

It must be admitted that our enemies were wisely wicked. They well knew that it would never do to admit Southern intellect into the national councils, until their work was fully completed in the mindless parts of the fundamental law. Ever since then, they have reached this point that the doors of Congress must be opened, they were only allowed to be opened to such as were participants in and products of the Southern policy. The increasing fathers took only the arms of their children their vengeance had begotten. In 1872 alarmed by what seemed to be a returning sense of justice at the North aided by most remarkable concessions to the South, the South Congress removed the illegal disabilities imposed upon most of our leaders, though upon many even yet these disabilities remain. In the meantime, most of our greatest men, who were the true families of the nation of the past, so essential to our civilization, had passed away, or were rapidly passing away. A very few of these were released from these bonds upon the use of their liberators. But the opportunity for the South had returned at last to the Southern people, and it was expected by our enemies and the world that this opportunity would be improved, and our very best men, everywhere chosen to Congress. And this was the most curious chapter in our history. It will puzzle the future historian. Not a single man who was in full sympathy and accord with the Confederation, reconstruction, and who was intimate in the union, had progressed, familiar with the policy of that administration, has been called by our people to a single prominent position, State or national. While many who grow and encourage the people to that administration during the war of coercion, and refused to be counsel, or counselled consent during the lower war of reconstruction,

No people, ancient or modern, can look with more pride to the verdict of which history will be compelled to render in respect to the great contest of our two chief leaders—the one in the military and the other in the civil service. Most other leaders are great because of fortunate results, and heroes because of successes. Davis and Lee, because of the latter, are great leaders, great in the face of fortune, and heroes in spite of defeat.

When the future historian comes to survey the character of Lee, he will find it rising like a huge mountain from the sea of the present world, lofty, and he will have to lift his eyes high towards heaven to catch its summit. He possessed every virtue of all other great commanders without their faults; he was a foe without hate; a friend without flattery; a conqueror without cruelty, and a victim without murmuring. He was a public officer without vices; a private citizen without wrong; a neighbor without reproach; a christian without hypocrisy, and a patriot without trucking. He was Caesar without his ambition; Frederick, without his tyranny; Napoleon, without his selfishness, and Washington, without his reward. He was obedient without servility as a servant, and a royal in authority as a ruler. He was gentle as a woman in life; modest as pure as a virgin in thought; watchful as a Roman vestal in duty; submissive to law as Socrates, and grand as Achilles.

There are some peculiarities in the habits and character of Lee, which are but little known and which may be studied with profit. He studiously avoided giving opinions upon subjects which he did not deem his calling or training required him to discuss. He thought he carried this great virtue too far. Neither the President nor Congress nor friends could get his views upon any public question not touching military, and no man had as much question upon military matters as what he called "military statesmen and political generals." Meeting him once in the streets of Richmond, as I was going out, and he going in the executive office, I said to him, "General, I

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The saddest chapter in Confederate history is the future historian will be called to write, the chapter in which he shall undertake to define the real cause of our failure. For the fifth must be told.


Five millions of people in such a country, with no resources, were not considered because our resources were inferior, or our enemies were so powerful. All physical disadvantages are sufficient to account for our failure. We were tired, and because too many of our people were not trained to win. Men at home paid in blood in high places took more men in the field than did Grant's men. The same agencies created disaffection among the people. When our sacrifices ceased, our purposes failed, and our strength was divided. And judge let this sad chapter be told.

But above all things we have least dread in history are the merits of issues which divided the contending parties. The Southern States were not responsible for the war, but the higher responsible or accessory to the Northern States and people must be held and before the same bar responsible for secession and reconstruction. We are to be judged on principle, by authority, by the moral and political, by the chemical of the two parties. Is the moral and political to the Union, to constitution, government, and to liberty?

When the States, formed the Union, they were to withdraw, as the United States in Virginia expressly reserved the right to withdraw as a condition of ratification. This reservation, by a well-established rule of construction, must be held to have been made.

But, but for one I am willing to take the effort; and I exhort our brethren there people to cherish no feeling fatal to success, and omit no duty to win my people. I have more earnestness in restoring order and government than any other people. South, if despotism shall come over all North and South, there is reason to think that serfdom, of the South to the North, will be the darkest portion of my life. I know I am regarded as a wise in act, for, however legal or moral, or may not have been as an aboriginal right, I never believed it would be practicable as a remedy. I have doubted that a belligerent collision between centralism and constitutional federalism would succeed in the come. But, by the States in the one, and for the liberties of the people was always my favorite plan to the fight. But for the sensitive of slavery we might have made the Union only a Union, therefore, secession and slavery, be buried out of sight, though late, let us make one determined effort, in the forum of reason, and at the ballot-box, to win our treasures. We are losing. We could not pull down the Temple our hands built because thieves and ever changers desecrate it. Rather, let the inspiring memories of 1776,

tion, shall continue coercion and
destruction, as accepted and ap-
plied principles of Federal admin-
istration, then the wall that shall
rise upon the universal wreck of
States and liberty will drown
the hundred thousand victims of
Northern wisdom and fidelity. The
eyes of Davis and Lee, will become
signs for journeying sorrow-stricken
peoples of right for ages to come ;
and the historian, reviewing the ra-
vages of your cause shall have preserved,
and will rewrite the epitaph, the Con-
fession : These were the last heroes
of freedom in America.


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of the rivers and harbors, the dis-
franchisement of an asylum for dis-
abled and destitute seamen; a moderate
protective tariff; the opening of
of transit for freight and passen-
from the Mississippi to the Pacific;
extension of the land law system
to the acquisition of territory; a law
for the retirement of European
officers; a strict adherence to
uncompromising measures of 1850 and
his other measures which were
acted upon on account of the
of the Congress. Experience
demonstrated the wisdom and sagacity
which had suggested them however, for
they were afterwards adopted and
put in force. In his last annual
message he took strong ground against
the acquisition of Cuba.

On the 4th of March 1853 Mr. Fill-
more retired from the Presidential
office, FRANKLIN PIERCE succeeding him.
On the 30th of the same month he
met with a misfortune to lose his beloved
son and returned almost heart-bro-
ken to his desolate home. But he
lived in his country at peace with all the
independent



