

But I am not in the mood to take a calm survey of the history of that administration. That, my friends, will be the task of history in years to come, when her muse shall become the calm mistress of the record; but we may now here, as at Baltimore, pause and rest our minds amid the turmoil of conflict and destruction, even amid the reverberation that comes to us from all quarters of the field, and form a general satisfactory judgment in regard to the character, and quality, and policy of the President of the United States; and I believe you will endorse the judgment to which I referred, that as a whole, and as a summary of the whole, Abraham Lincoln, according to the judgment of a candid, intelligent and loyal man in the United States, has pursued only the object and purpose of the salvation of this government.

I do not pause here, fellow-citizens, to discuss minor questions which have existed within the last twenty-four months, as to whether he was too rapid or too slow. It is enough for me to know, sir, that Abraham Lincoln has always acted up to the exigency of the time, and according to the necessity of the country as it appeared to an impartial eye. A statesman, says Mr. Burke, never loses sight of principles, is governed by circumstances; and judging contrary to the exigency, he may ruin his country forever. Therefore I say, sir, adopting this as my basis and predication, I say I pause not here, sir, to settle the difference between those who would have held him back, and those who would have pushed him forward to a more rapid policy.

But, I do say, that the President of the United States, that it is sufficient for me that, when he has taken a stride forward, the Lord has irradiated and illuminated the path before him. It is sufficient for me and for you that while he could see the whole field, you and I could see only a small part of it; it is enough for me and for you, sir, that he has struck the great epoch bell of the age, at just exactly such times as the people of this country, in every case, were most ready to receive the sound and echo it in their hearts. [Applause.] It is sufficient for me, and for you, fellow citizens, that whether according to your assumption or mine the proclamation of freedom came early or late, when it came at all found the people of the North as it never could have found them before—ready to stand by it, and die for it. It is sufficient for me, sir, and for you, my friends, that the policy enunciated in the two proclamations, while we have fresh issues at home, is a power abroad at this moment, in the presence of which there is not a crowned head in Europe that does not appeal to its subjects on the tribunal of moral sentiment against the cause of union on this continent.

And so in his prosecution of this war, I see him ascending to his office without the education or the instincts of a soldier; I see him trying every expedient after every preceding experiment had failed, as every wise man would do; I behold him, sir, adopting one policy after another had proved abortive; I behold him taking one command after another, until at last, under the favor of Almighty God, he has found two which are the right ones. [Enthusiastic applause.] I behold him, sir, at length that your flag and mine and his should float over every inch of the territory of this republic; and I say in accordance with the spirit and with the declaration of the Baltimore convention, that in Abraham Lincoln I behold the wisest, the ablest, the most expedient, and the most efficient man among all the millions of his countrymen that could have been selected for this perilous crisis; and so for these reasons, among others (which time will not permit me to detail, I believe, as I have before stated, that this same Abraham Lincoln has a deep place in the hearts of the people of this country.—[Great applause.]

SENTIMENTS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN ON SLAVERY.

From Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 17, 1858. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe that Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest their further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

DRED SCOTT CASE THE KNELL OF FREEDOM. From the same. Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being like lawful in all the States. Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free, and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State. To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have to do. How can we best do it?

From Speech at Chicago, July 10, 1858. I am tolerably well acquainted with the history of the country, and I know that it has endured, eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I believe it has endured, because during all that time, until the introduction of the Nebraska bill, the public mind did rest all the time in the belief that slavery was in the course of ultimate extinction. That was what gave us the rest that we had through that period of eighty-two years; at least, so I believe. I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any abolitionist.

The American people look upon slavery as a vast moral evil; they can prove it such by the writings of those who gave us the blessings of liberty which we enjoy; and that they so looked upon it, and not as an evil merely confining itself to the States where it is situated. I protest, now and for ever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is, that I need not have her for either; but, as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone, and do one another much good thereby. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black women; and, in God's name, let them be so married.

Turn in whatever way you will—whether it come from the mouth of a king, or from the mouth of a man of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race—it is all the same old serpent; and I hold that that course of argumentation that is made, for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this, should be granted, it does not stop with the negro. I should like to know if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exception to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why may not another say it does not mean some other man? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute-book in which we find it, and tear it out. Who is so bold as to do it?

Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Cherishing our standard that we have left us, let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.

In the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, held at Ottawa, in August, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said: This declared indifference to, but, as I must think, covert real zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence on the world, enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us with hypocrisy, conceals the real friends of freedom to do us wrong, and especially because it forces so many really good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

From Speech at Springfield, July 17, 1858. Certainly, the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects; still, in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black. In pointing out that more has been given you, you cannot be justified in taking away the little which has been given him.

From Speech at Jonesboro, Ill., Sept. 15, 1858. All the trouble and convulsions have proceeded from efforts to spread slavery over more territory. It was thus at the date of the Missouri Compromise. It was so again with the annexation of Texas; so with the territory acquired by the Mexican war; and it is so now. Whenever there has been an effort to spread it, there has been agitation and resistance. Now, I appeal to this audience (very few of whom are my political friends) as national men, whether we have reason to expect that the agitation in regard to this subject will cease while the causes that tend to reproduce agitation are actually at work. Will not the same cause that produced agitation in 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was formed—that which produced the agitation upon the annexation of Texas, and at other times—work out the same results always? Do you think that the nature of man will be changed—that the same causes that produced agitation at one time will not have the same effect at another?

From Speech at Quincy, Ill., Oct. 13, 1858. I will say now, that there is a sentiment in the country contrary to me—a sentiment which holds that slavery is not wrong, and therefore it goes for the policy that does not propose dealing with it as a wrong. That policy is the Democratic policy, and that sentiment is the Democratic sentiment.

THE TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION. In all three of these places, being the only allusions to slavery in the instrument, covert language is used. Language is used, not suggesting that slavery existed, or that the black race were among us. And I understand the contemporaneous history of those times to be that covert language was used with a purpose, and that purpose was, in our Constitution, which it was hoped, and is still hoped, will endure for ever—when it should be read by intelligent and patriotic men, after the institution of slavery had passed from among us, there should be nothing on the face of the great charter of liberty suggesting that such a thing as negro slavery had ever existed among us. This is part of the evidence that the fathers of the Government expected and intended the institution of slavery to come to an end. They expected and intended that it should be in the course of ultimate extinction. And when I say that I desire to see the further spread of it arrested, I only say I desire to see that done which the fathers have first done.

From Letter to Boston Committee, April 6, 1859. The Democracy of to-day hold the liberty of one man to be absolutely nothing, when in conflict with another man's right of property. Republicans, on the contrary, are both for the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict, the man before the dollar. This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.

From Letter to German citizens, May 17, 1859. It is well-known that I deplore the oppressed condition of the blacks; and it would, therefore, be very inconsistent for me to look with approval upon any measures that infringe upon the inalienable rights of white men, whether or not they are born in another land, or speak a different language from my own.

From Speech at Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 1859. Then, I say, if this principle is established, that there is no wrong in slavery, and whoever wants it has a right to have it, is a matter of dollars and cents—a sort of question as to how they shall deal with brutes; that between us and the negro here there is no sort of question, but that at the South the question is between the negro and the crocodile. That is all. It is a mere matter of policy; there is a perfect right, according to interest, to do just as you please; when this is done, when this doctrine prevails, the miners and sappers will have formed public opinion for the slave-trade. They will be ready for Jeff Davis and Stephens, and other leaders of that company, to sound the bugle for the revival of the slave-trade, for the second Dred Scott decision, for the flood of slavery to be poured over the free States, while we shall be here tied down and helpless, and run over like sheep.

From Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 1859. I say, there is room enough for us all to be free, and it not only does not wrong the white man that the negro should be free, but it positively wrongs the mass of white men that the negro should be enslaved; that the mass of white men are really injured by the effects of slave labor in the vicinity of the fields of their own labor.

From Message to Congress of December 1, 1862. The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress, and this Administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us from the fiery trial through which we pass, with light or shadow in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this cannot fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will for ever applaud, and God must for ever bless.

From Message to Congress, Dec. 8, 1863. But if it be proper to require as a test of admission to the political body an oath of allegiance to the United States, and to the Union under it, why not also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery?

Those laws and proclamations were put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them the fullest effect, there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided, and will further aid, the cause for which they were intended.

To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and astounding breach of faith.

I am still, at this point, while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that Proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.

From a Letter to Henry W. Holmes, dated Oct. 10, 1864, with reference to the new Constitution of Maryland, abolishing Slavery in that State.

A Convention in Maryland has formed a new Constitution for the State. A public meeting is called for this evening at Baltimore, to aid in securing its ratification from the people, and you ask a word from me for the occasion. I presume the only feature about which there is serious controversy, is that which provides for the election of slavery.

It need not be a secret, and I presume it is not a secret, that I wish success to this provision. I desire it on every consideration. I wish all men free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free, which I feel sure the extinction of slavery would bring. I wish to see in process of disappearance that only thing which could bring this nation to civil war.

The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1864.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

London, October 14, 1864. To Wm. Lloyd Garrison: DEAR SIR—I have this morning received the Liberator of Sept. 30th. It contains many grave misapprehensions of my posture of mind towards Mr. Lincoln; but I think it now quite unwise to pursue the argument.

When a President becomes a candidate, his career and conduct must be criticised, as freely as if he were not President, by those who hope for an abler and more suitable leader of the nation; yet, abstractedly, such criticism is very undesirable. Towards the Chief Magistrate, as towards our Queen, it is better, where admissible, to maintain decorous silence concerning personal errors. From the day that Mr. Lincoln is the best candidate in the list, it would be unpatriotic in an American citizen, and blamable in me, to shout aloud for the impossible, instead of making the best of the possible.

I have always held it as a fixed certainty, that the lovers of freedom among you would never allow themselves at the last to be divided, and thereby give advantage to the party of slavery. For this very reason I deprecated your course when I began to understand it. But I am sure that you have had the purest intentions, and I ask your pardon if I spoke too abruptly. As regards the better side of Mr. Lincoln's character and action, it is possible that I esteem it as highly as you do. But the crisis in which he is placed may implicate you in dire calamity, through any tenderness towards slave-owners or their laws, which is to be indulged at the expense of the colored race. If I were an American voter, I should unhesitatingly give vote and interest and voice and pen now to Mr. Lincoln, against any candidate who would accept other terms from rebels than unconditional submission initiated by themselves, as it were on their knees. But I would, at the same time, implore all who love the Union, and wish the war to be succeeded by peace, sound peace, in which every State shall be loyal, to continue vigilant and suspicious of the administration, until it preaches the political equality of human races as a doctrine; and shows its sincerity by treating all citizens as citizens, whatever their color.

I am not a doctrinaire Democrat for America any more than for England. It is not for me to play the politician, and dictate what forms of government are best; but, as a moralist, I say strongly, and, if necessary, sternly, that you must not abandon your colored citizens to local oppression, nor allow color to be in any sense of political import, unless you desire a renewal of God's terrible chastisements. I trust that we may count that you and all Abolitionists will unite your forces to insist that the administration and its war-office shall become active supporters of equal justice to all races. You have yet yourself, I trust, a great part to play; for there is a great battle to fight; and it will now be fought against potent influences in the cabinet.

I have sincerely rejoiced in the recent Federal successes; though with less of exultation, because I have never doubted your success; yet the capture of Atlanta was success in a form which I had not dared to anticipate, and it is to me an omen that the end does indeed draw nigh; for which I shall feel no measure of delight and thankfulness, if you crown your victories by justice. You will, I am sure, not be displeased that I regard the future of the human race now to depend more on the United States than on England; to save our aristocracy chosen to have it, when they might have led the world—therefore it is that I assume all brotherly freedom, as though I were one of your citizens. Nor will you rejoice more than I at any further great and good acts of President Lincoln, such as, I trust, he will perform by your aid and urgency.

I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, sincerely yours, F. W. NEWMAN.

We fully reciprocate the kind spirit manifested in this letter, and assure Professor Newman that we have taken no personal offence at any of his criticisms, however sharp. He has been betrayed into injustice towards President Lincoln through an anti-slavery zeal which was "not according to knowledge," either as it relates to the spirit of the President, or to the complicated situation of affairs among us. But his practical good sense is seen in his frank acknowledgment—"If I were an American voter, I should unhesitatingly give vote and interest and voice and pen now to Mr. Lincoln." Such, we believe, is the feeling of the great body of anti-slavery voters here, with a few solitary exceptions; and such is the purpose of the overwhelming mass of loyal men, who, on Tuesday next, will show alike their love of country, and their appreciation of liberty for all, by bestowing their suffrages upon ABRAHAM LINCOLN—not as "a choice of evils," nor as "a political necessity," but as a matter of preference and high appreciation of a meritorious public servant.

THEN AND NOW.

The change in feeling on the subject of slavery between 1854, when GEORGE THOMSON came to these shores, and 1864, is indeed wonderful. By joint invitation of the legislative branches of Vermont, he has recently delivered a most eloquent and acceptable address in the Representatives' Hall at Montpelier. By special invitation he attended a crowded meeting, on Saturday evening last, in Williams Hall in this city, of Ward Eileen Union Club, with reference to the reelection of President Lincoln.

On being presented to the audience, Mr. Thomson was received with repeated cheers and prolonged applause. He said this was the first political meeting he had attended in this country in the character of a speaker. As he sat there, he seemed to hear a voice crying, "What dost thou here, Elijah?" What should he say to prove his claim to a seat on that platform? He was an ardent champion of human rights and universal liberty; he had ever advocated those principles of government on which our nationality was based, and he was an admirer of our political institutions. It was not for him, he said, to dictate what the American people should do in this crisis. He would only say what he would do if he were an American; and that would be, with his voice and vote and purse, by every means at hand, and with the utmost of his ability, to labor to promote the reelection to the Presidential chair of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Thomson then proceeded to a comprehensive review of Mr. Lincoln's administration, concluding with an eloquent appeal in behalf of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and sat down amidst a perfect tempest of cheers and applause, which was continued for some minutes.

MAJOR GEN. BANKS. Gen. Banks is now in Boston, receiving the congratulations of his friends. On Saturday evening last, he very ably addressed an immense meeting of citizens in Faneuil Hall, where his reception was very flattering; and on Monday evening he gave a lucid and most interesting address, in Tremont Temple, before the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, on the condition of the negro population as connected with the restoration of government in rebel States. This, as a matter of justice, we shall publish entire in our next number.

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.

The fourth lecture of the present course was given at the Music Hall, on Tuesday evening last, by Goldwin Smith, Professor of Modern History in Oxford University, England. The spacious Hall was early filled by the numbers who wished to hear him, but, in spite of the most earnest attention on their part, his voice was inaudible to a large proportion of them. Among the distinguished gentlemen on the platform were General Burnside, George Thompson, the lecturer's countryman and co-laborer in the advocacy of the American cause in England, Hon. Edward Everett, whose son was educated at Oxford University, and Governor Andrew. A warm welcome was given by the audience to these gentlemen on their entrance. The subject of the lecture was "The Relations of England to this country."

Professor Smith commenced by speaking of the warm interest he had long felt in the welfare of the United States, to which land he was alien by birth only, not at heart. The feeling of England towards this country had not been truly represented by an important portion of the British press. On the other hand, in the disputes which from time to time occurred between the two countries, some American statesmen had manifested the spirit which slavery engenders; and the wounds thus given had been inflamed by the unfriendly criticism of English writers. The friendly reception given the Prince of Wales in his late visit to this country, however, had been warmly appreciated in Great Britain, and had seemed the pledge and seal of a good understanding between the two nations. The lecturer spoke in earnest deprecation of any manifestation or feeling of hostility between the two countries. English liberty, he reminded us, is the source from which our liberties have flowed, and the progress which each nation has made has often served, and may yet serve, the other.

As to the conduct of England toward us in this war, it was a matter greatly complicated by the difference of classes and interests. Though severed by the Atlantic, there are many ties of affectionate remembrance between us, and to each nation, in fact, the other is dearer than all the world beside. And yet, in England, the heirs of the Cavaliers are likely to sympathize with your opponents, while the heirs of the Puritans warmly sympathize with you. You are fighting for democracy against aristocracy. The members of the British privileged class bear you no personal hatred; they treat American travellers courteously, however known as open opponents of their political system. But it is not to be expected that they should forget their class interests. In fact, all the aristocrats of modern Europe must look with a jealous eye upon your prosperity and progress. The example of a great Commonwealth flourishing without the existence of a privileged class tends to break the spell of aristocratic institutions.

These feelings belong to a special and limited part of the nation. But there are friends of the good cause among both English peers and English capitalists. Of the good will of the lower classes, the words and acts of the Lancashire operatives give a just idea. Would you increase these friends, and diminish these enemies? Press forward to success in your great experiment; attain and diffuse liberty; even the silent influence of your example may have a weighty effect.

Professor Smith proceeded to speak of Liverpool, the stronghold of the commercial aristocracy of England, where opposition to our cause has taken a more direct and practical form than elsewhere. There, undoubtedly, were persons regardless of the honor and interest of both countries, and ready to plunge them into a desolating war, if thereby their own gains might be advanced.

The lecturer then adverted to the English Church, and to the natural fact that her Bishops side with the aristocracy in their opposition to this country. They seem to think that religion needs the help of such a system as theirs. For his part, he could not assent to the theory that Christianity must fall without State support. Many Americans must have wondered that the son of Wiberforce is not with their nation. But he bears little resemblance to his father, and prefers the genteel side, and the aristocratic side. On the other hand, the free churches of England, strongly sympathizing on religious grounds with the voluntary churches here, join them also in fervent desires for the success of the cause of freedom.

Professor Smith himself at first believed, he said, that the task which he had undertaken was hopeless. He did not know, for there was no example to teach it, the strength of an united people. Many Englishmen still hold this ground, bearing no ill will to us, but thinking the war hopeless.

After remarking—He need not be your enemy who somewhat timidly counsels you against civil war—the lecturer asked—Would even you have gone into this war if you had known beforehand all the fearful circumstances which would attend it? Immediate cries of yes! arose from the audience in response to this question.

Prof. Smith proceeded to speak of the favorable feelings of the great lower class in England towards this country; of the important aid that Cobden and Bright have given us; of the influence of the popular writers, and of the fact (in his judgment) that the majority of those most likely to live in the future are on our side; of the vicious position of Carlyle, combining a portentous defence of the rubber policy of Frederic the Great, with a portentous defence of the slave power; and of the encouragement justly resulting from the fact that every Englishman who takes the Southern side has to preface his statement with a declaration of his opposition to slavery.

He also reminded his audience that they should remember, to form a fair judgment of the position of England, that we did not at first set before her the true relation borne by this contest to slavery; that we ourselves have not been of one mind or one voice in this matter, and that advocates of slavery in England have but echoed those in Northern America; and that some of our journals have prevented the sympathy of the English people by calumnies and vituperations against them.

In reference to the blockade-runners sent from British colonies, the lecturer said—I heartily wish that the curse of ill-gotten gain may rest on every piece of gold they make. He closed his discourse by a fervent expression of the wish that his country and ours might remain united and friendly.

Upon the conclusion of the lecture, loud calls were made for Gen. Burnside, who rose and bowed his acknowledgments amid hearty applause, but excused himself from making a speech. Mr. Everett was called out in a similar manner, but spoke only a few words of compliment for Professor Smith's lecture, which he praised highly. Gov. Andrew was also called for, but declined on account of his health.

The next lecture will be given Nov. 15th, by Rev. David A. Wasson.—C. K. W.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for November is received. Contents:—1. Leaves from an Officer's Journal.—I. by T. W. Higginson. 2. Riches. The Venue of Dominic de Gourgues, by Francis Parkman. 3. Lina. 4. Charles Lamb's Uncollected Writings.—IV. by J. E. Babson. 5. To William Cullen Bryant, by H. T. Tuckerman. 6. House and Home Papers.—X. by Harriet Beecher Stowe. 7. The New School of Biography, by Gail Hamilton. 8. The Last Rally, by J. T. Rowbridge. 9. Finances of the Revolution, by Geo. W. Green. 10. Through-Tickets to San Francisco.—A Prophecy, by Titus Hugh Ludlow. 11. Sea-Hours with a Dyspeptic, by Joseph Dana Howard. 12. The Twentieth Presidential Election. 13. Reviews and Literary Notices. 14. Recent American Publications. Single Subscriptions, \$4 per year. Ticknor & Fields, 135 Washington Street, Boston.

The communication of D. L. C. we regret to say, was received too late for insertion this week. So was the letter of H. C. W.

IRELAND TO AMERICA.

Address of Workingmen of the Capital of the Fatherland, to their Kindred of their own Order in the Royal States of the Republic.

Drawn up by the Rev. THADDEUS O'MALLEY, proposed by him in public meeting, and adopted by acclamation. FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: You never have been called upon—never can be called upon—to perform so solemn an act, one so pregnant with serious issues, as the vote you are about to give on the forthcoming Presidential election.

Withdrawn as we are from the disturbing influences of the fierce warfare in which you are plunged—placed, too, beyond the reach of the disturbing bias of party passion, we feel that we are in a position to offer you calm and wholesome counsel as to the course you should follow on this trying occasion; and we are persuaded that you will listen to our friendly caution in the same brotherly spirit in which it is spoken.

When the ship is struggling with the fiercest violence of the storm, is that the time to change the pilot at the helm? The Republic is now in the very agony of that fierce and foul Rebellion which threatens the very national existence—is this the time to uproot the whole National Administration, to derange the whole march of public affairs, to disturb, perhaps to thwart the far-reaching plans of your triumphant champions—your Grant, your Sherman, your Meade, your Sheridan, your glorious old Farragut! With new men in the Government, you will be sure to have new measures, and this is not the time to try them. Surely it will be wiser—and setting aside for the while all party predilections, it will be more purely patriotic—to uphold the Executive now at the helm. They have boldly accepted the war forced upon the country by the arrogant Southern aristocrats, with whom you, as thoroughly honest democrats, can possibly have no sympathy. They have carried on the war, upon the whole, successfully, in spite of all mistakes and shortcomings, for which, in the extraordinary difficulties of the position, every candid mind must make allowances. Let them, then, in God's name, finish triumphantly that wicked war which, with such stubborn persistency, they have so manfully fought out, and let them dictate the terms of the peace which is to follow. We greatly fear that, if left to their rivals, it might turn out a mere hollow truce, brimful of the seeds of future wars—a shameful peace, which will dishonor the graves of your glorious dead, the victims of this war, the voice of whose indignant spirits will forever ring in the depths of the national conscience—"What! will you, indeed, endure that we shall have died in vain?"

There can be no disguising the broad, palpable fact, that Slavery is at the root of this foul Rebellion. Upon that point, then, it behooves you to fix a stern regard. Now, the unanimous voice of the whole Christian world denounces as utterly execrable that Slavery, as exercised in the Southern States. But yet it has many sympathizers in the great cities of the North—the chief centres of trade and commerce. You have here a strong moneyed interest sharing the profits of Slavery, and heedless of its iniquity—the fetchers and carriers, the obsequious servants—the white slaves, in short, of the cotton lords of the South. These men are cleverly exploiting you for their own uses. Seeing you so zealous in their cause unpleasantly reminds us of the pungent truth, which we deem it not inopportune in this connection to put before you—"Faction is the madness of the many for the benefit of the few." Their ends and aims are not your ends and aims, whilst you lend yourselves the blind instruments in attaining them. Besides its profits, they love Slavery for itself from that hatred of freedom. They would make you, too, slaves, if they could. To call them Democrats is a bitter mockery—come out from amongst them! They have undegraded you too much already. They have unscrupulously fomented, for an obvious, wicked purpose, that ungenerous jealousy which you have too often evinced toward the men of your own order—the free workers of the colored race—your fair rivals in the open labor market—a mean jealousy, which we have blushed to observe, has sometimes driven you into unmanly and cruel excesses. They have taught you to look with disfavour upon the emancipation of the negro, under the false impression that it would glut the labor markets of the North by wholesale immigrations of the freed slaves of the South; whereas it appears clear to us the very contrary is most likely to happen—namely, that in the event of a general emancipation, even the free negroes in the Northern cities will prefer to migrate to the sunny South, which is so much more congenial to them, and where there will be abundance of room for them all, twice or thrice told. And when their recent cotton deposits—now happily dethroned (a consummation which will be glad to retain them as free workers for fair wages.

Nor is it for the sake of the poor negro that we would exhort you to snap asunder, on this occasion, whatever party ties may bind you to any pro slavery convention. We would invite you to bestow some sympathy also upon the free white man of your own order in the Southern States, those men whom their insolent lords contemptuously designate as "the mean white." According to the most trustworthy accounts, their condition is truly pitiable. When labor is in bondage, labor is in dishonor. That noble phrase, "the dignity of labor," the holy maxim, "to labor is to pray," have no application there. To labor in shackles is to curse at every step it takes and every stroke it strikes—to curse the bitter curse, "not loud but deep." And where nearly the whole body of the work of a State is done by hands—say, mere hands indeed, without hearts or brains in them—to whom the notion of wages is absolutely unknown, of course labor is not only in dishonor, but is profitless too. Free labor and slave labor, it is plain, cannot prosper on the same soil. And accordingly, there is no such thing in the Slave States, as we are fully assured and can readily believe, as a respectable and thriving body of working classes of whites, either in the shops or in the fields. Furthermore, we have noticed that, in the very first session of some of the Southern States' Legislatures, after the outbreak of the rebellion, and notably in that of Virginia—the land of the chivalrous slave breeders—a tenacity clearly betrayed itself to DISFRANCHISE those poor "mean white." And even still further—and we pray you to take sharp notice of the significant fact—the advanced guard of the pro slavery advocates who, boldly following up their principles with a stern logic, like Mr. Howell Cobb, unflinchingly maintain that the proper and natural relationship between capital and labor is, THAT CAPITAL SHALL BE LORD AND LABOR SLAVE—white labor and black labor alike be slave! And yet you have seen how bravely, how heroically, these poor "mean whites" have fought the battles of their insolent masters, they, too, being dupes, dupes of monstrous delusions, drugged by the leopards distillments of crafty lies, which no voice at their press dares to expose.

Avoiding, then, all extremes, whether of "Black Republicans" or "Red Republicans," regard with entire distrust the really anti-Republican, hypocritical peace party, "crying out peace when there is no peace," nor ever can be peace. The instant Abolitionists would regard, not indeed with distrust, but yet with reserve. Slavery is a large and delicate question, and must be dealt with cautiously. The march of wisdom is always slow. But among the chiefs of the great party of the moderate Republicans, you have sagacious statesmen who, in facing this foul blot from its folds, will take heed not to wipe out one star from your glorious star-spangled banner.

Rally, then, as one man round the standard of that great party for this once, if no more, on this vital issue in this critical hour, and thus preclude all danger of that dissension in the national councils which you must have observed is now the last and only hope of the partricial rebellion. Stand together, brothers all! You have now to enshrine the glory of your countrymen

have won by their noble military virtues in the camp and battle-field, winning victories for the Republic by exercising on this occasion the most honorable and most valuable civic virtue which is dear to the hearts of party when the country calls. Accept our warmest greetings of brotherly friendship. Long live the Republic! RICHARD D. WEBB, Chairman. ISAAC S. VARIAN, Secretary. Mechanics' Institute, Dublin, Oct. 8, 1864.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST IN AMERICA.

At a meeting of the Executive of the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester, held on the 14th of October, 1864, the following resolutions were moved and unanimously passed:— 1st. That this Executive, in view of the vast issues and great principles involved in the coming contest for the election of a President of the United States, feel bound to express to their brethren in America, their deep sympathy with them in their heroic and terrible war—a war to maintain constitutional government and to ensure to all people, of whatever color or clime, who dwell within the boundaries of the Republic, the right to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness.

2d. That this Executive, having watched with intense anxiety the conduct and proceedings of those who are identified with the cause of freedom, as well as the white free people of the Free States, as well as black, entertain a profound conviction that the cause of liberty, justice and good government will be most certainly secured, and most speedily attained, by the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, who, by his many acts and declarations, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, has shown himself worthy of the confidence of every loyal American, and of the esteem of every lover of human freedom.

3d. That this Executive feel that they are entitled to record a distinct and special expression of their sentiments, seeing that the agents in this country of the slaveholding rebel Confederacy are obtaining concessions to a so-called "Appeal for Peace in America," in which it is falsely represented that the people of Great Britain and Ireland look upon the cause of the North as "hopeless;" the real object of the appeal being to instigate the American people to acts of disloyalty towards their country, and treason towards their constitution, and thereby do violence to themselves and to humanity.

4th. That this Executive, having carefully scrutinized the expressed opinions of the people of this kingdom, feel fully convinced that the intelligent, honest-minded, and liberty-loving of all classes of society, but especially the industrial, most heartily desire and long for the permanent establishment of the republic on those bases which alone can insure real prosperity and true greatness, viz., free government, a free press, free schools, and free labor.

5th. That in the name and on behalf of the thousands whom they officially represent, and of the millions who are sympathetically allied with them in spirit and aim, the Executive take this opportunity of trying, earnestly and hopefully, upon the President, his Cabinet, the Congress, and the American people, in this time of their national crisis, to declare in unmistakable terms, in the spirit of patriotism and of true Christian manhood, that the Union shall be preserved intact; that the wicked rebellion shall be crushed; that by force of the national will, constitutionally expressed, slavery, the guilty and just cause of rebellion, shall be utterly destroyed, and for ever outlawed; and that the ever-blessed era of peace shall inaugurate the reign of justice and equal rights under the law, and of perfect freedom to every human being within the great republic.

Signed on behalf of the Executive, JOHN H. ESTCOTE, Chairman. SAM'L WATTS, Junr, Treasurer. JOHN C. EDWARDS, Secy. EDWARD OWEN GARRISON, Hon. Secy. Manchester, 51, Piccadilly, Oct. 4, 1864.

A TESTIMONY FROM SCOTLAND.

GLASGOW, 80 Union Street, October 16, 1864. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Boston.

DEAR SIR:—In accordance with instructions received, I have pleasure in placing the accompanying address at your disposal. In common with other large centres of population in this country, the citizens of Glasgow have taken a deep interest in American matters since the commencement of the present war; and the Union and Emancipation Society was formed for the purpose of watching the progress of that conflict, and taking what action might be deemed expedient, in view of the heavy issues involved in the strife.

The accompanying expression of sympathy was agreed to at a recent meeting of our Association, with a view principally to its finding an utterance in the hearing of those to whom it is addressed, through the press of

