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# ORATION

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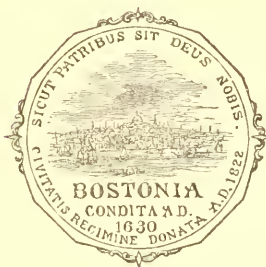
## CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON,

ON THE

FOURTH OF JULY, 1866,

BY

REV. S. K. LOTHROP, D. D.



BOSTON:

ALFRED MUDGE & SON, CITY PRINTERS, 34 SCHOOL STREET.

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CITY OF BOSTON.

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*In Common Council, July 5, 1866.*

RESOLVED: That the thanks of the City Council are due and they are hereby tendered to Rev. SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D. D., for the eloquent and patriotic Oration delivered by him before the Municipal Authorities of Boston on the occasion of the XCth anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence; and that he be requested to furnish a copy of said Oration for publication.

Sent up for concurrence.

JOHN C. HAYNES, *Pres. pro tem.*

*In Board of Aldermen, July 7, 1866.*

Concurred.

G. W. MESSINGER, *Chairman.*

Approved July 7, 1866.

F. W. LINCOLN, JR., *Mayor.*



## ORATION.

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*Mr. Mayor, Gentlemen of the City Council, Friends  
and Fellow-Citizens:*

My words may be dull, but the occasion has an eloquence of its own; my thoughts may be feeble, but the day clusters with memories, associations and hopes that should give it power and make it an inspiration to our hearts. Patriotism is an instinct of humanity. Whether it be amid the snows of Lapland or the arid deserts of Arabia, wherever, whatever it may be, barren or beautiful, every man loves his country, and every true man is ready to live and labor, to toil, sacrifice, suffer, and, if need be, to die for his country. But we, of all people, should love our country; our patriotism has so much to sustain it, that it should be not simply an instinct, but a principle; a deep conviction of the judgment as well as a warm emotion of the heart. We have a glorious past, a grand though troubled present, and a future rich in such hopes

and promises as never before invited the energies, or met the honest, pure, noble ambition of any people. Nay, our patriotism should find its foundation and nourishment in religious faith,—faith in God, faith in humanity, and faith in those great principles of liberty and love, with which Christianity, for eighteen centuries, has been striving to impregnate the heart of the world, and which, under the providence of God, have here a grander opportunity for development, expansion and application than was ever offered them before.

History is the unfolding of God's thought, the development of his purpose. Its epochs are the footprints of the Almighty on the sands of time. In our land, and in all that relates to it, these footprints are so distinct and impressive that we must be infidel indeed, if we do not mark and study them with reverence and gratitude.

The hand of God in our country, the tokens of his benignant purpose to protect and advance in it the interests of liberty and humanity, is a theme for whose details volumes would be required; the few paragraphs of an oration can only sketch the outline.

It begins with the discovery of America, which was so wonderfully opportune in time, that we no



longer ask why the Western Hemisphere was kept concealed for so many ages from the Eastern, the untravelled waters of the Atlantic rolling between them. Had the discovery been made a few centuries earlier, the semi-barbarous institutions and feudalism of the Old World would have been transplanted in their vigor to the New, and social America would have been little more than a reproduction of social Europe. Had the discovery been delayed a few centuries, the new ideas and principles in regard to religious and civil liberty, government, society, man, the Gospel in all its applications, which the Reformation called forth, would, in all human probability, have had but a short-lived, struggling existence. Confined to Europe, they would have been strangled, crushed, put down and kept down by those influences of habit and custom, of civil and ecclesiastical power, which have there opposed their progress, and so long prevented their legitimate results,—the enfranchisement and elevation of humanity.

Well may we bow in adoring faith before that beneficent Providence, which so ordered it, that just when it was most needed, when the Reformation broke the slumbers of Europe and stirred its communities, as they have never been stirred before, to intense intellectual, moral and social activity, then

this new continent, discovered less than half a century before, offered to this activity a new and fair field; and the new ideas and principles, which in Europe, overborne in the struggle with long established institutions, and hereditary organizations, forms and usages, would here have failed to work out any grand results upon a great scale, found here, on the virgin soil and comparatively unoccupied territory of this new world, an opportunity for untrammelled development,— a development which for more than two centuries has steadily increased, giving impulse and progress to humanity, producing results which form one of the grandest and most interesting chapters in the history of our race, and sending back upon the Old World influences, which have been and will be more and more salutary and beneficial.

If ever civil and religious liberty,— that boon which every man craves for himself and every noble man would accord to others,— if ever that great, intelligent, responsible freedom, which, through the gospel and the spirit of the Lord, comes to the soul of man, is to prevail over the earth, if it is ever to maintain a strong foothold among the nations, it will be because, at the hour of its utmost need, God gave it opportunity to plant itself on this new continent, and strike its roots so deep

that no despotic power could tear them up, no storm of passion and folly blight the blossoms, or destroy the fruit of the tree.

Beginning thus with the auspicious time of the discovery of our country, the wonderful workings of a wise and merciful Providence may be traced all through the infancy, the growth and progress of every colony established therein from Maine to Georgia. In the planting of the Plymouth colony,—where a few noble men and high-souled women stepped upon a low, shapeless rock, against which the waves of the Atlantic had beaten for centuries, and the world knew not of it and cared not for it, and by their toils and tears, their sufferings and sacrifices, made that rock to become one of the sacred spots of earth, hallowed by the noblest memories and grandest results,—there may be more of romance, more of thrilling incident and wonderful achievement, than in that of some of the others; but these elements so abound in all, that, if we have faith as a grain of mustard seed, our hearts must prompt us to recognize and adore a divine purpose and providence, wonderfully manifested in the events connected with the early settlement and colonization of our country, till we come down to that great epoch in its history, of which this day is the commemoration.

Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens, I need not dwell upon the principles, nor recite the incidents of that solemn and sublime struggle of our fathers for independence, in the success of which we gather here at this hour, citizens of this free Commonwealth, inheritors in this grand republic. These principles have entered into the education of our people for generations. These incidents are written in our histories, taught in our schools, graven upon our memories, familiar as household words upon our lips. But it was a glorious struggle. It was an appeal to arms, to the God of battles, as necessary and as justifiable as it was triumphant. That was not a rebellion, any of whose authors felt constrained to acknowledge, that the government from which they would separate, and so far overthrow, was the wisest, the best, the most paternal and beneficent ever instituted. That was not a rebellion whose success was to put limitations upon liberty, and give extension and a deep, terrible permanence to slavery. That was not a rebellion so utterly without cause, in any grievance endured, or oppression exercised, that its instigators or authorities never made, and never dared attempt to make, any public proclamation to the world of the wrongs they had to redress, of the rights they would vindicate.

cate, or of the spirit and purpose of the new nationality they would establish. No, it was not such a rebellion. That grave, calm, solemn document, which our fathers put forth ninety years ago to-day, and which has just been so admirably read to us this morning, — that document, its preliminary utterances, rightly understood and interpreted, not “glittering generalities,” but solid, substantial and everlasting verities, having their foundations in that eternal justice, which is older than all institutions, and anterior to all governments save that of God, — that document, its recital of facts so true in letter and spirit, as to defy refutation or denial, — that document, which at once assumed and will forever hold its place, as one of the most important historic documents of the world, the natural and legitimate child of that Magna Charta of England, which England violated and trampled upon when she attempted to oppress and subject us, — that document — the Declaration of Independence, vindicates our fathers to the judgment, while its successful maintenance secures to them the admiration and gratitude of mankind.

It was a glorious struggle, just in its origin, noble in its purpose, grand in its success, grander because that success was a triumph over the

proWess of England, — the most signal defeat to her power, the greatest loss to her possessions she ever sustained. Never, before or since, have any of her colonies or territorial possessions succeeded in throwing off her yoke. It has been attempted in India, in Canada and the West Indies, and the attempts have failed. Wherever, in any quarter of the globe, England gets a foothold, plants her standard and erects her forts, there she holds on against all intruders and against all revolt; and it is true to-day as of yore — “her drum-beat follows the sun, and may be heard all around the earth.” In addition to her large colonial territories, or in connection with them, she holds some of the most important and salient points of the globe in either hemisphere. It is, and has ever been her policy to seek possession of such, — a policy which the commercial and political interests of this country, especially on our Western coast, and in the waters of the Pacific Ocean, demand that our government should withstand by all just and honorable means. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, it was supposed that ocean steam-navigation would cripple the maritime power of England; but it has largely increased it, because England alone, — England to a greater extent than any other nation, — that all

but omnipresent power whose centre is London, can send her merchant or war-steamers into all the waters of the globe, and everywhere coal at her own ports, beneath the shadow of her own flag and the protection of her own guns,—an advantage she will not fail to hold, to use exclusively for herself when she needs,—to extend when she can.

It was a glorious struggle, the revolutionary struggle of our fathers, and a signal defeat and loss to power of Great Britain. But the point, I wish to make, is the testimony it affords to a benign purpose on the part of the Divine Providence towards this land, and the interests and progress of humanity as connected with it. In the general aspects of the struggle, there are three particulars worthy of especial notice in this connection. First, the quick and thorough union of the colonies, when the hour for forcible resistance arrived, and the stern appeal to arms had to be made. Here were thirteen colonies, three millions of people,—a sparse population, a vast territory, with none of the modern facilities for personal intercourse, the diffusion of information, or for concert of action. Single, isolated rebellion on the part of any or all of these colonies would have been a failure. It would have been speedily crushed. By a wise foresight our fathers were led

to provide against this; and suddenly, through means whose suggestion and efficacy seem wonderfully providential, the thirteen became a unit, with a general Congress, and Articles of Confederation strong enough to carry them through as long and severe a struggle, as liberty ever exacted of her champions.

This point is important in another aspect. No one of these colonies, in the exercise of individual sovereignty, declared itself independent of Great Britain, or undertook in its own name to be, or to set up a new nationality on the earth. As colonies they were subject to Great Britain; as revolting colonies they instantly became united, and within eight and forty hours after the first blow of armed resistance was struck at Lexington, troops from more than one of these colonies were acting in concert in the siege of this city. As colonies uniting in revolt, they passed into a confederacy of States, and thus made to England and to the world their "Declaration of Independence;" and from a Confederacy of States they passed under the Constitution into a Union, not of the States, but of the people:—"We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution, which, with the laws and treaties formed under it, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in any State constitution or legislation to the contrary notwithstanding."



Not for an hour has any one of these States been an independent State, universally known and recognized among the nations in its exercise of the rights of absolute sovereignty. At first the most important of these rights vested in Great Britain; then they were assumed, I had almost said, rather than transferred to the Continental Congress; and then, by a grand and solemn act of the people, they were committed to a Federal or National government, under the Constitution of the United States. The most important right of absolute sovereignty these Colonies or States ever exercised was to part with that sovereignty, and confer its highest and most essential attributes upon a central or Federal authority, that by union *that* might become great, respectable and strong before the world, which, in its separate parts, would remain insignificant and powerless. This seems to be the historic fact,—that no one of these States has ever been an independent, absolute sovereignty,—and this fact seems to have an important bearing upon that doctrine of “State rights” and “the sovereignty of the States” which since 1798 has been the bane of our internal political action. This doctrine was the essential germ of our recent civil war, whose fruits, in this instance,

that war has crushed, but, as was to be expected, has not entirely eradicated or destroyed the germ itself. God forbid that it should have life enough to revive, and unfold into another rebellion.

The second signal feature, in the revolutionary struggle of our fathers, was their indomitable energy and perseverance, amid tremendous discouragements, at a cost of large sacrifices, painful sufferings and privations. Here I will not detain you with details, nor attempt to give you pictures of that, which has so often been portrayed by the masters of patriotic eloquence. We all know, that upon any comparison of means, men, money, munitions and instrumentalities of war of all kinds, the struggle seemed hopeless at the beginning; and often and often, at the end of many a campaign during those seven long years, the fortunes of our fathers seemed dark and utterly desperate. But they did not and would not give it up; their enthusiasm kindled afresh after every disaster and defeat; their small resources, often apparently exhausted, failed not to offer fresh supplies when called for; their bold confronting, year after year, all the power and policy of England, reached at last that sublime, unselfish, indomitable, moral heroism, which always conquers because it must

conquer, and which at length compelled England to acknowledge that the brightest jewel of her crown was gone, and that these United States were a power no longer subject to her control.

How shall I speak of the third signal and providential feature in that great revolutionary struggle of our fathers!—their great Leader, wonderful beyond all comparison in the intellectual and moral combinations that formed his character, the Providential Man, raised up to carry them forward through transcendent difficulties to a grand success, and adorn their records with the most glorious and unspotted name in all human history. Niagara stands alone, unrivalled among the cataracts of earth, and man might as well attempt to create it, as by pen or pencil to give an adequate description or impression of it. Thus Washington stands so unrivalled in the combinations of his life, character and career — as fortunate as he was great, and as good as he was great and fortunate — that one might as well undertake to create as to describe him. I shall not attempt it; but this I may say, that the more I read history, the more I study biography, the more I contemplate human nature, and aim to form correct moral estimates of men, the more the character of Washington, in its glorious beauty, in the

august sublimity of its splendid combinations, looms up before my imagination, my feelings and my judgment, as the grandest to be found in the authentic records of our race, save those records, short and simple, that contain the glorious gospel of the Son of God.

Does any one maintain that in the raising up of such a man, to be the leader of our fathers in their revolutionary struggle, to be the model, guide, and inspiration in all coming time, to the new development and progress, which humanity is to make on this continent, he sees nothing wonderfully providential; that in all this struggle, he finds no special token of a benignant purpose of the Almighty, in regard to the interests of liberty and humanity in this land, I can only answer, that I envy not the coldness or the scepticism of his heart, which seems be wanting in the great element of faith, — faith in the invisible, the spiritual and the eternal, which has ever been one of the noblest attributes of the noblest minds. Most persons will recognize, and delight to recognize, the hand of God in that glorious Revolutionary struggle of our fathers, whose importance can never diminish, and the memory of which can never die. It was the first stern conflict between the despotism of the Old World and the liberty of the New.

In that conflict liberty triumphed, lifting up our country "from impending servitude to acknowledged independence;" and that triumph should stand before us to-day as "the Lord's doing, marvellous in our eyes," a testimony to his gracious purpose to promote the interests and progress of humanity in our land, and throughout the world.

And that testimony abides; it abounds all through the record of our wonderful prosperity and progress, since the conclusion of that struggle. The formation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States afford an impressive illustration of this. All human instruments have something of weakness and defect, stamping their origin. It is easier to destroy than to create, to find fault than to make perfect; and the Constitution of the United States never has been, is not now, never will be beyond the reach of objection. But when we calmly review the state of the country, after the close of the war of independence; when we contemplate all the circumstances of the times, the necessities that required, and the obstacles that stood in the way of a stronger government than the old confederacy, all the diverse rights, interests, opinions, prejudices, that had to be harmonized; then the Constitution stands before us wonderful in its penetrating and

comprehensive sagacity, its all-embracing political wisdom; an instrument of civil organization and government so perfect, that could there always have been found an integrity adequate to its just, dispassionate and impartial administration, it would, of necessity, have made the people living under it as happy and prosperous as the limitations of earth permit.

Wonderful in its formation, its adoption ultimately by the people of all the States, so different in character and population, and so widely severed, is even more wonderful than its formation; and when we look at the great general results produced by this Constitution, observe how immediately it brought prosperity and power, raised our country from a feeble to a mighty nation, gave it a name and an influence over all the earth; when we consider how it has conferred upon many millions of people such blessings, comforts, privileges, opportunities, as no government ever conferred before upon a like number, making our land such an "oasis in the desert" of the world, that for half a century past, emigrants from other countries have thronged to it, as they never thronged to any land before; finding here a security, a happiness, and an opportunity they could find nowhere else on earth,

— when we consider these things, the formation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States are events so wonderful, so extraordinary upon any calculation of human probabilities, that we are justified, nay, constrained to regard them as such an overruling of Providence, such tokens of a benignant protection of liberty in this land, that they should not only quicken and invigorate our patriotism, but give to it something of the sanctity and power of religious faith.

But all will admit, probably, that the most impressive evidence and exhibition of an overruling Providence, in the history of our country, is its present condition, and the terrible scenes and the great crisis, through which we have just passed in our recent civil war.

The origin and responsibility of this war rest not exclusively with the men of this generation. At long intervals, years ago, the differing seeds from which it sprung were planted. The first planting was at Plymouth in 1620, when our fathers made there the first permanent lodgement of liberty in the land. The second, by a singular coincidence, was in the same year, when a Dutch man-of-war entered James River, with some Africans on board who were sold as slaves, and thus, in Virginia, the first germ of

Slavery took root on Anglo-American soil. The third planting was in 1776, when a committee of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, with Mr. Jefferson at its head, made that grand declaration, that "all men" — "all" — had certain inalienable rights, of which no government could innocently deprive them. The fourth and last planting was in 1787, when the Constitution of the United States, that instrument, so glorious in other respects, undertook, in singular inconsistency with its Preamble, to join together, in peaceful fellowship, under one government, Liberty and Slavery. The thing was impossible; and in this particular, though not in its general spirit and purpose, the Constitution was a failure.

A conflict between Liberty and Slavery existing under one government, among one people, was inevitable. "irrepressible." It began early, it lasted long. It may be traced all through our national legislation and policy; and in the legislation of the last twenty years, there are so many, and such violent and wanton encroachments of Slavery upon Liberty, that one is almost tempted to think, (though no positive proof thereof in letters or speeches could be found.) that the hope, if not the purpose and policy of the leaders and advocates of Slavery, was to goad and drive



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the North to the *initiation* of rebellion, that thus they might place themselves before the world, in the light of loyal defenders of an existing Government and Constitution.

Though not disposed to uphold or approve all that was said and done at the North, I am disposed to maintain that the admission of Texas, by a gross and palpable violation of constitutional provisions; the Mexican war, unnecessarily precipitated upon the country by an invasion of territory of which, to say the least, it was doubtful whether it belonged to Texas, and the consequent acquisition of large additions to the area of slavery; some of the odious and arbitrary features unnecessarily introduced into the Fugitive Slave Bill; the miserably contemptible, as well as wicked legislation in regard to Kansas, and finally the repeal of the Missouri Compromise,—that these were such violations and encroachments upon the rights, interests and progress of liberty on this Continent, as, combined, afforded to the free States a more justifiable cause for revolt, rebellion, revolution, than the so-called Confederate States can ever declare and make good before the world.

But the people of the free States would not rebel. They felt that under a popular representative government, where the will of the people, legitimately

expressed, is the controlling force that ultimately accomplishes all that ought to be done, armed resistance is almost never necessary or justifiable. Liberty, also, which loves order and obeys law to the utmost, was willing to bide its time, and trust its existence and progress to the irresistible logic of truth and principle. This logic prevailed more and more, till at length the Republican party was organized. According to its original platforms, this party did not propose to disturb slavery where it existed, but simply to restrict its power and prevalence to the limits it had already reached, — limits whose resources it had not exhausted, but where, as an industrial institution, it still had room for an indefinite expansion.

This party, after one or two defeats, triumphed in the national election of 1860, and raised Abraham Lincoln to the chief magistracy of the nation. I need not attempt the eulogy of this man's character or career. At the instance of our City Government, this has already been done by abler hands than mine. That he was a person of peculiar talents, admirable wisdom, perfect honesty, and pure, disinterested purpose, will, I presume, be admitted by all. The growing developments of his personal character while in office, his public policy

under circumstances of as deep perplexity, painful anxiety, and involving issues of as gigantic importance as ever embarrassed the head of any nation, and his untimely death at the hand of violence, making him at once the champion and the martyr of liberty, these invest his name and fame with such attributes of gloom and glory, that we become at once sad and reverent as we speak of him. There can be little doubt that as years roll on, dissipating the mists of passion, and leading to a clearer appreciation, the historic judgment of the nation and of the world will lift him up to a high place among the providential men of the race; will place him near to Washington, as the second deliverer and Father of his country,—less fortunate in his personal fate, but thoroughly wise, honest, disinterested, patriotic, worthy of our gratitude and our reverence.

His election was the signal for the weak work of secession, and the wicked work of rebellion and revolution, to begin. This work, in its successive steps, in its widening progress, in its final issue, abounds with testimonies to the purpose of the Almighty Providence to protect and advance the interests of liberty and humanity in our country, and thereby throughout the world. The very neglects

which we condemned, the very misfortunes and defeats, which five years ago we regretted, have all contributed to fulfil this purpose.

There can be no question that during the summer and autumn of 1860, the President of the United States, with the mutterings of the coming storm in his ears, and the shadow of its dark cloud resting upon the close of his administration, had he listened to the suggestions of the late Lieutenant-General, Winfield Scott,—that glorious old soldier, as wise and patriotic as he was brave,—might have quietly put all the forts on the Southern coast in such condition, and so disposed of the military and naval force of the United States, that secession, like nullification, would have reached only to a paper ordinance, perhaps not to that, and armed rebellion would never have raised its bloody hand.

If England in the spring of 1861, instead of being swift through her Secretary for Foreign Affairs to speak of the “*late*” United States, and grant belligerent rights to the rebels, and thus encourage her people to furnish them with munitions of war and supplies of all kinds, had, true to her interest and honor, as well as her professed abhorrence of slavery, expressed her sympathy with the constitutional government of the United States, and her determina-

tion to stand by it in the struggle, there can be no doubt that the resources of the so-called Confederacy would have been exhausted at a very early day.

And if, in that first great battle of the conflict at Bull Run, in July 1861, the Union arms had conquered, and we had driven the rebels back to Richmond, or beyond it, to the selection of some other spot to be its temporary capital, probably hundreds and hundreds of thousands of persons in the Southern States, who up to that hour had hesitated between rebellion and loyalty, would have decided in favor of the latter, and the Union sentiment at the South, feeling secure of protection, would have declared itself so strongly, that the rebellion and its confederacy would have collapsed before the expiration of its first year.

But this immediate or early suppression of the rebellion would have left the nation just where it was before, — the cause of strife unremoved, unabated; it would have stanchèd the blood, salvèd over the wound, but left the virus within to poison the system, to work disease and decay, to bring on, at some other time, in some other form, another death-struggle for national liberty and life. He, who presideth over the nations, had a broader and more

benignant purpose, and His overruling is legibly written upon the whole course of the conflict.

This conflict,—initiated by the rebel leaders for an independent confederacy, that should give permanence and power to slavery, and entered into by the government of the United States after patient reluctance, originally not to disturb slavery, but to maintain its own authority over a territory and people, who had no sufficient cause for revolt, and whose obedient allegiance it might rightfully claim, — this conflict went on, widening the range of its operations, unfolding more and more distinctly the good and evil principles, the sources of weakness and of strength involved in it, and presenting more and more clearly, also, the issues that must be reached in order to a permanent peace ; till at length the way was prepared, opportunity came, necessity demanded, and the President of the United States, in the exercise of that august war-power which the Constitution lodged in his hands, with all due qualifications and formalities, made the proclamation emancipating all the slaves in the rebel States.

This important measure was at first received with regret and surprise by some; but it is now, I



believe, everywhere, at home and abroad, by every thoughtful person, regarded as just and wise; officially a right, and morally a brave and noble act. To have made that proclamation earlier would have been a mistake; to have delayed it longer would have been a crime,—a crime against the Union whose preservation demanded, whose Constitution authorized it,—a crime against liberty and humanity which so earnestly plead for it. Followed as it soon was by the enlistment of colored troops, and by amendments of the Constitution abolishing slavery, legitimately passed by Congress and adopted by the required number of States, this proclamation may now be regarded as the thunder-bolt, beneath which the rebel confederacy staggered to its fall, while to us, like the fiery column to the Israelites of old, it was “a burning and a shining light,” beneath whose guiding glow the Union, victorious at every point through its moral as well as physical strength, with erect mien and manly confidence, walked forward to a triumphant peace, to glory and permanence.

Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens: Distance is said to lend enchantment to the view, but it is also necessary to give correctness to the vision; we are too near to our late civil war to judge of it correctly in all its events and proportions. In five years

we have made a history which, only at the close of fifty years, can be so fully and accurately written, as to be in all particulars thoroughly understood and justly appreciated.

But there are some facts and principles in relation to it that we can understand, and they are worthy of a moment's notice. It was at once the most gigantic civil war on record, — and the shortest. The Peloponnesian war was virtually a civil war, corresponding in some particulars to ours. The States of Greece, represented in the Amphictyonic council, were bound together by various ties of nationality, which would have been closer and stronger, save that an idea, expressed by a different word but similar to our idea of State sovereignty, kept them apart and led to their ruin, through a war which, interrupted by a short truce, lasted twenty-seven years. This war was important in its influence upon the fortunes of Greece, and upon the civilization and progress of the world; but in itself it was confined to a territory not much larger than one of our large States; and the greatest number, which either side ever brought into the field in any one campaign, was sixty thousand men, and never in any one battle were so many as these engaged on one side.

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The great civil war, under various leaders with mingled fortunes, through which Rome passed from a Republic to an Empire, lasted twenty years. In the first great battle of this struggle, at Pharsalia, between Cæsar and Pompey, the whole number in both armies, very unequally divided, did not reach to eighty thousand men; and in its last, at Actium, between Anthony and Octavius Cæsar, though about one hundred thousand men were assembled on either side, only a very small portion of these were actually brought into the conflict. The Roman Empire at this time contained three times the population of the United States; yet the great military captain, Julius Cæsar, who for a brief period was master of it, never commanded in person, at one point, so many men as were in some of our army corps. The glorious civil war in England, known as the "Great Rebellion," by which free constitutional government became the boon of the Anglo-Saxon race everywhere, lasted seven years; yet the largest army that either King or Parliament had in the field during this struggle did not exceed twenty-five thousand men. Cromwell's broad fame, as a military commander, rests upon a few battles and campaigns, conducted in a comparatively small area of territory, and with a force seldom exceeding twenty thousand

men,—about as many as served for Sherman's advance-guard of "bummers" in his grand march through Georgia and the Carolinas. The combined armies of Cæsar and Pompey, disputing the empire of the world, were less than the quota which some of our large States sent into the field in our recent struggle; and this little State of Massachusetts furnished more troops than Julius Cæsar ever commanded, more than all Greece brought together in the long struggle that rent her in pieces; more than fought on both sides in the great English Rebellion.

And what is the explanation of this contrast? Simply this, I conceive. Ours was a war of the people and for the people, their liberties and their progress against an oligarchy. Even the English Rebellion, though liberty was promoted by it, was in a great measure a war of oligarchies, a struggle between titled and un-titled land owners, for place and power; and the great civil wars of the Roman triumvirates were wars between oligarchies, struggles between patrician leaders, who could gather no more troops than they could pay by plunder, confiscation and robbery. The long and fatal contest in Greece was between patrician leaders and States, some of whom, Athens, for instance, had only sixty thousand freemen from whom to enlist her soldiers, while

she had four hundred thousand slaves, whom she did not dare to arm for the contest. Ours, on the contrary, was a war of and for the people. Not a war which the government constrained the people to wage and support, but one which the people constrained the government to wage for its own protection and their liberties, in behalf of a country which they loved, and of institutions and principles which they cherished with national pride and filial reverence. Hence when the call came, they sprang to arms by the half-million, gloried in what may be called a self-imposed taxation, and poured out their blood and treasure without stint, and thus made it at once the most gigantic and shortest civil war on record.

We can understand that it was a war of conflicting ideas and principles, which in its progress unfolded more and more the character of these principles, their healthful or baneful influence upon the mind and heart of man. It was a war between Liberty and Slavery, the records of which are full of disclosures, which tell in behalf of liberty as a grand ennobling principle, and put a darker and deeper shadow upon slavery as barbarous and brutalizing.

All war is bad, subjecting men to such evil influences, that nothing but stern necessity could lead

a thoughtful man to uphold it; and I do not intend to urge that all that the government, troops, people and press of the North did and said, during our recent struggle, is to be unqualifiedly approved. Undoubtedly there are things that we must regret and condemn. Nor do I mean to say that there is nothing, absolutely nothing, in the rebel record that we can approve; no acts of courtesy, or nobleness, or magnanimity, such as call forth our admiration even for a foe. Undoubtedly there are many such. But there is nothing in our record of which we need be ashamed; while there are things in rebel record which the world will forever condemn. There is nothing in our record like Belle Isle, the Libby, Andersonville, Salisbury, Fort Pillow, or Fort Wagner; nothing like the attempt to fire Northern cities and bring indiscriminate suffering, destruction of property, poverty, death, upon men, women and children; nothing which gives the shadow of a shade of color for such a charge against any one, as that which the President of the United States has ventured to bring against the head of the late Confederate Government, — complicity with assassination and murder.

Our record is a glorious record in behalf of the nature, character, and influences of liberty,—glori-

ous in the reluctance with which the National Government unsheathed the sword of war, and in the spirit in which she used it, — glorious in the skill and military genius displayed by our generals, and in the bravery, the sacrifices and the patriotic devotedness of our troops, and in their general character and conduct as men as well as soldiers, — glorious in the general spirit and action of our people, in their Sanitary Commissions, their Christian Commissions, their Freedmen's Relief Associations, in all the noble efforts of the women of the country, and in the thousand Florence Nightingales, who, without the meed of world-wide fame and honor, humbly, quietly, in the self-sacrificing spirit of a loyal patriotism and a womanly tenderness, went forth to instruct the ignorant in schools, to nurse the sick and comfort the dying in hospitals. Ours is a glorious record; and not denying any thing there may be good and glorious in the record of the Confederacy, so called, the two records, taken as a whole, hold up to us two forms, two portraits, drawn, as it were, by an almighty artist, in living lineaments, — one Liberty, an angel of light to benefit and bless, — the other Slavery, a demon of wrath to curse and destroy, not so much those upon whom she fastens her

fetters, as those to whom she grants her privileges and her power.

The nation and the world needed these portraits. They will be studied long and much ; their instruction will be heeded, and their influence felt, for many centuries. The war was a conflict of principles ; and the whole exhibition of the conflict and its results seem so clear and immediate a revelation of the divine will and law in regard to slavery, as to make it absurd to appeal to one or two obscure passages in the Bible, written in the infancy of the world, and insist that these are to be interpreted to the support of slavery as a divine institution, a declaration of God's eternal purpose, that a portion of his creatures should forever remain in that unhappy condition.

We can form some conceptions of the misery and ruin from which this war, successfully prosecuted to the preservation of the Union, has saved us. These conceptions will be more vivid, if we call to mind, for a moment, the fate of the Greek republics. At the time of the breaking out of the great civil war between them, these republics had reached the summit of their glory. Pericles had conceived the grand idea of forming them into a federal union something like ours, under one gen-



eral government and a common capital. Had he succeeded, the fate of Greece and the story of the world for centuries would have been different ; but he failed. The selfish and ambitious, the men of ordinary talents, but eager for power, felt that they would lose influence and position in a united Greece ; and so the miserable idea of petty state sovereignties prevailed. Instead of forming a union that would have been for the strength, the glory and the preservation of all, these republics rushed into a war, which ended in the exhaustion and ruin of all. Our union had already been formed under a nobler than Pericles ; and the object, the attempt of the war was to break it up. Once broken, the two fragments would not long have remained entire.

The very idea upon which many southern men, particularly those who were in the army and navy, undertake to defend their treason, viz., that their State claimed and had a right to their first allegiance, would have compelled them to resist the central despotism, by which alone the Confederacy could have been held together, when once it became independent ; so that soon the States that were to compose it would have been fighting among themselves. The northern republic, the glory of the

old Union gone, its grand inspiration no longer a power in the heart, would soon probably have become a prey to internal dissensions, and so all over the land there would have been wars and fightings, confusion and disaster ; and these would have continued and increased till exhaustion came, and by the close of half a century, some new Philip of Macedon, as in Greece, or some new Louis Napoleon, as in Mexico, would have appeared, and under the mild term of intervention, would have seized the liberties of a people, who had shown themselves unworthy to possess and incompetent to maintain them, and who would be glad to accept even despotism, if it brought peace.

In all the glorious past, there is nothing more glorious, no more distinct token of a benignant purpose, on the part of the Almighty Providence, in regard to the interests of liberty and humanity in our land, than the clear triumph of the Government in our late civil war. That triumph, with all its accompaniments, has brought us to a grand position before the world and among ourselves. It has shown us the power of a free people when true, and determined to be true, at any cost of sacrifice and effort, to great ideas and principles. It has preserved the Union, whose destruction was

attempted, and made it more stable than it was before. It has abolished slavery, and so withdrawn the only element that stood in the way of a living unity and a hearty nationality among the whole people. It has wiped out the one dark spot upon our escutcheon, the one terrible inconsistency, which alone had been our shame at home, and our reproach abroad. It has amended and improved the Constitution of the United States, which, worthy of our support before, may now claim the unqualified allegiance, the devoted loyalty of our hearts and lives, and challenge the admiration of the world. It has shown liberty to be a grand and glorious thing, a principle and a power, which we may well wish to have prevail more and more among the nations.

But our national position, though grand and glorious, is not without difficulties and troubles, that awaken anxiety, and demand the exercise of a large political wisdom.

War always leaves, peace always opens many questions that are to be settled, not by force, but by reason and judgment, by mutual forbearance and a mutual desire to do that which is right and best. The agitation of the waves never ceases the moment the storm subsides. And yet with us there has been

far less agitation than might have been expected. It is but fifteen months since the war ceased, yet never before, I apprehend, did any nation at the close of so brief a period, after so gigantic a conflict, find itself in so good condition as this nation finds itself to-day. There have been no wide commercial embarrassments, no great financial crises, nothing to bewilder, disturb or arrest the industry or enterprise of the country; but these, with all the capital they can command, are putting themselves forth in various ways to repair the waste which war has caused: and under their influence many questions will settle themselves, or rather be settled by the force of laws, which passion, prejudice and unwise legislation may do something to thwart, but cannot utterly annul.

The Southern people may say, as the newspapers tell us they do say, that they will not sell their land to the Yankees; that they will not encourage the emigration of Northern men and Northern capital. It is very natural that they should say this, but they cannot "fight it out on this line." Some will try undoubtedly, (it would be surprising if they did not,) but whenever it comes to a clear question between passion and prejudice on the one hand,

and interest and progressive wealth on the other, interest and progressive wealth will carry the day.

They will not sell their land to the Yankees; but the lands are there, untilled and unoccupied, with streams, timber, mines, waiting for labor, enterprise and capital to unfold their resources and make them productive. And these, the incubus of slavery being removed, will flock in and find opportunities, will receive a welcome, and produce more and more their inevitable results, and a new order of things will spring up, and before she knows it, free Virginia, in wealth, in population, in exports, may regain that precedence of New York which she held in the old colonial times; and many of the Southern States, now poor and exhausted, may hereafter, in wealth, in intelligence, in intellectual and moral power, in all that adorns and elevates a community, rival many of their Northern sisters, and none will glory in that rivalry more than these sisters themselves.

Undoubtedly, as we learn through the newspapers, from private letters and various other sources, many things are said and done at public meetings, at private gatherings and in all manner of ways at the South, which indicate that there is still

a large measure of disloyalty there; a determination on the part of many to cherish feelings of hatred and dislike toward the Union and the North; to oppose any improvement in the condition of the negro, and keep him as far as possible in the condition of serfdom; and, in general, in all possible ways to fan the embers of disloyalty, sedition, and treason, in the hope that they may be kept alive and made to blaze out again in destructive fury. This ought not to surprise or disturb. It was to be expected; and when we consider how absolutely their hopes have been disappointed, their plans frustrated, and their great enterprise, upon which they entered with such boastful confidence, brought to a miserable failure, we ought not to expect that there should be at once a universal and cheerful acquiescence in such untoward results; but we in our grand triumph should certainly be willing to exercise a large and patient forbearance toward the irritations of disappointment.

Two things which are of essential importance are fixed forever. Slavery is abolished. The negroes are free, and though not invested, as many other persons are not, with what may be called some of the privileges of citizenship, yet through that grand enactment, the Civil Rights Bill, they

are protected and secured in all their essential rights as free men: and the enjoyment and possession of these rights will bring such a sense of manhood and such desire and opportunity to improve, that if they remain anywhere long or largely in actual serfdom, the fault will be chiefly their own. If we will but refrain from returning railing for railing, we may safely leave it to time, and to other combining and conspiring influences to remove the irritations of disappointment, to extinguish the scattered embers of disloyalty, and, through a better knowledge and a better intercourse between them, bring the people of the North and South to such mutual respect and confidence as shall bind them in strong attachment to each other, and to the Union that makes them one people.

Undoubtedly, there are many questions in regard to reconstruction, and readmission to political rights, and the extent to which deprivation of these rights, or other punishment shall be inflicted upon rebels, that still remain to be determined, and the determination of which, amid the different opinions that are expressed, excites painful anxiety in many minds. The difficulties, originally inherent in this subject, have been somewhat enhanced by that sad event,

which raised to the Presidency of the nation one elected to be its Vice-President.

Our experience, fortunately not frequent, teaches that it is a great misfortune to the nation to *have*, and a terribly trying position to the individual to *be*, what has been, improperly yet expressively, termed "an accidental President of the United States." According to the ordinary custom and course of political affairs among us, the person put into the Vice-Presidency has commonly little more of political distinction or office to expect. He is not so much in the line of succession or advancement, as prominent members of the Cabinet, the Senate, or the House of Representatives. As Vice-President, his powers, position and prospects are limited; and if, through the death of the President, he is suddenly intrusted with "the powers and duties of the said office," it is perhaps too much to expect, that he should be so much larger than the office, so much stronger and superior to the circumstances, as to be able to meet the position naturally and simply, without thought of self, and with no considerations other than those of the public good to influence his action and policy.

On being thus called to this position, the first strong feeling or consciousness of the individual must



be, that he was not elected to it by the suffrage of the people, that it was not expected that he would have to fill it, that there is perhaps a general feeling of regret that he has been summoned to it; and this is naturally followed by some questioning as to how far the sympathy and confidence of the party that elected him will gather to his support; while immediately there are indications more or less distinct, — and sometimes very distinct, — that the opposite party regard him with more sympathy and confidence than they did his predecessor, and far more than they ever expressed for himself previously, and stand, waiting and anticipating, ready to welcome any such changes of policy as will enable them to give him their party indorsement. The next step, in the succession of emotions, is the feeling that it does not become his dignity, or his talents, or the great powers and interests intrusted to him, to be the mere heir-at-law, as it were, simply the executor of his predecessor's policy and plans; and so he begins to diverge from these, and diverges more and more, till at length, the divergence from the principles and policy of the friends, who elected him to the Vice-Presidency, becomes so great, that there is nothing left for him

but an attempt to have a policy and a party of his own.

I can conceive of no position in any government, certainly there can be none in our own, attended with so much personal discomfort, so full of trial, temptation and difficulty as that of a President, inducted into his high trusts and duties, by such an event as brought the present incumbent to the chair of state. The very difficulties of his position give him a peculiar claim to all that charitable and forbearing judgment, which we are continually called upon to exercise toward all men in public and political life. Such judgment we should endeavor to exercise toward him, though we may not be able to approve or indorse all his acts, or disposed to relinquish our adherence to those principles of policy, which we conceive to be of essential importance in the present exigencies of the country.

This policy and all the matters connected with reconstruction belong, I suppose, upon the theory of our Government, specially, if not exclusively, to its legislative rather than its executive department; and we may confidently hope, I think, that the policy of Congress, if it need modification, will be so modified, will be made so just and wise and

generous as to secure the confirmation of the President, and be approved and upheld by the people. The only desire, which any thoughtful, dispassionate person can have, in regard to all the points involved in the question of reconstruction, is that they should be so settled as to promote the safety of the country, prevent the initiation of any future rebellion, and efface, as far and as fast as possible, all traces and all sources of sectional strife and discord. No man can desire that anything should be done, that any deprivation should be prolonged or any punishment inflicted, in the mere spirit of vindictiveness.

In all cases of this kind there are two points, two extremes, to be avoided: undue lenity on the one hand, undue severity on the other. The lesson of history teaches that the mistake, which all rulers are apt to make, is that of undue severity. We, I apprehend, are in no danger of error in this direction. We are the most good-natured people in the world; it is one of our great faults that we immediately feel a strong sympathy for the criminal, a tender compassion for the wrong-doer, the moment he gets within the grip and grasp of the law. The fact that fifteen months have passed

since the close of a rebellion, which, all things considered, must be regarded as the most gigantic political crime on record, and yet no one has been tried, convicted or punished, is pretty conclusive testimony, that there is nowhere any spirit of vindictiveness or cruelty, on the part of the people or their rulers. Multitudes have been pardoned, but no one has been punished.

The great military chief of the rebellion, — a man whom the United States Government had educated, supported, honored and trusted, whose antecedents and position gave that government the strongest claims to his unswerving allegiance, and whom history will hold largely responsible for all the barbarous cruelties inflicted upon Federal prisoners, — this man is, and has been for some months, quietly acting as the President of a college; has been permitted, as a paroled prisoner of war, to take charge of the education, the formation of the characters of the young men of the nation! I may challenge the records of all the civil wars of the world, to present a parallel to such leniency, to adduce an instance in which the great military commander of an organized rebellion, of four years' duration, was permitted, without trial or punishment thereon, to

glide quietly into a position of such trust, honor and responsibility, as that of the head of a literary and educational institution.

I have no desire that any one should suffer the extreme penalty, which under the law attaches to the crime of treason; but for its moral influence upon the country and the world, it does seem to me of the highest importance, that through the indictment of some one, a crime so great as this rebellion should be brought to solemn and unsparing legal investigation, and that there should be, on the records of the highest tribunal of the country, a verdict of guilty and a sentence of condemnation. That verdict reached, that condemnation declared, I care not then what clemency the government may exercise. God forbid that we should thirst for any man's blood!

Everything points to the late President of the Confederacy, so called, as the individual against whom these grave legal proceedings should be instituted. Moreover, this man stands before the country charged by the present President of the United States, in a solemn proclamation issued under the seal of State, with complicity in that foul conspiracy which accomplished the assassination of his predecessor, and attempted that of other important members of the United States Government. One would not

have that arch-traitor, the head of the rebel Confederacy, treated with personal injustice. Personal and national honor alike forbid the President of the United States to keep the grounds, upon which this grave charge was made, much longer among the secrets of the executive archives. The charge should either be withdrawn, or brought to legal investigation, or the facts upon which it was made should be published to the world, that the world may pass its moral verdict thereon.

Some measure, some limited, temporary measure of political deprivation of political rights, as a political punishment for a political crime, would seem to be deserved by the rebels, and imperiously demanded by the safety and honor of the country.

I am not statesman enough, and certainly not enough of a politician, to understand the nice distinctions that have been made between "re-construction" and "restoration," between rebel States being "in" or "out" of the Union; nor have I been able to get at the idea, under a government like ours, of a State as an entity, independent of the people who compose it. Through some mental or moral defect, it may be, I have only been able to reach to this general idea, which I supposed was an axiom of all civil polity; namely, that armed and

organized rebellion put everything at hazard. If it succeed it gains all; if it fail it loses all—all that it had, all that it sought; and its vanquished instigators are at the discretionary disposal of the government that subdues them, have no rights but to be treated in such way as mercy, wisdom, judgment, humanity may dictate, and the best interests of the nation, whose life they have imperilled, and whose peace they have outraged, may demand.

If this be not an axiom in civil polity, a principle inherent in all civil government, I see not how there can be any security against frequent rebellions or insurrections. If our fathers had failed in their great revolutionary struggle, and had at length said, “We submit, we withdraw and annul our Declaration of Independence, we admit your right to tax us without representation, but we claim our old colonial charters and all the rights secured to us by those charters,” Great Britain would probably have laughed at the idea, declined the proposal, and made answer, “Your colonial charters: you broke, violated, forfeited these, when you undertook to rebel and be independent. You have no claim now, even to your old colonial rights, and we do not think it is safe to trust you with them at present; we do not wish to encourage another rebellion among you. When your loyalty is

clearly re-established, when it is evident that you are and mean to be good citizens and subjects, we will restore your charters and all your colonial privileges, but not till we are satisfied on this point." This, which Great Britain might have said to our fathers, which any government, from principles inherent in all governments, may say to vanquished rebels, our own government has a right to say to the people and States lately in rebellion against it.

This right must be admitted, or we must admit, that the war, on the part of the government, was wrong from the beginning; and this position leads, by a swift and irresistible logic, to the annihilation of the Federal Government, and the introduction of anarchy into the country. That something of this sort may and must be said is, I believe, admitted by all, except perhaps the rebels themselves. In fact, something of this character has already been said, and what more is necessary will be said; a just measure of individual and temporary deprivation of political right will be awarded, and the Executive, the Congress and the People will uphold it, and the world will commend it as just and wise and right: and under its influence the country will work its way out of these present difficulties, and enter upon that career of glory



which is before her,—a career so grand, that imagination fails and falters in attempting to form an adequate conception of it.

Never had any other people a future before them, making such demands upon their energies, their ambition, their highest aspirations. No thoughtful and reflecting mind, baptized into the spirit of faith in a divine purpose and providence guiding the education and destinies of the race, can refuse to cherish the conviction, certainly the hope, darkened it may be by occasional doubts, but never sinking into despair, that here, in this country, beneath the influence of our civil and religious liberty, our social institutions, and the grand opportunity offered by this broad, new continent, there is to be a development of humanity, a progressive social life, such as has been nowhere exhibited in the world before, corresponding in its fruits of intelligence, comfort, happiness, in the largeness of its spirit and form, its beauty and power, to the largeness of the scale, on which nature here displays itself in our mountains, lakes, rivers and boundless prairies. In every mind, that has ever cherished it, that hope must be stronger and brighter to-day than it ever was before.

Our material prosperity is all but inevitable. Situated in the temperate zone, an immense territory,

stretching from north to south more than two thousand miles, and from east to west across the continent, from ocean to ocean, with a wide variety of climate, soil, productions, with mineral wealth of every kind and of incalculable amount, with a network of rivers, navigable and fertilizing, spread over that wonderful Mississippi basin, whose annual harvest might almost feed the race, our country has such material resources, is such a miniature world in itself, that nothing but the most reckless obstinacy and persevering folly can prevent its material growth and prosperity.

Its very condition at this moment, as it emerges from a costly civil war, carrying, as if it were a feather's weight, an amount of debt which would crush many other nations, is at once a testimony to its recuperative energies, and a prophecy of its future progress. Everywhere there is hope, cheerfulness, enterprise, and revelations, more and more distinct, of the exhaustless resources and the mighty productive power of the nation. Soon a ship canal in our own territory will leave Niagara still a thing of beauty and grandeur, but no longer an obstacle, and put our navigation of the great lakes in a condition not to be easily disturbed. Some, who hear me, will live to see the completion of that gigantic

project, a railroad across this continent. In its domestic uses and benefits, the effect of this upon our internal development and progress cannot be over-estimated; while as a connecting link, a short direct route between Western Europe and Eastern Asia, it will, in all probability, become a great highway of traffic and travel between these two great centres of Christian and heathen civilization. Should this be the result, it will so materially change the relations between them, that the commercial index on the dial-plate of time will point pretty distinctly to an hour, when the metropolitan city of our own country will take precedence of London, as the moneyed and commercial centre of the world.

But there is something much more important to a nation than its material wealth and grandeur. These can only secure it a short-lived existence; they will be but sure precursors of its ruin, unless accompanied by a moral development, an intellectual culture and strength, that shall enable the people to resist their temptations, and use prosperity and power for high and noble purposes. Intellectual and moral culture go together; they cannot be widely separated; the former necessarily carries with it a large amount of the latter; and the intellectual and moral culture of the people of this country must be regarded by every

patriotic mind as the first thing to be secured and the last to be neglected: worthy of every effort and sacrifice, of the most patient labors, and of the most costly contributions we can make to it.

This culture must be universal and progressive for these are the conditions of our liberty. It must reach to the highest, that it may be their inspiration and glory. It must reach to the lowest, that it may be their resource, their defence, their incentive; add to their dignity, enlarge their honor, and guide their power. Two ideas, the one narrow and the other false, which have been recently advocated with more ability than they deserve, must find no acceptance among us. "We are educating too much," it is said: "reading, writing, arithmetic, the simplest rudiments of knowledge, are all that is necessary for the mass of the people. More only unfits them for their position and their duties." The mass of the people! Who shall dare thus to separate himself from the mass of the people, and maintain that the education, which is necessary and good for him, is not good for all to whom it can be offered? This mass is perpetually shifting its particles; the poor of to-day are the rich of to-morrow, and the rich of to-day the poor of to-morrow, and the intellectual and moral culture that is good for any is good for all. Unfits them for their

position and duties! Is there any position in which ignorance is better than knowledge? or whose duties stupidity can better discharge than intelligence? Show me one person, who has more education than he can use to advantage in his position, one person, who has been too highly educated for his own happiness, honor and usefulness, or for the good of the community; and for that one person, I will bring you an army of an hundred thousand persons, whom the same education has made happier, nobler, more useful, lifted them up, and enabled them to help lift up the community in all things good, worthy and desirable. Go into some humble dwelling in this city, whose support is the daily toil of the father, (it may be in some very humble occupation,) and you will find perhaps that the oldest daughter is attending our Girls' High and Normal School. Are we doing that family and the community an injury by giving that daughter so good an education? Are we doing her an injury by developing her mind by all the knowledge imparted, and her heart by all the influences that surround her at that school? I maintain that the chances are ten thousand to one, that this daughter is a beam of moral sunlight in that dwelling. — its ornament, — its defence, — its incentive, —

its glory. She is introducing to it, it may be, better principles and habits, a higher tone of thought, feeling and conduct. She is better fitted every way to discharge the duties of her position, to meet both the temptations and the opportunities that may come to her in life; and should she ever have a home of her own, whether it be humbler or higher than the one she now fills, she will make it a home of intelligence and virtue; and the more such daughters in the same position in life we can so educate the better, the safer for the community.

“But no,” cries the advocate of the false idea, “intelligence and virtue do not go together; education increases the ingenuity, but it does not diminish the amount of crime; and the records of the courts show that many persons brought into them as criminals have had the highest advantages of education;” and so, because Satan was once an angel of light, the light should be put out and all live in darkness; for that is the amount of the argument. Because the wise are sometimes weak, because the educated are sometimes criminal, education must be limited. It is a false argument, for the failure of some should never forbid the effort of any or all. As a general statement, it cannot be true that the nearer men

approach to their Maker in one of his attributes, knowledge, the farther they recede from him in another, goodness. Education is an incalculable good; all who have received any measure of its benefits and blessings, feel it to be a good. It is the power that has raised man from ignorance to knowledge, from barbarism to civilization, and carried him forward continually to a more advanced civilization, a more glorious social condition; and, therefore, the the higher we carry it, the more we extend and diffuse it, the better for our country and the world.

We at least in this country, (to use the expression I have used once before this morning,) “we must fight it out on this line.” We cannot go back. Our idea is that of freedom. We have determined that every man is and shall be free in this land; and freedom has no security, no defence, protection or safeguard but education, and that moral power and principle which education brings; and this education, to preserve our freedom and accomplish our purpose, must be broad, generous, universal and progressive, must keep pace with our material growth and prosperity, so that the nation may be morally as strong, wise, pure and noble, as it is great, wealthy and powerful.

Friends and fellow-citizens, let me relieve your patience by saying in conclusion, that no extent of territory, however large; no amount of material prosperity, however grand; no intellectual and moral culture even, however advanced and widely diffused, can give us all that we need to fulfil the great mission that is before us. These things are necessary ingredients, but there must be something to unite, to bind them together. They are incidental; they may make a country, but they cannot make a nation. What is necessary to make a nation, and that nation powerful and permanent, is a spirit of nationality, living and breathing in every heart, binding all to common ideas, principles and interests, to a common purpose and destiny. Thus considered, nationality is as glorious, sublime and powerful a sentiment, as it is sweet, lovely and venerable. We of all people should have a spirit of nationality: the grandeur of our country as it came from the hands of God demands it; our condition, prospects, privileges and opportunities demand it. Let it be everywhere cultivated and cherished, let it swell and breathe in every soul, binding all these millions of hearts, from the waters of yonder bay to the city of the Golden Gate, into one great national heart, that shall live



and throb with love and loyalty to all that our flag symbolizes, to all that the Constitution secures, to all that liberty means, to all that humanity desires and would achieve, then this Great Republic, which, but yesterday, the despots of Europe thought was crumbling to pieces, shall rise again like a giant to instruct, overshadow and outlast them all.









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