned with its reason; thought with its power of thought; felt the beatings of its mighty heart; and so was in every way a child of nature—a child of the West—a child of America.

HIS PROGRESS IN LIFE.

At ninetzen, feeting impulses of ambition to get on in the world, he engaged himself to go lown the Mississippi in a flat-boat, receiving ten dollars a month for his wages, and atterwards he made the trip once more. At twenty-one he drove his father's cattle as the family migrated to Illinois, and split rails to fence in the new homestead in the wild. At twenty-three he was a captain of volunteers in the Black Hawk war. He kept a shop; he learned something of surveying; but of English literature he added to Bunyan nothing but Snakespeare's plays. At twenty-five he was elected to the Legislature of Illinois, where he served eight years. At twenty-seven he was admitted to the bar. In 1837 he chose his home at Springfield, the beautiful centre of the richest land in the State. In 1847 he was a member of the National Congress, where he voted about forty times in favor of the principle of the Jefferson proviso. In 1854 he gave his influence to elect from Illinois to the American Senate a Democrat who would certainly do justice to Kansas. In 1858, as the rival of Douglas, he went before the people of the mighty Prairie State saying: "This Union cannot permanently endure balt slave and half free; the Union will not be dissolved, but the house will cease to be divided;" and now, in 1861, with no experience whatever as an executive officer, while States were madly flying from their orbit, and wisc men knew not where to find counsel, this descendant of Quakers, this pupil of Bunyan, this child of the great West, was elected President of America.

He measured the difficulty of the duty that

devolved on him, and was resolved to fulfil it. HE GOES TO WASHINGTON.

As on the eleventh of February, 1861, he left Springfield, which for a quarter of a century had been his happy home, to the crowd of his triends and neighbors whom he was never more to meet, he spoke a solemn farewell:- "I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty has devolved upon me, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since Washington. He never would have succeeded, which he at all times relied. On the same Almighty Being I place my reliance. Pray that may receive that Divine assistance, which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain." To the men of Indiana he said:—"I am but an accidental, temporary instrument; it is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty." At the capital of Ohio he said:—"Without a name, without a reason why I should have a name, there has failen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his Country," At various places in New York, especially at Albany be-fore the legislature, which tendered him the united support of the great Empire State, he said:—"While I hold myself the humblest of all the individuals who have ever been elevated to the Presidency, I have a more difficult task to perform than any of them. I bring a true heart to the work. I must rely upon the people of the whole country for support; and with their sustaining aid even I, humble as I am, cannot fail to carry the ship of state safely through the storm." To the Assembly of New Jersey at Tren-ton he explained:—"I shall take the ground I deem most just to the North, the East, the West, the South, and the whole country in good temper, certainly with no malice to any section I am devoted to peace; but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly." In the old Inde-pendence Hall of Philagelphia he said —"I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence, which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but to the world in al time. If the country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I would rather be assassinated on the spot than surrender it. I have said nothing but what I am willing to live and die by."

IN WHAT STATE HE FOUND THE COUNTRY.

Travelling in the dead of night to escape assas sination, Lincoln arrived at Washington nine days before his inauguration. The outgoing President, at the opening of the session of Con-gress, had [still kept as the majority of his advisers men engaged in treason; had declared that in case of even an "imaginary" apprehension of danger from notions of freedom "disunion would become inevitable." Lincoln and others had questioned the opinion of Taney; such impugning he ascribed to the factious temper of the times." The favorite doctrine of a majority of the Democratic party on the power of a territorial legislature over slavery he condemned as an attack on "the sacred rights of property," The State Legislatures, he insisted, must repeal what he called "their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments," and which, if such, were "null and void," or "it would be impossible for any human power to save the Union." Nay! if these unimportant acts were not repealed, "the injured States would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union." He maintained that no State might secode at its sovereign wil perpetuity; and that Congress might attempt to preserve, but only by conciliation; that "the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force;" that "the last desperate remedy of a despairing people" would be an explana-tory amendment recognizing the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States." The American Union he called "a confederacy" States, and he thought it a duty to make the appeal for the amendment "before any of these States should separate themselves from the Union." The views of the Lieutenant-General, containing some patriotic advice, "conceded the right of secession," pronounced a quadruple rupture of the Union "a smaller evil than the reuniting of the fragments by the sword," and eschewed the idea of invading a After changes in the Cabinet, the Presi dent informed Congress that "matters were still worse," that "the South suffered serious grie vances," which should be redressed "in peace." The day after this message the flag of the Union was fired upon from Fort Moultrie, and the insult was not revenged or noticed. Sena-tors in Congress telegraphed to their constituents to seme the national forts, and they were not

arrested. The finances of the country were

not within reach—the part of it in Texas, with all its stores, was made over by its commander to the secoding insurgents. One State after all its stores, was made over by its commander to the seceding insurgents. One State after another voted in Convention to go out of the Union. A peace congress, so-called, met at the request of Virginia, to concert the terms of a capitulation for the continuance of the Union. Congress in both branches sought to devise conciliatory expedients; the Territorles of the country were organized in a manner not to conflict with any prefensions of the South, or any decision of the Supreme Court; and, nevertheless, the seceding States formed at Montgomery a provisional government, and pursued their relentless purpose with such success sued their relentless purpose with such success that the Lieutenant-General feared the city of Washington might find itself "included in a foreign country," and proposed, among the options for the consideration os Lincoln, to bid the second States 'depart in peace." The great Republic seemed to have its emblem in the vast unfinished Capitol, at that moment surrounded by masses of stone and prostrate columns never yet litted into their places; seemingly the monu-ment of high but delusive aspirations, the con-fused wreck of incheate magnificence, sadder than any ruin of Egyptian Thebes or Athens.

HIS INAUGURATION, The fourth of March came. With instinctive wisdom, the new President, speaking to the people on taking the oath of oilice, put aside every question that divided the country, and gained a right to universal support, by planting nimself on the single idea of Union. That Union ne declared to be unbroken and perpetual; and he announced his determination to fulfil "the imple duty of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed in all the States. Seven days later, the Convention of Conrederate States unanimously adopted a Con-stitution of their own; and the new Government was authoritatively announced to be founded on the idea that slavery is the natural and normal condition of the negro race. The issue was made up whether the great republic was to maintain its providential place in the history of mankind, or a rebellion founded on negro slavery gain a recognition of its principle throughout the civilized world. To the disaffected Lincoln had said:—"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." To fire the passions of the Southern portion of the people, the Conlederate Government chose to become aggressors; and on the morning of the 12th of April began the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and compelled its evacuation.

UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE.

It is the glory of the late President that he had perfect faith in the perpetuity of the Union. Supported in advance by Douglas, who spoke as with the voice of a million, he instantly called a meeting of Congress, and summoned the people to come up and repossess the forts, places, and property which had been seized from the Union. The men of the North were trained in schools: industrious and frugal; many of them delicately bred, their minds teeming with ideas and fertile in plans of enterprise; given to the culture of the arts; caser in the pursuit of wealth, yet em-ploying wealth less for estentation than for deveoping the resources of their country; seeking happiness in the calm of domestic life; and such lovers of peace that for generations they had been reputed unwarlike. Now, at the cry of their country in its distress, they rose up with unappeasable patriotism; not hirchings—the purest and of the best blood in the land; sons of a pious ancestry, with a clear perception of duty, unclouded faith and fixed resolve to succeed unclouded faith, and fixed resolve to succeed. they througed round the President to support the wronged, the beautiful flag of the nation. The halfs of theological seminaries sent forth their young men, whose lips were touched with eloquence, whose hearts kindled with devotion to serve in the ranks, and make their way to command only as they learned the art of war. Stiplings in the colleges, as well as the most gentle and the most studious; those of sweetest temper and loveliest character and brightest genius, passed from their classes to the camp. The lumbermen sprang forward rom forests, the mechanics from their beaches, where they had been trained by the exercise of political rights to share the responsibility to their forefathers, their posterity, and mankind, went forth resolved that their dignity as a constituent part of this Republic should not be impaired. Farmers and sons of farmers left the land but half ploughed, the grain but hall planted, and, taking up the musket, learned to face without fear the presence of peril and the coming of death in the shocks of war, while their hearts were still attracted to the charms of their rural life and all the tender home. Whatever there was of affections of truth and faith and public love in the common heart broke out with one expression. The mighty winds blew from every quarter to fan the flame of the sacred and unquenchable fire.

THE WAR A WORLD-WIDE WAR. For a time the war was thought to be confined to our own domestic affairs; but it was soon seen that it involved the destinies of mankind, and its principles and causes shook the politics of Europe to the centre, and from Lisbon to Pekin divided the governments of the world.

GREAT BRITAIN.

There was a kingdom whose people had in an eminent degree attained to freedom of industry and the security of person and property. Its middle class rose to greatness. Out of that class sprung the noblest poets and philosophers, whose words built up the intellect of its people; skillful navigators, to find out the many paths of the oceans; discoverers in natural science, who inventions guided its industry to weak it equalled any nation of the world letters, and excelled all in trade and commerce. But its Government was become a government of land, and not of men; every blade of grass was represented, but only a small minority of the people. In the transition from the feudal forms, the heads of the social organization freed themselves from the military services which were the conditions of their tenure, and, throwing the burden on the industrial classes, kept all the soil to themselves. Vast estates that had been managed by monasteries as endowments for religion and charity were impropriated to swell the wealth of courtiers and favorites; and the commons, where the poor man once had his right of pasture, were taken away, and, under forms of law, enclosed distributively within their own domains. Although no law forbade any inhabitant from purchasing land, the costliness of the transfer onstituted a prohibition; so that it was the rule of that country that the plough should not be in the hands of its owner. The Church was rested on a contradiction, claiming to be an embodi-ment of absolute truth, and yet was a creature of the statute-book.

The progress of time increased the terrible contrast between wealth and poverty; in their years of strength, the laboring people, cut off from all share in governing the State, derived a scanty support from the severest toil, and had no hope for old age but in public charity or death. A grasping ambition had dotted the world with military posts, kept watch over our the West Indies, held the gates of the Pacific, of the Southern and of the Indian Ocean, hovered on our northwest at Vancouver, held the whole of the newest confinent, and the entrances to the old Mediterranean and Red Sea; and garrisoned forts all the way from Madras to China. That aristocracy had gazed with terror on the growth of a commonwealth where freeholds existed by the million, and religion was not in bondage to the State; and now they could not repress their joy at its perils. They had not one word of sym-pathy for the kind-hearted poor man's son who

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