The Origin and Nature of the Mural

By John Steuart Curry

In 1933, along with several other American artists, I was given a commission to decorate two lunettes on the fifth floor of the Department of Justice Building in Washington, D. C. I was given the subjects "The Migration Westward, the Settlement of Land, and the Bringing of Justice", and "The Freeing of the Slaves and the Coming of the New Immigrants". My design for the "Migration Westward" was accepted. My design for the "Freeing of the Slaves and the Coming of the New Immigrants" was criticized chiefly on the ground that the combination in one picture of the freeing of the slaves and the coming of the new immigrants was incongruous. A reproduction of this design is here given.

(here insert cut)

For the reasons just stated I revised the subject
matter by eliminating the new immigrants and made a design for the freeing of the slaves alone. As a work of art this design was warmly approved by the Commission of Fine Arts, but it was not accepted because of serious difficulties which the Commission anticipated might arise as a result of the racial implications of the subject matter, and it was felt that Washington was not the appropriate place in which to erect this mural. I accordingly made a new design symbolizing "The Majesty of the Law", depicting a judge in his robes on the steps of a court house holding back and quieting a lynching mob. This design was accepted, and the mural may be seen in the Department of Justice Building on the fifth floor in a lunette opposite "The Migration Westward".

A reproduction of the design for "The Freeing of the Slaves", which for the reasons stated was not accepted, here follows:

(here insert cut)

After coming to Wisconsin, I was fortunate in finding an admirer of this design in the person of Dean Lloyd K. Garrison. He will describe the circumstances under which it became possible to erect the mural based upon the design prepared originally for Washington.

I should like to make a few comments about the mural. First, as to the methods used. The mural occupies a space above the reading room desk approximately thirty-seven feet wide, eleven feet high at the sides and fourteen feet high in the center. The shape of the wall space was fortunately
very similar to the shape which I had projected in the
original design for Washington so that I did not have to
make many changes, although as the work progressed I did
make a good many minor changes which I feel were an improve-
ment upon the original design. Using this design as a basis
I made a life sized drawing in my studio on brown paper. I
then fastened this drawing in place on the wall in the library
reading room. This wall had previously been prepared as fol-
low. Onto the concrete a layer of plywood was bolted in
such a way as to tilt the whole thing forward at an angle
which is not perceptible to the casual observer, but which
actually results in the top projecting out about five inches
further than the bottom. The reason for this tilting or
overhang is so that the dust will not accumulate on the
painting but will drop off particle by particle. Three
layers of fine imported linen were glued over the plywood.
The linen face was then covered with a special ground. When
this ground had dried I put the life size black and white
cartoon over it and traced through with a pencil, having
previously covered the back of the brown paper with a black
powder which would leave a mark on the linen from the pencil.

After the tracing process had been completed I removed
the cartoon and proceeded to paint from a scaffolding directly
onto the linen which now contained the black and white outline
of the design. There are really two complete paintings. The
first was in tempera. The second, superimposed upon the first,
was in oil. This method of under-painting is that used by
most of the old masters, notably Titian and Rubens. The
result of the under-painting is that in a very subtle way it
lends body and support to the oil painting, in a sense shining through it; and the richness of the effect will increase rather than decrease with age.

When I had finished the painting, the coloring was very brilliant and shiny, and I felt it desirable to dim it a little by covering the surface with a special kind of wax varnish. In certain lights the mural may seem to lack sufficient brilliance, but this will be remedied when the special lighting is installed. The lighting will consist of fluorescent tubes which will be affixed to the arch of the ceiling and vertically along the sides at some little distance from the picture, along the edge of a very shallow arch led up to by pilasters with which the ceiling and the side walls are now decorated in a series of bands. The light will be evenly cast on the picture by metal reflectors. Unfortunately, this work cannot be done until after the war because fluorescent tubing is no longer available. Nevertheless, I am satisfied with the mural as it now stands though it can be seen more advantageously in certain lights than in others.

A word as to the composition. From the left side of the design come the Negroes from their slave quarters following the Union Army. This is exactly as the so-called counter-band did during the Civil War. The composition builds up to a dramatic climax in the large figure of the Negro man with outstretched arms. Back of him is the Union flag. At his feet are the dead of the North and South. Grouped around him are Negro men, women and children in attitudes of ecstatic joy. To the right march off the victorious Union troops. Back of all this is a stormy and turbid sky with the sun of a new day breaking through. I feel that in this painting I have made
a work that is historically true, and I also feel it is pro-
phetic of that which is to come.

How the Painting Came to be in the Law Building

By Dean Lloyd K. Garrison

When John Curry first showed me the sketch which he
had made for "The Freeing of the Slaves" I thought it was
one of the most impressive pictures I had ever seen, and I
used to say to him that if we should ever have the good for-
tune to put up a new law building he must do a mural for us
based upon the sketch. Neither of us at the time ever sup-
posed that this dream would come true.

When, with the help of many people, including first and
foremost President Dykstra, it became possible to build a
new law library, the architect's design for the reading room
resulted in a great wall space over the Librarian's desk
which was very close to the shape of Curry's sketch.

One day a friend of the University who desires to remain
anonymous came to my office with Judge August Backus of
Milwaukee, and I showed them the wall space and also Curry's
sketch. This sketch had an extraordinary vitality because
one could look at it at a very great distance and still see
clearly the outline of every figure, and yet, at the same time,
feel the strength of the mass of figures. My visitors at once
perceived what the mural would be like, and believed that it
would be a great painting. The one who must remain anonymous
was particularly interested in the subject matter because of
family associations with the Civil War and a family tradition
of friendship for the Negroes. He generously contributed the
funds which made possible the painting of the mural, and asked that his gift be accepted in honor of Judge Backus.

I felt from the beginning that the mural would be appropriate for the law building although it is a far cry from the more usual paintings depicting a court-room scene or Justice with a sword. Here is one of the great events in our constitutional history, an event fashioned in the midst of a national crisis by a great lawyer-president. The mural not only symbolizes that event but proclaims in a noble and patriotic setting the dignity and freedom of all persons, however humble, in a democracy whose ideals of liberty are summed up and protected by the Constitution.

Underneath the mural on a wooden plaque are carved these words:

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

This is the last sentence of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The sentence at once explains the mural, to which the beauty of the language is a fitting compliment.

The carving of the plaque was executed with great skill and artistry by Harry E. Lichter of the Wisconsin Historical Museum Staff.

In order that our law students may have a livelier appreciation of the historical background of the Emancipation Proclamation and of Lincoln's thinking in connection with it, I have assembled, with a view to printing and hanging on the
wall of the Law Library reading room, the principal writings
and addresses of Lincoln which led up to the Proclamation.
These documents, which, together with the head-notes, I have
taken, with the kind permission of the author and publisher,
from "The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln" by Philip
Van Doren Stern, Random House, 1940, are so little known and
so intensely interesting, particularly at this time when the
fate of democracy is being decided on the battle-fields of
Europe and Asia and in all the oceans, that I thought it would
be appropriate to set them forth. They are as follows:

Excerpts From the Principal Writings and Addresses
of Lincoln Which Led up to the Proclamation

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
AS FIRST SUBMITTED TO THE CABINET, JULY 22, 1862

After the failure of the Peninsular campaign and the
appointment of Halleck to the general command, Lincoln
was in the mood for vigorous action. On July 13, while
attending a funeral for Stanton's son, he intimated to
Welles and Seward that he at last regarded the eman-
cipation of the slaves as a military necessity. Nine
days later he read this first draft of his Emancipation
Proclamation to his Cabinet. It was at this meeting
that Seward suggested that if the proclamation were
issued at this moment of defeat, it would sound like
a despairing cry from a bewildered administration.
Lincoln agreed to wait for a more favorable moment to
release it to the public. The wording of the proclamation
was thought out carefully by Lincoln who brought his
legally trained mind to bear upon the problem. He could
not afford to antagonize the border states, consequently
this military measure sets free slaves only in those
areas then in rebellion against the United States
Government.
In pursuance of the sixth section of the act of Congress entitled "An act to suppress insurrection and to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which act and the joint resolution explanatory thereof are here-with published; I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim to and warn all persons within the contemplation of said sixth section to cease participating in, aiding, countenancing, or abetting the existing rebellion, or any rebellion, against the Government of the United States, and to return to their proper allegiance to the United States, on pain of the forfeitures and seizures as within and by said sixth section provided.

And I hereby make known that it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure for tendering pecuniary aid to the free choice or rejection of any and all States which may then be recognizing and practically sustaining the authority of the United States, and which may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, gradual abolishment of slavery within such State or States; that the object is to practically restore, thenceforward to be maintained, the constitutional relation between the General Government and each and all the States wherein that relation is now suspended or disturbed; and that for this object the war, as it has been, will be prosecuted. And as a fit and necessary military measure for effecting this object, I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, do order and declare that on the first day of January, in the year of
our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or States wherein the constitutional authority of the United States shall not then be practically recognized, submitted to, and maintained, shall then, thenceforward, and forever be free.

LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY

Lincoln had already made up his mind to emancipate the slaves as a military measure. On July 22, he had read the first draft of his Proclamation of Emancipation to his Cabinet, but he was still keeping it secret, waiting for a victory before releasing it to the public. On August 19, Horace Greeley had published an emotional appeal to the President in the New York Tribune, entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions." Lincoln replies to Greeley, explaining exactly how he stands on slavery at this time.

Executive Mansion
Washington
August 22, 1862

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the New York Tribune. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can
be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was."

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they
could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with
them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the
Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I
could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it;
and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do
it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others
alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the
colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union;
and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it
would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall
believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more
whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I
shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall
adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of
official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed
personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

REPLY TO A COMMITTEE OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS,
ASKING THE PRESIDENT TO ISSUE A PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION

Pressure on Lincoln was kept up during the summer of 1862
to force him to commit himself to a policy of emancipation.
He speaks here to a deputation of ministers and presents
the case against emancipation as ably as though he were
actually committed to such a stand. The day after he
spoke, the Battle of South Mountain in Maryland took
place as a prelude to the bloody Battle of Antietam on
September 17 which was to be Lincoln's signal of victory —
the signal that he could at last make the Proclamation
of Emancipation public.
September 13, 1862

The subject presented in the memorial is one upon which I have thought much for weeks past, and I may even say for months. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men who are equally certain that they represent the divine will.**

What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? General Butler wrote me a few days since that he was issuing more rations to the slaves who have rushed to him than to all the white troops under his command. They eat, and that is all; though it is true General Butler is feeding the whites also by the thousand, for it nearly amounts to a famine there.

If, now, the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masters from reducing the blacks to slavery again? For I
am told that whenever the rebels take any black prisoners, free or slave, they immediately auction them off. They did so with those they took from a boat that was aground in the Tennessee River a few days ago. And then I am very ungenerously attacked for it! For instance, when, after the late battles at and near Bull Run, an expedition went out from Washington under a flag of truce to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and the rebels seized the blacks who went along to help, and sent them into slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper that the government would probably do nothing about it. What could I do?

Now, then, tell me, if you please, what possible result or good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire? Understand, I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South.

I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion.

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its sine qua non. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act, but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instrument. I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much,
I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still some additional strength would be added in that way to the war, and then, unquestionably, it would weaken the rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance; but I am not so sure we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the border slave States. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels. I do not think they all would — not so many, indeed, as a year ago, or six months ago — not so many today as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride enlisted, and want to beat the rebels.

Let me say one thing more: I think you should admit that we already have an important principle to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government is at stake. This is a fundamental idea going down about as deep as anything.

Do not misunderstand me because I have mentioned these objections. They indicate the difficulties that have thus far prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do. I trust that in the freedom with which I have canvassed your views I have not in any respect injured your feelings.
PRELIMINARY EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 22, 1862

The Battle of Antietam had been fought and won on September 17. Lincoln entered a Cabinet meeting on September 22 and began the session by reading a chapter from Artemus Ward entitled "High-Handed Outrage at Utica." Then he went on to the serious business of the day and read this draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. (The Proclamation was issued after the meeting.)

September 22, 1862

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States, as called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolition of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people
whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

* * * * * * *

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-second
day of September, in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

Abraham Lincoln

William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

LETTER TO HANNIBAL HAMLIN

Lincoln writes to his Vice President to keep him informed about the public reception of the Emancipation Proclamation. As the letter indicates, the reception was less enthusiastic than the President had expected.

(Strictly private)

Executive Mansion, Washington, September 26, 1862

My Dear Sir: Your kind letter of the 25th is just received. It is known to some that while I hope something from the proclamation, my expectations are not as sanguine as are those of some friends. The time for its effect southward has not come; but northward the effect should be instantaneous.

It is six days old, and while commendation in newspapers and by distinguished individuals is all that a vain man could wish, the stocks have declined, and troops come forward more slowly than ever. This, looked soberly in the face, is not very satisfactory. We have fewer troops in the field at the end of six days than we had at the beginning -- the attrition among the old outnumbering the addition by the new. The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently in breath; but breath alone
I wish I could write more cheerfully; nor do I thank you
the less for the kindness of your letter.

FROM THE ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

December 1, 1862
[December 2 in Congressional
Globe]

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Since your last annual assembling another year of health
and bountiful harvest has passed; and while it has not pleased
the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we can but
press on, guided by the best light he gives us, trusting that
in his own good time and wise way all will yet be well.

*[In omitted portions, Lincoln's message then sets
forth a detailed plan, never in fact carried out, for
amendments to the Constitution authorizing the payment
of compensation, in the form of United States bonds, to
every state which should abolish slavery before January
1, 1900, and authorizing the appropriation of funds "for
colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent,
at any place or places without the United States." In
the course of his argument that the country could afford
the financial burdens which his plan called for, Lincoln
estimated, on the assumption that the rate of population
increase up to that time would continue, that the total
population in 1930 would reach 251,680,914. In his
message Lincoln made it clear that, whether or not Con-
gress adopted his plan, he intended to proceed with the
final Emancipation Proclamation announced in his Pro-
clamation of September 22, 1862, above.]

His message closed with these words:]*

This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of,
but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the
national authority throughout the Union. The subject is
presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan would,
I am confident, secure peace more speedily, and maintain it
more permanently, than can be done for force alone; while all it
would cost, considering amounts, and manner of payment, and
times of payment, would be easier paid than will be the
additional cost of the war if we rely solely upon force. It is
much -- very much -- that it would cost no blood at all.

The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law.
It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first two-
thirds of Congress and, afterward, three-fourths of the States.
The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily
include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if
obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting
emancipation at no very distant day upon the new constitutional
terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save
the Union forever.

I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a
paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the Chief
Magistrate of the nation. Nor do I forget that some of you are
my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I in
the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that in view of the
great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want
of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to
display.

Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted,
would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money
and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national
authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indef-
initely? Is it doubted that we here -- Congress and Executive --
can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a
united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any
other means so certainly or so speedily assure these vital
objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not "can any of us imagine better?" but, "Can we all do better?" Object whatsoever is possible, still the question occurs, "Can we do better?" 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 disenthral 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. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, 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 could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just -- a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

FINAL EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

As planned on September 22, 1862, January 1, 1863, was the day on which the Emancipation Proclamation was to go into effect. Its wording had undergone a series of changes; it appears here in its final form.
Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

(Here Lincoln quoted the third and fourth paragraphs of the preliminary Proclamation set forth above, and then went on to say):

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of 100 days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. May, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present
left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases where allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels for all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the president:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.