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ORATION

DELIVERED BY

GEN. T. M. LOGAN,

AT THE

Reunion *of the* Hampton Legion,

IN COLUMBIA, S. C., 21ST JULY, 1875.

PUBLISHED BY HIS FRIENDS IN CHARLESTON, S. C.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
WALKER, EVANS & COGSWELL, PRINTERS,
Nos. 3 Broad and 109 East Bay Streets.
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INTRODUCTION
OF
GEN. T. M. LOGAN,
BY
GEN. WADE HAMPTON,
AT THE REUNION IN COLUMBIA.

It only remains for me to introduce to you Gen. T. M. Logan, who has been invited to address you on this occasion. Connected with the Legion from its organization to the close of its career, sharing in all its toils and dangers from Manassas to Appomattox, and winning for himself, by distinguished service on many a hard fought field, rank, fame, and the devoted attachment of his comrades, no one is better fitted to recount the deeds and represent the spirit of the Legion.

SPEECH OF GEN. T. M. LOGAN.

Gen. Logan having been introduced to the audience by Gen. Hampton, spoke as follows :

It has been suggested by a distinguished author as a maxim of conduct, that man should dwell upon the hopeful and not the gloomy features of life ; and that he should, accordingly, cultivate the habit of discerning all that is pleasing and promising in his condition and surroundings. The intellect, in

directing our actions, must, of course, view everything dispassionately, and should be guided only by the dictates of reason. But reason itself is often misled by the depressing influence of a morbid temperament, and the imagination, therefore, in presiding over the emotional nature, should always seek what is bright and cheerful, and feed only upon the promptings of hope. There is, unquestionably, much wisdom in this suggestion. Far more can be accomplished by us when we are hopeful, than when we are despondent, and the adoption of such a rule of conduct would accordingly result in practical benefits.

In contemplating, then, upon this occasion, "The Future of the South," I may be pardoned for dwelling upon what may appear to some only "the bright lining of the clouds." I believe there is much reason for encouragement. I may be mistaken, but it is at least gratifying to know that a hopeful view of the prospect can be discerned. We meet to-day to honor, cherish and preserve the memory of the past, and all in connection with it that is dear and sacred to *us*. It will be well for us if we can also look confidently to the future and be encouraged. We can thus best prepare ourselves for the duties and responsibilities which *that future* will devolve upon us— for

" Hope, like the glimmering taper's light,
Adorns and cheers the way ;
And still, as darker grows the night,
Emits a brighter ray."

An eminent writer on social science has traced a most interesting and ingenious analogy between society, the body politic, and a living individual organism. He states many striking general peculiarities in which the body politic and the individual organism agree, and among others, that both of them, commencing from small aggregations, insensibly augment in mass; that both of them, being at first *simple* in *structure*, assume, in the course of their respective growths, a continually increasing *complexity of structure*; and that while at first there is scarcely any mutual dependence of parts, yet

subsequently, as they develop, both are characterized by extreme dependence of parts. He then explains many parallelisms in detail, such as, for example, the correspondence between the arteries and veins of the individual organism, and the railroads and other highways of the body politic; that between the *nerves* of the former and the telegraph lines of the latter, and many others equally curious and interesting. He uses this analogy to explain and illustrate the great political truth that *society develops according to fixed laws*, passing from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous with as much unvarying certainty as in the case of living bodies.

This analogy may always be used to advantage in discussing social or political questions, and, if borne in mind, will aid in illustrating our subject on the present occasion.

In considering, then, the future of the South, there is one fact suggested at the outset which has been demonstrated to us by the logic of events. It is, that under the operation of causes which, although unseen at the time, appear now to have been inevitable in their results, a vast *social organism* has been developed, and is now so far advanced in its growth as a *national body politic*, and no longer a mere aggregation of States, that *unity* is a necessity of its further development. In reviewing the past, we can now clearly see that this national organism has been *gradually developed*, and while many seek by various theories to account for the failure of the Confederacy, the result may be regarded as the necessary consequence of those laws of development under which this social organism—the United States—was being evolved. We had, in the language of Horace Greeley, "fought sternly against the inevitable;" but we could not prevail against "manifest destiny." We have accepted the result, and there is now nothing surer in the political world than that this country will continue in the future a united nation. Those causes which were too strong to be overcome by the courage and endurance of the Confederate soldier—even under the leadership of a Lee and a Jackson—still continue to operate,

and are yearly gaining strength with the growth and development of the country; while those influences that heretofore, in the history of the world, have rendered it difficult for large territories to be controlled by one government, have ceased to exist since the introduction of steam locomotion and telegraphic communication.

The future is not for State, but for National development; and we recognize the fact. Our feelings, as well as our interests, already incline us to strengthen and cement the bonds of real union by cultivating feelings of good will and friendship, and we are anxious to contribute our part to the growth, prosperity, and good government of the nation. The soldiers, as well of the North as of the South, have prepared the way for true reconciliation; and if it had been left to them, the animosities of the war would long since have been buried. The liberal sentiments of Bartlett and others would have restored amity and good feeling, and the whole country would have received a new impetus in its career of progress and prosperity. No section would have rejoiced in such a consummation more sincerely than the South, and no class of our people, North or South, now wish it more devoutly than the Confederate soldiers. We can now say in the language of the poet:

"Our country! 'tis a glorious land!
With broad arms stretched from shore to shore,
The proud Pacific chafes her strand,
She hears the dark Atlantic roar;
Still may her flowers untrampled spring,
Her harvests wave, her cities rise,
And yet, till Time shall fold his wing,
Remain earth's loveliest paradise."

FUTURE PROSPERITY OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

It requires neither prophet to foresee nor oracle to pronounce that there is a great future for the United States. Aside from the advantages of climate, soil and location, so frequently alluded to, but certainly not exaggerated, there

are many reasons for congratulation when we compare the condition of our country with that of the great powers of Europe. Prominent among these may be mentioned our relief from the necessity of maintaining immense standing armies. This is the great burden that now weighs upon and oppresses the nations of Europe, and, like a pall, casts a shadow of gloom over their aspirations and prosperity. We can readily appreciate the depressing effect of the conscription laws on the youth of Germany and France, and at all events how intolerable the grievance would be to the American people; but it requires some familiarity with the facts and figures to realize the enormous tax such armies impose on a country's resources. The tendency is towards an aggravation of the evil. All Germany is now a camp, and there is necessarily a corresponding armament of the other great powers. England alone—thanks to her isolated position and naval power—is somewhat relieved from this necessity of enrolling her entire arms-bearing population. The exemption of the United States from this evil, the bane of European nations, is sufficient of itself to ensure her a controlling advantage in the race for material progress with the rival nations of the earth. And yet this is only one of many privileges and immunities peculiar to America. Again, if vigor, energy and vitality are promoted, as we are told, by the mixture of blood of different nations of the *same race* (the reverse being the case as between *races*,) then should the inhabitants of this country excel in those qualities, and the distinctive people that must be the *outcome* in the future of this social fusion, should be of the highest type of man, inheriting the various talents and aptitudes peculiar to the several nations from which it sprung. Truly, a vast empire is in progress of formation. Its increase in population and wealth has already been unprecedented. It is not dependent on its own natural growth, for almost every civilized country of the world is tributary to its development. Its history during the past century is one of the wonders of the age, and the same influences and causes that have operated

so auspiciously in the past are still at work. It is only in its youth—in the vigor of early manhood, with a nation's lifetime before it for development. We will then unquestionably have on this continent "a great country inhabited by a great people." But we are more immediately concerned as to the future of our own section—more interested in considering whether the South will share in this greatness and prosperity.

The radical change in our industrial system has resulted necessarily in a corresponding change in the habits of our people. The social environment has been suddenly modified, and it is a question of vital interest whether the effect on the social organism will be advantageous, or the reverse. Such a revolution in our system of labor must necessarily produce important changes in the society, and we are deeply concerned in knowing whether, upon the whole, the result will be progress or decline.

Whatever may be our views of those bitter experiences, which, under the iron rule of war, have left us in our present condition, and however much we may regret that we were not permitted to work out for ourselves our own future, and to have thus avoided the terrible effects of forced and arbitrary changes of our institutions and habits; yet, taking the facts as they now exist, an unprejudiced consideration of the subject unquestionably justifies the opinion that our capacity for progress has been increased, and that the present opportunities for developing our resources are greater than were possible under the old *regime*. The material resources of the South had been developed to a very limited extent, as compared with her population and wealth, and hence we have always been, in this respect, the most helpless and dependent people of the civilized world. It is conceded that the greatest source of weakness to the Confederate cause was the inadequacy of the material and supplies of war for the numbers enrolled in our armies. We were stronger in every other respect. There was, of course, much to admire in the refinement and culture of Southern society before the war, but there was little opportunity for that rapid increase of popula-

tion and general diffusion of wealth, so characteristic of the North. Our people relied almost exclusively on agriculture, but the people of the North, besides tilling the ground, directed their attention and energies to commerce and manufactures—those other handmaids of prosperity. The *yearly* increase of population and wealth in the Northern States, accordingly, far exceeded that in the Southern States; and while at the first census the population of the South represented one-half of the total population of the country, in 1860 it was less than one-third. The population of the great State of Virginia, in the early days of the Republic, almost equalled that of any two Northern States, while in 1860 she ranked fifth on the census list, and averaged only twenty-six (26) persons to the square mile, whereas Massachusetts averaged one hundred and fifty-seven (157.) Our material progress, then, from year to year, was not what it should have been; and in that respect the result was a continuous loss of power and influence upon the part of the South. This fact is indisputable, whatever the causes may have been; and it is useless now to inquire whether it was the result of false statesmanship and an unfortunate prejudice against commerce and manufactures, or the effect of our peculiar institutions. The causes, however, no longer exist; and our present condition and opportunities are such as should ensure us, if true to ourselves and to the lessons of the past, our *full share of prosperity*. The losses, hardships and sufferings that have befallen our people are well calculated to make them appreciate now the importance of developing all our resources, and will no doubt educate them not only to realize the necessity of *labor*, in all its forms, as the means of material success, but also to honor it as an essential condition of social progress. There could be no better schooling for our people in this respect than their recent experiences, and they already understand, in all its force, the true meaning (as well as the philosophy) of the Divine decree, "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt *earn* thy bread." It is an interesting fact, in this connection, said to be established by statistics, that the health

of colonists in hot climates is in direct proportion to their habits of industry. Those colonists, for example, who labor habitually, secure health as nature's reward for their work, and leave a hardy progeny behind them to inhabit and possess the land; while those who are inert, or whose habits of life are sedentary, are more subject to disease, and transmit to their descendants enfeebled constitutions as nature's curse for the violation of her law.

"Cheered with the view man went to till the ground
From whence he rose; sentenced, indeed, to toil,
As to a punishment; yet (e'en in wrath
So merciful is Heaven,) this toil became
The solace of his woes, the sweet employ
Of many a livelong hour, and *surest guard*
Against disease and death."

The ordeal, it is true, to which our people have been subjected, has been a trying one. The sorrows and horrors of war were exceeded by the evils of reconstruction, which under the humiliating tyranny of corrupt officials, surpassed anything that was ever before inflicted upon a people of the same culture and civilization; and there is nothing which we have to deplore more bitterly than the effect upon those who were unable, from age, to accommodate themselves to the new circumstances, or to change, with impunity, their fixed habits. The young can change their mode of life as may be necessary, and can meet and outlive losses and troubles, but this is rarely possible with those advanced in years. How many of our most respected and honored have succumbed to untold trials, losses, and *humiliations*, who would otherwise have lived to a good old age. This is, indeed, one of the saddest features of the sad picture, and should be included with those memories of the past that claim our deepest sympathy.

PERMANENCY OF OUR REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS.

In the further consideration of our subject it may be necessary to meet the objection, that the recent tendency to centralization will end in Imperialism, or permanent Democratic

absolutism ; and that accordingly the future of our republican government is uncertain. There is, however, no just cause for apprehension. The American people will neither be defrauded of their "inheritance of liberty," nor forcibly deprived of it. They are too intelligent to be deluded, and too brave to be overawed. The passions and prejudices of the hour may temporarily cloud the truth, but the sunshine of returning reason will soon dissipate the mists, and public opinion will again be heard on the side of constitutional government. The Republic has been termed "an experiment ;" but it has now weathered the political storms of almost a century, and the people are not only fully imbued with the spirit of freedom, and deeply attached to their institutions, but what is equally important, they have become *habituated* to self-government. The idea of any *coup d'état* being successful, therefore, in this country, with a people *accustomed* to liberty, is, of course, preposterous ; for if Cæsarism had been possible with us, it was only so through the votes of the people themselves, who, if untrue to their Anglo-Saxon instincts, might have been tempted into the support of their successful soldier from his popularity as the so-called "Saviour of the Republic." This danger, however, if it ever existed, as so many thought, is certainly past ; for the people have spoken in words that cannot be misconstrued on the "Third Term" question. The reconstruction measures, it is true, were not only oppressive and tyrannical, conceived in hate and born in iniquity, but they resulted from a gross and unscrupulous abuse of power by a radical faction, whose legislation was a disgrace to American self-government, and ill comports with the liberal and advanced views that should have characterized the American people, claiming, as they do, to teach and to lead the world in the art of free government. We should not, however, hold the people responsible. They were misled by corrupt party leaders, who relied upon the war prejudices to prolong their term of power. It is not surprising, then, under the circumstances, that the voice of reason was temporarily hushed, and that it should have required almost ten years for North-

ern voters to understand the facts as they existed at the South, and to realize the enormities and wrongs that had been practiced on our people under the reconstruction Acts of Congress. The truth was, however, (thanks to the independent press,) at last understood at the North; and we have the best evidence in the vote which was polled at the elections last fall, that the masses are really "true at heart." This vote should restore confidence in the American people, if the excesses of the preceding decade had destroyed it. Calhoun, one of the wisest as well as purest of statesmen, regarded civil war as the severest test to which our Republican form of government could be subjected. His apprehension was that the leader of the victorious section would become the despot of both sections. As *our* institutions have now survived this ordeal, under the most trying circumstances, we should have greater confidence in their stability. The war prejudices are at last buried; the "bloody chasm" is finally bridged; and all the dark clouds that lowered over us have entirely disappeared from our political sky.

It is further true, the government has become consolidated; yet it is still essentially decentralized, certainly so as compared with French or Continental centralism. With the growth and development of the country, there was necessarily the usual change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the simple to the complex, from the weak and purely Federal *Republic* of the past to the strong and powerful *Nation* of to-day. But this was only in accordance with the law of progress itself, and arose from the necessity of the case, in the growth of the "social organism." The country has passed from the condition of a small confederacy of States, representing a few millions of people, to that of a great nation. It has become one of the first powers of the world, and at the present rate of increase, her population will exceed before the close of the century one hundred millions. We cannot have the pure Federalism of Jefferson; but this should cause no apprehension, if the *present limits of national authority be not exceeded*.

We can still have constitutional government. A strong form of government does not necessarily preclude *local self-government*, for there is no real incompatibility between the two. While we cannot, therefore, ever expect again the *extreme* of "States Rights," we may, nevertheless, enjoy all the blessings of local control over local interests by reconciling national authority with "States Rights" *principles*; and it is probable that the present revulsion against the centralizing policy of the Republican party will result in the recognition of all constitutional restrictions, and check any tendency to further consolidation.

Upon the whole, there is much that is promising in the political outlook for the cause of free government, and it probably stands to-day upon a surer basis than ever before in the history of the world; and I would add, in the language of the immortal bard:

———"Doubt not but success
Will fashion the event in better shape,
Than I can lay it down in likelihood."

But furthermore, as in the physical world every change in the natural environment is followed, we are told, by corresponding changes in the fauna and flora; so, in the moral world, gradual changes in the social environment are followed by corresponding changes in the social organism. While, therefore, development and growth in the advance of civilization frequently produce changes that would be dangerous, would be perilous, if society remained otherwise the same, yet these very changes become sources of progress and improvement when, in analogy to what is observed in natural history, corresponding changes occur in the very fabric of society, adapting it to the new circumstances. The operation of this law can be discerned in the history of free government in this country. While, as we have seen, by the force of circumstances, our simple Federal Republic has become a strong nation, and, as compared with the States, necessarily clothed with controlling powers, such indeed as would have

been regarded by our earlier statesmen as fatal and destructive; yet at the same time corrective and harmonizing agencies have been developed, which supply adequate counteracting influences, and I hesitate not to affirm that the equilibrium will be preserved and the resultant be real progress.

To illustrate as well as to sustain this position, we may cite the increased influence of public opinion over the government since the introduction of railroads and telegraph lines—those two great adjuncts to the printing press in diffusing knowledge. They not only facilitate the transmission of information, but they bring the citizens of all sections into direct and immediate communication with each other, if not into personal conference. While the government then *has become* more consolidated, public opinion *has also* become more consolidated. While the simple Federal Republic *has become* a strong nation, comparatively centralized, the “annihilators of time and space” *have also* been introduced; and public opinion, susceptible now of rapid concentration by the telegraph and the railroad, is too strong to be ignored. The arteries and veins of the *social organism* now permeate the entire system, and distribute and diffuse throughout all parts the annual products of industry—the *blood* of the *corporate existence*; while its magnetic nerves, flashing from all points the alarms of evil or the tidings of good, bind the whole together *in sympathy—a conscious “thing of life.”* *What is it?* It is the expanding form of freedom’s empire—the hope of man. It is the living, growing body politic, in which throbs the great American heart with its unbounded aspirations for progress. Its soul is the genius of humanity; while the collective human mind, finding its expression through public opinion, presides over and protects it. Such is the last born of civilization, a child of the new world, nurtured and reared by the Goddess of Liberty.

Observe also the increased influence of the “Free Press”—so aptly termed the “Fourth Estate” in politics. In the early history of journalism the newspaper was generally forced,

from pecuniary necessity, to become the organ of some party, individual, or particular interest ; but to-day the leading journals of the country—those entitled to the proud distinction of the “ Independent Press”—are sustained by the *ample patronage* of the reading and business public, and are relieved from the necessity or the temptation of courting pecuniary support from any particular source. They are independent pecuniarily as well as in principle, and cannot afford to be subsidized. They are not expounders only of public opinion, but to a certain extent they seek to form and lead it, and even when supporting a political party they can be so far unpartizan as to repudiate party measures, which they do not approve. They are really seekers after truth, refusing to prostitute their columns for advocating specific objects. As there is necessarily talent and ability connected with their management, they are competent, as well as disinterested advisers upon all questions that arise. On the average, therefore, the independent press will be found on the side of truth, justice and right ; on the whole, as the *political mentor*, will enlighten, elevate and purify the public conscience.

We had a practical demonstration of the influence which the free press now wields as the “ fourth estate ” in the social economy, in what was accomplished by the “ great dailies,” during last year, in investigating and reporting, through their special correspondents, the real condition of affairs in the South. After ascertaining the truth, they fearlessly and actively proclaimed it ; thus battling earnestly for right and justice against prevailing prejudices, and against the policy of the party in power. The respectable journals of the country in consequence were soon engaged, with a few exceptions, in exposing the fraud of alleged “ Ku-klux outrages,” and in denouncing the corruptions of carpet-bag misrule. The result was as beneficial to the cause of good government and freedom in the South, as the rebuke to the party which had tolerated such abuses was prompt and emphatic at the polls ; while the course pursued so earnestly and impartially by the enterprising journals which originated

the movement will be valuable as an example, and is most auspicious of the future influence of the press. As, then, the influence of the Central Government increased, the decentralizing influence of the press also increased; as the evil was developed, an ample corrective, the "fourth estate," was evolved. And while the vast patronage and power now attaching to the National Government would have been regarded formerly as inevitably subversive of our institutions; yet we have no such apprehensions, because an active, fearless and powerful independent press is now always ready (and is able) to attack and expose corruption, and to sound the alarm and arouse the people at the first indication of danger. It should not be overlooked that the trying ordeals, to which constitutional government has been subjected during the past ten years, have been surmounted while the South was practically without influence in directing the policy of the administration. The Southern people had always been conservative, opposing every encroachment of national authority, and thus exerted a restraining influence over the centralizing tendency of the North. The habits, aims and aspirations of the Northern people, on the other hand, looked to the rapid accumulation of wealth and the increase of population, and they naturally desired a strong central government. We can well understand how the resultant of these opposing tendencies *might have been* a happy equilibrium along a line of progress between the two extremes. Changes would have been introduced gradually following the example of time, "which indeed innovateth greatly, but slowly;" and we would thus have secured a national government which, recognizing fully the local rights of the States and the freedom of the individual, would, at the same time, have been sufficiently strong to protect the varied commercial and other interests of a rapidly increasing population. In the absence, however, for ten years of the restraining influence of the South, it is not surprising, under the circumstances, that the equilibrium was temporarily destroyed. But the dangers were at last appreciated by the North, and the

reaction of public opinion became so great as even in Massachusetts to hurl the Republican party from power. The South is now again on a footing of equality, and in any future struggles against the abuse of power or against a tendency to imperialism her conservative influence will be available, and may be relied on. What the whole country now needs, so far as her material prosperity is concerned, is: that the South, on the one hand, should acquire some of the characteristic thrift and business energy of the North; should build up her cities by manufactures and commerce; should populate, improve and cultivate her waste districts; should open and operate her mines; and should, in short, develop as rapidly as possible all her material resources; while the Northern people, recollecting that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," should on their part check any further tendency to centralization, whether in the executive, legislative, or judicial departments. While we should study more the science and art of wealth, they should study more the science and art of government.

Corrupt administrations in some of the Southern States, and the demoralizing influence of adventurers and office-seekers over our colored laborers, may continue to depress business and enterprise, but there is now reason for believing that these blighting influences will be only temporary. The future of the negro in the South, as a voter and citizen, is an interesting subject of vital importance; but it involves a problem which time alone can solve. We can, however, at least see the beginning of the end; for already "the grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night." Wherever the whites have the majority in the South, the negro—no longer the active politician—has proved himself a quiet, peaceable, and well-disposed citizen. As a laborer, we need him, and in this capacity he will be invaluable. Nor need he be, because of an inferior race, an incubus upon the South, as some would have us believe. If the Southern people were left to themselves, without further interference in this matter by Federal legislation, or otherwise, there would be no trouble

between the races, and the colored man, no longer influenced and deluded by adventurers, would become a contented and faithful laborer. In the meantime, the whites should appreciate the position of the misguided race and be scrupulously just and kind to it.

Upon the whole, then, so far as opportunity and circumstances are concerned, the South *is* in a position to reap her full share of the prosperity and progress of the country in the future. Our people, however, must fully realize their condition, as well as their opportunities. They must cultivate habits of steady industry, and raise their children to work.

The influence and ability of Southern statesmen before the war are matters of history. They controlled the country until 1860. The South has still the same talent, the same culture, and the same genius for statesmanship; and although it may be true that individuals cannot in the future wield the direct influence that they have exerted in the past, yet genius will still be potent in shaping that public opinion of the masses which is now the "power in politics." The first talent of the South, before the war, naturally sought public life as the field for distinction, and the genius of the South was thus concentrated almost exclusively in her statesmanship, (the demand, in the irrepressible conflict for what she deemed self-preservation creating the supply.) She excelled in statesmanship, and, if the same talent and genius be devoted now to other occupations, she will also excel in literature, science and the arts of life.

It is vitally important, in this connection, that our people be educated. Knowledge is power, as regards communities as well as individuals. While the culture and education of the higher classes of Southern society have been unequalled in any other section of the country, our opportunities for public instruction have been limited. It is more important now than ever that this should be corrected. Aside from other considerations, we cannot expect to compete with our friends at the North in the race for wealth and progress, unless the masses of our people are equally well educated. And

in considering the future of our now impoverished South, there is probably no clearer question of policy than that of sustaining the public schools. Any appropriations made for this purpose will ultimately prove the most profitable of all investments.

A new century of union, progress, and prosperity is now being ushered in under the harmonizing auspices of the Centennial celebrations ; and the people of the two sections are vying with each other in their offerings of local prejudices as sacrifices upon the altars of fraternity and friendship. This spirit of reconciliation, aided by the sacred and ennobling memories of the earlier days, has awakened new hopes for a common future, and promises to restore reunion in feeling as well as in form. Mutual concession and forbearance have already accomplished much, by arousing a common sympathy in these associations of the past ; but permanent reconciliation and true friendship must be based on *mutual respect* and *equality*, and if we would reap the full fruits of these auspicious celebrations we should, in a broad spirit of magnanimity, mutually recognize and acknowledge what each section, in its peculiar province, has accomplished for the common good.

The North has led in the physical world—in the material development of the country ; the South has concentrated her best energies in the moral world—in seeking to realize her ideals of true manhood, broad and pure statesmanship, and high public character.

The success of the earlier efforts of the one soon placed the country on the highest pinnacle of material greatness—as first in the world in intelligence, enterprise and energy ; and we were all proud of the result.

The success of the earlier efforts of the other soon impressed itself upon the free institutions of the country, through her Jeffersons, her Madisons, and her Marshalls, her Rutledges, her Laurenses, and her Pinckneys ; and as the personified product of her highest aspirations, the South gave to the common country the exalted character of Washington.

But this additional bond of union and of friendship, in the mutual recognition of contributions to the country's greatness, need not be limited to those earlier days. We of the South fully appreciate the unbounded resources and material power that have been developed in *these later* years by Northern intelligence, energy and enterprise; and we recognize that *these* have demonstrated to the world that republicanism, with its unfettered liberty of action, promotes intelligence, stimulates industry, produces unrivalled prosperity, and at the same time ensures unequalled power in war. This was exhibited in the conflict between the States. But fully appreciating what has been achieved by Northern skill, energy and industry, we claim that the South has displayed in that *same struggle* a *morale*, a *will* and a *force of character* of which any people may justly be proud; and that *she* has accordingly demonstrated to the world that republicanism can also develop the highest moral qualities. And the adherence of our people to their plighted faith, given when finally overpowered (although not defeated), is equally precious as an exhibition of public honor that has never been surpassed. The same character, the same devotion to duty and to principle which sustained them in prolonging the struggle against unparalleled odds, removed all armed disaffection after their word had been given to resist no longer, and ensured also the sacred observance of their *truth*.

At the great Centennial, then, at Philadelphia, for which these lesser celebrations are preparing us all, we expect to see a people represented, who, unprejudiced by local influences or sectional feeling, will appreciate true greatness under whatever circumstances it may have been displayed. And while we of the South shall recognize and be proud of the amazing industrial and intellectual achievements of the North, which shall there be represented, we shall also be justly proud of what the South can offer to represent her achievements for the common country's greatness. Her material offerings will be poor; but as in the earlier days the South gave to the country her best contributions in the wisdom, the virtue, and

the valor of *her sons*; so in these later Centennial days she can refer to the recent achievements of her sons as indicating the valor and heroism which may be relied upon whenever needed in the country's defence. She can refer to their high sense of honor, recently exhibited, as an earnest of fidelity to that Union which they have now accepted as their own. She can confidently refer to *both* as indicating the high moral worth which she contributes to the country's welfare and renown. And it is the consciousness of *this* which places her sons around these Centennial altars, not conquered and crushed, but proud and erect, recognized equals and peers. And as in the earlier days she also gave to the nation and to the world her Washington, representing all the virtue and the valor which she aspired to; so in these later days, when material development—physical grandeur—threatens to eclipse and overshadow moral development—moral grandeur—she can tender, as her best gift to the country and to the world, the exalted and majestic character of her Lee, as personifying and embodying her highest aspirations for true greatness.

The South has not heretofore devoted *due* attention to material development; but circumstances are changed, and in that "maddening career of worldly progress" which she, too, is now entering, we should beware of overlooking the value of moral worth. There is something to be cultivated by a people far more important than physical progress, without which no national prosperity can be real or permanent. As the eloquent Channing has told us: "The great distinction of a nation—the only one worth possessing, and which brings after it all other blessings—is the prevalence of a pure principle among the citizens." This is the first essential of a country's greatness, and in the name of a common country's welfare we should all, in these latter days of worldly progress, unite in urging the importance of cultivating and cherishing a high moral tone—purity, as well as force of public character.

CONCLUDING ADDRESS TO THE SOLDIERS.

Before concluding the task assigned me at this, our first reunion, permit me to advert briefly to a few features of our Confederate struggle, which have not yet received that prominence in public estimation to which their importance entitle them. While the military genius of our commanders, and the courage and dash of our troops are universally conceded, the *individuality* which peculiarly distinguished the Confederate soldier is generally overlooked. It has no parallel on so grand a scale in military history, and was decidedly the most remarkable characteristic of our armies. It has produced a marked impression in military circles abroad, if it has not already caused something of a revolution in tactics. This same individuality, which changes the battalion from a mere machine into an aggregate of intelligent thinking units, has been of late diligently cultivated in the Prussian system, and is fully appreciated by the German commanders. The idea no longer prevails, as it did formerly, that all independence of action in the soldier should be drilled out of him; for the brilliant Confederate victories achieved by *this individuality* of the rank and file has taught the world its value.

The use of temporary and hastily constructed earthworks in the field—to supply the deficiency of numbers—was another equally striking feature of our Confederate tactics. Only a few occasions are reported on which a similar system had been regularly adopted previously, and its value in an active campaign had never been duly recognized. Its wonderful success in the campaign from the Wilderness to Petersburg, demonstrated that brave troops under a skilful leader can always remain in the field against at least two or three times their number, and certainly should not be forced into fortifications *and surrounded*. Lee, although vastly outnumbered in this campaign, repulsed every attack of his persistent opponent, a single rank of his half-fed, half-clad heroes hurling back repeated assaults of heavy columns; while in the campaigns of Sedan, Metz, and Paris, armies equal in num-

bers to those of the Germans were actually surrounded and forced to surrender by the Prussian commanders. Think of Lee with anything approaching equality of numbers being surrounded! Impossible, so long as a few spadefuls of earth could be thrown up along the front, and the line thus almost indefinitely extended. I venture the assertion, that in defensive warfare Lee has never been excelled, if he has ever had his equal in the annals of the world's history, and that his brave veterans behind temporary field works were more *nearly invincible* to an attack upon their front than was ever any army of which history gives us an account.

Again, as regards the cause itself for which our comrades offered up their lives, we should never admit that it involved a useless sacrifice. Far otherwise! Every instinct of honor and manhood upon the facts presented required the effort. We were overpowered by superior numbers and resources; but we did our duty, and good must ever result from duty faithfully performed. We have at least recorded upon the pages of history in undying colors of blood a *people's protest* against interference in popular governments with the constitutional rights of the minority. It is a protest which will be respected, for it was earnest, determined, and grand.

We should ever bear in mind the distinction between principles, and the issues that may from time to time be raised in their defence. Principles are based upon truth, justice and right, and consequently are eternal. Issues that may be raised and joined under the banner of a principle are based upon expediency—upon the adopted policy of the hour—change with circumstances, and are in any event temporary and evanescent.

Principles are affected neither by success nor by failure, being above the accidents of time and circumstance. Issues stand or fall according to their success or failure, and are judged solely by the rule of "might."

The issue, upon which our Confederate conflict was joined, was secession, and the arbitrament of the sword decided against it; but *local self-government* was the principle for

which we fought. This principle is freedom, is liberty itself, and is as right, as true, as eternal as that principle of allegiance for which the North contended. The result then condemned, according to recognized rules, the *issue*—the policy of secession—but affects not the sacred principle for which that issue was made. The issue was forced upon us, in our judgment, by the attack of a minority faction against our local rights; and although the majority at the North discountenanced this threatened attack, yet when the issue of secession was made by the South, the spirit of loyalty was aroused at the North. Their people condemned the issue of secession, and against it they united, under the principle of allegiance. While, then, all recognize the issue of secession as finally disposed of, the people of the North, as well as those of the South, revere and cherish the ever-living principle of freedom which inspired us in the contest; and it is the mutual recognition of these two principles—freedom and allegiance—under whose respective banners the sections were arrayed, that furnished the basis of that enlarged spirit of reconciliation which now pervades the country.

And so it has ever been in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. Allegiance and freedom are principles equally sacred, and have both been at times the battle cry of true patriotism. John Hampden and his followers, inspired by the call of freedom, appealed to force to establish their principles; and they made the issue of armed resistance to royalty. The cavaliers, inspired by allegiance, supported royalty, not to uphold the abuse of the King's authority, but to uphold the principle of loyalty to their recognized sovereign; but they raised the false issue of non-resistance to royalty. Success at first crowned the revolution and the commonwealth of Cromwell was established; but success added nothing to the principle, which would have been as true, as sacred, if defeat had resulted; and it was equally true, equally sacred, after the restoration, when royalty was re-established. We all know the history of the issues that were joined from time to time

under the inspiration of these respective principles. Success first smiled on the one, and then on the other, and the final result was the reconciliation of both in a constitutional monarchy.

We acted then conscientiously. We believed that the cause of *local self-government* was endangered, and we appealed to the god of battles. Principle we thought required it, and *for* principle was the issue made. We were crushed; but the struggle, I repeat, was not in vain. The result demonstrated that secession was not the doctrine for America; but republican institutions and self-government are still ours, and the sacrifices and losses we have sustained will be recognized hereafter even by the North as having been offered at the shrine of freedom; while the blood which has flowed so lavishly will consecrate the land in the eyes of posterity as *hallowed ground*, where true patriotism, valor and unexampled devotion to duty, united a people in a heroic struggle for right against might—for what they believed to be the cause of liberty.

And now, fellow-soldiers, in organizing our Association, let us be equal to the trust we are assuming. We honor the memory of our departed brothers for their valor; we honor their memories still more for the virtue of which that valor was only the outward expression. We are proud of their courage; we are proud of their heroism; we are prouder still of their true patriotism, of their self-denial, and of their *faithfulness* to duty which kept them always at the post of danger. Their memories then should ever admonish us of *our* duties in the living present, and arouse us to act our part *faithfully* in peace as they did in war. We cannot avoid associating the idea of *duty performed*, as well as that of heroic courage, with the names of our departed heroes.

And passing from our own loved ones to those great chieftains, the custody of whose memories belongs to the entire South, it is a peculiar satisfaction to know that the influence of their bright examples will be invaluable to their countrymen.

The character of a people is always largely shaped by that

of their great leaders, whose moral qualities insensibly stamp themselves upon their youthful admirers. Hence it is one of Heaven's richest blessings to a country, that the lives of her illustrious heroes be pure and ennobling, as well as brilliant and grand.

The South has been peculiarly blessed in this respect. If it was not inappropriate to the occasion, I could instance the highest specimens of true manhood among those of our living Confederates whose names are household words; and I need not go far to find the peer of any knight who ever broke a lance in a holy cause, whose valor, whose honour, whose unspotted moral character, whose culture and true refinement are as well known and appreciated as his brilliant military career. Ranked immediately after Lee and Jackson as the great cavalry leader of the war, he now stands among the foremost in renown of living Confederates. To describe him thus is to name him—our own great chief, Wade Hampton.

When we pass to the contemplation of our departed heroes there are two whose names are enrolled on the highest tablets of fame, who appear as pre-eminent for their virtue as for their valor, for their moral and religious worth as for their martial fame. No people can exhibit higher types of character than those of Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee.

Jackson was emphatically the hero of our struggle, beloved and admired by all. His military genius was only equalled by the unbounded confidence of the army in his invincibility. He was taken from us in the very noonday blaze of his glory—triumphant and victorious in his last flank movement. His brilliant, although short, career has impressed his followers and the world with the power and grandeur of genius when guided by deep religious principle. He was spared the last test to which the great Lee was subjected. It was the fate of Lee to survive the shock of battles, and after furnishing us an example of what is due to his afflicted country by the soldier, when overpowered and crushed, he has left us a character pure, exalted and grand, to be loved, admired and revered.

I will not speak on this occasion of his genius as a great captain, but prefer to allude to him in his still greater char-

acter as a true, noble man. Lee, as the successful general, the victor of many hard fought fields, *is great*; but Lee, as the true Christian, the pure, unselfish man, seeking the path of duty and following it, whether in the hour of triumph, or in the day of disaster, *is greater still*. Lee, with the flush of victory upon him, as he is portrayed by the artist, mounted on Traveller, at Spottsylvania, among his advancing regiments, *is grand*. But Lee, writing to his faithful lieutenant, who had been wounded at Chancellorsville, "I congratulate *you* on the victory, which is due to *your* skill and energy," *is grander still*.

Lee, as described at the Wilderness, again at the head of his advancing lines, but forced to retire from the front by his men (uneasy for his safety) with the assurance that if he would go the *rear*, *they* would go the front, *is glorious*; but Lee, after the repulse at Gettysburg, saying: "All this is my fault," and assuming the responsibility for the reverse, is more glorious still—it is sublime, showing us how true greatness, generous and magnanimous, can bear itself in defeat. Lee's military genius is conceded, and he will unquestionably rank among the foremost captains of history; but Lee's noble manhood exhibited in the hour of disaster at Appomattox, and in the subsequent days of adversity, is a priceless legacy, *as an example* far more valuable than his military renown,

Lord Bacon has told us that *success* was the blessing of the Old Testament, *but adversity* that of the new; and that the virtues of *adversity* are of a higher order than the virtues of success.

While Washington represents in the history of this country the virtues of success, Lee represents the virtues of adversity.

The classic matron was wont to study the lives of great heroes, hoping thus to transmit to her sons their virtues and their valor; and in one sense there was deep philosophy in the idea, as the mother must herself *have become fully imbued* with the *spirit* of those virtues she would impart to her son. In the case of Lee, *both* parents revered and venerated Washington, and the happiest of maternal influences presided over his infancy and youth. The love of the father for Washington naturally impressed itself upon the son, who adopted him as the ideal of his youth, as the model by which he

sought to mould his own character. It is not surprising, therefore, that the good seed of Washington's example, sown in such soil, should have yielded an abundant harvest of virtue and of valor; and that we should accordingly have, in Lee, a greater even than Washington for our matrons to admire and honor, and for our youth to imitate.

Lee himself, then, is the choice fruit of Washington's example, and furnishes a distinguished illustration of the value of great exemplars in forming the character of youth. When we recollect that Lee, lavishly endowed by nature, was reared under these hallowed influences; that duty (which he styled the sublimest word in our language) was the "key note" of his life, the pole-star of his every thought and action; and that he was ever sustained by his religion in this unwavering and conscientious adherence through life to the call of duty, we recognize the presence of every essential for developing the most exalted of mankind. We had accordingly in Lee that *rare combination*, the highest order of genius, with the purest morality of its day; the supreme valor of an Alexander, with the unswerving justice of an Aristides; the brilliant talents of a Caesar, with the stern virtues of a Cato; the transcendent genius of a Napoleon, with the unselfish patriotism of a Washington:

"A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

We have accordingly in Lee the *last, best* gift of the Mother of States and Statesmen, uniting the valor of the warrior with the gentleness of the woman; the wisdom of the sage with the purity of the saint; the virtue of the patriot with the humility of the Christian; the brilliancy of genius with the simplicity of faith. We have accordingly in Lee the most perfect embodiment yet developed of the ideal manhood of our Christian civilization—nature, birth, home influence and social advantages, with his own aspirations for moral and Christian excellence, all combining most happily to produce in him the *purest and greatest man* of all the ages. May his grand character, as a bright example, a shining light, bless his countrymen to remotest generations.

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