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BEDFORD, Pa., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1866.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Memorial Address of George Bancroft Verbatim Report.

The following is a full report of Mr. Bancroft's Memorial Address on Abraham Lincoln, delivered in Washington on Monday Senators, Representatives of America: GOD IN HISTORY. O TO John 6

That God rules in the affairs 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, republies flourish and wither, dynasties pass away like a tale that is told; but nothing is by chance though men in their ignorance of cause, 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. That God rules in the affairs of men is as 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 gate of futurity; an all subduing influence prepares the minds of men for the coming revolution; those who 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 becomes more an obedience to the law of universal nature than submission to the ar-

GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. In the fulness of time a republic rose up in the wildernesses of America. Thousands of years had passed away before this child of the ages could be born. From whatever there were of good in the systems of former centuries she drew her nourishment; the wiecks of the past were her warnings. With the deepest sentiment of faith fixed in her inmost nature, she disenthralled religion the despect antiment of fath fixed in termination of the fixed and disconnect at the age of the three and fishman, mavise and unjust, from bondage to temporal power, that the rowship might be worship only in spirit and in truth. The window which had passed the first of the first and the three and fishers, and confidently disconnected and the property of the first of the first and the property of the first the spirit of the people, and drew her force from the happy reconcilliation of both. TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Republics had heretofore been limited to

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 individual man, and still more in a nation, a just idea gives each in its kind. In the individual 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 importance of the control o tion portends disaster, shame, and death. A hundred and twenty years ago, a West Jersey Quaker wrote: "This trade of imports years ago a West Jersey Quaker wrote: "This trade of imports ing slaves is 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 through the region of the region of the region of the region nearest the tropics it through the region of the region nearest the tropics it through the region of the region of wresting that is land from Spain. Territories were annexed, Lousians, Floritories were annexed. Afew years passed aw

dence may avenge our injustice upon our posterity." In Virginia and in the Contiposterity." In Virginia and in the Continental Congress, Jefferson, with the approval of Edmund Pendleton, branded the
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 inalienable 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 consecrated every part

opposed by a part of New England, vainly struggled to abolish the slave trade at 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—was reserved for the labor of freemen.

DESPAIR OF THE MEN OF THE REVOLU-

The hope prevailed in Virginia that the abolition of the slave trade would bring with it the gradual abolition of slavery; but the expectation was doomed to disappointment. In supporting incipient measures for emancipation, Jefferson encountered difficulties greater than he could overcome; and after vain wrestlings, 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 TION. 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 had, from the days of 1776, thought of colonizing 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 fallacious;" Madison, who in the last years of his life would not consent to the annexation of Texas. lest

The men of the Revolution passed away. A new generation sprang up, impatient that an institution to which they clung should be condemned as inhuman, unwise and unjust; in the throes of discontent at the self re proach of their fathers, and blinded by the and passion, laughed, as it caught the echo

'man' and "forever!" SLAVERY AT HOME. Republics had heretofore been limited to small cantons 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 republic 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.

A regular development of pretensions tollowed the new declaration every one of the states had retained, each for itself the right of manumitting the negro by an ordinary act of legislation; now, the power of the people ouer servitude through their legislatures was curtailed, and the privilaged 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 unconfessed consciousness that the system of bondage was wrong, and a restless memory that it was at variance with a true A regular development of pretensions fol-lowed the new declaration with logical con-sistency. Under the old declaration every system of bondage was wrong, and a restress memory that it was at variance with a true American tradition; its safety was therefore to be secured by political organization. The generation that made the Constitution took care for the predominance 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 pato the collective South a veto power on na-tional legislation, it assumed that each state separately had the right to revise and nulli-fy laws of the United States, according to

the discretion of its judgment. SLAVERY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

as, 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 relunctantly: "Be it so: let there be no strife between brethern; let freedom and no strite between bretaeri, let l'ectoria and slavery complete for the territories on equal terms, in a frir field under an impartial administration;" and on this theory, if on any, the contest might have been left to the de-

DRED SCOTT DECISION. would, in 1784, have consecrated every part of that terrifory to freedom. In the formation of the national constitution, Virginia,

cision of time.

ison, 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 mournfully 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. elosed its eyes on its coming prosperity, and enacted—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 pos-

His mother could read 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 raft which bore the family and all their possessions to the shore of Indiana; and, child as he was, he gave help as they toiled through the 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 his meditative hours. Of Asiatic literature he knew only the Bihle; of Greek, Latin and medieval no more than Greek, Latin and mediæval 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 his ancestors, who were Quakers.

HIS EDUCATION. Otherwise his education was altogether 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 the light; reasoned with its reason. thought with its pow-

Otherwise his elausion was altogether American. The Declaration of Independence was his comparison of political with done in Life Life of Washington his contains the Life of Washington his contains the Life of Washington his contains in the Life of Washington his contains he horse the Life of Washington his contains he had to be the Life of Washington his contains he had to conflict with any preference with the reason, thought with its power of thought; if the Declarage of its night by the Life of Washington his contains the Washington his contains he had to be well as the washington his contains he had to be with a reason, thought with its power of thought; if the Declarage of its night by the Life of Washington his contains his washington his contains his washington his was

by thin formbodedite defeat. But where could be in now find an ally to save it from the work of the same of the sa 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 putthe foot down firmly." In the old independence Hall of Philadelphia he said: "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence, which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but to the world in all future 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 by and die by."

am willing to live by and die by.' enacted—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 posposterity.

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 negro slavery for its corner-stone, as socially, morally and politically right.

THE ELECTION.

As the Presidential election drew on, one of the old traditional parties did not make IN WHAT STATE HE FOUND THE COUNTRY.

"the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force;" that "the last desper-ate remedy of a despairing people" would be "an explanatory amendment recognising wisdom of little children?

EARLY LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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

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

When eight years old he floated down the rupture of the Union a smaller evil than the reuniting of the fragments by the sword, and "eschewed the idea of invading a seceded state." After changes in the Cabinet, the President informed Congress that "matters were still worse;" that "the South sufficient of the change of the

the President informed Congress that "matters were still worse;" that "the South suffered serious grievanees," which should be redresse! "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. Senators in Congress telegraphed to their constituents to seize the national forts, and they were not arrested. The finances of the country were grievously embarrassed. Its little army was not within reach—the part of it in Texas, with 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

left the land but halfploughed, the grain but half 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 affections of home. Whatever there was of truth and faith and public love in the was of truth and faith and public live 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.

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 appropriated 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 constituted a prohibition so that it was the rule of that 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 embodiment of absolute truth and yet was a

The act recognizing the rebel belligerents was concerted with France; France so beloved in America, on which she had conferred the greatest benefits that one people ever conferred on another; France, which stands foremost on the continent of Europe for the solidity of her culture, as well as for the bravery and general impulses of her sons; France, which for centuries had been moving steadily in its own way towards intellectual and political freedom. The policy regarding further colonization of America by European powers, known commonly as the doctrine of Monroe, had its origin in France; and if it takes any man's name should bear the name of Turgot. It was France; and it takes any man's name should bear the name of Turgot. It was adopted by Louis the Sixteenth, in the cabinet of which Vergennes was the most important member. It is emphatically the policy of Frauce; to which, with transient divisions, the Bourbons, the First Napoleon, the House of Orleans, have ever adhered.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON AND MEXICO,

For a time the war was thought to be confined to our own domostic 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.

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 to grant the intellect of its people; skilful navigators to find out the many paths of the oceans: discoverers in natural science whose inventions guided its industry to wealth till it equalled any nation of the world in letters, and excelled all in trade and commerce. But its government was become a government of land, and not of men; every biade of grass was represented, but only a small minority of the people. In the transition from the found forms, the heads of the secial organic that the Emperor Napoleon the Third desired formally to recognize the states in rebellion as an independent states in rebellion as an independent of freedom of industry and the security of person and property. Its middle class rose to greatness out the republic of Mexico, on our borders, was, like ourselves, distracted by a rebellion, and from a similar cause. The monarchy of England had fastened upon us slavery which did not disappear with independence; in like manner, the ecclesiastical policy established by the Spanish Council of the Indies, in the days of Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second, retained its vigor in the Mexican republic. The fifty years of civil war under which she had languished, was due to the bigoted system which was the leggery of monarchy; just as here the found forms, the heads of the secial organic. 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 them entered the soil to the intolerance should cease. The party of slavery in the United States sent their emissaries to Europe to solicit aid; and so did the party of the church in Mexico, as organized by the old spanish Council of the Indies, but with a different result. Just as the Republican party had made an end of the rebellion, and was establishing the best government ever known in that region, and giving promise to the nation of order, peace and prosperity, word was brought us, in the moment of our deepest affliction, that the French Emperor, moved by a desire to erect in North America a buttress for imperialism, would transform the republic of Mexico into a secundo-geniture for the house of Hapsburg. America might complain; she could not then interpose, and delay seemed justifiable. It was seen that Mexico could not with all its wealth of land compete in cereal products with our northwest; nor in tropical products with Guba; nor could it, under a disputed dynasty, attract capital, or create public works, or develop mines; or borrow money; so that the imperial system of Mexico, which was forced at once to recognise the wisdom of the policy of the republic by adopting it, could prove only an unremunerating drain on the French treasury, for the support of an Austrian adventure.

erace well per acre in 1865, stated in bush-

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