of the census, shows is being worked out, and which no political measurement can prevent being worked out. The essence of the contest is, whether the white race shall have these lands, or, whether they shall be held by the black race, in the name of a few whites. The blacks could never hold them as their own, for we have seen how quickly that race has disappeared when emancipated. Experience proves, what might have been inferred from their history, that it has not maintained and cannot maintain itself in the temperate zone, in contact and in competition with the race to which that region belongs. It is only when dependent that it can exist there. But this servile relation is mischievous, and the community so constituted does not flourish and keep pace with the spirit of the age. It has scarcely the claim to the immense area of land it occupies which the Aborigines had; for though the Indians occupied larger space, with fewer inhabitants, they did not waste the land as the slave system does. No political management or sentimentalism can prevent the natural resolution of such a system, in the end, any more than such a means could avail to preserve the Indian possession and dominion.

The Rebellion, like the Indian outbreaks, is but a vain attempt to stem the tide of civilization and progress. The treachery, falsehood, and cruelty perpetrated to maintain negro possession, scarcely less than that of the savages, marks the real nature of the contest. Nevertheless, I believe it might have been averted if we had adopted Mr. Jefferson's counsels, and made provision for the separation of the races, providing suitable homes for the blacks, as we have for the Indians. It is essential still, in order to abridge the conflict of arms, and to fraternize the people, when that is past, to follow Mr. Jefferson's advice.

This most benevolent and sagacious statesman predicted all the evils which it has been our misfortune to witness, unless we should avert them by this, the only means, which, after the most anxious thought, he could suggest. No statesman of our day has given the subject so much thought as he did, or possesses the knowledge or ability to treat it so wisely. Let us, then, listen to his counsels. By doing so we shall establish a fraternity among the working men of the white race throughout the Union, which has never existed, and give real freedom to the black race, which cannot otherwise exist. Nor is it necessary to the restoration of harmony and prosperity to the Union that this policy should be actually and completely put in force. It is only necessary that it should be adopted by the Government, and that it be made known to the people that it is adopted, to extinguish hostility in the hearts of the masses of the South toward the people of the North, and secure their co-operation in putting an end to Slavery. No greater mistake was ever made than in supposing that the masses of the people of the South favor Slavery. I have already stated that they did not take up arms to defend it, and explained the real motives of their action. The fact that they oppose emancipation in their midst is the only foundation for the contrary opinion. But the masses of the North are equally opposed to it. If the four millions of slaves were to be transported to their midst. The prohibitory laws against their coming, existing in all the States subject to such invasion, proves this. On the other hand, the intense hostility which is universally known to be felt by the non-slaveholders of the South toward all negroes expresses their mortal hostility to Slavery, and it is the natural form of expression under the circumstances.

It needs, therefore, but the assurance which would be given by providing homes for the blacks elsewhere that they are to be regarded as sojourners when emancipated, as in point of fact they are, and ever will be, to insure the co-operation of the non-slaveholders in their emancipation. Nor would they require immediate, universal, or involuntary transportation, or that any injustice whatever be done to the blacks. The more enterprising would soon emigrate, and multitudes of less energy would follow if such success attended the pioneers, as the care with which the Government should foster as important an object would doubtless insure; and, with such facilities, it would require but few generations to put the temperate regions of America in the exclusive occupation of the white race, and remove the only obstacle to a perpetual Union of the States.

With great respect, I am
Your obd't servant, M. BLAIR.

To the Committee of Invitation, &c.

Mr. McKaye read the following resolutions, which were adopted with enthusiasm:

Resolved, That inasmuch as our nationality and democratic institutions are founded upon the idea that "all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," whatever tends to weaken and destroy the vital force of this idea in the popular heart constitutes the most dangerous and fatal enmity to the real unity, true peace, and glory of the nation.

Resolved, That national unity does by no means consist alone in the conservation of territorial domain, but in identity of idea and affection. In the heart of no people can a genuine love of liberty and the rights of human nature cocalst with a toleration of Slavery. Slavery is treason to the fundamental idea of our national existence, and the war but its necessary and legitimate effect. In the present imminent crisis, he who seeks to maintain Slavery become thereby the abettor of the great treason.

Resolved, That in the present extreme exigency brought upon the country by Slavery, we hold the right of the National Government to destroy that sole cause of all our disasters, not only to be clearly within the Constitution, but to be imperatively demanded by it:

First: Upon the ground that its existence is wholly incompatible with National self-preservation. Either the Nation must die or Slavery must.

Second: Because the rights and powers conferred by the laws of war upon all sovereignties, and under our system of delegated power primarily upon the President and Congress, constitutionally require its destruction, as the only effectual means of ending the conflict and re-establishing permanent National peace and prosperity.

And lastly and governmentally, because the supreme jurisdiction of the National Constitution over all the territories now occupied by the Rebel States must be held to be exclusive of the traitorous Rebel authorities therein established, by virtue of which a one Slavery now therein exists, and that wherever the Constitution has exclusive jurisdiction it ordains Liberty and not Slavery. This is the very ground upon which the people placed the present Administration in power, and in derogation of which the Rebels wage their war.

Resolved, That while Slavery remained upon its own ground good citizens might deem themselves bound by a just respect for the National Constitution to refrain from dealing with it as its own nature it deserved. But since its masters have begun a war for its triumph and the subjugation of our National Government and free institutions, we deem it our supremest duty never to make peace with or cease our conflict with it until it shall be extirpated from the whole land.

Resolved, That we entertain no jot of hatred or hostility toward the great body of the people of the Rebel States; and, therefore, while we stand ever ready to welcome them to a loyal reunion under our glorious National Constitution, in the words of the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country, we desire "that the happiness of the people of these States may be made complete under the AUSPICIOUS OF LIBERTY, and not utterly and forever rendered impossible by the rebellious of Slavery. We repudiate, therefore, and utterly repel the idea that the property and blood of the loyal people of the free States are to be wasted without result, in the suppression of the military power of the Rebels, in order that the capital may in the end be surrendered into the hands of the conquered traitors and the National Government be again put under the heel of the slave barons.

Resolved, Therefore, that amid the varied events which are occurring during the momentous struggle in which we are engaged, it is the duty and the interest of the Government and the people to adopt and to advocate such measures as will insure universal emancipation, and thus complete the work which the Revolution began.

After an address from the Rev. M. D. Conway,

The Hon. Carl Schurz was introduced, amid very great applause. He spoke as follows:

I have not come here to plead the cause of a party, for in looking around me, I become doubtful whether I belong to any; nor with a desire to gain the favor of those in power, for in this respect I have nothing to gain and much to lose; nor to flatter the multitude, for I know well that much of what I am going to say will expose me to acrimonious obloquy and vituperation; nor do I even think that the remarks I am going to make will exactly fit the line of argument followed in the resolutions presented to your consideration. I mean to speak the truth as I understand it; I shall give you my own ideas, such as they are. I have traveled far to obtain this audience of the people, for your invitation encountered my desire, and shunned no inconvenience, sacrifice, or responsibility. So you may conclude that I am in earnest. Of you I ask to lay aside to-night your party prejudices and passions; for this hour let your preconceived opinions be silent. I shall speak to you from the very depth of my profoundest convictions; listen to me as one sincere patriot will listen to another. [Cheering.] Many of us will have to confess that the present state of things is contrary to their first anticipations. Eighteen months ago we did not expect that the people of the South would be so ready to rush into the suicidal course of open rebellion; nor did the people of the South, when they took the fatal step, expect that the people of the North would resist the treasonable attempt with so much determination and unanimity. In this respect the calculations of leading men on both sides proved erroneous. But this lies behind us, and we have to deal with the nature and exigencies of the actual situation as it is. We are in open civil war. A numerous population, holding a very large portion of our country, is in arms against the Government; the rebellion against the Constitutionally established authorities is organized on the largest scale. The avowed aim and object is to dismpt the union of these States, and to secure for the people of some of them a separate national existence. The first steps taken in that direction were successful; a separate Government, claiming to be independent of the Union, was established; it now defends itself with armed force against the lawful authorities of this Republic. This is, in a few words, the actual situation of things. It presents us a twofold problem: first, to put down the Rebels in arms, and then to restore the Union. The first is a military problem, the second a political one. They are, in my opinion, so distinct from each other that I can well conceive how the first can be successfully solved, and how, at the same time, in attempting to solve the second, we can completely fail. As to the first, I will say but little. After serious disasters and a long period spent in preparation, our brave armies have achieved great successes, which by some are considered finally decisive. I have heard it said that the war is practically ended. I must confess I am not of that opinion; but although I might endeavor to show you that the rebels, however severely pressed at the present moment, have an immense country to fall back upon, in which their armies, if they succeed in escaping from the Border States, may prolong the struggle for a considerable period; that difficulties of which at present we form no adequate idea await our victorious columns as they advance upon the soil of the enemy; that the prolongation of the war must bring great embarrassments upon us, financial distress, and, in case of a serious reverse to our arms, even difficulties with foreign Powers, and that, in such an emergency, all the energy and patriotism which live in the American people will be put to the severest test—although I might show you all this, and warn you not to abandon yourselves too securely to deceitful illusions, yet I will drop this subject. It would, perhaps, be useless in this hour of triumph to speak of apprehensions which, indeed, may and may not be justified by coming events. I am willing to suppose for the present, that fortune will smile upon us as constantly as many seem to anticipate, and that a speedy and complete military success will be gained, even if we confine ourselves strictly to the ordinary means of warfare. But the nearer we approach this end, the greater are the proportions to which rises before my mind the other problem which this very victory thrusts upon us. To a despotic government, the suppression of a rebellion and the re-establishment of the old order of things is one and the same. It sends its armies into the field, it beats the insurgents, disperses them, captures them, forces them to lay down their arms; now the military power of the rebellion is crushed, and the second part of the task begins, which consists in maintaining the authority so established; the despotic government prevents and suppresses the utterance of every adverse opinion; it executes or imprisons every refractory individual; it encounters by summary proceedings every hostile intention, and while establishing by a system of constant and energetic pressure a state of general and complete submission, it restores at the same time the condition of things originally existing before the rebellion broke out. It can do all this without changing its attributes in the least, for the means it uses for suppressing the rebellion, and afterward for crushing out the rebellious spirit, are in perfect consonance with the fundamental principles upon which its whole system of policy rests. It is the rule of absolute authority and force on one side and absolute submission to this rule on the other. The same agencies which put down the rebellion, the same operate in maintaining the re-established authority, and all this in perfect keeping with the original nature of the whole political system. But our case is widely different. Our system of government does not rest upon the submission of the people, but upon the free and independent cooperation of the individual. We have indeed a supreme authority, but this authority proceeds directly from the people, and works through the people. Our Goverment may indeed suppress a rebellion by force, but in order to restore the working of the original agencies upon which it rests, it is obliged to restore the individual to his original scope of self-action. If it attempted, after having suppressed a rebellion, to maintain its authority permanently by the same means by which it re-established it; that is to say, by a constant and energetic pressure of force, it would not restore the old order of things, but completely subert its original basis; for the means by which it was obliged to suppress the rebellion are in direct contradction to the fundamental principles of our Government. In order to restore these principles to life, the Government is obliged to trust its authority to the loyal action of the people. There is the embarrassment which a rebellion in a democratic republic will necessarily produce. What does it mean, the restoration of the Union? It means the restoration of ind vidual liberty in all its parts, and of that ramification of political power in which self-government consists. It it meant anything else, if it meant the permanent holding in subjection of conquered provinces, if it meant the rule of force, if it meant the subversion of those principles of individual liberty which are the breath of our political life, would it then not be best to let the Rebels go? Would it not be preferable to be content with the modest proportions to which the development of things has reduced us, to foster the principles and institutions which have made this people great and happy for so long a time with conscientious care, and to trust to the expansive power of liberty to restore this Republic in some more or less remote future to its former measure of greatness. And yet, looking at things as they are, how can we expect to restore the Union but by the rule of force—that is to say, by a military occupation of the Rebel States? But you will tell me that this will not last long. Well, and what will determine this period? The disappearance of the rebellious spirit; the return of sincere loyalty. But when and how will the rebellious spirit cease and loyalty return? True, if this rebellion were nothing but a mere momentary whim of the popular mind, if its causes could be obliterated by one of those sudden changes in popular opinions, which, in matters of minor importance, occur so frequently with our impressionable people, then a short military occupation might answer, and pass over without any serious effect upon our future development. But is it this? Look the fact square in the face. This rebellion is not a mere momentary whim, and although but a few men seem to have prepared its outbreak, it is not the mere upshot of a limited conspiracy. It is a thing of long preparation; nay, more than that: it is a thing of logical development. This rebellion did not commence on the day that the Secession flag was hoisted at Charleston; it commenced on the day when the Slave Power for the first time threatened to break up the Union. [Applause.] Slavery had produced an organization of society strongly in contradistinction with the principles underlying our system of Government—the absolute rule of a superior class, based upon the absolute subjection of the laboring population. This institution, continually struggling against the vital ideas of our political life, and incompatible with a free expression of public opinion, found itself placed in the alternative of absolutely ruling or perishing. Hence our long struggles, so often allayed by temporary expedients, but always renewed with increased acrimony. And as soon as the slave interest perceived that it could no longer rule inside of the Union, it attempted to cut loose and to exercise its undisputed sway outside of it. This was logical; and as long as the relation of interests and necessities remains the same, its logical consequences will remain the same also. This is not a matter of doctrine or party creed, but of history. Nobody can shut his eyes against so plain and palpable a fact. How is it possible to mistake the origin of this struggle? I ask you, in all sincerity, Would the Rebellion have broken out, if Slavery had not existed? ["No, no, no."] Did the rebellion raise its head at any place where Slavery did not exist? Did it not find sympathy and support wherever Slavery did exist? ["Yes, yes, yes."] Is anybody in arms against the Union but who desires to perpetuate Slavery? What else is this rebellion but a new but logical form of the old struggle of the slave interest against the fundamental principles of our political system? Do you not indulge in the delusion that you can put an end to this struggle by a mere victory in the field. By it you may quench the physical power of the slave interest, but you cannot stifle its aspirations. The slave interest was disloyal as long as it threatened the dissolution of the Union; it will be disloyal as long as it will desire it. [Cheers.] And when will it cease to desire it? It may for a time sullenly submit to the power of the Union, but it will not enter into the harmonious cooperation with you, as long as it has aspirations of its own. But to give up its aspirations would be to give up its existence; it will therefore not cease to aspire until it ceases to live. [Applause.] Your President has said it once, and there is far-seeing wisdom in the expression: This country will have no rest until Slavery is put upon the course of ultimate extinction. [Great and continued applause.] But if the slave interest, as such, cannot return with cordial sincerity to its allegiance, where will the suppression of this rebellion lead us? Mark my words: Not only is the South in a state of rebellion, but the whole Union is in a state of revolution. This revolution will produce one of three things: either complete submission of the whole people to the despotic demands of the Slave interest, or a radical change in our Federal institutions, that is to say, the establishment of a strong, consolidated, central Government, or such a reform of Southern society as will make loyalty to the Union its natural temper and disposition. [Cheers.] The old Union, as we have known it, is already gone; you cannot restore it geographically—yes; but politically and morally, never. [Applause.] And if Jefferson Davis would come to-morrow and give up his sword to President Lincoln, and all the Rebel armies were captured in one day, and forced to do penance in sackcloth and ashes at the foot of Capitol Hill, the old Union would not be restored. [Cheers.] That circle of ideas in which the political transactions of the old Union moved is forever broken [sensation]; it cannot be restored. The mutual confidence on which the political transactions of the old Union rested has been discovered to be illusory; it is irretrievably gone. [Applause.] I repeat, either you will submit to the South, or you will rule the South by the force of a strong, central Government, or Southern society must be so reformed that the Union can safely trust itself to its loyalty. Submit to the rebellious South! Submit after a victory! [No, no, no.] You will tell me that this is impossible. Is it, indeed? There are those in the South who have fought and will fight the Union as long as the rebellion has a chance of success, who will apparently come over to our side as soon as our victory is decided, and who will then claim the right to control our policy. ["That's it."] And there are those in the North, who, either actuated by party spirit, or misled by shortsightedness, stand ready to cooperate with the former. [Sensation.] The attempt will be made—whether it will succeed—who knows? But if it does succeed, it will lead to new struggles ["John Brown"] more acrimonious, dangerous and destructive in their nature, but also more radical and permanent in their result. [Cheers. "That's it."] The second possibility I indicated is the establishment of a strong, consolidated, central Government. Look at the course you have taken since the outbreak of the rebellion. It was natural that when the necessity of vigorous action pressed upon us, the Government was clothed with extraordinary powers. As its duties and responsibilities increased, its hands had to be strengthened. But it might indeed have been expected that the people as well as the Government would treat with scrupulous respect those fundamental guarantees of our rights and liberties, the achievement or the preservation of which were so often in the history of the world bought at the price of bloody revolutions. Outside of this Republic, and, I have no doubt, inside of it also, it was remarked with some surprise, that the writ of habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the authority of the civil courts of justice, were in some cases rather cavalierly dealt with. How easily it is forgotten that you cannot permit another's rights to be infringed without paving the way for a violation of your own! I do not mean to exaggerate the importance of these occurrences. I can well understand the violence of popular resentment as well as the urgent necessities pressing upon those who stood at the helm. But I most earnestly warn you that a condition of things producing such necessities must not last too long, lest it create bad habits [applause]—the habit of disregarding these fundamental rights on one side, and the habit of permitting them to be violated on the other. In my opinion the manner of treating its enemies is the true test of the tendency of a Government. It may be questionable whether we can afford to suppress a rebellion in the same way and with the same means in and with which the King of Naples was in the habit of suppressing them; but it is certain that we can *not* afford to imitate him in his manner of *maintaining* the re-established authority of the Government. [Cheers.] But now look at the task before you. I am willing to suppose that the Rebel armies will be beaten and dispersed with greater ease and facility than I at present deem it possible. Then the *spirit* of disloyalty must be extinguished, the source of the mischief must be stopped. This cannot be done by strategic movements and success in battle. How, then, is it to be done? Take the State of South Carolina: you beat the Rebels defending its soil and occupy the whole State with your troops. Armed resistance to the authority of the United States becomes impossible, but you want to restore the active cooperation of the people of South Carolina in the Government of the United States, without which the restoration of the old order of things is impossible. Now, you either call upon the people of South Carolina to elect new State authorities of their own, or you impose upon them a Provisional Government, appointed by the President at Washington. In the first place, the people of South Carolina—a large majority of whom are disloyal, and those who are not disloyal are not loyal either [applause], and to a certain extent seem to be incorrigible—are most likely to elect a new set of Secessionists to office. It will be a reorganization of treason and conspiracy; for you must know that conspiracies do not only precede rebellions, but also follow unsuccessful ones. The new State Government is at once in conflict with the Federal authorities. The latter find themselves counteracted and clogged in every imaginable way; and after a series of unsuccessful attempts to secure a cordial and trustworthy cooperation, after a season of tiresome and fruitless wrangles, they find themselves obliged to resort to sterner measures; then forcible suppression of every combination hostile to the Union; close surveillance of press and speech; martial law where the civil tribunals are found insufficient; in one word, a steady and energetic pressure of force, by which the Federal Government overrules and coerces the refractory State authorities. You will see at once that if this pressure be not strong enough, it will not furnish the Government of the United States the necessary guaranties of peace and security; and if it be strong enough to do that, it will not leave to the State Government that freedom of action upon which our whole political fabric is based. Or you follow the other course I indicated—institute provisional governments by appointment from the President, in a manner similar to that in which territories are organized. Then the General Government enters into immediate relation with the people of the rebellious district. While it leaves to the people the election of the Territorial Legislature, if I may call it so, it controls the action of that Legislature by the veto of the Executive, and the rulings of the Judiciary in a regular and organic way. Thus mischief may be prevented, the execution of the laws secured, and the supremacy of the General Government maintained by the Government's own agents, until the States can be reorganized with safety to the Union. This plan may be preferable to the other, inasmuch as it will prevent the continuation of rebellious intrigues and facilitate the repression and punishment of disloyal practices without a conflict with lawfully instituted authorities; but it is evident that such a condition of things cannot last long without essentially changing the nature of our general system of government. In either case it will be the rule of force, modified by circumstances, ready to respect individual rights wherever submission is complete, and to overrule them wherever necessity may require it. Do not say that these things are less dangerous because they are done with the assent of the majority; for the assent of the people to a consolidation of power is the first step toward subversion of liberty. [Applause.] But is indeed this Government, in struggling against rebellion, in re-establishing its authority, reduced to a policy which would nearly obliterate the line separating Democracy from Absolutism? Is it really unable to stand this test of its character? For this is the true test of the experiment. If our democratic institutions pass this crisis unimpaired, they will be stronger than ever; if not, the decline will be rapid and irremediable. But can they pass it unimpaired? Yes. This Republic has her destiny in her hands. She may transform her greatest danger and distress into the greatest triumph of her principles. [Cheering.] There would have been no rebellion, had there not been a despotic interest incompatible with the spirit of her democratic institutions [Cheers], and she has the glorious and inestimable privilege of suppressing this rebellion, by enlarging liberty instead of restraining it [great cheering], by granting rights, instead of violating them. ["Good." Applause.] I shall have to speak of Slavery, and I wish you would clearly understand me. I am an Anti-Slavery man. [Cheering.] All the moral impulses of my heart have made me so, and all the working of my brain has confirmed me in my faith. [Loud applause. "Hear, hear."] I have never hesitated to plead the cause of the outraged dignity of human nature. I could not do otherwise; and whatever point of argument I might gain with any one, if I denied it, I would not deny it, I shall never deny it. ["Good, good." Applause.] And yet, it is not my lifelong creed, which would make me urge the destruction of Slavery *now*. As an Anti-Slavery man, I would be satisfied with the effect the course of events is already producing upon Slavery. When formerly I argued in favor of its restriction, I knew well and clearly that as soon as the supremacy of the slave-interest in our political life was destroyed, the very life of Slavery was gone, and the institution would gradually disappear. For many reasons I would have preferred this gradual and peaceful process. I never was in favor of precipitate measures, where a quiet and steady reform was within the limits of practicability. [Cheers.] But the rebellion, which placed Slavery in a direct practical antagonism with the institutions most dear to us, has prodigiously hastened this development. I said already that I do not deem another victory of Slavery over the National conscience impossible; but this reaction will produce new struggles, with passions more fierce, with resentments more acrimonious and reckless, and dangerous to our democratic institutions, and violent in their nature; but as to Slavery, radical and conclusive in their results. [Applause.] This rebellion has uprooted the very foundations of the system, and Slavery is not far from its death. [Cheers.] It will die, and if you would, you could not prevent it. [Applause.] And thus, as an Anti-Slavery man, I might wait and look on with equanimity. But what I do not want to see is, that Slavery, in this death struggle, should involve the best institutions that ever made a nation great and happy. It shall not entangle the Union in its downfall, and, therefore, the Union must deliver itself of its pernicious embrace. [Great applause long continued, and huzzas.] And now listen to what I have to say of the third possible result of the revolution through which we are passing, the only result which will restore the Union, and save the spirit of its democratic institutions. The ambition, the aspirations of men grow from the circumstances in which they live. As these circumstances change, these aspirations will take a corresponding direction. A slaveholding population, wedded to the peculiar interests of their peculiar institutions, will, in their aspirations and political action, be governed by the demands of those interests. If these interests are incompatible with loyalty to a certain established form of Government, that population will be disloyal in its aspirations. Their way of thinking, their logic, their imaginations, their habits, are so educated and controlled by their circumstances, that as long as the latter remain the same, the former are not likely to change. Imagine this slaveholding population with a Union army on thier soil. Their forces may be dispersed, their power paralyzed, but their former aspirations, although checked, are not eradicated. They move still in the same circle of ideas, and not their memories of the past, but also their desires only their memories of the past, but also their desires only their for the future, are still centered in that circle which Slavery has drawn around them. Is not the intention and desire mother to the act? You may tell me that, however ardently they may long for a dissolution, their experience of the present Rebellion will not let the idea of attempting another rebellion spring up. Are you so sure of this? True, they will not repeat the same thing in the same way. But have you never thought of it, that this Republic may be one day involved in difficulties with foreign powers, and that, in her greatest need, the disloyalists may discover another opportunity? And have you considered what our foreign policy will be when the powers of the earth know that we harbor an enemy within our own limits ready to join hands with them? [Sensation.] How can you rely upon the Southern people unless they are sincerely loyal, and how can they be sincerely loyal as long as their circumstances are such as to make disloyalty the natural condition of their desires and aspirations? They cannot be faithful unless their desires and aspirations change. And how can you change them? By opening before them new prospects and a new future. [Cheering.] Look at the other side of the picture. Imagine—and I suppose it is not treasonable—imagine Slavery were able to imagine such a thing—imagine Slavery were destroyed in consequence of this rebellion. Slavery, once destroyed, can never be restored. [Applause.] A reaction in this respect is absolutely impossible, so evidently impossible that it will not even be attempted. Slavery is like an egg—once broken, it can never be repaired. [Cheering.] Even the wildest fanatic will see this. However ardent a devotee of Slavery a man may be, Slavery once destroyed, he will see that it is useless to brood over a past which is definitively gone, and cannot be revived. He will find himself forced to direct his eyes toward the future. All his former hopes and aspirations vanish; his former desires are left without a tangible object. Slavery having no future, his former aspirations and desires, founded upon Slavery, have gone. He feels the necessity of accommodating himself to the new order of things, and the necessities of the present will make him think of the necessities of the future. Insensibly his mind drifts into plans and projects for coming days, and insensibly he has based these plans and projects upon the new order of things. A new circle of ideas has opened itself to him, and however reluctantly he may have given up the old one, he is already active in this new sphere. And this new circle of ideas being one which moves in the atmosphere of Free-Labor society, new interests, new hopes, new aspirations spring up, which closely attach themselves to the political institutions, with which in this country Free-Labor society is identified. That is the Union, based upon general self-government. Gradually the reformed man will understand and appreciate the advantage of this new order of things, and loyalty will become as natural to him, as disloyalty was before. It may be said, that the arch-traitors, the political propagandists of Slavery can never be made loyal; that their rancour and resentment will be implacable, and that only the second generation will be capable of a complete reform. But such men will no longer be the rulers of Southern society; for Southern society being with all its habits and interests, no longer identified with Slavery, that element of the population will rise to prominent influence, which most easily identifies itself with free labor; I mean the nonslaveholding people of the South. [Cheers.] They have been held in a sort of moral subjection by the great slave-lords. Not for themselves but for them they were disloyal. The destruction of Slavery will wipe out the prestige of their former rulers; it will lift the yoke from their necks; they will soon undertake to think for themselves, and thinking freely they will not fail to understand their own true interests. They will find in free-labor society their natural elements; and free-labor society is naturally loyal to the Union. [Applause.] Let the old political leaders fret as they please; it is the free-labor majority that will give to society its character and tone. [Cheering.] This is what I meant by so reforming Southern society as to make loyalty to the Union its natural temper and disposition. This done, the necessity of a military occupation, the rule of force will cease; our political life will soon return to the beaten track of self-government, and the restored Union may safely trust itself to the good faith of a reformed people. The antagonistic element which continually struggled against the vital principles of our system of government once removed we shall be a truly united people, with common principles, common interests, common hopes, and a common future. True, there will be other points of controversy, about banks or hard money, internal improvements, free-trade or protection, but however fierce party contests may be, there will be no question involving the very foundation of our polity, and no party will refuse to submit to the verdict of popular suffrage on the controversies at issue. [Cheers.] The Union will not only be strong again, but stronger than ever before. [Great cheering.] And if you ask me what, under existing circumstances, I would propose to do, I would say, Let Slavery in the District of Columbia, and wherever the Government has immediate authority, be abolished. [Loud and long continued applause.] Let the slaves of Rebels be confiscated by the General Government, and then emancipated, [tremendous applause] and let a fair compensation be offered to loyal Slave States and masters, who will agree upon some system of emancipation. [Cheering.] Let this, or some other measure to the same effect, be carried out in some manner compatible with our fundamental laws. I do not care which, *provided always* the measure be thoroughgoing enough to render a reaction, a re-establishment of the slave power, impossible; [cheering] for as long as this is possible, as long as the hopes and aspirations of the Southern people can cling to such a chance, you will not have succeeded in cutting them loose from the old vicious circle of ideas, their loyalty will be subject to the change of circumstances, and such loyalty is worth nothing. [Cheers.] I am at once met by a vast array of objections. "It would be unconstitutional!" say some scrupulous patriots. Is it not a little surprising, that the Constitution should be quoted most frequently and persistently in favor of those who threw that very Constitution overboard? [Cheers.] Unconstitutional! Let us examine the consistency of those who on this point are so sensitive. Have you not in the course of this rebellion suspended in many cases the writ of habeas corpus? Have you not suppressed newspapers, and thus violated the liberty of the press? Have you not deprived citizens of their liberty without due process of law? Have you not here and there superseded the regular courts of justice by military authority? And was all this done in strict conformity with the sacred safeguards which the Constitution throws around the rights and liberties of the citizen? But you tell me that all this was commanded by urgent necessity. Indeed! Is the necessity of restoring the true life-elements of the Union less urgent than the necessity of imprisoning a traitor or stopping a Secession newspaper? [Applause.] Will necessity which justifies a violation of the dearest guaranties of our own rights and liberties, will it not justify the overthrow of the most odious institution of this age? [Cheers.] What? Is the Constitution such as to countenance in an extreme case a most dangerous imitation of the practices of despotic Governments, but not to countenance, even in the extremest case, the necessity of a great reform, which the enlightened spirit of our century has demanded so long, and not ceased to demand? [Cheers.] Is it, indeed, your opinion that in difficult circumstances like ours neither the writ of habeas corpus, nor the liberty of the press, nor the authority of the regular courts of justice, in one word, no right shall be held sacred and inviolable under the Constitution but that most monstrous and abominable right which permits one man to hold another as property? [Great cheering.] Is to your constitutional conscience our whole magna charta of liberties nothing, and Slavery all? [Loud applause.] Slavery all, even while endeavoring by the most damnable rebellion to subvert this very Constitution? But do not misunderstand me. I am far from underestimating the importance of constitutional forms. Where constitutional forms are not strictly observed, constitutional guaranties will soon become valueless. But where is the danger in this case? Nobody denies the constitutionality of the power of the Government to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia; nobody will deny the constitutionality of an offer of compensation to loyal slaveowners. Or would the confiscation of Rebel property be unconstitutional? The Constitution defines clearly what treason consists in; and then it gives Congress the power to pass laws for the punishment of treason. In this respect the Constitution gives Congress full discretion. If Congress can decree the penalty of death, or imprisonment, or banishment, why not the confiscation of property? And if Congress can make lands, and houses, and horses, and wagons liable to confiscation, why not slaves? And when these slaves are confiscated by the Government, cannot Congress declare them emancipated, or rather will they not be emancipated by that very act? Is there anything in the Constitution to hinder it? Can there be any doubt, can there be a shadow of a doubt, as to the authority of Congress to do this? And if Congress can do it, why should it not? Do you prefer the death penalty? Will you present to the world the spectacle of a great nation thirsting for the blood of a number of miserable individuals? Do not say that you want to make an example; for if you stop the source of treason no warning example to frighten traitors will be needed. [Loud cheers.] Or do you prefer imprisonment? The imprisonment of the leaders may very well go along with confiscation, and as to the imprisonment of the masses, nobody will think of it. Or do you prefer banishment? ["Yes."] How would it please you to see Europe overrun with "exiles from America," blackening your character and defiling your Government at every street-corner, and incessantly engaged in plotting against their country? And what effect will these modes of punishment have upon the Southern people? Either you are severe in applying them, and then you will excite violent resentments, or you are not severe, and then your penalties will frighten nobody, and fail of the object of serving as a warning example. In neither case will you make friends. It has frequently been said that the punishment of crime ought not to be a mere revenge taken by society, but that its principal object ought to be the reformation and improvement of the criminal. [Cheers.] This is a humane idea, worthy of this enlightened century. It ought to be carried out wherever practicable. But how much greater and more commendable would it be if applied to a people instead of an individual! As for me, it will be to me supremely indifferent whether any of the Rebels meets a punishment adequate to his crime, provided the great source of disloyalty be punished in itself. [Cheers.] The best revenge for the past is that which furnishes us the best assurance for the future. [Applause.] And how can we lose this great opportunity, how can we throw away this glorious privilege we enjoy, of putting down a rebellion by enlarging liberty, and of punishing treason by reforming society. [Cheers.] What hinders you? It is not the Constitution! Its voice is clear, unmistakable, and encouraging. This time the Constitution refuses to serve as a mask to morbid timidity or secret tenderness for Slavery. Or is there really anything frightful to you in the idea, which we hear so frequently expressed, that every measure touching Slavery would irritate the rebels very much, and make them very angry. [Laughter and cheering.] Irritate them and make them angry! I should not wonder. Every cannon shot you fire at them, every gunboat that shells their fortifications, every bayonet charge that breaks their lines, makes them, I have no doubt, quite angry. [Continued laughter.] It may be justly supposed that every forward movement of our troops has upon them quite an irritating effect. [Great laughter—"Fort Donelson."] If you want to see them smile, you must let them alone entirely. But will you, therefore, load your muskets with sawdust, stop the advance of your battalions, and run your navy ashore? It must be confessed, they have never shown such tender regards for our institutions. But why will this measure make them so angry? Because it will, in the end, make them powerless for mischief. And if we can attain so desirable an end by doing this, will it not be best to support their anger with equanimity, and do it? [Cheering.] I never heard of a man who, when assaulted by a robber, would refrain from disarming him because it might create unpleasant feelings. [Applause.] But, in fact, the irritation it will create will be rather short-lived. It will die out with Slavery. I have endeavored to set forth that the reformation of Southern society resulting from these measures is the only thing that will make of the Southern people our sincere friends. Why not risk a short irritation for a lasting friendship? [Cheers.] But while I am little inclined to pay much regard to the feelings of the Rebels, who would delight in cutting our throats, I deem it our duty to treat with respect the opinion of the loyal men of the South, on whose fidelity the whirl of Rebellion raging round them had no power. I have heard it said that any measure touching Slavery in any way would drive them over to our common enemy. Is this possible? Is their loyalty of so uncertain a complexion that they will remain true to the Union only as long as the Union does nothing which they do not fancy? What, then, would distinguish them from the traitors?—for the traitors too would have adhered to the Union if they had been permitted to rule it. [Cheers.] It is impossible! Whatever they might feel inclined to do if their rights were attacked in an unconstitutional manner to constitutional measures, constitutionally enacted and carried out, a true Union man will never offer resistance. [Applause.] As we listen with respect to their opinions, so they will listen respectfully to our advice. If we speak to them as friends, they will not turn away from us as enemies. I would say to them: You, Union men of the South, have faithfully clung to the Union men of the South, have faithfully clung to the cause of our common country, although your education, the circumstances in which you lived, and the voice of your neighbors were well calculated to call you to the other side. You have resisted a temptation which to many proved fatal. For this we honor you. We labor and fight side by side to restore the Union to its ancient greatness, and to their purity the eternal principles upon which it can safely and permanently rest. What will you have—a Union continually tottering upon its foundation, or a Union of a truly united people, a Union of common principles, common interests, a common honor, and a common destiny? We do not work for ourselves alone, we are not responsible to ourselves alone, but also to posterity. What legacy will you leave to your children—new struggles, new dangers, new revulsions, or a future of peaceful progress? An unfinished, trembling edifice, that may some day tumble down over their heads, because its foundations were not firmly laid, or a house resting upon the firm rock of a truly free Government, in which untold millions may quietly and harmoniously dwell? We do not mean to disregard the obligations we owe you, neither constitutional obligations nor those which spring from your claims to our gratitude. We do not mean that you shall suffer in rights or fortune, nor to tear you forcibly from your ways and habits of life. But let us reason together. Do you think that Slavery will live always? Consider this question calmly, and without prejudice or passion. Do you think it will live always, in spite of the thousand agencies which, in this Nineteenth Century of ours, are busy working its destruction? It cannot be. Its end will come one day, and that day is brought nearer by the suicidal war which, in this Rebellion, Slavery is waging against itself. And how do you wish that this end should be? A violent convulsion or the result of a quiet and peaceful reform, will you leave it to chance or would you not rather keep this certain development under the moderating control of your voluntary action? There is but one way of avoiding new struggles and a final revulsion, and that is by commencing a vigorous progressive reform in time. In time, I say—and when will the term have arrived? Either you control this development by wise measures seasonably adopted—or it will control you. How long will you wait? You speak of difficulties; I see them—they are great, very great. But will they not be twenty times greater twenty years hence, unless you speedily commence to remove them? You ask me, what shall we do with our negroes, who are now four millions? And I ask you, what will you do with them when they will be eight millions—or rather, what will they do with you? [Cheering.] Is it wise to quail before difficulties to-day, when it is sure that they will be twice as great to-morrow, and equally sure that some day they *must*—absolutely *must*—be solved? You speak of your material interests. To-day, I am convinced, there is hardly a man in the Free States of this Republic who would not cheerfully consent to compensate you amply for the sacrifices you might voluntarily bring. [Applause.] Do you think that after the fierce struggles which inevitably will come if Slavery remains a power in the land after this war, and which, with the certainty of fate, will bring on its destruction, an equally liberal spirit will prevail? Look at this fairly and without prejudice. Does not every consideration of safety and material interest command you to commence this reform without delay? Must it not be clear to the dullest mind that this task which imperviously imposes itself upon you, will be the easier the sooner it is taken in hand, and the more difficult and fearful the longer it is put off? But, pardon me, Union men of the South, if in speaking to you of a thing of such tremendous moment, I have appealed only to the meaner instincts of human nature. How great, how sublime a part might you play in this crisis, if you appreciated the importance of your position—if you would cast off the small ambition which governs so many of you! To maintain a point in controversy just because you have asserted it, to say: we can do this if we please, and nobody shall hinder us, and therefore we will do it; or, we have Slavery and nobody has a right to interfere with it, and therefore we will maintain it. How small an aim! in this! How much greater, how infinitely nobler would it be, if you would boldly place yourself at the head of the movement and say to us: we grew up in the habits of slaveholding society, and our interests were long identified with the institution, and we think also that you cannot lawfully deprive us of it; but since we see that it is the great disturbing element in this Republic, we voluntarily sacrifice it to the peace of the nation, we immolate it as a patriotic offering on the altar of the country! [Loud cheers