handled until it is pretty well worn. The only excuse for saying as much is that we may not be misunderstood when we urge the danger of overlooking our charities, or of so administering them as to make it doubtful whether they are really charities.

Among the mistakes into which we have fallen, is that of organizing our charitable institutions upon a basis of gregariousness. We build one house, and fill it with orphans; another, and fill it with criminals. We scorn the state for inebriates or lunatics, offenders or vagrants, and crowd them, according to their classes, into huge establishments, where the individual is lost in the mass, and the influence upon the whole is the only influence to bear upon its parts. A system of this kind may be necessary in particular cases, especially in certain sorts of hospitals, where the sufferers must be collected in order to receive the succor of which they are in daily need from the skilful hands of the physician or the nurse. But there are, or ought to be, exceptions; and admitting these, the rule should be all the stronger that the members of a community in an abnormal state should be treated separately rather than collectively, with reference to that which makes each instance abnormal, and with the purpose of toning it down, and allowing it to subside as much as possible into the general condition of the community at large. To effect this, the sufferers, instead of being herded together, should be, in the majority of cases, kept apart, detained at their natural homes, if they have any, or placed in adopted homes, if these are required, where they can live like their fellow-beings, and share the associations and impressions which do more than anything to relieve the trials of this life, alike for the fortunate and the unfortunate.

This is far too large a topic to enter upon here in any detail. But there is one illustration of these general principles, one that has prompted the writing of this article, upon which we beg leave to be heard a little longer.

At the close of a war so severe to those engaged in it as through which we have passed, a large number of men, once able-bodied, have become disabled, and some of them so entirely disabled as to depend upon others for support or pecuniary assistance. Many of them, by far the larger number, will find the succor they need among their kindred, the pension received from the Government supplying them with pecuniary means, and the gracious ministrations of home supplying all else that is required in their behalf. But there are others whose homes are broken up, perhaps in consequence of the war, perhaps for other and sadder reasons; and these men, however pensioned, are not cared for as they should be until something more than a pension is provided for them, something that may take the place of a home and soothe the weary frame and the shattered life with watchful attention and sympathy. For such as these, the martyrs above all other martyrs to our cause, the nation stands ready at this moment to do what justice as well as charity demands. What shall be done? Shall a so-called Home, a vast establishment in the form of not the name of a Chelsea or a Greenwich Hospital, be built, furnished, and officered, where our wounded, maimed, and dying heroes shall spend the remnant of their days? Shall they be kept by themselves without other companionship than that which they can give one another, without other sympathies than those which spring from the well-fought field or the suffering which set in for them when the sun went down upon their victory? Or shall they be placed, each in his own neighborhood, if not his own home, among those who, living like the rest of us, will help these sufferers to live like the rest of us, and to be distinguished from those around them, not by being enclosed within the walls of an asylum, but only by the marks they bear of having suffered what others did not, perhaps would not, suffer for their country?

The recent experience of Greenwich Hospital may help us to decide these questions upon practical as well as general grounds. The pensioners of this great naval asylum, which seems to have been the most coveted if not the most active of their class, on being offered the privilege of leaving the hospital and returning to their families or to quarters of their own choosing, with the out-pension which they had relinquished on entering the hospital and an additional allowance of two shillings a day, so generally availed themselves of the offer that none but infirm or aged pensioners are said to remain in the Hospital. The gain to the retiring pensioners is clear enough. That to the Hospital itself consists, not only in being relieved from the care of those preferring to be cared for elsewhere, but in the great pecuniary saving to the funds of the institution; for though it pays the pensions of its former inmates, it saves many thousand pounds sterling a year in consequence of their withdrawal.

Let us trust that this step, which has been taken in correction of mistakes made in England, may prevent similar mistakes from being made in the United States.

THE ONE HUMANITY.

Turn phrase which is now used as a rallying cry by the Democratic party, "that this is a white man's country," and which they are seeking to embody in their policy towards the South, expresses the very lowest conception of government.

It is a low conception of government that it exists merely for protection; in other words, to keep the hands of one man from invading the person or the property of another. The true reason of political society is the education and elevation of our humanity. It is not merely to be, but to live well. The true political economy is not wealth, nor commerce, nor works of internal improvement, nor anything that enters into what is commonly called national prosperity, except as subordinate to a higher aim, and that is, to carry the human culture to its highest perfection—to produce the noblest style of man collectively and in each individual embraced in the political organization. It is to raise us from that low, selfish, animal, individualizing life which we live, each man by himself, into that higher and more rational humanity which we live with others. It is this alone that makes the state truly what a false and ignorant conservatism is so fond of styling it—a divine institution. It is this alone that can realize that old Socratic idea which is never to be surrendered—the glorious dream of a perfect earthly republic whose "rulers are philosophers," and in whose temple there dwelleth the "perfect righteousness." It is this alone that can raise its highest dignity the state on earth, by making it one, at least, with the upper class of men, or church—that cometh down from God out of heaven.

This is the Bible doctrine of the state. Such, too, however imperfectly conceived, was the view of the greater thinkers of antiquity. With them, however, it had one most serious and vital defect. They founded the state too much, or too exclusively we might say, on race; and hence their failure. Christianity has changed this by bringing in a new principle; and now human political institutions have another trial, with a better, though it may be long a delayed, hope. It has brought out and placed in the front that glorious truth which Paul preached on Mars Hill, in the midst of the race-bigoted Athenians: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth." The aim of the Christian state is no longer to make the best Greeks, or the best Romans, or the best Anglo-Saxons, but the best men. It is no longer a "white" man's government, any more than it is a red man's or a black man's. All such propterous assumptions stamp it as anti-Christian, and forfeit its claim to be regarded as a viceroyalty of God. If we may use the language of the mart and the manufacturer, the great business of the state is to turn out the best specimens of the article homo. In other and better words may we say: its lofty ideal, its divine mission, is to help all the weak, to lift up all the fallen, to raise to the highest culture of which he is capable every son of Adam that breathes upon its territory.

This is not a theme for mere essay writing. It involves the greatest and most practical question now before this nation. We boast of having gone beyond others in social and political science, but we have come at last to a place where the claim is to be most solemnly tested. This question of race is put before us as a stone of stumbling, or a rock of exaltation. It is for the rising or the falling of our Israel. We have a glorious call to the performance of the true mission of a Christian state.

Do we feel that glory? Have we any true sense of the honor that God is putting upon us in appointing us to such a trial, such a mission—more distinctly announced to us than ever before to any nation under heaven? Over and over again, in every form but one, have we set forth the principle of human equality before the law. We have boasted of our land as the free home of all races. We have insulted other nations in the vehemence of our declamation. And now are we brought face
to face with a question that will test it all. We are reluctant to concede to the African what we boast of giving to others,—what we almost force upon others presenting no higher claims, apparently, of intellectual or of moral worth.

Why this odious distinction against one race? It is because the loathsome trail of slavery has passed over us, leaving its foul slime upon its immediate victims and producing everywhere a misgiving as to their proper humanity. It has tainted the national mind. The doubt is openly avowed by some; it lies as an unsatisfied query in the minds of others; it lingers unconsciously, or semi-consciously, with many whose philanthropy or political consistency holds them back from confessing it even to themselves; it haunts the soul as a ghostly prejudice, even when philosophy and religion have made us reject it as a dogma. We do not fully and heartily believe that the negro is a man. We could not act or reason as we do unless this were the case. Our moral world is not fully permeated of it, notwithstanding the wreck of all true morality that must result from the belief, once thoroughly popularized, that man, or any that have seemingly the physical and ethical characteristics of men, are really animals of distinct and graded species. Our religious world is held back from its hearty practical acknowledgment, notwithstanding the havoc which both reason and conscience tell us the contrary opinion, when it has once settled down into the common mind, must make in our Biblical and Christian theology.

Were it not for this, we could not treat the colored man as we do in our social and religious relations; we could not hear the moral and political inconsistency; we could not face either the world or our own convictions; we should have to shut our Bibles; we could not read, or hear to read, our Declaration of Independence. Thus we are compelled in self-defense to delunzamize the negro. It is demonstrated as an opiate to conscience. If he is truly a man, as we are men, then are we so greatly guilty. Even the vilest party discipline would have to yield to the claim of acknowledged manhood. There is a party among us that has reached the minimum of littleness, and the maximum of loathsome, in making the scorn and debasement of a crushed race the sole foundation of their political edifice. Its column has no other base than the bruised head of the negro. It is a party that has squandered everything else that ever had the semblance of principle, and now this cry of "nigger" is the only capital remaining to it. Yet even this party, low and hard as it has become, could not keep together its own ignorant followers against a clear and settled recognition of the humanity of those whom they would thus treat as outcasts from the political and social polity. Even the Copperhead Democrat would be come ashamed of himself; he could not face the questions that would arise if stripped of his vile plea (whether believed by himself or not) of the African's want of a proper manhood. So true it is that a false feeling outside of this party is the ailment that gives it all its poisonous vitality.

Is the negro a man? Say what we will, this is the real issue in the controversy respecting him. It underlies all others. It affects our reasoning in respect to all other aspects of the debate; it colors our speech; it gives a hue to our thought, it weakens our best arguments, it gives strength to our worst fallacies. We say it boldly, and appeal to the public consciousness. It is everywhere, and most truly was it said by General Howard, that "nothing but the spirit of Christ can overcome it." Strange that such a declaration should have been left to be made by one of our major generals, only to be denounced by a republican press as caving and sectarian!

We must meet the issue fairly, and settle it once and for ever, before we can deal with others that are collateral to it. We do not sufficiently think how vital and fundamental this question is. We are evading it. Some do this consciously, many unconsciously, and without any distinct idea of the nature and results of their reasoning. We talk humanely, or affect to do so, without seeming to be aware that the style we adopt is the style we employ, though seemingly in his favor, are really delunzamizing the subject to which they are applied. We do not speak or write thus concerning any other classes among us, however low we may think them in the outward social scale. Even when we advocate the cause of the African, we do it in a manner that would be thought insulting and utterly undemocratic in any other case. We use the language of masters and owners. The style of our ordinary questions betrays this. It is not what is due to them, as men equally with ourselves coming under the reciprocal obligations of the Golden Rule, but what shall we do with them, what shall we give or concede, or what shall we withhold. Who would thus defend Irish citizenship, or the admission of Irishmen to our railroad cars, or to our churches, or to our common schools? The way in which we speak to the colored man, and of the colored man, shows an unconscious yielding to the anti-Christian prejudice we are striving to overcome. Frederick Douglass said that Mr. Lincoln was the only man he knew that could talk to a colored person without some appearance of condescension. The fact reveals one of the noblest traits in the noble character of our martyred President. But the general observation of the shrewd and intelligent Douglass was undoubtedly true. There is a timidity, an apologetic pleading, that we would not think of adopting if we were advocating a right grounded on the clear consciousness acknowledgment that those who are thus defended are really men, and have the same rights which our religious code, no less than our Declaration of Independence, challenges for all men.

We might dwell here, or we may dwell at some other time, on some of the fearful consequences that have been usually alluded to, of the effect which the leaving this issue unsettled, or settled wrong, would have upon the most important aspects of human belief,—its degradation of our politics, its degradation of our psychology, the ruin it would make in our theology, its undermining of Christian belief, its tendency to darken even natural religion, with all the proofs it is supposed to offer of human dignity and human immortality—all gone the moment we begin to make essential distinctions in humanity, or to treat it at all as a mere matter of degree, or to take one step downward on that Stygian ladder that shall connect our human, through successive gradations, with all the brutal animality that lies below with the degradation of one part is the degradation of all, and hence the thought we would labor to impress, that every man has both a selfish and a paternal interest in the elevation of every other man.

**Reduction of the Military Establishment of the Government.**

Six months ago one million and eighty thousand men were borne upon the pay-rolls of the army of the United States. Before the end of the present month, this almost inconceivable number will be reduced to less than one hundred thousand, and by the time Congress meets fully one million names will be struck from the lists of the disbursing bureaus of the War Department. And, space with the disbursing of this immense host, reductions and retrenchments on a like vast scale have been made in all the branches of the military service by sale and discharge. In the Quartermaster's and Commissary Departments an army of citizen employees has been dismissed. By the former no less than two hundred and twenty-five thousand horses and mules, and some fifteen thousand army wagons and ambulances, have been disposed of at public sale. One hundred and fifty steam and sailing vessels owned by the Government have been sold, and over five hundred steam and other craft, chartered for army-transportation, discharged. The hundreds of locomotives and cars used by the Government on Southern railroads have also been sold; the numerous and extensive workshops of every description in operation at all the bases of supply have been shut up; the Medical Department has emptied and closed its one hundred and ninety general hospitals, with a capacity of one hundred and twenty thousand beds, and sold its useless property. The Ordnance Department has discharged thousands of hands engaged in the manufacture of ammunition at the public arsenals and armories, and has stopped work in many private foundries engaged day and night in the casting and finishing off of artillery. And so of every bureau and department subordinate to the War Office.

The Government justly maintains that the history of no other nation furnishes a parallel to the rapidity of organization with which small reds of thousands of men were, every year of the war, brought into the field. If it deserves credit for the truly wonderful expediency with which it organized armies and supplied them, with admirable foresight and untinted liberality, with all the necessary endurance the