

BEECHER, HENRY WARD
(reformer)

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REFORMERS

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Abraham Lincoln and Reformers

Henry Ward Beecher

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

PERHAPS it is expecting too much to look for a thorough and exhaustive biography of Mr. Beecher within little more than a year after his death. He was so remarkable a man from almost every point of view, that twelve months of continuous work even by an experienced literary toiler, with the materials mostly ready to his hand, would scarce suffice to do full justice to the subject. The volume recently issued by Websters,* though of respectable dimensions and filled with interesting details, yet bears marks of condensation as to matter and haste in composition which will disappoint many, but which nevertheless could hardly have been avoided under the circumstances. Still another criticism *in limine* is that such a biography as the public have a right to expect could not in the nature of the case be written by members of Mr. Beecher's family. Doubtless his wife, his son, and his son-in-law had such exceptional opportunities of observing the father and the husband as would make their contributions to a standard work most acceptable, but their estimate and verdict in many points must necessarily be partial, their ideas of what should and should not be published, their judgments as to Mr. Beecher's public and private actions and contact with men and affairs, can scarcely be regarded as judicial. A study of Mr. Beecher's life, character, and works is a task worthy of the most thorough treatment by minds not only capable of understanding the man but also absolutely unbiased by personal and family feelings. Perhaps it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, to find a biographer of Mr. Beecher. If he had died soon after the termination of the great war, or immediately after the celebration of the Plymouth "silver wedding," the selection would have been comparatively easy.

The above remarks seem called for in explanation of several features about this book, which have subjected it to a great deal of adverse criticism in certain quarters. It must be remembered that this is avowedly a "family history" of Beecher. It is a tribute of reverence and affection by his own kith and kin, and in part, a continuation of an autobiography which he had begun to write, and on which a contract had been made with the publishers a short time before his death. For reasons which seem to us perfectly rational the family of Mr. Beecher wished the public to know the story of his life as he and they might tell it. Such a book on such a man could not be otherwise than partial, but might not be less interesting and even valuable, from this standpoint. Taking up the volume with this understanding of its purport, it is only just to state that it is rich in its collection of facts, and bears evidence of singular industry and devotion on the part of its compilers. Should the real "Life and Works of Beecher" ever be written, a large

* "Biography of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher." By Wm. C. Beecher and Rev. Samuel Scoville, assisted by Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co.

part of this book might be quoted verbatim, and the remainder would deserve careful perusal by the writer of a more pretentious biography.

The first six chapters deal with Mr. Beecher's ancestry and early life and surroundings, and a great deal is told in his own words. Much is not new, but it is very charming reading and very naturally told. We can well picture young Henry at school learning grammar. "Now, Henry, *a* is the definite article, and must be used with a singular noun. You can say *a man* but you can't say *a men*, can you?" "Yes, I can; father always says '*amen*' at the end of his prayers." The Calvinistic training to which he was subjected in early life and its influence upon him are depicted with candor. He says: "I never had the remotest idea of God except that he was a sovereign who sat with a sceptre in his hand, and had his eye on me, and said, 'I see you and I am after you!'" But the home influences of his youth were far from gloomy, notwithstanding their strong Puritanism.

The period from his entrance to college life until his call to Brooklyn is disposed of in four chapters. Two chapters are given to his early experiences in his new pastoral field, and then follow ten chapters concerning his more distinctively public career as the champion of the slave, supplemented by a chapter on the "silver wedding." Three chapters are devoted to the great scandal, and whatever may be said about the policy of introducing so unsavory a topic into these family memoirs, it seems to us that the compilers of this history had no choice. In their view it was from first to last a great conspiracy, in which truth came out victorious, though at terrible cost. To blot out events of such momentous interest in Mr. Beecher's life is impossible, and to attempt to ignore them would therefore be foolish. Perhaps less might have been written without detriment to the history, but some allowance must surely be made for the warmth and zeal of an advocacy sustained by such tender, and powerful sentiments and convictions.

The rest of the book—chapters 27 to 32—concerns itself with the later personal history of Mr. Beecher, with sketches and estimates of the man from various points of view. His home life in the city and country are well described, and the closing chapter gives an account of his last journey to England, and of his sickness and death.

We wish that greater care had been taken in the matter of the illustrations. The portrait in the frontispiece is very fine, but many of the other pictures are rather mean affairs. On the whole, the book is one of singular interest, and will, we think, grow in public favor.

II.

BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE PERKINS MARSH.

THE first volume of the life and letters of George Perkins Marsh,* edited by his wife, appears in a handsome and substantial dress. The contents are slightly disappointing, partly because the most important period in the life of this distinguished scholar and diplomat, namely, his residence as United States Minister in Italy, is barely mentioned in the close of the volume, and its consideration reserved for the second volume. The record of the life of a literary man, unless closely connected with leading historical events or brilliantly irradiated by the light of genius, is unfrequently of sufficient interest to warrant extension beyond a single volume. And, although Mr. Marsh holds a high and worthy position among the men of his time, and has made valuable contributions to the etymology and history of our language, it may be questioned whether this work of nearly five

*"Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh." Compiled by Caroline Crane Marsh. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Apr 1877

A CHAPLAIN'S RECORD.

ON the 13th of July, 1877, the writer was elected Colonel of the Thirteenth Regiment, Second Division, of the National Guard of the State of New York. The regiment had been greatly reduced in numbers, but the men composing it were earnest, active workers, full of spirit and enthusiasm. An attempt was made to increase the size and efficiency of the organization, and the first step was to constitute a staff adapted to the requirements of the service and to give us popularity. Among many questions, this one came up: Whom could we find for Chaplain, to aid in securing for the regiment a high standing? My wife heard this question, and, with woman's intuition, her prompt reply was, "Why, Beecher, of course." The suggestion was accepted at a venture. Some of Mr. Beecher's friends were consulted, and the tender was officially made on the 10th of January, 1878. This was the reply:

BROOKLYN, *January 21, 1878.*

COL. DAVID E. AUSTEN :

DEAR SIR : Your esteemed favor of January 10th, tendering me the office of Chaplain in the Thirteenth Regiment, N. Y. Infantry, should have been acknowledged earlier, but continuous absence from the city, and some uncertainty as to my own course, has delayed a reply. I desire to thank the members of the regiment and the officers for their proffer of this honor, and have resolved to accept it, provided its duties, of which I am quite uninformed, are not so onerous as to interfere with my other labors. I shall be happy to render to your command any services within my power.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Mr. Beecher's reasons for acceptance were submitted in detail to his congregation at a Friday evening prayer-meeting in the Lecture Room of Plymouth Church, in the following words :

"I did not accept, as you may readily suppose, because I had nothing to do and because I wanted to fill up vacant time. It was not because I had any special military gifts, or that any special military proclivities led me to delight in such a position. I was as much surprised as any one could be, when a request was made by Colonel Austen that I should become the Chaplain of the Thirteenth Regiment, and

I was informed that it was the unanimous wish of the officers of the regiment that I should accept the place. And the first impulse I felt on receiving the invitation was to say *no*, but the second impulse was in the nature of a query, whether there was not some duty here. The question was not exactly, 'Should you accept the place?' but it was rather, 'Why should you not accept it?' Is it not eminently wise that a body of young men, organized as a force of citizen soldiers, should have a Chaplain? In an organization of this kind, made up of young men exclusively, is there not a peculiar kind of peril? Is not a body of this kind, resembling in some respects a social club, unrestrained, and, perhaps, uncivilized, by the presence of women, fraught with great danger? Is it not liable to become a veritable maelstrom, in which young men may be sucked down to destruction? It seems to me there is no question that they should be surrounded by some kind of moral influence, and it seemed to be a pertinent question, whether, if some one should respond, I was not the one to do so. In my case, there seemed to be special reasons why I should respond. I was always among the foremost in the matters that led to the war, and was forward in upholding the various measures of the war, and it hardly seemed wise or proper for me to turn away from the citizen soldiery, after they had done their duty in that war, thus tacitly saying that they were of no further consequence to the nation or to the community. And even more than all this was the consideration that many of the young men of the regiment are members of my own flock here. And if it is wise and prudent to have a citizen soldiery, properly equipped and ready at all times to serve as a background of support for the civil authorities, it is certainly well to have them fortified and strengthened by all the good influences it is possible to throw around them. I go not for pleasure, but hoping to do them good. I want to help them as soldiers, as well as individuals, for I don't like to have anything to do with a thing that doesn't go. The regiment has entered on a new life, and it will be rendered more prosperous than ever. At any rate, I hope you will have its well-being at heart, if for no other sake, at least for my sake, for I should not like to do anything in which I should not have the prayers and sympathy of my people."

The occasion of the official muster into the service of the State was an assembly of the regiment for dress parade on the 1st day of March, 1878. In the presence of 5,000 people, on the large floor of the armory, Chaplain Beecher was called to the front, and the official oath was administered to him:

"You do solemnly swear that you will support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of New York, and that you will faithfully discharge your duties as a soldier in the National Guard to the best of your ability. So help you God."

With right hand raised very high, the response came: "I do." Then, on being formally introduced to his "Fellow Soldiers of the Thirteenth Regiment," Mr. Beecher said:

"I am not now for the first time made acquainted with this organization. The Thirteenth Regiment has a name belonging to the city of Brooklyn which is an honor to the city, and in which the city rejoices. I, therefore, deem it an honor to have been selected as your Chaplain. The duties of the position are, to be sure, not onerous; they are more honorable than burdensome, but such as they are, I

shall endeavor to discharge them faithfully, and to be, so far as in me lies, in my own narrow sphere, all that which I suppose every honest and honorable man among you means to be in his sphere. Time was when these regimental formations were regarded somewhat in the nature of sports, having in them more of show and the gratification of vanity than of serious work, but we have in the last twenty years passed through scenes which have sobered the minds of our people and educated them to the value of our soldiery. And only within the last year we have passed through intestine troubles which have taught us the lesson, or should have taught us the lesson, of the great value of citizen soldiery. In Europe the interests of nations have demanded standing armies, and from the nature of the people, and from the nature of their institutions, and from the long influence of historic association, the standing armies of Europe have been a perpetual menace to the liberty of the people. To-day Europe expends three hundred millions of dollars a year in the support of her standing armies. They are a moth, a waste, and a corruption. In our land there has sprung up from the very beginning a great prejudice against a standing army; we have permitted only a small one to be formed that we glory in and honor, but we depend upon our citizen soldiery as our main instrument for intestine defense of the country at large, and whenever foreign invasion is threatened. Let us hope that all these troubles which lie in our horizon will pass away, and that if there be any storm it shall be one of those refreshing ones which clear the air and leave things better afterward than they were before. Already the Brooklyn Thirteenth has won a name to be honored. Let it grow more and more illustrious. I shall be subject to your call in any way in which I may serve the interests of this city."

The parade was over. But the heart of every man went out to the Plymouth pastor as to a father, and, as cheer after cheer rent the air, the resolve to make an enduring fame for the regiment was implanted in the breast of every soldier in the line.

Mr. Beecher entered heartily into the spirit of regenerating and rebuilding the command, and in May, 1878, a meeting was called in the lecture-room of Plymouth Church to organize what was to be known as Company G in the service, and as "The Beecher Company" by the people. From the platform, Mr. Beecher appealed to the young men present to enroll, and, the requisite number being immediately secured, the company was mustered into the service of the State on the 27th day of June, 1878. This company has always been maintained at the maximum number, and, in point of drill and discipline, has been equal to any company of the National Guard.

Mr. Beecher's first participation in a parade of the regiment was on occasion of an escort to Post Rankin No. 10 of the Grand Army of the Republic, and to participate in the decoration of the Martyrs' Tomb, at Fort Greene, on Thursday, May 30th, 1878. I had been requested by the Chaplain to send a notice a few days in advance of any demand upon his time, so as to enable him to

arrange his lecture and other engagements not to interfere with military duty. An order was accordingly forwarded, to which a jovial reply was received the next day :

BROOKLYN, No. 124 Columbia Heights.

MY DEAR COLONEL :

I will be present, as requested, fully armed and equipped as becomes a Chaplain of the Old Thirteenth. Yours, ever,

HENRY WARD BEECHER,

Captain Secular and Chaplain Spiritual of the Old Thirteenth—God bless her !

Mr. Beecher had secured a spirited horse, which I had been advised was a Kentucky thoroughbred, and which he proposed to ride. In reply to a suggestion made by me that he might have trouble in the control of so spirited a steed, Mr. Beecher said that *he* could “stand any demonstration, as long as the horse was pleased to enjoy himself.”

The order to march was given, the drums rolled out their first notes, and the horse, unused to such martial sounds, reared and plunged so that I made an effort to have the music stopped. But Mr. Beecher himself immediately discountenanced it. The Plymouth Pastor firmly held his seat, his horsemanship exciting general admiration. He soon brought the steed under complete control, and, in passing me, on the way to his place in the Staff line, he said, quietly : “I guess this horse was unaware of the fact that I had my training in Indiana. Out there, when I went to visit my parishioners, in my younger days, I didn’t follow the roads, and the rail fences didn’t stand in my way. The horse knows all that now, and will march in line in proper order.”

Our Chaplain was right. His bold Kentucky thoroughbred had been instantly and utterly subdued. Not once again did the animal leave the line ; but the fire of his eyes showed that it was the master mind and master hand alone that held him under control.

On the march, the rain began to fall, and, apprehensive of Mr. Beecher’s health, I urged him to leave the line and return home. “Are *you* going to leave ?” he inquired ; and, when I replied in the negative, he said : “A soldier desert in his first parade ? Oh, no ! I never do anything by halves. I have enlisted for the war, and my maiden battle must be fought out, even if the big drum has bursted !” (The drum-head of the firmament seemed to be broken just then, and the rain had caused the heads of all

the drums in the band and in the field music to burst, and the drummers were beating the marches on the shells.)

The following day I called on Mr. Beecher, and found him in his usual good health.

Mr. Beecher's first sermon to the regiment was preached in Plymouth Church on the 12th day of May, 1878. The main points, addressed to the regiment, were these :

" God bless the Thirteenth Regiment of Brooklyn! Gentlemen of the Brooklyn Thirteenth: There are special duties separating you from the rest of this audience. You are the citizen soldiers, you have the virtues of a citizen, a lover of peace, and of the soldier, a defender of order. Both belong to you; and it is your duty to prepare yourselves for efficient service. Not to holiday show or glittering gymnastics are you called; you represent the reserve force of the civil law. That disorder which the self respect of men cannot repress must be restrained by the police, and and when the police cannot repress it it must be overruled by the citizen soldiery. The whole body of society can control the whole procedure of society by patience, and those who think themselves wronged can change the law. Speech is free, the press is open to all, and the whole community is a jury before which a man may plead his case, and if he cannot win a verdict then he must patiently submit. No man or class of men can have to wait long for redress. Society is, in such sense, an organized unit among us, that things needful for the public good can be secured in a free republic by patient discussion, and violence is a remedy worse than the disease.

"To our immigrant population we are indebted for a thousand excellent things ; for wealth, for labor, for men of learning, for skill and industry ; but our foreign population cannot teach us some things. We admit ourselves students in some things, we assert ourselves masters in others. They cannot teach us citizenship, they cannot teach us to build a State ; and while we give welcome to such ideas as may be congenial to American habits, we utterly abhor those heresies brought from abroad that are fruitful of disorder and are in antagonism with the rights of man which they assume to defend ; that are destructive of all that liberty which they pretend to seek. If any large body of men shall move to make a change in the settled habits of this free commonwealth, they will feel the energy of a free people, roused to defend the authority of law, and the inviolability of property, that is the fruit of labor. Gentlemen, in such an emergency it will become your duty to defend the commonwealth, and it will rest upon you confidently, trustingly, and you will not betray the confidence. While then you mingle social pleasures with your armory meetings and parades, it becomes you to remember that at the bottom a very grave responsibility rests upon you, and this should give you dignity. May God give to us prosperity and order, but should there come other days, may your ranks be the bank and shore against which the waves shall dash and be stayed. God prosper the old Brooklyn Thirteenth."

Measures were being discussed in June, 1878, between Chaplain Beecher, Gen. Horatio C. King, and the writer (Gen. King having been elected to the position of Major in the Thirteenth Regiment), when I said to Mr. Beecher : " We must keep the wheels of the Thirteenth Regiment revolving—the men must have

something to think about. Can you suggest anything absolutely new that will be an incentive to recruiting, and also to greater excellence in drill and discipline?" Mr. Beecher, who had but recently returned from Montreal, gave an account of the brilliant reception given by the Canadians to the Barlow Grays, from St. Albans, Vermont, on its visit in May, to participate in the celebration of the Queen's Birthday. "Why not take *our* regiment there?" asked the Chaplain. Thus originated the memorable trip of the Thirteenth to Montreal.

The trip was not to take place until the following year (1879). Meanwhile, recruiting rapidly increased, Mr. Beecher frequently visiting the armory during the drills of instruction, and adding to the enthusiasm of the men by his many words of encouragement.

On the 19th day of May we left for the City of Montreal, the only regiment that has ever visited foreign shores. Five hundred and thirty-seven men were present in the ranks. Mr. Beecher met the command in Montreal, and was on board the steamer "Fillgate," which had been engaged to take the regiment through the Lachine Rapids. He said he "was waiting for his boys." Mighty cheers went up for the Chaplain, which were taken up again and again.

Landing on the wharf in Montreal, a magnificent standard was presented to the Regiment by Mayor Rivard, emblazoned on one side with the Stars and Stripes, and on the other the flag of the Dominion of Canada, magnificently embroidered and set with pearls. Mr. Beecher accepted the standard on behalf of the Regiment, and said:

"We accept this flag in that spirit of amity which inspires its giving—may the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack, now for the first time so happily blended on one flag, float always side by side. For whatever the flags of other nations express, ours stand for the expression of the literature of liberty and religion of liberty and progress. May our flags never be found against each other in war. May they ever go together, but never against each other. We shall place it in the most prominent place in our armory, and when in the future we shall be favored with a visit from you, we trust to be able to show that your flag has never been dishonored."

Mr. Beecher participated in the review of the Dominion forces on Fletcher's Field. Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. Selby Smyth, K. C. B., an officer of the English regulars, was in command, and the review was witnessed by the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise. There were about 5,000 troops under arms, and Mr. Beecher was the central object of interest.

A banquet was tendered to the officers at the Windsor Hotel by General Smyth, who presided with the Marquis of Lorne. In the early part of the evening I had been requested to say to Mr. Beecher that he would be called upon to respond to the toast of the City of Brooklyn. Later in the progress of the banquet, with an uneasy expression of countenance, Mr. Beecher beckoned to me, and I went to his chair. He whispered, "Colonel, I do not like that toast and will not speak to it. Brooklyn is the best city in the world to live in and to hail from, but to be the subject of an international toast is not hot enough or brown enough. It will hardly melt butter enough to make it taste good to our Canadian friends."

I reported this to the Marquis and General Smyth, and they said that the Dominion officers would not be satisfied if they could not hear Mr. Beecher speak. So, without Mr. Beecher's knowledge, it was quietly arranged with the United States Consul-General, Mr. Smith, to whom had been assigned the toast, "The President of the United States," and who had said that he could not do full justice to his subject, that he would officially acknowledge the compliment, and then call on Mr. Beecher. This he did, concluding a most eloquent address by saying: "I ask Mr. Beecher to join with me in acknowledging the compliment to the President of the country we love so well." Mr. Beecher had not been consulted in this flank movement, as he afterwards termed it; but, with not a moment for preparation, he held the assembly spell-bound by his words for more than three-quarters of an hour. In the course of his remarks, he referred to our late President as follows:

"Four years is not more than sufficient to learn how to govern, and another four only gives one an opportunity of displaying some knowledge in the management of governing. When Mr. Lincoln was elected President it was on the eve of the greatest civil war that the world has ever known. It burst out like the Southern tornado, and the whole country leaped into war, and along one thousand miles of coast its desolating ravages were made familiar. It seemed as though Lincoln should have a second term in which he should not be distracted. But it pleased God to give him the crown of martyrdom and take him out of his troubles. Mr. Johnson, who succeeded him, was a man of honest intentions. But he was a man too literal and too obstinate, and did not know how to change front on the battle-field, nor adapt himself to the soil over which to march; so he set himself against his party and went out of office—more welcome than when he went in. General Grant has been called a man of luck—he was lucky—in his father and mother—lucky in the body and the mind that were given him as a birthright. For two terms Gen. Grant succeeded in having good

luck, and now, having gone abroad from his country, he has good luck abroad, and if the cheers with which he has been greeted could be linked together, it would encircle the globe in one polyglot cheer, for no man has succeeded so well in cheers, in the circumnavigation of the globe, as Gen. Grant. Contrary to the course of the sun, he rose in the West. After Grant, President Hayes was called to the chair as First Magistrate. His task of peace has not been an easy one; his, no bed of down. He has lain upon the thorns, but with great pugnacity, great patience, great gentleness, and gentlemanliness. He bids fair to come out, in the judgment of the whole nation, second to no single President they have had in the last 40 years. The United States desires to express, and upon every occasion does express, the mighty principle of good will towards all nations of the earth."

Mr. Beecher returned home with the regiment, and I had reserved a state-room for him in the officers' palace car. When shown to his traveling quarters, he said, "No, sir; none of that for me. Too old a traveler. That is over the wheels. I wish to *sleep*, if you noisy fellows will permit such an idea to be entertained. Give me the upper berth in a centre section; they are the best—more elasticity to the motion, and better ventilation than the lower." He retired as he desired, and crawled to the upper berth with greater agility than many of the younger officers.

After this trip the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the regiment became vacant, and General C. T. Christensen, who had for many years been Clerk of the Plymouth Society, was chosen to the vacancy. In the summer of 1880 an election was held for Brigadier-General of the Fifth Brigade. I had declined to become a candidate, preferring to remain with my regiment, and General Christensen, my Lieutenant-Colonel, was chosen. Mr. Beecher wrote to me on the subject, as follows:

"PEEKSKILL, July 14, 1880.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: I was heartily glad that you discouraged the putting you into a brigadiership. You would certainly make a model general, but just now, what of all things is wanted, is *regiments in the National Guard that exhibit perfect drill and conduct*. The guard is in danger of running out through slack organization, loose discipline, and slipshod soldiers, making the whole thing weak and contemptible in the eyes of the community. But a regiment that is raised high and exhibits perfect discipline is *wholesome to the whole system*. You would make a good brigadier, but we want good *colonels* more than good brigadiers, and they stand more nearly related to the usefulness of the whole system than brigade commanders do or can. I am sorry that you should lose Christensen as a right-hand man, but I am glad, if it must be, that he is in a position where he can greatly aid the Thirteenth, and that, too, without any undue partiality. For one I am glad that the old Thirteenth has not lost its Colonel!

"Yours in the bonds of chaplaincy,

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

The inspection and muster of the regiment in 1879 showed a

strength of 610 men. In 1880, there appeared on the rolls a total of 718 men. In September, 1880, the regiment visited Boston, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the foundation of that city. Mr. Beecher went to Boston from the White Mountains, and met the regiment. I had suggested the propriety of his giving a lecture in Boston, and that it be under the auspices of the State, in order to identify the regiment with the occasion. Chaplain Beecher, with his usual good nature, agreed to do anything to serve the regiment, and wrote me this funny little note :

“BROOKLYN, N. Y., 124 Columbia Heights.

“MY DEAR COLONEL: The deed is done. I have *writ*. Governor Claflin has been affectionately poked in the direction of memory. Yea, I have conveyed to him your letter, that he may see the very inwards of the scheme.

“Your fat Chaplain,

“HENRY WARD BEECHER.”

Governor Long was then in the Executive Chair, but Ex-Governor Claflin was selected as the medium of communication. The scheme was given up owing to the succession of courtesies extended to the regiment by the 5th Massachusetts, and a banquet to the officers, at Parker's, in the evening.

In October, 1880, the regiment was called out for review by Governor Cornell, and, as was customary with me on all special occasions, I sent a letter to the Chaplain to remind him of this duty. Promptly came the reply :

“BROOKLYN, N. Y., No. 124 Columbia Heights,

“October 8, 1880.

“MY DEAR COLONEL: I absent ! sooner the sun by day, the moon by night!—Perish commerce, perish agriculture, and even mining, but spare the glorious old Thirteenth. No politics, no election, no ecclesiastical meetings shall hinder me. Even sickness must stand back, or, if it visits, I will come in an ambulance, vial and syringe in hand. I feel ashamed of you that you should have thought it necessary to plead the case. Next, I shall expect a warm appeal to eat my dinner, to kiss my wife and children, to love my country, 'or to vote the Republican ticket.

“Your Warlike Chaplain,

“HENRY WARD BEECHER.”

The regiment paraded on this occasion second in strength only to the Seventh—such had been the remarkable growth of the command in two years. Mr. Beecher's presence was the occasion of a marked ovation on the entire march, and his spirits were of the best order. Returning on the ferryboat, we were all placed, mounted, on the forward deck, my back toward the front of the boat, but my face to Mr. Beecher. He was entertaining us all with bright sallies of wit, when suddenly he said : “Come, Colonel,

turn about; back your horse in here with us. Remember, back to the wind means face to the coffin."

Later in the season I conceived the idea of having Gen. Grant review the regiment, keeping up "the boom," as it was termed among the boys. I took Mr. Beecher into my confidence, and he was to use his discretion as to how it might be brought about. In a few weeks, the plan bore fruit in the following letter, which is not dated, but written, I believe, in the latter days of November, 1880 :

"No. 124 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS, SUNDAY.

"MY DEAR COLONEL : Grant readily said that he would review the Thirteenth sometime to be agreed upon after the holidays. He required no persuasion, asked no questions, but instantly answered my request by saying, "I should be happy to do it." So then, you've got another lever to pry up the regiment with. I attribute his whole gracious disposition to the fact that he had been to Plymouth Church and heard a good sermon. Yours in the bonds of Chaplaincy,

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

The formal invitation was extended, and the following reply received.

"NEW YORK CITY, *December 2, 1880.*

"COL. DAVID E. AUSTEN :

"DEAR COL. : I accept your invitation to review the Thirteenth Regiment on Wednesday, the 12th January, 1881. Very truly yours,

"U. S. GRANT."

Mr. Beecher paraded with his fellow officers. After the review there followed a working drill of the regiment. An effort to induce General Grant to address the regiment proved futile, and he retired from the floor with the brief remark : "Colonel, you have given me the best drill I have ever seen, and I am not in the habit of saying a thing like that without reason."

The following letter refers to a visit of the regiment to Yorktown. Mr. Beecher did not go. His letter touches also a rumor that I had resigned, by reason of supposed displeasure in connection with a drill.

"BROOKLYN, 124 Columbia Heights,

"*April 6, 1881.*

"DEAR COLONEL : As to Yorktown, don't know. Am not very good at a spree. The boys who go with you will not need a Chaplain for that. Couldn't have come last Monday night. [This referred to an entertainment at the armory.] Could not have danced if I had come. Somebody said that things were badly managed at one of your late show-drills, and that you were resigned. How is that? Resignation is a Christian grace. A woman, having lost her babe and giving way to excessive grief, was told by her pastor that it was the Lord's doing, and that she ought to be resigned. 'I am resigned,' she said, 'but I think I ought to show a proper resentment.' Is that your case?

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."

FORT SUMTER, APRIL 14, 1865.

Patriotic Recollections of a Veteran Sailor.

[Specially Contributed to The Times.]

Thirty years ago today was a climax in the history of the nation. The alpha and omega of the war of the rebellion was witnessed within the walls of the battered fort in Charleston Harbor, and the same flag which was lowered April 14, 1861, in insult amid frenzied shouts, went to the masthead April 14, 1865, in honor and glory amid shouts of triumph and salutes from forts and ships. But few survivors of the little band gathered on the memorable day. Nearly all have followed their tattered guidons,

"Where the war-drums cease their throbbing
And the battle-flags are furled."

Yet memory dwells upon the scene and fancy hears again the ringing words that fell from the lips of the great orator. Words that will live as long as the language in which they were spoken.

Henry Ward Beecher, that great patriotic divine, who was among the first to desulphurize hell and teach that God was not a demon, was at his best. He commenced with his head uncovered, but the breeze raised the mischief with his long hair, so he quietly put on his hat (a black felt, uncanonical article) and wore it to the end.

Two or three extracts indicate the elevated spirit of his oration:

"Are we come to exult that Northern hands are stronger than Southern? No; but to rejoice that the hands of those who defended a just and beneficent government are mightier than the hands that assaulted it. Do we exult our fallen cities? We exult that a nation has not fallen. We sorrow with the sorrowful. We sympathize with the desolate. We look upon the shattered fort, and yonder delapidated city with sad eyes. We exult, not for a passion gratified, but for a sentiment victorious; not for temper, but for conscience; not as we devoutly believe—that our will is done, but that God's will hath been done.

"There is scarcely a man born in the South who has lifted his hand against this banner, but had a father who would have died for it. Is memory dead? Is there no historic pride? Has a fatal fury struck

blindness or hate into eyes that used to look kindly toward each other; that read the same Bible; that hung over the historic pages of our national glory; that studied the same Constitution?"

As the flag rose slowly to its place, amid thundering plaudits, and spread its broad folds to the breeze, though tattered and torn by shot and shell, not a star was struck from its blue field, "this," said the speaker, "was a prophecy."

Gen. Anderson, overcome with emotion, in a trembling voice, exclaimed: "I thank God that I have lived to see this day, and be here to perform this duty to my country. My heart is filled with gratitude to that God who has so signally blessed us, who has given us blessings beyond measure."

The peroration of Mr. Beecher's address was admirable, none dreaming that on that eventful night Abraham Lincoln was to fall before a cowardly assassin:

"We offer to the President of the United States our solemn congratulations that God has sustained his life and health under the unparalleled burdens and sufferings of four bloody years, and permitted him to behold this auspicious consummation of that national unity for which he has waited with so much patience and fortitude, and for which he has labored with such disinterested wisdom."

There were passages in the prayer of the old chaplain, Dr. Storrs, that fell upon the ear like celestial music: "Remember those who have been our enemies, and turn their hearts from wrath and war to love and peace. Let the desolations that have come to them suffice, and unite them with us in the ties of a better brotherhood than of old, that the cities and homes and happiness they have lost may be more than replaced in the long prosperity they shall hereafter know."

Mr. Beecher held his audience to the close of his long address, which was frequently interrupted by applause. It may be of interest to state that Gen. Anderson, whose fame is inseparably linked with that of Fort Sumter, was so prostrated by his terrible experience during the bombardment that was compelled to abandon actual service. He was placed upon the retired list in 1863. After the war he removed with his family to Europe, where he died at Nice October, 1871. His remains were conveyed home in the steam frigate Guerriere, and finally, with the battle-flag of Sumter waving over them, reached their last and appropriate resting-place at West Point, April 3, 1872.

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Beecher

guarantees all its citizens, whatever their race or religion, equal civil rights. Their equal political rights may be questioned, but no State, no courts of justice, no official, questions the equal civil rights of all citizens. Violation of these rights by sporadic mobs has had no approval by magistrates, no sanction by law, no justification by churches. The same voice in America which condemns lynch law here rightly condemns organized and applauded lynch law in Russia. Public opinion is limited by no geographical boundaries; and the voice of the whole civilized world should unite in condemning, not merely the massacres at Kishenev, but the laws and ecclesiastical appeals to prejudice which have incited to those massacres.

A Page of History

We publish in this issue of *The Outlook* a letter of Henry Ward Beecher on reconstruction in the Southern States, written in 1885. It has more than a merely personal interest, because it throws light on the question recently discussed in the public press respecting the views of such leaders of public opinion as Abraham Lincoln and Henry Ward Beecher concerning universal suffrage in the Southern States. Did they believe that giving the ballot to the negroes should have been imposed upon the Southern States as a condition precedent to their readmission to the Union? Would they believe now that the ballot should be given to all negroes in the South, regardless of competence or character, and that this policy should be forced upon the Southern States either by Congressional action or by public opinion? That single sentences may be found in the published utterances of both these men which, wrested from their connection, can be made to do service in supporting an affirmative answer to these questions, is true. But though partisan controversies are conducted in this manner, this is not the way to study history, and the impartial student of history can have no doubt that both men would have given a negative answer to these questions.

Abraham Lincoln's attitude was clearly defined by him officially in his Proclamation of Amnesty in 1863. In this Proclamation, issued before the war was over,

he authorized the people in certain of the seceded States to convene and re-establish a State government. The only requirement respecting the negroes was contained in the following sentence: "And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the National Executive." It is difficult to conceive language by which Mr. Lincoln could more explicitly have declared his faith that the people of the Southern States could be trusted to deal fairly with their late slaves. Under this Proclamation, Louisiana was reorganized as a State, and adopted a constitution by which slavery was forever abolished. A little later a bill was passed by Congress for the reconstruction of the seceded States, which provided for an enrollment of the white male citizens, and for an election by "loyal white male citizens of the United States." For other reasons Mr. Lincoln declined to sign this bill, but he declared at the same time, "I am fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it." In his well-known letter to Governor Hahn, of Louisiana, suggesting the experiment of negro suffrage, beginning with those who had served in the Union army and could read and write, he indicated his approval of a limited negro suffrage; but it is clear that even such limited negro suffrage he would not have imposed by Federal force upon the seceded States.

Such was Mr. Lincoln's position; what was Mr. Beecher's? In 1865 the war had closed. Mr. Lincoln had been assassinated, Mr. Johnson had assumed the Presidency, the issue between the radical and conservative Republicans had begun, aggravated a little later into a hot political controversy. At this time Mr. Beecher preached his famous sermon on the "Conditions of the Restored Union." In this sermon he declared his belief that suffrage is a natural right. He would like to see admitted to the suffrage

all negroes, all foreigners, and all women, regardless of the question of their educational or other qualifications, in the faith that the suffrage itself would prove adequate education. But he explicitly declared that he would not force this opinion upon a reluctant or a resisting Southern State. "The best intentions of the Government," he said, "will be defeated if the laws that are made touching this matter [the general treatment of the negro] are such as are calculated to excite the animosity and hatred of the white people in the South toward the black people there. I except the single decree of emancipation. That must stand though men dislike it." And again: "I would be willing, not as a finality, but as a stepping-stone to what I hope to get by and by, to take the suffrage for those colored men who bore arms in our late war for the salvation of this Government." It is hardly necessary to remind our readers that the new Constitutions in the South, we believe without exception, give the suffrage to all such negroes, and to more.

The counsels of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Beecher were not followed. Universal suffrage was imposed upon the South. The result was a solid negro vote opposing itself to a solid white vote in the South, and a solid South opposing itself to a solid North in the Nation; it was, in short, the initiation of a race war in the South and a continuance of a sectional war in the country. In addition, was a carnival of corruption in States where the negroes dominated, producing a condition which was unendurable. By 1876 this period of negro domination had been brought to an end, sometimes by the union of moderate white Republicans with Democrats, sometimes by paying the negroes not to go to the polls, sometimes by fraud and violence. Not till this was accomplished had the South peace or a hope of prosperity. Says Professor Bryce in the "American Commonwealth:" "Not until the whites regained control, between 1870 and 1876, did the industrial regeneration of the country fairly begin." Attempts to bolster up negro domination by Federal troops and proposed Federal Force Bills and the like failed, and were abandoned. At length, in 1884, Mr. Cleveland was elected,

the first Democratic President after the Civil War. Mr. Beecher supported his election. In March, 1885, on a Western lecture tour, he wrote for the "Courier-Journal," of Louisville, the letter which we reprint on another page. One sentence in this letter, taken out of its connection, might be thought to indicate that he believed the experiment of universal negro suffrage was a success: "The result has shown that the colored people have not misused this power." But the context clearly shows that he means that they did not use it with evil intent; he does not mean that the results were beneficial; for he adds: "The colored people of the South, after becoming citizens, did not seek revenge or mischief. They intended well. It was not their fault that many of the results were evil." It is clear from the letter as a whole that Mr. Beecher recognized the enormous evils which universal suffrage imposed upon the South, evils so great that in his opinion they palliated, perhaps excused, though they did not justify, the revolutionary methods employed to bring them to an end. "In those States where legislatures were in the power of the late slaves, and where Northern men, not always the wisest, led them on to foolish and wasteful legislation, increasing taxation and squandering the result of it, plunging the State into debt by an unmerciful issue of bonds, it is not to be wondered that something like revolutionary methods were adopted, and that self-defense led men to violent resistance."

In view of these utterances, we may be very sure that neither Mr. Beecher nor Mr. Lincoln would, if they could, impose universal suffrage on the Southern States to-day. Mr. Lincoln would not, because he did not believe in universal suffrage. Mr. Beecher would not, because he did not believe in imposing his own beliefs on a community which did not accept them. In 1863, though the war was not ended, Mr. Lincoln would have trusted the people in the Southern States to deal justly with the race problem. In 1865, when the war was at an end, Mr. Beecher would have trusted the people of the Southern States to deal justly with the race problem. In 1885, when experiment had shown the evil results of placing Southern States under negro domination, Mr.

Beecher would have trusted the Southern States to deal justly with the race problem. It is certain that in 1903, when the Southern States have shown their desire for the education and the welfare of the colored people by the money which they have paid in taxes for a public school system providing alike for negroes and for whites, by selling them thousands of acres of land, by encouraging them in industry, by maintaining with them friendly personal relations, in spite of political complications, both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Beecher would be found with those who advocate a policy of mutual confidence and respect between South and North, and of mutual confidence and respect between black and white, as the only possible method of putting an end to race war in the South and sectional war in the Nation.

This is not to say that either of them would approve of the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment; that either of them would approve the exclusion of a negro from the ballot simply because he is a negro; that either of them would have demanded less than equal and fair treatment to black and white alike; that either of them would have approved laws concerning the suffrage which say one thing and are so enforced as to mean another; that either of them would have accepted, as a finality, any other qualification for the suffrage than that of personal competence and character in both races; that either of them would have thought it safe or wise to put one race, without voice or representation, under the political control of another race, however humane and friendly it might be. These are different forms of the same essential question, and on this question we shall have something to say hereafter. It must suffice here to point out the fact that, according to Mr. Beecher, the only ground on which giving unqualified suffrage to the negro race in 1863 was, or indeed could be, justified was that it was necessary for their defense; that neither Mr. Lincoln nor Mr. Beecher believed that it was the best method of providing for their defense; and that now, after experience has proved that this was not a successful method for their defense, that, on the contrary, it only aggravated the evils of their condition, neither Mr. Lin-

coln nor Mr. Beecher would wish to see universal and unqualified suffrage forced upon the South either by Congressional action or by public opinion.



Resurrection Now

In a very suggestive discussion of "Resurrection Now" which Dr. van Dyke has recently included in a small volume of sermons, "The Open Door," which bears the imprint of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, the principle of the present resurrection, the constant rising from the dead, is illustrated with characteristic clearness and effectiveness. "We are to turn away from that which drags us downward and makes us like the beasts, and follow after that which draws us upward toward the likeness of Christ: that is the law of resurrection now. Those who have risen must be ever rising. The resurrection of the life must be the upward life."

In this sense a man may die daily, or rise daily into a higher life. He may be diminishing his spiritual vitality, or he may increase it. He may weaken his character or strengthen it; one dies or renews his life in every choice. There are two sides to everything, as Dr. van Dyke points out. There are the two great aspects of the natural world: the sensuous side, which may be read "as a grocer's account book;" and the spiritual side, which may be read "as a divine poem." Dr. van Dyke recalls the remark of an Englishman looking down upon the motionless *mer de glace*, "All that ice would bring a lot of money in a hot season in Calcutta, don't you know," and he reminds us at the same moment that Coleridge in his sublime hymn hears "those silent cataracts of frozen splendor singing the eternal praise of God." So the man who looks at nature sees one side or the other according to his character; for we see what we choose to see.

The same law holds in human relationships. Such relationships are founded either in honor, purity, and generosity, or in folly, selfishness, and lust. Love may be either a harbor light or it may be a false beacon. Everything depends on what we seek to find and to put into human relations. It is not always true

Mr. Beecher on Reconstruction

The following letter from Henry Ward Beecher to the Louisville "Courier-Journal" is printed by us from the original manuscript. We do not know that the letter was ever published in the "Courier-Journal," though we presume it was, for the manuscript bears signs of having passed through a printer's hands, and is marked "save copy." It has come into our hands through the kindness of Major J. B. Pond, Mr. Beecher's lecture agent, to whom it belongs; and it is of historical interest as showing Mr. Beecher's views on the Reconstruction period after the Reconstruction period had passed and its fruits were known. We comment on this letter in our editorial pages.—THE EDITORS.

Louisville, Kentucky, March 30, 1885.

Courier-Journal:

The "Interview" published this morning in your paper, while in the main correct, has mistaken my views on one or two points which I beg permission to correct. The statement that I said that South Carolina might almost have been justified in rising against the voting colored population and massacring them is far from my feelings or opinions. The question before me and the interviewer was on the *counting* of votes. I said that in a case like Carolina I could well understand why the white people refused to count the votes fairly. I did not think that they were to be justified in a false count, or a suppression of the vote, or an intimidation of the voter. But I said that, considering the evils suffered under legislation of colored men, just emancipated, ignorant of government, late the slaves of white men, but now put over their masters by their numbers, taxing without wisdom, issuing bonds without skill or prudence, I did not wonder that the white population resorted to unfair means to suppress their foolish legislation. Even that was wrong in morals, and the savage idea that they were justified in massacre is a revolting sentiment.

Allow me to state explicitly my views of the past and present relations of the colored people.

I. The state of slavery in the South, before the war, with all its softening, was evil and only evil, both in its effects upon the blacks and the whites alike, and was, on the whole, both in morals and in political economy, exceedingly bad. A terrible price was paid for the destruction of the slave system; but it was worth to posterity a hundred times what it cost.

II. The putting the vote into the hands of an ignorant race was an astounding

event in political history. It came not from a belief of their fitness for suffrage, but from a conviction that it was *necessary for their defense*.¹ The tentative legislation of some of the Southwestern States, which under the form of vagrancy laws seemed intended to subject the colored people to essential slavery again, alarmed the North and led to defensory legislation.

But, audacious as was that faith in liberty and suffrage which led the West and the North to give full citizenship and political power to the emancipated, the result has shown that the colored people have not misused this power. I must say that colored voting since the war has been fully as wise as white voting was before the war. The colored people of the South, after becoming citizens, did not seek revenge nor mischief. They intended well. It was not their fault that many of the results were evil. It was bad enough for white citizens to see their late slaves led by foreign influence. It might be a political necessity—it was not any the less a thing grievous to be borne by their white fellow-citizens.

But where the emancipated were largely in excess of the white voters, it amounted in fact to the subjection of the white people to the legislation of the colored. And in those States where legislatures were in the power of the late slaves, and where Northern men, not always the wisest, led them on to foolish and wasteful legislation, increasing taxation and squandering the results of it, plunging the State deeply into debt by an unmerciful issue of bonds, it is not to be wondered that something like revolutionary methods were adopted, and that self-defense led men to violent resistance.

¹ The italics are Mr. Beecher's. The manuscript also contains the following paragraph, crossed out by pen, and therefore, we presume, crossed out by himself: "No man would have dreamed of putting the vote into the hands of emancipated Southern slaves except for their defense."

III. When, at a little later period, history, no longer under the influence of violent and heated passions, shall sit in impartial judgment upon this whole movement of the past quarter of a century, two results will stand out prominently.

(1) The admirable conduct of the slave population during the war, industrious, orderly, humane, and peaceful; their great bravery when the North made them a part of the army; their general good conduct after peace was established, and their thirst for education as the indispensable condition of good citizenship. Their future may not be what theorists predict, but it will be auspicious.

(2) The remarkable conduct of the white population of the South. Hurlled from political power, defeated in war, wasted in all resources, wounded in every household, in the loss of husband, son, or father; all industries subverted and to be refounded on a new basis—and, worse than all, to see their late slaves changing place with their masters and holding the reins of legislation under foreign leadership—is it wonderful that at such a revolution, convulsion rather, Southern citizens often mistook the way of duty, that some rude remedies of violence were practiced, that some counter methods of violence were attempted?

These things are not to be justified. But is it not now a matter of transcendent wonder that the evils were so few, and that the patience and self-control of Southern people so soon readjusted the whole industrial and civil economy? I glory in a history which, with all its infirmities and blemishes, yet presents to the world the most notable instance of the force of self-government which has ever occurred in history!

IV. Passing from city to city, and the prey of reporters, who report from memory, I am grateful to them that so few misconceptions of my language creep into their statements. On one or two points allow me to be explicit.

(1) I do not think it wise that the whites and blacks should mix blood. Yet it is their right and liberty to do so, if they choose. But it is to be discouraged, on grounds of humanity. But if it must be, it should not be illicit, but under the sanctions of marriage.

(2) The slaves are free. They must come under a universal law as to their social position. No legislation can put ignorance and knowledge on a level; indolence and industry, virtue and vice, rudeness and refinement. The household is to be free to choose or refuse its company. No obstruction should be put in the path of education. All opportunities for development should be sacredly kept open to every class; every encouragement given to industry, wealth, refinement, and good citizenship. After that society must be free, so far as legislation is concerned, to choose its own partnerships.

(3) The Atlanta "Constitution" makes me point out Mississippi as the great central State; I said Missouri, not Mississippi.

V. I was born in New England, but from my childhood I breathed the air of the whole continent. I was from my cradle a friend of the oppressed, of the poor and of the struggling. An anti-slavery man by the force of my lineage and of my inherited nature, I spared no energy in fighting against slavery and against that whole malarious political influence which exhaled from this Dismal Swamp.

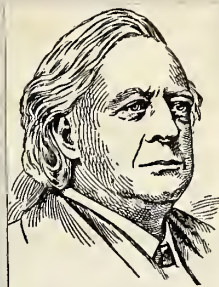
When, by the supreme folly of Southern leaders, the war broke out, I gave my children to the army and myself to every influence at home and abroad which should give victory to the Federal army.

When peace came, with vigor I plead for mild settlements and against all bloody sacrifices. There had been blood enough shed. There must be no victims for the gallows, the sword, or the prison.

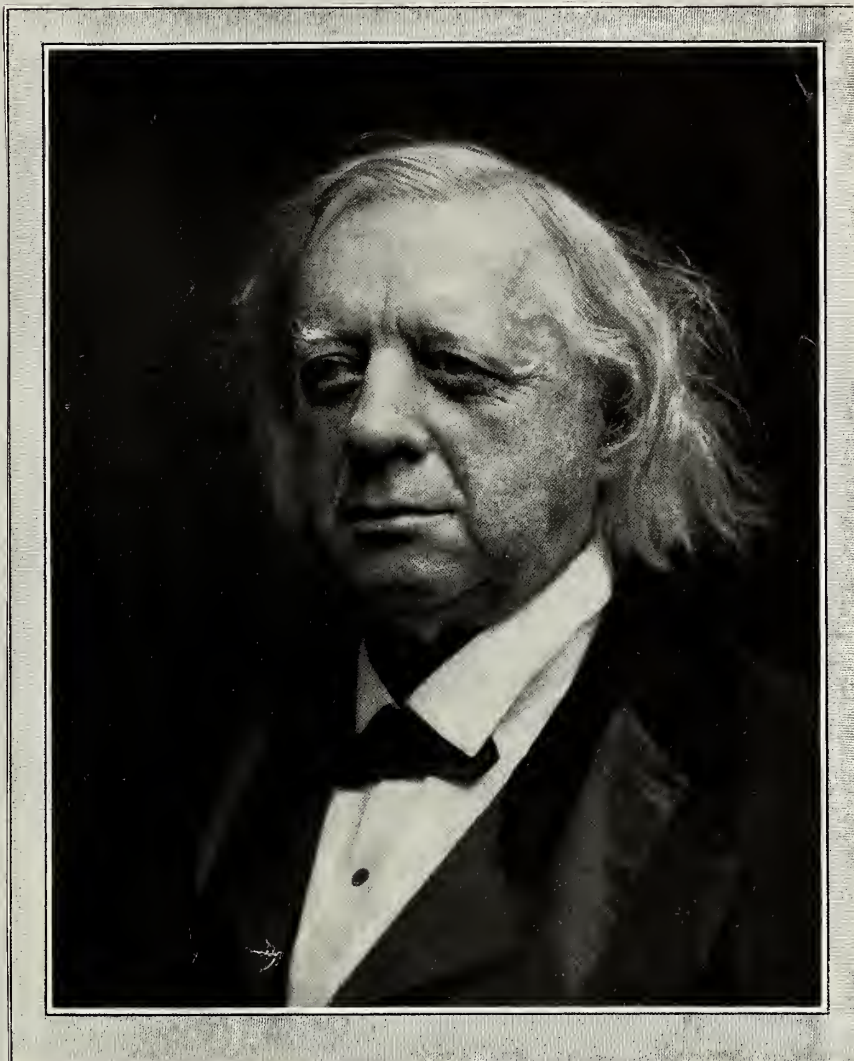
And now that a new era and a readjustment of all National questions has been reached, I am for the welfare of the undivided Nation, and I belong, in detail, to that party which shall best serve the interests of the whole land; I am not a slave of either. The party is my servant, I am not its slave. The Administration, with that strong and just man, Cleveland, at its head, has my hearty support and my full confidence, not because it is Democratic but because it is National, patriotic, and adapted to the exigencies of the hour. Should it fail in its National duty, I shall still seek the honor and welfare of this great Nation, but by another road.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Henry Ward Beecher



HENRY WARD BEECHER



HENRY WARD BEECHER,

G. C. Cox, Photographe

