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Ezra M. Hunt.  
The War and  
its lessons.  
N. Y. 1862.





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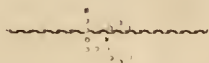


THE WAR  
AND  
ITS LESSONS,

BY

EZRA M. <sup>under</sup>HUNT,

AUTHOR OF "WORDS ABOUT THE WAR," &c.



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# THE WAR

AND

# ITS LESSONS.

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THE American struggle for Nationality, which commenced with the downfall of Fort Sumter, marks an era in the history of civilization, as critical as any the world has ever witnessed. Those who are agitated by the actual contacts and immediate perils of civil war have scarce had opportunity to measure the immensity of interests involved; but those who are calmly examining the world's Present by the world's Past, and by all the principles and illustrations which facts, reason and experience may furnish, are solemnly and weightily impressed with the conviction that we are engaged in transactions which, for weal or wo, are to tell immensely on all that relates to morals, liberty, government and law. The epoch is one for which we need to arouse all the energies of the body, the intellect and the soul, that as true men of a trying age, we may be equal to the emergencies, which in the course of events, have fallen on our times.

The part already enacted, has been upon no ordinary scale. At the very commencement of the conflict ominous clouds hovered over our political horizon. Wise men quaked because of fear, and strong men strung their nerves to a higher key, feeling that we were on the verge of a conflict which involved the interests of themselves, their country, their posterity, and all that related to the welfare of civil and religious liberty all over the broad earth. Traitors, with stealthy hand, had been loosing the cords and unbraiding the strands of our strength until it almost seemed as if the grand cable of American power had dwindled to a thread. But slender as it appeared, the central, close-woven braid of republican Nationality was not yet sundered. A kind hand had still protected it from utter destruction; it would not break of itself, and waking to a sense of the imminent danger, a half million of freemen rushed to the rescue, ready to

bind and strengthen it with their own heart-strings. We all then felt that every other human question was secondary to that of self-preservation. It was useless to discuss what should be our future status as a nation until we were made sure of our ability still to exist. The rebellion was so gigantic in its proportions, the bad logic by which it was sustained so deceptive, and its aids and abettors, South and North, so much too numerous, that common prudence required that all other issues should be for the time dismissed, until contests on the battle field should determine whether what we knew to be our rights could be maintained. We believe the result, in this respect, no longer doubtful. Not that the war is already or even nearly ended; not that all obstacles are yet overcome, else there would be less need for discussion; but we have at least demonstrated that our National Government intends to crush the rebellion, and that the people are determined to support and sustain it in the endeavor. By land and by sea we have demonstrated to ourselves, as well as others, a military capacity of which, as a nation, we were entirely unaware. We have witnessed the great spectacle of a people, inured only to the arts of peaceful industry, eagerly marching forth, as an immense police force, for the restoration of law and order, and herein we have seen enough to satisfy us, that, with right on our side, we are able to make our defence amid the dread artillery of war.

But we have already fully arrived at a point at which Intellect and Heart can not but be concerned as to other questions besides those having single reference to armed defence upon the battle-field. If the war is to have results at all proportioned to its gigantic character and to the magnitude of the questions really involved, the intellectual and moral contest which can not but take place, and which will assume its proportions of paramount importance, as the other subsides, must be one which will thoroughly exercise the mental and moral forces of the American people. In the councils of the nation and of the states, at the forum, the convention, the assembly-room, the bar, the social circle, the ballot-box, the press, and at the heart of every patriot, there are questions to be started, examined and acted upon, on the decision of which oscillate, as much as upon the war, the destinies of our land. Conceal it or not as we may, the principles of human government are again up for trial at the bar of popular tribunal. Points in national law, once considered as settled, are now undeniably open questions. The whole subject of Civil Liberty is unfolded for a new investigation. Monarchy, Aristocracy, Republic-

anism, Democracy, are again at the public hall of judgment for comparison and contrast. More pointedly still, the American Government itself, in its grand theories and its actual workings, is submitted to us for radical inspection and observation. Glory as we may and ought in much that is illustrious in the past, the large fact is before us, palpable as signs of blood and general disorder can make it, that either in the machinery itself, or the *great people* who manage it, there is something wrong. Events are occurring which were not specified in the bond. Our forefather statesmen were definite men. Our form of government was not an accident or impulse, but a settled conviction, arrived at by philosophic thought, accurate study, and large experience; and least of all did they expect that, by its own friction, it would destroy itself. They flattered themselves that they had so organized, modified and adjusted a system as to make it almost innate with the principle and power of perpetuity. They expected of their sons such adherence to, or such modifications of it, as would secure the blessings of a firm, peaceful, indissoluble Union. They never anticipated that the 4th of July, 1862, would dawn upon a million of their posterity arrayed one against the other, in defence of what each regarded as their rights under the Constitution.

This whole rebellion involves, therefore, questions and principles too important to be regarded with a superficial view. It has to do with the roots of things. It strikes at foundations. It is not an accidental circumstance or a mere roughness on the outside of one of the small wheels of government. It is something wrong, permeating and penetrating us in every part. The war itself, its antecedent and present history, the conflicting opinions of which it is the terrible outbreak, the savage animosities which jut out in numberless instances, the loose state of public opinion in many localities, and the moral condition of the masses North and South, tell us so plainly, that even dull ears may hear it, that the greatest piece of governmental handiwork ever devised, is critically out of order. It is working, at present, wretchedly, either because of some practical defects in itself, or from some deficiency in the nation which operates it. Perhaps defects may be found in both. Enormous and terrible facts, reaching to our hearth-stones and to our hearts, summon us to an investigation of causes in order that we may, with more precision, apply the remedies. Now and then we stumble upon accidental cures for disease; but this is not the law in governmental maladies. These causes are not accidents. The relations of cause and effect are as defi-

nite in their action upon nations as upon individuals. A government is but a grand generalization and combination of causes, to obtain certain and adequate results, and it has settled and confirmed moving forces just as much as have matter and mind. The same laws of nature by which a cherry falls, guide the stars in their courses ; and so government is but the application, on a large scale, of principles which lie at the foundation of the minutest relations of society. If mistakes are made, the jar and the crash are not accidental, but astounding, because enacted on a scale of greater magnitude. We have, for nearly half a century or more, had in the governmental problem we have been working at, negative and positively bad quantities, which are now yielding their legitimate results ; and until reduced or eliminated they will not fail to bear their fruit. Crises in governments are not generally accidents. Those in free governments which do not arise from foreign aggression, but from internal dissension, are never so. The present state of our republic, as to war, as to politics, as to national sins, as to the character of the rulers and the ruled, is just as much as can possibly be conceived, the legitimate production of principle and influences which have been long at work all over our land.

Our crisis is not a financial one. The fault is not in our broad acres, which have never failed to yield, in rich luxuriance, their abundant harvests ; not in our commerce, which has been wafted, far and near, over every ocean, with remunerative success ; not in our manufactures, which have been as well sustained as need be, in a country so prominently agricultural, nor in any other of the departments to which Political Economy relates.

Our trouble is not international, unavoidably precipitated upon us by the aggressive policy of foreign powers, not even a civil commotion incited by foreign influence, but accurately, purely, perfectly a home-production, an indigenous outgrowth from the government and the people. It is not even entirely sectional. Our government is national, most of our sins have been national too, and the nation at large has participated even in the profits, as well as other results, of local institutions. The evils of sections, so long as they pecuniarily paid, have been fostered by enough of the people of other localities, to give them life and efficiency, and the nation at large, is more *particeps criminis*, than we are sometimes disposed to concede.

With an elimination of the disturbing, economical, or international causes above-mentioned, only three things are necessary to form a

permanent, successful republican government ; and these are, a wise system of government, a wise and good people to govern, and representatives worthy of both government and people. In all these respects, the time has come to re-examine the foundations and the superstructure of the American Republic. Perchance, the war itself cannot end until, in some of these, the sources of our evil are found and remedied ; or if it can, true restoration and permanent repair can not be secured until the process for recovery is instituted.

It is a mistaken view, that times like these are not the occasions for such examination and reconstruction. It is an organic and practical law in the history of nations, that principles and reforms are mostly suggested and generally settled into definite results, in the era of revolutions. National power, displayed in civil war upon the battle-field, is more than useless if it does not develop itself into actual enactments in the statute book of the nation, and in the hearts of the people. Revolutions always mean change. Rebellions seldom eventuate by merely bringing lawless ones into submission. Such a one as ours can not, in the very nature of things, admit of such a limitation. In a revolution, or a large, organized rebellion, you never can merely describe a circle, and, like one who has sailed round the world, stop at the starting point. Organized, active, earnest rebellions have *meanings*, which either kill a nation, or make it think up to the point of doing and daring, by process of government and law, what future as well as present welfare may seem to demand. The cords are unloosed that the stakes may be strengthened. Some of the noblest advances of Grecian and Roman civilization, were prompt governmental acts, incident to great national crises. It was the taking just and due advantage of the power which great outbreaks often impart to the wiser and better classes of people, that inscribed the glowing capitals of Magna Charta, upon the statute book of British jurisprudence, and its principles in the port-folio of freedom.

Habeas Corpus attended the Restoration, because the will of the people, in the midst of perilous times, both claimed and demonstrated it as a necessity. The noble Bill of Rights, and the protestant status of the English nation, gave to the Revolution of 1688, its "Glorious" adjective, because those concerned were not satisfied with mere triumph in form, but insisted that causes which had before existed, should for ever cease, and that deliverance therefrom should, by positive enactment, be secured.

Our own Revolutionary struggle, is a forcible illustration of the development of new ideas during a struggle, and their registration upon the civil polity of a nation. It would have been no very great affair, had it only exhibited manly courage, and accomplished, what it was at first designed to do, the repeal of a few tax laws, and stamp acts, accompanied by an apology for the wrong. The occasion having required intense and immense action, our fathers rose above the mere level of seeking retribution for a specific imposition, to the grand principle of a human right, and improving the opportunity to sweep away the cause of their disaster, made the epoch from '76 to '89, glorious, as the meant development of a new growth in history. The records of the ages, every where show us, that the great foundation and repair stones of nations, have been quarried out by the explosions of political elements, and from rough beds, and amid stony griefs, by faithful hands been rolled up into the bulwarks of the nation.

We might go still further and affirm, that it is chiefly at such times that we may reasonably hope a nation to expurgate itself, either as to its people, or its government, and the modes of operating it. A mere quiet, peaceable reform in a man, independent of any exigencies, proving lasting and decisive, is a very rare thing; and it is eminently more rare with nations. Nearly all the successful reform bills, amid peace, are those relating to the finances and political economy of a nation. Great moral reforms never, in a republican government, quietly grow up from the masses of the people. The bad tendencies of human nature, in governmental organizations, become so multiplied that, in times of peace, such errors are not fully appreciated. Independent of this outbreak, and of the particular vice which fostered it, there have been among our more correct citizens and statesmen, many who have looked with fear, upon the ominous moral signs of our times, and not a few now regard this rebellion as affording us the only possibility of reforming what is defective either in structure or operation.

Providence seems to permit crises and revolutions in the history of nations sometimes, because there is no other way by which justice and right can regain a working majority. Noah might have argued in vain for ages, amid the corruptions of eastern civilization, in behalf of principle, and all to no avail, save to excite the mockings of the multitude, but before the Deluge was half over, he had the majority; and when the Most High shaketh terribly the nations, it is

often that golden opportunities may be afforded to carry pure marble blocks into the national structure, with which to replace the sandstone, and to adopt moral and legislative reforms, which, if attempted at other times, would be overwhelmed with unreasonable yet popular clamor. It is hopeful and suggestful of prompt action, to see through history how, in times of real felt national peril, the more corrupt, like the wicked in a sea-storm, will listen to, and permit action by the well-disposed, even though not favorable to their course. The bad element is often thus brought into abeyance, quailing before the necessities of the times, felt to be those for good heads and good hearts. It is a submission to the majesty of truth, forced out by affliction, and it is not safe for those who may then use the advantage to postpone action until the peril is less impressive, or the disaster irreparable. The patriot, the philanthropist, the statesman, the Christian, are to regard these as providential epochs for planting the royal oaks of national principle. They can not be started on fallow ground, but when the nation is sub-soiled, there is seed-time for such germs. It is now too, that those formerly planted may be examined in root and branch, and each worm of destruction destroyed.

In times like these, every true patriot, and every man discerning and desiring what is right, has double duty to perform. We are living in a period when it is possible to do much for or against one's country, and the only safety is to be doing according to settled principles of right. Never have we more reason to rejoice in the eternity of truth, than when such afflictions surround us. "Truth crushed to earth, does rise again," and although in the rising, the country is shaken to its centre, we need not despair. There is more hope that in the majesty of their power, correct principles will assume their rightful position, amid such emergencies, than when we are floating down the current of political corruption, "as idly as a painted ship upon a painted ocean." It is a great thing for a nation now and then to find out how much real prospective and sometimes present power there is in daring nationally to do just right, and if ever a people on the broad earth needed to learn this, it is the American. Not that, as a nation, we are the most corrupt in the registry of the present century, for the same amount of corruption among the masses which would permit a monarchy to last three centuries, would destroy a republic in one; but *never in the history of 6000 years, did ever a nation knowing the right, try so hard to do half right as has this of ours,* and, like stopping half way down a precipice, this is always perilous work.

Under the pressure of this effort many a good old English word has almost upset its meaning. *Radical* once devoted a wise reference to the foundation and root principles of things. It is now the derisive epithet of a reformer. *Conservative*, once denoted that moderation between extremes which used judgment, but yet never quailed in the vindication of right. It now, in fact, generally describes those who are trying to do what will be most popular. More than all, *Expediency* has become the most expressive epithet of American legislation, and to such an extent, as to bring it in as a policy exceptional of right. There is such a thing as the doctrine of expediency, but it is only in the sense that it leads us to make choice amid the different methods of accomplishing a right. It never endeavors to palliate a wrong, or to rid itself of the responsibility of dealing with it in some form or other just so soon as it has the ability. Expediency is never authorized to step forth as an equal antagonist of what, on every other ground, seems right. It is at best, and at all times, only one of the minor elements, since generally what is right is expedient. Justice and prudence are sister graces, and were never meant to be the conflicting duelists of our political code of honor. Whenever we are sure, as we now are, about the tendencies of more than one of our national sins, and about their inherent wrong, very palpable should be the indications to prevent us from acting right out, the right, in such a crisis as this. The great Author of justice, at present seems, by the withdrawal from our councils of those who were certain to impede progress in the right direction, and by the felt necessities of our day, to give once more to principle, the power of a working majority. With the ability of action thus granted, the question of expediency vanishes ; and if the American republic has not the ability now, with ten such states as the seceders back again within the nation, I know not where is the prospect of perpetuity. Better run the risk of a few exigencies in the line of duty, than let duty slip and secure the greater quietude, which is but the surer token of eventual dissolution. By a different course the crisis may, perhaps, be more easily past, but only to meet a more terrific one in the future. Influences, North and South, have been at work for the last many years, which betokens evil to our republic, as surely as symptoms ever betoken disease, and unless we now improve the God-given opportunity to re-right the leaning tower of our greatness, the penalty will be, impossibility in the future and destruction at last.

Even those who personally admit the policy of doing right, and



who feel that as to individuals it is always expedient, sometimes seem to lose sight of the fact when applied to that aggregation of individuals—a republic. In times like these we need to study Luther, Howard, Wilberforce, the Dutch Republic, and England, in its crises, and if there is one philosophy in history preeminent above all, it is that which teaches, not only the nobility, but the national ability and expediency of right. Justice is a host, but the American popular idea of expediency, a “pigmy perched on Alps, a pigmy still.”

But even with those who give a general assent to the national adviseability of thorough principle, there is another mode of shifting personal responsibility. Allusion is often made to the so-called “natural results” of the war, and individual effort excused on the ground that the war will, of itself, accomplish desired changes. To a very limited extent only, is this true. Its most natural results are those bad ones which are ever incident to large bodies of men separated from home associations, and family connexions, and cast together amid the attendant evils of the camp and the battle-field. But, speaking politically and governmentally, war has but few natural results independent of the resolve and intent of the people and the government which sustain it. It is but an aggregation of individual power, applied in a specific direction. If the feelings and principles involved in it are not asserted and defended with unflinching, untiring energy in the legislative halls, and in the heart of the nation, as well as by the bayonet, it is all of little avail. It is not the battle but its *animus*, the mind it tokens, the principle it outspeaks, the idea it represents that marks the real victory. Hence every triumph of a nation over *internal* foes, is but a physical triumph unless sustained by the intellectual and moral forces of those it represents. Contrary to so plain a proposition, there are multitudes in our land who are hoping certain results from the war, and yet condemn free discussion and decisive governmental action on the ground that natural causes will accomplish desired ends. It is only necessary for the masses to come to just such a conclusion and our greatest victories are but gigantic sacrifices of human flesh. As did Tamerlane of old, on Eastern plains, so we may strew the western continent with a million skeletons, and from their skulls erect a pyramid of savage joy, and all to no avail. War is not an ocean on which a nation is to launch like a piece of drift wood, to float away just as tide would take it. It is indeed a new element in our history, and worse than all, one in which we shall sink unless the masses give right direction to it.

Handiwork, manual and military force are among the first things, but head-work and heart-work too, must do their parts. It is a time for great thinking and great praying, as well as for great acting. The true patriot should be looking with two eyes intent as those of his own emblematic eagle, for opportunity to elucidate principles and enforce laws, which are taught or illustrated by this struggle. In matters of right there is danger of delay as well as from hot haste, and there are many disturbing elements, now felt by the nation to be such, which are not safe to be left with the hope that, somehow or other, antidotes thereto will struggle along into successful embodiment into our national polity. These will not incorporate themselves of their own accord. If they deserve a place they must be planted there by the decisive and direct action of the people and their representatives. Let it be impressed upon the intellect and heart of every American citizen, that it is only the principle of himself and others, expressed in every legitimate method, which is to give shape, character, and result to the rebellion. Though Providence superintends, it is by means, and the better classes are not at liberty to expect good "natural results," if making no effort to give correct tone and direction to public opinion.

It then becomes to us a very pertinent and fundamental inquiry, What is to be done in order to restore true prosperity to our nation, and to enable us to transmit the blessing of a good republican government to our children, in perpetuity?

First of all the people, and especially those who, by position and the disorder of the times, have more than usual power for good, must rise to the heart-felt recognition of the fact, *that there can be no other basis for a republican government except in the combination of moral principle, with intelligence, and the general diffusion of the two among the masses of the nation.* You can never expect to make a good government out of bad material. You may cast great masses of filth into the sea, and certain laws of chemistry and motion will neutralize it. There is no such power in national affairs. As the different members are brought together and adjusted until a government is formed, there will be no improvement in the aggregated mass over the condition of its component parts. The law of republics is rather that if one member suffer the whole suffers with it. By skilful combination or fortuitous circumstances a collapse may sometimes be postponed, but if there is not moral and intellectual strength at the bottom, the edifice must fall. Statesmanship, sagacity, prudence, or

the withheld avenging hand, may, for a time, suspend impending calamities, but they are sure at length to come. The tree will fruit though it be an *Upas*. You can not anticipate or predicate success to a government, any more than you can to an individual, upon any other basis than principle and ability. Tact, intrigue, diplomacy, statesmanship, political shrewdness, are not enough. In that great concentration of single individuals, single principles, philosophic facts which we call government, we get rid of not one of the organic laws on which human society rests. In a monarchy, individual elements have not a force proportioned to numbers, because the king is supreme, and the power of the people is kept dormant. In a limited monarchy or aristocracy, if the governors and the peers are good and able men, here again, since the masses have only limited power, corruption will be felt only to a limited extent, but in a *Democratic republic*, where the people at large are the basis of representation, and the representatives the basis of government, there must be good leaven for the whole lump. Corruption or ignorance among the masses is too sure to count one by one, its numbers, in the actual condition of the nation. The only relief is, that if in minority it is under control; if reaching forward boldly toward a majority, it is a fearful thing. The goodness and the greatness of our ancestors, embodied in the example and Constitution they have left us, may check and retard the process of decay, but like the good constitution of a man, inherited from sound parents, it will not withstand subsequent seeds of disease and death.

Mere love of liberty never founded a republic which it sustained. Liberty is not a god or a goddess, and the love of it without the power of morals or of mind, is in government as in every thing else, *Licentiousness*. Morality and education, and a wise system of restraints, were recognized by our fathers as the basis of republicanism. Their sought liberty was religious as well as civil, intelligent as well as earnest, law-abiding as well as free. If less of what we term liberal education, there was more of moral principle, and any corruption among masses was more in abeyance to a higher public tone of character.

There is little need of labored argument to show that the moral standing of our nation has deteriorated. It is the theme of the patriot, the statesman, the philanthropist, as well as of the moralist and the Christian. The people know it, the government feels it, the press speaks it, the halls of legislation show it, and the rebellion seals the

proof. The active causes of this state of affairs, have been potent from the very methods of operating our political system. The State, in its anxiety to keep apart from the Church, has taken a still further step and divorced education from religion. Education itself has, in many sections, been grossly neglected, and hence we have had to contend with two of the most perilous enemies of true liberty—Ignorance on the one hand, and unprincipled education on the other.

Libertinism and anarchy can ask no better associates; the masses, uninformed enough to be led, and the leaders educated enough to be wise for mischief. Hence the most troublesome traitors to the nation have been, mentally speaking, educated men. *We have failed to recognize this as a Christian nation. We have failed to act as if, not only education, but the modes of education, were national interests, more than tariffs, or banks, or slave laws, or internal improvements. Territories have been received as states, without any reference either to intelligence or morals, but on the sole bad basis of numbers. Statesmanship has been directed far more to questions of financial policy than to those of social reform.* Annexation, commerce, manufactures and all the round of finance, have been called the vital issues. Review the records of executive, legislative and judicial acts, for the last fifty years, and the question least of all agitated, has been the mode of improving the moral and social condition of the people. The training of the nation is radically wrong. The whole influence of the government has not been felt for good, upon either the intellects or the hearts of the people. Our statesmen have long enough worked at incidentals. It is time to step back to fundamentals, and have government and people feel that if the stone-work is not strengthened the building will fall. Though patched and plastered, fluted and porticoed, grandly frescoed, and munificently adorned by all the ingenuity of legislative artists, it cannot stand. It is needful to meet the emergencies of shattered columns and widening crevices, but only as watching the opportunity and feeling the imperative necessity of dealing with causes rather than results. The unmistakable tendency of our republic, for many years past, towards destruction, has been but precipitated by the crisis of which slavery was the instigating monarch. In irreligion and ignorance, in party spirit and party machinery, in luxury and effeminacy, in pecuniary subserviency, and political corruption, in libertinism and lawlessness, bad theories, and bad facts and acts, North and South, there was enough to excite the most serious forebodings, even apart from the

sectional sins that have hurried us to the conflict. We now have an opportunity, while the ship is at sea, to throw overboard some of the troublesome freight to which we are too apt to cling in a calm, and thus lighten it of an unsafe cargo.

It is in vain to expect moral principle in a government, unless the government itself is arranged and administered in reference thereto. It will not insinuate itself. It is not with governments a natural growth. It is only when the people and those chief in power, come to feel that without morality and education, all the commercial and ancestral advantages of a republic will not save it, that a stable, abiding, free government becomes a possibility. This is the deep and broad lesson of the War, and it is for us to act upon it. I know not that it will cease until we feel ourselves learning fastly and earnestly in that direction.

In looking at the Farewell Address of our beloved Washington, representing, as it does, the better sentiment of his times, it is delightful to see how fully this idea is represented and enforced. Already he began to feel that there were signs of a deficiency of moral strength, and hence you will notice how earnestly he dwells upon moral influences, how pointedly he pleaded for the virtues of the people; how, for the time, he seemed to loose sight of all so-called legal or financial questions, and even of intellectual culture, in his anxiety as a patriot, for that of the heart. He knew, as we ought to know, that a stable, free government, without such a basis, must be an impossibility. Greece and Rome had demonstrated it, and reason and experience confirmed it. Nations are very apt to be deceived in this respect. They aggregate together a form, a constitution, a body of laws, a civil polity in all its details, commit them to men of ill talent, and then accustom themselves to speak and to think as if the welfare of the nation turned upon this or that political measure or financial scheme. Now these, though quite important, are but the outside limbs and members of the body politic. They are not the five senses. The grand trunk and bark in the republican tree of Liberty, the circulating medium of the life power, are moral principle among the masses, and such intelligence as will give to it mental power, circulation and united action. It can not be concealed, that either the people have failed to sustain morality in the government, or the government failed to encourage and secure it among the people. They are correlative to, and associated with each other. The masses may be so impressed in such an era as this, with the true essentials of

success as to permit the better class to represent the nation, or in an emergency, the government itself may become the reformer of the people. The great question, therefore, to the solution of which the patriot should address profound attention in these our times is, How shall the government and people be brought to a higher standard of *moral*, and a more judicious *mental* culture? Other questions and issues are important as relating to immediate exigencies, but he is a narrow-minded legislator who is not, after all, looking out with eager watchfulness, for the opportunity to plant deep such fundamental ideas as shall establish a correct moral basis. Whether prominent national sins should not be declared and shown to be distasteful to the government, and placed under process of abatement? Whether the Bible should not be allowed and used in every public school of the land? Whether a system of schools, united with religious associations, should not be encouraged as well as the public school, now studiously freed from any moral influence? Whether the right of franchise should not be limited to those who can read and write, since means are provided for the poor; and most of all how to train the rising generation morally? These, and such like items, as broad in political as in social bearings, should be thoroughly under consideration. While dealing with special questions of immediate crisis, we had better be laying the foundations of which alone perpetuity can be predicated. If not, we are but patching up for emergencies, and leaving foundations and frame-work in process of decay.

There are numbers of political cobblers, and timid moralists, who think we have enough on hand without meddling with any such matters, but we always shall have enough on hand if we do not meddle with them. We have the men and the means; we have the power of a felt necessity; we have the most disturbing element, by its own action withdrawn from our national councils, and if earnest in right, we have God-bestowed power now as never before. *If government and people will for once dare to do right*, we will struggle out of the troublous quagmires in which policy and expediency have been wallowing us, and stand upon the firmer, higher, safer, easier platform of conscious right. Though an angry and surging ocean is beating about us, like the good forefathers of 1622—let us dare to feel and declare, God and the Word of God, a good conscience, and faith in the strength of right as the rock, which alone can lift our heads above the breakers, and the powers which alone can make an abiding peace to the storm. We have no theory that the nation must

become a saint in order to save it, or that wickedness is likely to cease soon in this part of the earth; but we do believe and know that a higher standard of right would conduce to a higher approximation thereto; that a more realizing sense of the necessary purity of a republican government, in order to success, would lead to more sagacity in this direction, and more than all, that He who is King over all blessed for ever, will sustain that nation which endeavors to sustain itself. Even errors are kept alive and potent for a long period, by virtue of the mingled truth they contain, and our nation with all its lapsings, has still enough of the preserving principle, if it is only directed toward a higher moral stand-point.

Having thus noticed the great general indication as to our refuge for safety, we turn to the notice of specific sins, which are now distressing us, and which seem to need immediate remedies. Slavery, intemperance, and politics are to us, at present, the most formidable results of neglect of principles above noticed, and as they are threatening in their actual present enormity, we should leave the discussion but half completed did we not consider the modes of dealing with these. What shall be done with Slavery? In answering this question it is not necessary to recount, at any length, the proofs of its sad enormity. English law and English opinion had thoroughly canvassed the arguments pro and con in respect to it, long before it became so prominently a national question with us. Historical facts have long since proven the horrors of the slave trade, close, logical argument demonstrated the wickedness of the bondage, solid prose exposed its evils, and pathetic verse moved the heart against its endurance. What it costs to get rid of it, and the possibility of so doing, the life and labors of Wilberforce and his noble compeers, are the best illucidation thereof. These at one stroke illustrate with what pertinacity human nature and national law will cling to a crime, when pecuniarily profitable, and how certainly, too, persistency in defence of right will overcome at last. Though in the sentiment of the beautiful sonnet of Wordsworth to Clarkson:

"It was an obstinate hill to climb, toilsome and dire,  
Yet zeal did find repose at length in victory."

The system of American slavery, as a bold actual existence in the 19th century of the world's new life, is no improvement upon any other form of bondage; and our rejoicing is, that after the conflicting efforts of a half century, we have to-day a president who is the type of the idea, that slavery and freedom cannot co-exist as a permanency

in the American Republic. We shall therefore take it for granted, that among those best able to judge, slavery has come to be regarded as, in all its working and influences, evil and only evil, and that continually. Yet this does not lead us to sympathize with those merely moral reformers, who are so immensely opposed to slavery as to see no other national sin, and to feel that with this removed, all is peace and quietness. There are bold infidels, miserable socialists, political hacks, dissolute men who talk morality as to slavery and are immoral themselves in every thing else, and these, in their own department of sin, are doing as much to the detriment of civil freedom as their position and circumstances will allow. Slavery is not our only sin, even as to it the South is not solely responsible, and it is well to keep this in view, in dealing with the crime. It is no reason for palliating the punishment, but is a reason why we should not foster personal or sectional animosities. We speak of it then as *one of our* national sins, the one chief in enormity and most prominent in bad results, and as such first inquire what shall be done as to it ?

We believe the emancipation policy of the President, in its general outline, suggests the proper method to be pursued in respect to it. It is evidently based upon three prominent ideas connected with our present condition, and with the admitted relations of our Government : First, The incompatibility of slavery with republican institutions. Second, The right, or, at least, the advisability of states dealing with their own local institutions. It cannot be denied that when a local institution of a state seriously interferes with the welfare of the Union, that the General Government may be under necessity of interference therewith, but where the same object can be accomplished by state action it is far better. Third, The emancipation policy recognizes the fact that an immediate, universal emancipation act would be injurious to the race concerned, and be a source of evil to them, only second to that of bondage itself. It in no way apologizes for slavery itself, or palliates its evil ; it does not bring in the doctrine of expediency, in determining whether slavery itself is wrong ; but as determining the right way to do a right thing. The gradual emancipationist has no more apologies for or compromises with the system than the most hurried abolitionist. Both agree as to what must in some way or other be accomplished. They only differ as to methods. They illustrate two classes of good men, just such as we find in almost every prominent, moral, social or reformatory question ; the impracticable good man, who has a conscience as to the essential



right of a thing, but none as to the mode of accomplishing it, and, therefore, seldom or never succeeds ; and the practical good man, who, like the other, and as clearly too, sees the right, but also sees the right method of accomplishing it. An act to-day from our President and Congress, declaring universal emancipation, without compensation or provision for the emancipated race, would have as much effect in the South as if we were to attempt to regulate labor in China, and at the North could not but excite dissension and distrust.

*But should not our government go still further than it has as to the system of gradual emancipation and compensation which it may deem wise to initiate, and not allow ANY SECEDED STATE again to take its former position, except upon the condition that such policy be accepted ?* There is a decided improbability that all the states will at present or in prospect, accept the plan proposed, if we cling to the doctrine, that according to the Constitution we have no right to interfere with slavery in the seceded states. Even yet, the scheme of emancipation has met with very moderate favor in border states, and been opposed by most of their representatives. Slavery has been largely remunerative to the owners, and its influence is so debasing and prejudicing that we may not expect those concerned to be moved by the same arguments which convince others. As well might you hope to find the friends of temperance resident in hotels and grog shops, as to find the friends of freedom among slave proprietors. We have already had abundant proof how little even the more liberal-minded of the South are to be relied upon in considering, discussing or voting upon this question. The better class of their so-called Unionists, although unconscious of their prejudices, see as through this glass darkly, and with the exception of a few such as Clay, R. J. Breckinridge, Brownlow and others, who have reached the higher plane, and gaze with unclouded view, the local institution still holds the owner's mind in vassalage. It is rarely that any vice is limited or expelled by the action of those who derive from it pecuniary support, save where law, persuasion and locality invite to its extermination. Such influences do not reach most of the slave states, and if those now in rebellion are welcomed back to all former privileges, with the fugitive slave law enforced, the right to interfere with the local institution denied by us as well as them, and the idea, by this their reception, becoming a new pledge and contract, we believe that we should but secure more firmly than ever the perpetuity of slavery on the southern slopes. An evil so poisonous to republican government

as well as so contrary to the moral feelings of humanity, it is not our privilege to leave to such a process. With the monopoly of this kind of labor thus secured by the cotton states, the worst passions of humanity would be appealed to in its support, and, while not so prominent in the Government, it could not but be a source of mischief, beside the sad providential visitations to which it would subject us. Never will we be allowed to reunite the nation ignoring any reference to our national sins, and if we hope so to do, we shall miserably fail. Our watchwords must be these :

THE UNION ! "It must and shall be preserved."

OUR NATIONAL SINS ! They must be forsaken.

EDUCATION AND MORALS ! They must be sustained.

But the question at once arises as one of great importance, whether it is not contrary to the Constitution, to require of the seceded states accession to the doctrine of gradual emancipation before they resume their position in the Union. And this brings us to deal with one of the most monstrous fallacies of our day. It is, that the rebellion is to be dealt with, even so far as the state rights of the seceded states are concerned, in accordance with and entirely within limits of the Constitution. By many who put forward this sophistry it is known and recognized as a fallacious argument. It is adduced by the very men who are the least indignant at the rebellion itself, the highest disregard of the Constitution of which a state or people could be capable. And it will in the records of our Congress generally be found, that the very ones who palliate the crime of treason, and are opposed to confiscations and punishments, are those who are special pleaders for adherence to the Constitution in any measure unfavorably affecting so-called southern interests. The loyal people of the United States not only respect the Constitution, but so long as it is the law of the land, because it is such, desire its fulfilment in letter and spirit to all entitled to the benefit of its provisions. But it is a very different question as to how far the Constitution guides us and how much it limits us in dealing with such a rebellion as this. Because under the present Constitution we have no right to free the slave of Delaware, it by no means follows, that we have not, if thought best, the right to decree such a measure in South Carolina. Even with a casual examination of the Constitution, the broad, palpable, indisputable fact meets us at every section, that it was not made for the rebellion. It is a document for the government of a true, loyal, law-abiding people. Its chief aim is to unfold the general method of our government in

subservient to the interests of a nation at peace. True, there are allusions and provisions having reference to war, but these evidently relate to foreign aggression or mere local insurrection. *The idea of a brotherhood of states larger than the original thirteen, in a condition of rebellion, was never legislated for in the Constitution.* It is in no wise such a war document.

Contingencies have occurred in no wise legislated for in the instrument. No nation in its written constitution, ever provided for such an internal exigency as this. Extraordinary crises require extraordinary provisions. For states in a condition of armed and intense rebellion, without a parallel in the records of history, to plead their rights under the Constitution, is the boldest fallacy conceivable. For sympathizers with them, or so-called conservatives in our government, to attempt to apply definitely and specifically to them the provisions of the Constitution is equally preposterous. They are not under the Constitution, but have rebelled against it to an extent not provided for therein. As a compact, they have separated themselves; as a contract, they have broken it; and though this does not release them, it does release us from treating them as if faithful. They are subject to damages such as are not specified, because no where in the document are we told what shall be the punishment for ten states, by means most desperate and unprincipled, seeking to destroy both Constitution and nation. There is a sense, in the law of nations, in which a contract broken and entirely ignored, leaves the dominant party in possession of the right to demand more than the original terms, and especially if moral wrongs have caused the difficulty and matured the bad results. So far as the Constitution, by letter and spirit, gives us the clue to action amid treasonable crises it is worthy of regard, but it cannot be considered as at all limiting us in its details. The chief guide the Constitution affords us in a state of war, is as defining what may be done among ourselves rather than what should be exacted from the belligerent power. If it provides for any such emergency, it is where the Supreme Court is given "original jurisdiction over all questions arising between two or more states." But even this does not anticipate armed rebellion, but rather peaceful adjudication. A state that has taken the law in its own hands, can not then claim the jurisdiction of the government from which it has revolted. Its only rights are those it possesses under the law of nations. Its authorities are the Vattels, not the Valandighams of the world. The rights of a loyal state under the Constitution may justly be pleaded in any and every emergency, *but what are the rights of a disloyal state, by armed treason*

*killing our loyal sons, destroying our public and private possessions, and threatening our very national existence, I cannot find specified in the bond.* All reference to armed rebellions, insurrections, treason and the like, are evidently in case of individuals, or of parts of states.

We have already, from acknowledged necessity as a government, adopted certain measures in reference to the seceded states which are manifestly against the constitutional provisions intended for the *loyal*. The seceded states can not be dealt with according to the Constitution, any more than Diphtheria can according to Galen. Both are good authorities, but do not treat of the disease. The doctors of law and of medicine are to treat both according to the best judgment and the best information which investigation and attention can furnish. Throughout this rebellion we have from absolute necessity, in many a crisis, acknowledged this principle. Ports have been closed, blockades instituted, harbors obstructed, private rights restricted, property destroyed, and authority in various ways exercised, which at any other time would have been monstrous tyranny. Our forefathers wisely left us to deal with such a crisis as this, according to our own judgments and the general principles of international law. Our chief mistake has been that we have not used this power enough.

But there is still another sophistry, formidable, because indulged in by many who are high in authority, and patriots at heart, which, if adopted, leaves us powerless to overcome this rebellion. It is, that inasmuch as there is no such thing as the right of secession, therefore no states have seceded, and, as still members of the Union, they are entitled to all the privileges and immunities thereof. In accordance with this technical play upon words, it is affirmed that the rebellion is one of individuals and not of states ; that a majority does not constitute a state, but the loyal citizens do, and that therefore, so long as a state has a loyal member resident therein, he is the state, and as such the state and he are entitled to all their privileges under the Constitution. The Government itself has fallen into this logically worded illogical doctrine, and hence in the management of Western Virginia, and in the provisional governorship of Tennessee, Louisiana, and Carolina, finds itself involved in questions of law, for which it has to extemporize the statutes, and then wrap their legality all around with the great martial cloak of military law.

The error is in a double meaning attached to the word *right*, and in a false distinction drawn between a state and its people. When

we say truly that a state has no right to and can not secede, it does not follow as a logical deduction therefrom, that having under most flagrant circumstances made the attempt, it has not forfeited some or all of its former rights. Because it has no right to secede, this by no means releases it from a penalty, any more than the culprit is released from the punishment of his crime because he had no right to commit it. The very fact that there is no such thing as the right of secession makes the state liable to such forfeiture and attain as the General Government may see fit to inflict upon it, whether it be a judgment like that for a petty larceny, or such as would be visited upon the most flagrant crime in the category of disobedience. It is entirely in the province of our Government to determine the punishment, and as there is none specified in the Constitution, it is for the law of nations to determine the penalty. What that is, the English method of dealing with rebellions clearly determines.

Again, when you come to speak of a state under a republican form of government, you can speak of it in no other way than as represented by its constituted, legislative, executive and judicial authorities, except it be when these prove recreant to fall back upon the original power of the state which is that of majorities. Hence, by the law and custom of all free nations, the people are made accountable for the acts of the ruling powers, except where majorities show their disapprobation thereof. There is no liberal government on the face of the earth, in which it is not considered *just* to judge a people of a state by the voice of their rulers, and it is especial leniency if, in addition, reference is had to the voice of the majority of the people as confirmatory or corrective thereof. If in such a rebel state there are loyal men, they are by the wrong action of the majority, which is the only ultimate power which constitutes a republican state, cut off from the usual state-rights, and their only rights are those which refer or accrue to them in relation to the general government. They fall back under its jurisdiction entitled only to the privileges which belong to the citizens of a territory or to those of the District of Columbia. If a man by treason forfeits his relations to a state, so a state by treason forfeits its relations to the general government. A loyal citizen in it, as a citizen of the United States, is entitled to all the protection which accrues to him as a United States citizen independent of his state relations. When we say a state has no right to secede we now only mean to say that instead of so-called seceding, it has rebelled in fact and form. It has placed itself in a position of

abnegation, denial and rupture of the contract it once made, and bears the same relation to us that Ireland, or the separate states of our own country did in their great rebellions to the mother country. Call it insurrection, secession, revolution, rebellion or what you may, we all know it means just what a desperate son means when he denies all the authority of his father, scorns his counsel, sets at nought his reproof, and then attempts to slay him. The very act in itself is a forfeiture. No constitution the world has ever seen, ever thought of providing for such a contingency. Every constitution does provide for individual cases of treason and for local insurrections, but when whole parts and parcels of the government rebel, the whole subject is modified. It is as if one department of the government rebelled in toto; and the Constitution no more directs, or limits us in dealing with such a condition of things, than it gives rules of procedure in case the Congress and the Superior Court should rebel. It is to be treated by those laws of judgment and of precedent by which armed and extensive rebellions have always been managed.

In carrying out these principles we are to recognize the mercy of justice. He is the most merciful surgeon who cuts or burns deepest and quickest about the wound of Hydrophobia, and he the most merciful legislator, who, with strong hand, applies laws and forces equal to such a crisis. Mercy herself, from her sublimest heights of compassion, knows justice as her friend and not her rival, and the government which attempts to be merciful without being just, always is a failure. God himself is the only governor who ever made it possible to pardon the rebel and yet sustain his government, and He made it possible only at the cost of the Cross. Neither the law of God, nor our law, the Constitution, prohibits us from those means which are needed to crush this rebellion. State rights quail before human rights. They vanish when the state attacks the nation; when the child is murdering the father. The Constitution directs the loyal states now just as much as ever before in their relations to each other, or in dealing with any insurrection arising in parts of the loyal states, but never at all does it indicate what we are to do when whole states are in armed rebellion. The citizen of Virginia, who is loyal, is today entitled to the protection of his property if moved to Maryland or Missouri. But by virtue of the present status of his state he has forfeited all claim to protection in the rights which accrue to him only as a state citizen there. It is no more the duty of our Government under the Constitution, not to interfere with his slaves if kept

in a rebel state than it would be their duty to protect him in carrying his slaves on a traveling tour through Europe. It is high time we should cease to cease this miserable twaddle about the rights of rebel states and of rebels under the Constitution. What would you have thought of our forefathers if in their holy and just cause, history had recorded that after the declaration of the 4th of July, 1776, they kept claiming their rights under the British Constitution. They had no such soft spot. Up to the time they meant only redress, they did talk only thus, but after that day never again. Yet the South seeking not redress, but separation, and the Tories of the North, are still in this unholy rebellion against liberty and in behalf of the despotism of slavery, prating of *rebel state-rights* under the Constitution.

It seems to us, therefore, entirely a question of statesmanship, right, judgment and propriety, untrameled by any provision of our Constitution, having reference to loyal states, for us to decide in what manner we shall deal with slavery in the seceded states. With that question the Constitution has nothing to do. It is a matter to be determined only by the laws of impartial justice, united to such mercy as is consistent and allowable therewith. Some will say, conciliate them by forgiving them and receiving them back as members of the household, our equals and our friends, and this would do if it would be just, if it would be judicious, if they repented of their sin with full endeavor after new obedience; but if they desire to return unrepenting and with their sin in their right hand, clinging to it as their cherished love, it is a matter quite different. We believe there are but two questions debatable in respect to their future position, in case it is in our power as a nation, to determine it. These are, whether we shall subjugate them, or whether confiscating the slave as well as other property, of all known rebels, we shall demand of the state an acceptance of the Gradual Emancipation policy, with remuneration for the slaves as a condition of their return. If we may thus put the evil in process of decay, we may, perhaps, be able to survive a gradually decreasing wrong; but sooner than receive them back just as they were before, let us run the noble, hopeful peril of stern defence, of stern right, and not be swallowed up in sinful participation with Korah and his company. *When the war ceases to be a selfish one, and becomes one of principle, when it is in behalf of human rights and justice generally, as well as for our country, when we come to contend for the glory of God and the welfare of humanity, then we may ask the God of battles to be with us, and he will hear us. Mere national policy ought to teach us that it is not safe to take into our bosoms the viper which has wounded us al-*

most to mortality, or again to nurse the weapon that impelled the dart. But above all these, the argument to be derived from the moral wrong or sustaining iniquity by a law, is the one that should seize upon us and give point and power to our effort.

It is policy individually to do right, even in this world, as a rule, but still more so for a nation, since its retributions are all in this world and not in the next. The cost of doing right is never to be calculated when it is for the prevention of doing wrong. The cost of just one sin, although it once seemed so profitable, is now being rolled up upon and thrust through the American people faster than all the cotton bales and sweet barrels of 60 years have replenished our treasuries, and letters of blood, red with the mingled currents of thousands of hearts, spell out legibly the sentence: "It always pays best for a nation to forsake its sins."

But in considering the condition of our nation at the present time, it will not do for all our views to revolve around Slavery, as if this were our only sin, or as if a settlement in respect to it would at once clear our political horizon of every threatening cloud. There are other powers of darkness boring away into the solidities of our framework, of which we have great occasion to take cognizance in such perilous times as these.

Intemperance is second only to slavery, in the wickedness it entails upon the nation, and in the derangement which it causes of our governmental machinery. In its power of general corruption, in its universality all over the land, and in the miserable machinery by which it aids corrupt legislation to accomplish its ends, it is even more active than slavery itself. Even in the South, King Alcohol has been a general partner with King Cotton, and throughout the North has held most potent sway. Besides its mediate force in reducing the moral status of the nation, and aiding and abetting in every form, those vices which are all inimical to republican government, its immediate evils are felt at the ballot-box, the starting point, the platform, the sacred acre in the grand area of freedom. So long as the place of voting is the place of rum, so long as demagogues and politicians may deal out intoxicating draughts to those whose votes or influence they thus expect to foster, so long as the vote of the drunken debauchee can negative that of the consistent patriot, so long as such popular sovereignty as this is popular, so long will republican government in our land, be on the road to desolation. Can a clean thing come from such uncleanness? Can good government be the logical or practical result of such influences? There is no law in nature by which bad trees hang luscious with good fruit, and so long as we nourish and propagate such plants, we shall have apples of Sodom on the tree of liberty. So



long as we attempt the hazardous experiment of nurturing, or allowing vice, and giving it equal power with virtue, so long we shall be political chemists playing with bad combustibles, and ever and anon the explosions will come. Only when the ballot-box is made to represent the views of a people, the majority of whom are loyal, moral and intelligent, can we expect a good republican government, and that will not occur so long as those evils which prominently foster vice and pander to it, are so little under restraint. The law of self-preservation requires of a republican government that it prohibit the beverage use of intoxicating liquors, especially on days of election, that it locate its places for holding elections at town halls, or school houses, or on other town or district public property, and that it punish drunkenness at the same time that it is sedulously securing such moral culture as will diminish such vices. It is our duty as patriots as well as philanthropists, to see to it that the laws are enforced and temperance and sobriety, by precept and example, encouraged

Our third prominent national sin is our politics. From causes heretofore mentioned, and from the very methods of operating our political system, great calamity and disaster accrue to the nation. Lord Mansfield said, "I want popularity, but that which comes, not that which is run after." There is too little of this sentiment among our people. Politics has come to be too much a trade. It is a most unfortunate thing for any, and chiefly for a republican government, when office-seeking becomes a popular vocation. It has no right to take its place among the mechanic arts. In the early statutes of Connecticut there was a provision, that any one who was chosen by the people as their governor, and would not accept, should be subjected to a heavy penalty, but now there is scarcely need for such provision in respect to the most insignificant town office in the gift of a road district. The love of office has permeated all ranks of American society. Thousands conceive that they have ability to govern, while masses are restless in the idea of being governed. Not that men may not with propriety, desire, and under honorable restrictions, seek, places of trust, honor and emolument; but so frantic has this desire become, that it outruns all the bounds of moderation or modesty. It has substituted restlessness and impatience of restraint, for civil contentment, and has become the Moloch of the American people. The whole method of operating American politics has encouraged this. No party, of late years, has dared to risk its success by advocating permanency of official positions. It has been felt that such a course would strike a death blow to the exciting causes of party activity. No chance for an office! Why, such a plank in the platform would let slip two-thirds of the political

standard-bearers of the land. Hence the doctrine of frequent changes of office has become popular. Elections are the signals for official changes. The question of competency, the cost of these changes, the value of experience in that particular department, are little esteemed in comparison with the idea that the chief ones who have aided in success, shall now be rewarded by positions. Such a doctrine, carried into practical execution, as it most thoroughly has been in our day, will ruin any government. It is a gilded bonus and regular premium for venality. It is a wholesale bid for corruption. Men thus are led to spend money, time, influence, character, for mere party purposes, expecting to receive their pay in the rewards and emoluments of office. It is a noble part of the plan of our government, that hereditary rights should not be the test of desert, and that every position should be alike open to all, but it was never intended that the changes should be made, or offices created just for the purpose of vacancies, or that any other test but merit, should avail the candidate for public places of trust and honor. Frequent changes of office are generally unfriendly to stability. That is the best method of operating a government which retains its good and efficient men longest in office, and rids itself of the unreliable or inefficient with the greatest ease. It is a most dangerous political habit, to change officers merely because the the period of election has returned. While it is desirable to have ballots at intervals not too distant, in order that officials may be subjected to the test of opinion, yet it is highly desirable that the nation should be strongly averse to any change except for most manifest reasons. The contrary is the popular course, and is full of disaster to the interests of our country. It adds immensely to national expenses, it institutes office seeking as a special department of American training, it encourages party spirit, that bane of republics, it displaces men just as they have become most efficient, and by the servility and instability it creates and fosters, jeopardizes the welfare of the nation. Were there a recognition of the evils arising from this source, and a change in action corresponding thereto, we should do more toward imparting economy, stability and harmony to our political system, than by any other mere political arrangement whatever. Our vast country, with its broad invitations to every species of agricultural, commercial and artistic enterprise, and with positions of honor and emolument open in every profession, can do good justice to the talents and energies of its people without making of its politics a trade, or so ceaselessly throwing the golden apple into the arena of political strife. When the political conscience is so corrupt, as that our chief ones receive fortunes as a bribe, and regard it as a legitimate business

transaction, it is high time that the people should begin to dry up some of the sources of such degradation. In fact, so corrupt have the politics of our country become, that it is scarcely possible for a man of high-toned moral principle to mingle in the arena of political legislation without a sacrifice of moral standing, and of a discerning conscience. He at least who has passed to success and popularity through all the grades of political culture, from the primary meeting to posts of national honor, has the witness in himself of moral unfitness for the position of a republican statesman. Exceptions there may be, but they are barely enough to help substantiate the rule. A bold politician once said: "I am not afraid to run against a good man, for I can always beat him, but a man worse than myself, I am always afraid of;" and although few would be willing to put the fact so strongly, it is true that high-toned moral principle is but a very minor element in political success. Hence many of our purest as well as ablest statesmen, have withdrawn or been thrust from the posts of national honor because of this very thing. Knowledge and virtue must be in demand in our politics; else they will not have the opportunity to perpetuate our independence. The organic law and principle upon which republican liberty becomes a possibility, takes for granted the majority power of justice, virtue and truth in politics, as well as every where else.

We have thus specifically noticed slavery, intemperance, and politics as the three prominent national sins requiring legislative or popular interference and abatement, not forgetting, however, that no republic reforms will be permanently successful unless sustained by the under-arching conviction that intelligent religious principle must be at the basis of all. Mere reforms are always worthy of being made, and sometimes, by stress of emergency, necessary, as if in themselves curative, but only with the hope that intelligent moral action in the future will not only support them, but produce results not standing in need of reform. Such a recognized principle was the only one that made our forefathers hope and plan for the permanency of a republican government. Independent of this, they well knew that the grandeur of its conception would be surpassed by the magnitude of its ruin. On every other basis the experiment had been tried to their satisfaction, and they proposed to repeat it, only because religion, virtue, and education combined, seemed to have offered a new and better foundation on which to build. But for too long a time our free temple has been sliding off from its base. Civil liberty has, with too many, ceased to be recognized as a *system of restraints*, with the provision only, that the restraints are those conducing to the moral, intellectual, and

physical welfare of the people. Justice has been too often decried on the plea of mercy. It has become immensely popular to do just as one pleases, to call just restraint, oppression; justice, tyranny; a regard to law, severity; and adequate punishments, cruelty. Next to the prevention of moral evil, a vigorous punishment of crime is the highest essential of a republic; and a pardoning power against crime, and rebellion especially, is the most dangerous any government can exercise. Such a thing as republican liberty in perpetuity is only possible when rulers and ruled recognize it as a system so balanced and ordered as to promote industry, morality and intelligence, and so appreciative of good things, and so condign in its punishment of evil things as to foster the one and dismay the other. It is sadly inexpedient as well as wrong to forget in our doings, even now, that such are the piers on which rest the spanning arches of American freedom; and though it is a severe task to relay the abutments 'mid tempest and storm, yet if not now relaid there is no hope. The necessity is worthy of gigantic effort. If we hesitate too long, if we trust too much to patching, the superstructure itself will be in ruins, and who then shall gather up the fragments? It is grand for a man in emergencies to dare to do right, and for a nation it is a sublime necessity. For our nation, it is the only salvation. This war may not cease until it brings us up to the point of decisive vindication of the only true foundations upon which national liberty can rest.

Good citizens must be at work. Truth will not prevail if its friends are sleeping, or merely groaning over the degradation of the times. They must be found laboring as those feeling that the moral and social as well as intellectual elevation of the masses is the problem, the solution of which is republican freedom. Let education be felt to mean heart-culture as well as mind-culture, and then be promoted as a great national interest. Let existing laws against public sins be enforced, and new ones add to their vigor. Let the ballot box be sacredly protected from the pollutions of rum, and of money-purchased votes. At the primary meeting, at the convention, at the polls, let the better classes always be found doing their duty. Cleanse the fountain and the streams will be pure also. Corrupt trees will never bear good governmental fruit.

Principle, and that means principled men, must again claim a voice in politics. We need, too, to review the whole popular idea of liberty, and to make the Government far more than it is, a system of wholesome restraint. How most or all of these things shall be done, are questions of no very difficult solution, when the majority comes to feel that they must be done in order to render political prosperity and existence possi-

ble. I, for one, believe that this war will not be permitted to end to our satisfaction until such necessities are more fully recognized. If our motto is, "Our Union, right or wrong," the impious sentiment will trail our banner in the dust. If we are willing to have it, and to keep it, with all its sins, still onward in their course, we shall never have it at all. Until the nation pants to be rid of its legalized and permitted corruptions, more than for a mere restoration of the Union, and for the latter chiefly as a means of securing the former, the white-winged dove of peace will never bear back to us the olive branch that shows the waters are retiring. It is not peace we need so much as purity. Would that this purity could have been purchased at a lower price; but purchased it must be, though with our own and our children's blood. National as well as personal afflictions are sometimes "blessings in disguise." If we will not be wooed with mercies, it is well to be driven with chastisements. Our nation needs as much as ever did a man to utter the cry—

"Nearer, my God, to Thee—  
Nearer to Thee;  
Ev'n though it be a cross  
That raiseth me."

If this war, even with its disasters, is not the hope of the nation, we have no hope. We must be purified, though as by fire. Fearful though the black clouds, the risen storm, the lightning flashes and the thunders roar, may be, yet they do purify the atmosphere, and after the day of overheat, restore vigor to an exhausted people. We are to seek to secure from the war, not only peace, but such national renovation as shall clothe peace in the garments of purity. A reaching out of the majority of the nation for a *higher, purer national life*; this, and this only, can make our war or our peace a success.

Just to-day may not be the precise time for the settlement of all questions as to our national sins and short-comings, but they are pending, and this is the era and epoch for such settlements. There must be a fixed conviction that they are to be abated and destroyed, that such are among the ultimate objects of the war, and the only legitimate questions are as to the methods. Every true American should be watching, and awaiting, and hastening on the day when our Government shall be administered on the basis of a purer morality, a more principled intelligence, and a more rigid enforcement of right and justice.

The three problems of the age are—

I. How to suppress the rebellion.

II. How to make the people of the seceded states fit to be received back into the Union, and

III. How so to reform the Government and the nation as to make them more powerful in promoting those virtues which give life to civil liberty.

These are great problems ; but our age, if equal to itself, is capable of their elucidation. If we make this a struggle for a purer national life, as well as for Union, in our repentance there is strength, and we solve the three in one, for then Jehovah is on our side. If the good and the great will but arise in the majesty of their God-aided power, behold victory ! If not, it is the beginning of the desolation.

With right views among the majority of the masses and among those in authority, very much can be accomplished in the right direction without any change of our Constitution. While we may not prescribe terms to the slave states still in the Union, to those which have rebelled, and in punishing whom the Constitution is not the penal statute, we may nobly and rightly say that justice and the public good requires an acceptance of the emancipation and remuneration policy, before we can reinstate them to the position of innocence. In relation to intemperance, political changes, and easily besetting national sins generally, much can be done by the general Government and by individual states in abatement, which, so far from conflicting with the Constitution, will but efficiently carry out its theories. While much depends upon the instrument itself, still more depends upon the operators and their modes of managing it, and it is highly and expediently possible now, as it never has been before, to make our Constitution as it is, subserve the high interests of a people aiming at a higher standard of morals in all that relates to government and law. Whether in the future it may need modification or amendment, is a question which time alone can determine. If we can not be rid of prominent national sins without such alteration, surely it will be our duty to make them ; but if, as we believe, the secession of ten states has afforded a solution of the problem, how to become eventually rid of slavery, there is at least one prominent evil that can be abated without such alteration, and we believe it to be conceded that the Constitution does not even tacitly admit the endurance of other sins. If it does, or if it fails in any way to conserve the interests of good morals, *the separate states may do much by way of reform, or the time will come when it may be proper to amend it.* It is one thing to change a Constitution in order the better to carry out the principles of its founders, and quite another to change its whole form and method. The loyal part of our nation is at present as well satisfied as ever before with the theory and the organic construction of our Government, and those who believe that slight modifications in

details are desirable, are very far from being enemies to the Constitution or to the will of its founders. As well might old Schaeffer, the printer, rise up to call Hoe his enemy, or Watt to denounce Fulton, or Franklin to curse Henry and Morse, as for the founders of our Government to be conceived as dishonored by those who believe that slight modifications would make their instrument more effective.

If our nation can only rise to the point of conforming the Government, and the people of the loyal states more to the Word of God, and the spirit of the Constitution, and will deal with the disloyal according to the principles of common sense and justice, and meet out punishments suitable to armed rebellion, then we shall make our times glorious in the records of the ages. It will no longer do to consider the rebellion as a local insurrection, palliated by circumstances. It is the highest outrage on the rights of man which history records, and as such a nation with intense earnestness, must deal out in a mass the force necessary to crush it. Forbearance now is hideous cruelty to untold millions. It is high time to resort even to severe measures, as necessary to quell the rebellion. We must deal out to it death-blows. We must pour out upon it all the fury that liberty requires to insure safety, and use all the weapons that are needed to battle out anarchy and misrule. It must be a struggle not for mere victory or restoration, but for a higher national life. We need not only to be reproduced, but rejuvenated, regenerated, expurgated. We desire not merely to beat back to where we have been for the last 20 years; in our politics, our morals, and our modes of mental and social development, traveling onward toward a precipice; but we must yearn to come again to peace, with faces turned toward the foundations of true freedom, with new lessons learned, or rather the good old lessons relearned, that principled education and intelligent virtue are indispensable in order to perpetuate independence. The war will not end until we know it and wish it to be a struggle for ideas, for principles, for purity and for civil liberty, as only the offspring of Christian civilization and intelligent morality.

Let the Government no longer hesitate to meet the crisis. While the South is fighting for secession and slavery, and others for the Union as *it was, with all its sins*, let the administration recognize it, as at once a struggle against rebellion, and for a reformation in all that relates to education, politics and morals. Thus far, both sides have log-rolled to please Satan, and the South is most expert in that direction. Now let us dare to call this conflict an attempt to place liberty on the pedestal of Christian principle; an attempt to cleanse the Augean stable of politics, to renounce and forsake our national sins, and to re-establish our nation on the basis

of a more closely defined liberty, a purer morality, and a more biblical civilization. There is power in such an aim more than in all the armies that now are treading the banks of the Potomac. The sword of the Lord and of Gideon will be ours, and the restoration be worthy of the name.

If we do not avow such a determination, is it not too probable that disaster and defeat will alternate with victory, until from the people, some God-fearing hero will arise, like Cromwell in the Commonwealth, rallying to his standard, the true, the virtuous and the brave, and like another Washington, lead on to victory, on grounds upon which God can be for us, and we shall do valiantly, for He it is that will tread down our enemies.

We believe the time has come when it is needful that our country shall feel and declare its policy, and then work, think, pray, give, endure as those who know what they are contending for, and that the objects are worthy of the greatest sacrifices of which a nation is ever capable. When we know and feel that the aims of our Government are not merely defensive and selfish, but aggressive, up to the determination to place itself upon a platform on which it dares firmly, but yet judiciously, to eliminate known sins, then we are fighting, not that we may be at ease in our sins, but that ourselves, posterity, our country, and the broad earth may be blessed. Then are we valiant for principle, equity, and righteousness, with truth as our banner, and God as our shield, and that makes a host before which our enemies will be but as "a very small thing." The conflict may be violent, but the victory will be commensurate with the struggle. "The blood of our sons, and the tears of our daughters, will be the showers and the dew-drops which will make our tree of liberty luscious with its choicest fruit, and the Star-Spangled Banner of American freedom wave over a nation, taught by experience and resolved in principle to make intelligent virtue and applied justice its foundation, practice, and aim.

Then "our example shall shake, like a tempest, the pestilential pool in which the virtues of our people are already beginning to stagnate, and restore the waters and the atmosphere to more than revolutionary purity." With such ends and aims in view, we shall have an object clearly defined and worthy of the highest patriotism, and the loftiest zeal, alike of the virtuous, the philanthropic, and the brave. We shall be engaged in a struggle in which our country, humanity, and God will be interested as upon our side, and we shall not fail of success. As the young men grow weary, or fall by the way, the sweat and the blood of the martyrs will



scatter the germs of a renewed life, and though purified as by fire and blood, a nation will survive worthy of such an ordeal. Let us then, as those warring in a just and holy cause, buckle on anew the armor of courage, and be valiant as men contending for principles worthy, if need be, of years of trying conflict and unflinching endurance. Our forefathers, not only in the revolutionary war, but in the severe self-denials and discipline of generations before, suffered as we have not yet commenced to reach a parallel, and who shall say that they, too, dearly paid for what the United States has done and been since 1776. With higher incentives to manly daring and courageous zeal, let us, too, endure for coming generations as they have endured for us, and upon the altar of our bleeding country plight faith to the memories of the past, to each other, ourselves, our country, our posterity, and our God, that we will be found faithful to the trust which has been committed to us, and sustain, like moral and intellectual, as well as physical heroes, the test to which we are subjected. With Christian civilization, intelligent morality, and impartial justice as the recognized pedestal on which alone national liberty can firmly stand, we will still bear aloft the insignia of American freedom, until the tempest and the storm are past, and from the trial and the triumph, gather at once the elements and assurance of perpetuity.













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