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MESSAGE  
OF THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

COMMUNICATING,

*In answer to a resolution of the Senate of the 26th of February, correspondence with the workmen of England.*

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MARCH 2, 1863.—Read, ordered to lie on the table; and be printed.

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*To the Senate of the United States:*

In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 26th instant, requesting a copy of any correspondence which may have taken place between me and workmen in England, I transmit the papers mentioned in the subjoined list.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, *February 28*, 1863.

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*List.*

Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward, extracts, with accompaniments, January 2, 1863.  
The President of the United States to the workmen of Manchester, January 19, 1863.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, January 16, 1863.

Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward, extract, with an accompaniment, January 8, 1863.  
The President of the United States to the workmen of London, February 2, 1863.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, extract, February 2, 1863.

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*Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward.*

[Extracts.]

No. 289.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*London, January 2, 1863.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit an address of the workmen's meeting, held on the evening of the 31st ultimo, in the Free-Trade hall at Manchester, to the President of the United States. This document was brought to me this morning by Mr. Thomas H. Barker, a special messenger, with a note from Mr.

Heywood, the chairman, who is also the mayor of the city, a copy of which is likewise forwarded.

This meeting is in every respect a most remarkable indication of the state of popular sentiment in Great Britain. It will doubtless make a strong impression elsewhere, and, if duly followed up, may have the effect of restoring, in a degree, the amicable feeling between the two countries.

By a private letter received from Mr. Lord, the consul at that place, who was present and a witness of the scene, I am led to believe that none of the three newspaper reports \* \* \* \* do it any justice.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
*Secretary of State.*

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*Mayor Heywood, of Manchester, to Mr. Adams.*

MANCHESTER, *January 1, 1863.*

HONORABLE SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you an address to the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, agreed upon at a public meeting of the working men and others of this city, held in the Free Trade Hall last night, being December 31, the last day of the year 1862. The meeting assembled elected me as its chairman, and I have the great satisfaction to inform you that the address, together with the other resolutions proposed, were all carried with the greatest enthusiasm and unanimity. The hall, which will hold upwards of 6,000 persons, was well filled, and the order which was maintained by the people throughout the entire proceedings was of the most marked character. In transmitting this document to you, to be forwarded to the President of your great country, I may be allowed to express a hope that the amicable relations subsisting between the governments of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and the American republic will, by the meeting of the workingmen of Manchester, be knit more firmly, and that the people of the two nations may ever be united in the bonds of amity and fraternity.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

ABEL HEYWOOD,  
*Chairman.*

Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS,  
*United States Minister.*

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*From the workingmen of Manchester to his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America.*

As citizens of Manchester, assembled at the Free Trade Hall, we beg to express our fraternal sentiments towards you and your country.

We rejoice in your greatness, as an outgrowth of England, whose blood and language you share, whose orderly and legal freedom you have applied to new circumstances, over a region immeasurably greater than our own. We honor your free States, as a singularly happy abode for the working millions, where industry is honored. One thing alone has, in the past, lessened our sympathy with your country and our confidence in it; we mean the ascendancy of politicians who not merely maintained negro slavery, but desired to extend and root it more firmly. Since we have discerned, however, that the victory of the free north, in the war which has so sorely distressed us as well as afflicted you, will

strike off the fetters of the slave, you have attracted our warm and earnest sympathy.

We joyfully honor you, as the President, and the Congress with you, for the many decisive steps towards practically exemplifying your belief in the words of your great founders, "All men are created free and equal."

You have procured the liberation of the slaves in the district around Washington, and thereby made the centre of your federation visibly free. You have enforced the laws against the slave trade, and kept up your fleet against it, even while every ship was wanted for service in your terrible war. You have nobly decided to receive ambassadors from the negro republics of Hayti and Liberia, thus for ever removing that unworthy prejudice which refuses the rights of humanity to men and women on account of their color. In order more effectually to stop the slave trade, you have made with our Queen a treaty, which your Senate has ratified, for the right of mutual search. Your Congress has decreed freedom as the law for ever in the vast unoccupied or half-settled territories which are directly subject to its legislative power. It has offered pecuniary aid to all the States which will enact emancipation locally, and has forbidden your generals to restore fugitive slaves who seek their protection. You have entreated the slave masters to accept these moderate offers; and, after long and patient waiting, you, as commander-in-chief of the army, have appointed to-morrow, the 1st of January, 1863, as the day of unconditional freedom for the slaves of the rebel States. Heartily do we congratulate you and your country on this humane and righteous course.

We assume that you cannot now stop short of a complete uprooting of slavery. It would not become us to dictate any details, but there are broad principles of humanity which must guide you. If complete emancipation in some States be deferred, though only to a predetermined day, still, in the interval, human beings should not be counted chattels. Women must have rights of chastity and of maternity, men the rights of husbands, masters the liberty of manumission. Justice demands for the black, no less than for the white, the protection of the law—that his voice may be heard in your courts. Nor must any such abomination be tolerated as slave-breeding States and a slave market—if you are to earn the high reward of all your sacrifices, in the approval of the universal brotherhood and of the Divine Father. It is for your free country to decide whether anything but immediate and total emancipation can secure the most indispensable rights of humanity, against the inveterate wickedness of local laws and local executives.

We implore you, for your own honor and welfare, not to faint in your providential mission. While your enthusiasm is aflame, and the tide of events runs high, let the work be finished effectually. Leave no root of bitterness to spring up and work fresh misery to your children. It is a mighty task, indeed, to reorganize the industry, not only of four millions of the colored race, but of five millions of whites. Nevertheless, the vast progress you have made in the short space of twenty months fills us with hope that every stain on your freedom will shortly be removed, and that the erasure of that foul blot upon civilization and Christianity—chattel slavery—during your presidency, will cause the name of Abraham Lincoln to be honored and revered by posterity. We are certain that such a glorious consummation will cement Great Britain to the United States in close and enduring regards. Our interests, moreover, are identified with yours. We are truly one people, though locally separate. And if you have any ill-wishers here, be assured they are chiefly those who oppose liberty at home, and that they will be powerless to stir up quarrels between us, from the very day in which your country becomes, undeniably and without exception, the home of the free.

Accept our high admiration of your firmness in upholding the proclamation of freedom.

*The President of the United States to the workingmen of Manchester.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
Washington, January 19, 1863.

*To the workingmen of Manchester :*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent to me on the eve of the new year.

When I came, on the fourth day of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election, to preside in the government of the United States, the country was found at the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or whosoever the fault, one duty paramount to all others was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the federal republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is a key to all the measures of administration which have been, and to all which will hereafter be pursued. Under our form of government, and my official oath, I could not depart from this purpose if I would. It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety, from time to time, to adopt.

I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people. But I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging and prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has seemed to authorize a belief that the past action and influences of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficent towards mankind. I have therefore reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances, to some of which you kindly allude, induced me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practiced by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of peace and amity towards this country may prevail in the councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the actions of our disloyal citizens the workingmen of Europe have been subjected to a severe trial, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under these circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterance upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is, indeed, an energetic and re-inspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation, and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that, whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams.*

No. 452.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, January 16, 1863.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the second of January, No. 289. The address of the workingmen of Manchester to the President has been received by him with lively satisfaction. His answer thereto accompanies this communication. You will judge whether the proprieties of diplomatic relations require that a copy of the address shall be submitted to her Majesty's government, and if you think it necessary, you are authorized informally to confer with Earl Russell upon the subject. It seems proper that you should express to the mayor of Manchester the pleasure which the President has derived from the very liberal and courteous letter which the mayor addressed to you on the occasion of transmitting the workingmen's address.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

*Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward.*

[Extract ]

No. 295.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
London, January 8, 1863.

SIR: I transmit herewith another address to the President of the United States, unanimously adopted at a meeting of the workingmen of London, held on the 31st ultimo; which has been sent to me for that purpose.

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I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

*Workingmen of London to the President of the United States.*

[From the Daily News, London, of January 1, 1863.]

*To his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:*

SIR: We who offer to you this address are Englishmen and workingmen. We prize as our dearest inheritance, bought for us by the blood of our fathers, the liberty we enjoy—the liberty of free labor upon a free soil. We have, therefore, been accustomed to regard with veneration and gratitude the founders of the great republic in which the liberties of the Anglo-Saxon race have been widened beyond all the precedents of the old world, and in which there was nothing to condemn or to lament but the slavery and degradation of men guilty only of a colored skin or an African parentage. We have looked with admiration and sympathy upon the brave, generous, and untiring efforts of a large party in the northern States to deliver the Union from this curse and shame. We rejoiced, sir, in your election to the presidency, as a splendid proof that the principles of universal freedom and equality were rising to the ascendant. We regarded with abhorrence the conspiracy and rebellion by which it was sought at once to overthrow the supremacy of a government based upon the most popular suffrage in the

world, and to perpetuate the hateful inequalities of race. We have ever heard with indignation the slander that ascribes to England sympathy with a rebellion of slaveholders, and all proposals to recognize in friendship a confederacy that boasts of slavery as its corner-stone. We have watched with the warmest interest the steady advance of your policy along the path of emancipation; and on this eve of the day on which your proclamation of freedom takes effect, we pray God to strengthen your hands, to confirm your noble purpose, and to hasten the restoration of that lawful authority which engages, in peace or war, by compensation or by force of arms, to realize the glorious principle on which your Constitution is founded—the brotherhood, freedom, and equality of all men.

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*The President of the United States to the workingmen of London.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
Washington, February 2, 1863.

*To the workingmen of London:*

I have received the new year's address which you have sent me with a sincere appreciation of the exalted and humane sentiments by which it was inspired.

As those sentiments are manifestly the enduring support of the free institutions of England, so I am sure also that they constitute the only reliable basis for free institutions throughout the world.

The resources, advantages, and powers of the American people are very great, and they have, consequently, succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government, established on the principles of human freedom, can be maintained against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage.

They will rejoice with me in the new evidences which your proceedings furnish, that the magnanimity they are exhibiting is justly estimated by the true friends of freedom and humanity in foreign countries.

Accept my best wishes for your individual welfare, and for the welfare and happiness of the whole British people.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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*Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams.*

[Extract.]

No. 465.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, February 2, 1863.

SIR: You will receive herewith the answer of the President of the United States to the workingmen of London. It will be proper for you to submit it informally to the notice of Earl Russell, and if he offers no objection, then to deliver it to the parties to whom it is addressed.

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I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c., &c.