

# GARFIELD'S WORDS



*"A noble life, crowned with heroic death, rises above and outshines the pride and pomp and glory of the mightiest empire of the earth."*

House of Representatives, Dec. 9, 1868.

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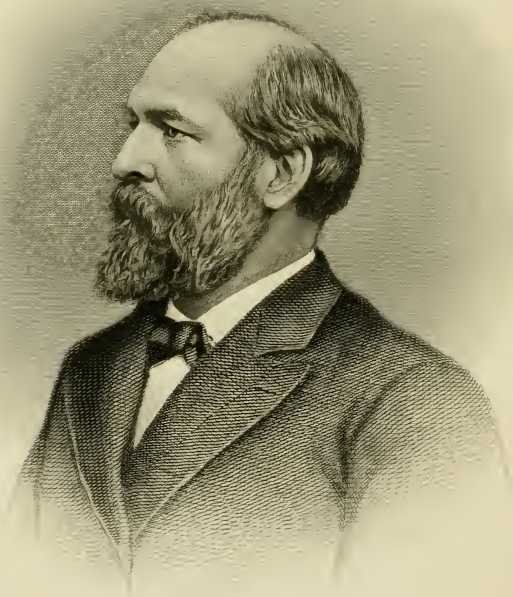












J. A. G. Field



INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS. — *Library Motto of James A. Garfield.*

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# GARFIELD'S WORDS:

SUGGESTIVE PASSAGES FROM

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WRITINGS

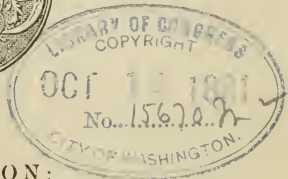
OF

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

II

COMPILED BY

WILLIAM RALSTON BALCH.



BOSTON:  
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The Riverside Press, Cambridge.

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01/11/10

To

THE MANY THOUSAND MEN AND WOMEN OF THIS REPUBLIC

WHOSE LIVES HAVE BEEN MADE BETTER AND NOBLER

BY THE MARTYRDOM OF

JAMES A. GARFIELD,

*This Volume*

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.



## PREFACE.



THE attention paid in this country to the literature of Congress and the literature of the stump is trifling. This, possibly, is excusable, as much of it is but the sawdust of debate, the dry chips that some prosy orator hews from the block of a tiresome topic. Literary brilliancies are seldom expected from political successes. In consequence much that is valuable, powerful, and eloquent of national life, appearing in speeches that are the exception to the rule, is missed by the majority.

The reader will, probably, read with surprise — not being aware of their existence — the clever, philosophical, manly, and patriotic sayings that are printed in the following pages. They are compiled from the public utterances and the private letters of our late President. It is indeed remarkable how thickly his speeches and letters are studded with jewels of utterance.

No apology is presented for offering this little

volume to the public, and, in the light of the events that have followed the black 2d of July, none is needed. The compiler has made no great effort at elaborate classification. The selections have been arranged so as to bear a certain relation of subject, and such references as were deemed necessary have been added. The index to subjects will permit of quick search for any desired theme.

The manly beauty, the wit and appreciable wisdom of much that President Garfield uttered, cannot but win its way to an abiding place in the hearts of the American people, and serve to bring them into closer relation with the admirable sentiments of the man who, elected to the highest post of honor in this Republic, died bravely in the discharge of the trusts committed to his hands.

WILLIAM RALSTON BALCH.

PHILADELPHIA, the Fall of 1881.

*I will pick up a few straws here and there over the broad field and will ask you a few moments to look at them.*

Garfield at Cleveland, October 11, 1879.

## MEMOIR.

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To tell the story of James Abram Garfield's life is to recite the trials and triumphs of the last twenty years of American history, so intimately was his life twined with that of the nation. Such a story will not be attempted here. Instead, will be given a few notes, which will recall to readers the series of grand influences that encircled him and which had so much to do with shaping his brave words.

He was born at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, on November 9, 1831, and had the advantage in his veins of a sound strain of blood. Abram Garfield, his father, was of Welsh descent, an ancestor, Edward Garfield, having renounced his home in Chester (Wales), to join great Governor Winthrop's Company in their search for land and living in the New World. The name Garfield — it is to be found to-day in Wales under the earlier form of Gaerfili, and in Massachusetts as Gaerfield — means, in Anglo-Saxon, "field-watch." Edward Garfield settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, where he and some of his descendants are buried. One of these,

Solomon Garfield, was the father of Abram Garfield and the grandfather of James Abram. Abram was named for an uncle Abram, who was among the foremost to repulse the British assault on Concord Bridge. After the assault, he joined Judge Hoar in drawing up a deposition for use by the Continental Congress, in proving that the British government was the aggressor and began the war which resulted in our independence. Abram Garfield's wife, the mother of the President, bore the historic name of Ballou and was the sixth in descent from Maturin Ballou, who fled to this country on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and found refuge in Rhode Island. Eliza Ballou, for such was her name, was married in 1819. All the best years of her life were passed in the wilderness, framed in the narrow boundaries of border civilization. Her husband died in 1833, and left upon her hands the raising of four children and the maintaining the fight for existence which from the first had been bitter. She bent herself bravely to the task, and her determination, patience, and perseverance were the first lessons of life James Garfield ever had. In the poverty and privation of life at the little homestead he fully shared. As soon as he felt himself able he struck for independence, and took the position of a driver on the canal boat *Evening Star*. From his career on the canal the ague cut him off.

At the usual age he entered the district school. Here he easily stood at the head of his class, and by



the time he was eighteen, he was possessed of all the school could teach him. He next attended for three terms the Geauga Seminary at Chester, Ohio. While studying there he paid his way with the earnings of carpentering, at which he worked early and late, and successfully. In 1851 he entered the Eclectic Institute, now Hiram College, at Hiram, Ohio, where he prepared for college. A kind word from the then President, Mark Hopkins, fixed Garfield's choice upon Williams College, at Williamstown, Massachusetts, and from there he graduated with the highest honors of his class in 1856. In seven years he had covered all the ground that lay between an old-fashioned district school and a high-class New England College. He had accomplished even more. He had taught school, he had worked at his carpenter's trade, and for two years while carrying on his studies at Hiram, he had occupied worthily a teacher's position. In all this learning and teaching he was eminently successful. Fate, it seemed, was shaping his life in the pitiless lines of a public educator.

On his return to Hiram from Williams, he was made instructor in Ancient Languages, a post he was not allowed to occupy long, as in less than a year he was chosen principal. He proved himself an educator of strong power and popularity. In 1858 he was married to Lucretia Rudolph, the grand-niece of Michel, Duke of Elchingen, Marshal Ney. About this time he began to think of useful-

ness in another field, that of the law. The breaking out of the civil war stopped progress in this direction, and swept him away to the front as lieutenant-colonel of the 42d Ohio Volunteers. His first operations in the fall of 1861, on being promoted to the colonelcy, were directed against General Humphrey Marshall, then occupying the Big Sandy Valley of Kentucky. For this and other able operations he was made a brigadier-general on January 10, 1862. Subsequently he commanded a brigade at Shiloh, was chosen chief of staff by Rosecrans, and was with George H. Thomas during the awful struggle at Chickamauga. For his "gallant and meritorious service" on this occasion he was made a major-general.

Quite early Garfield manifested an interest in politics. He attended his first political meeting during the Harrison campaign, though appearing more as a spectator than a participant. The Kansas-Nebraska difficulty was probably the first political question in which he interested himself, and his political career opened actively in 1857, when he took the stump, and did effective service for his party. Two years later he was elected a member of the Ohio Senate, taking his seat from Portage and Summit counties, his strong anti-slavery views having proved the credentials of his election. This honor he resigned on accepting a regiment. While at the front, in 1862, his friends at home chose him to represent the 19th Ohio Congressional District,

so long spoken for by honest, able Joshua R. Giddings. By the advice of President Lincoln and General Rosecrans, he accepted the honor and took his seat — the youngest member of Congress — on December 5, 1863, resigning from the army on the same day. To this body he was nine times successively elected, remaining a member until the close of the first session of the Forty-Sixth Congress, in the early summer of 1880. In January of that year he was chosen by the legislature of Ohio, to succeed Allen G. Thurman for the six years ending March 4, 1887. On June 10th following he received at Chicago, at the hands of the National Republican Convention, — of which he was a member, — the nomination to the Presidency. November 2d he was elected; March 4, 1881, he was inaugurated; July 2d he was struck down by a cowardly assassin, and on September 19th, at Elberon, New Jersey, he died, the regretted of the world.

His political career was one unbroken service to his country. He never made a speech that was not noticeable for honesty of purpose, earnestness of vision, soundness of judgment, unimpeachable logic, and overwhelming evidence, while framed in beautiful words, and animated by complete charity and manly courtesy. Among his associates during his term in Congress, William Pitt Fessenden, Lot M. Morrill, John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Hannibal Hamlin, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, Oliver P. Morton, Anthony, Reverdy Johnson,

bluff Ben Wade, John Sherman, Chandler, Blaine, Hill, Conkling, Logan, and others were members of the Senate, while in the House were E. B. Washburne, "the watch-dog of the Treasury;" Thaddeus Stevens, Schenck, Boutwell, Fenton, Henry Winter Davis, Allison, Kasson, of Iowa, Dawes, John A. Bingham, English of Connecticut, Pendleton of Ohio, Randall, George W. Julian, Fernando Wood, Judge Kelley, Frye, Hale, Hoar, Blair of New Hampshire, and many another man of brains. And yet no one of these can show so bright a page of service to the country as James A. Garfield. No one of these stamped his own likeness so deeply upon the Mosaic of national legislation of the past twenty years. During that period hardly one great measure of national importance was passed without the impress of the Garfield medallion. His service on most of the very important committees was continuous and untiring. He was either father or god-father to every sound financial measure originating during his career in Congress. He was the determined enemy of all forms of inflation, repudiation, and payment of just debts by jugglery. Slavery found in him a foe of magnificent proportions, the black man a friend of great value. Freedom and the inviolability of the Constitution were with him every-day texts. The doctrine of State sovereignty he attacked with bitter vehemence whenever it showed its head. The broadening of the scope and effect of education was a cherished hobby of

his, which he never lost an opportunity of riding to advantage. Protection was upheld, believed in, and defended. The sacredness of the public faith was a grand gospel. While believing that the South was "forever and forever wrong" on the great question that tore the nation in two, yet no Northern man forgave more quickly or more fully than he. He had no sympathy with the "bloody-shirt" antics of his party, and did what he could to condemn them. He never for an instant lost sight of his country, its honor, its welfare, or its citizens, and he never advanced any but enlightened and progressive principles. A profound student of statesmanship, he easily became the leader of the House, no less than the leader of his party. Brilliant in debate and oration, no member ever surpassed him in speech and argument, that are as well worth reading to-day as on the day of their delivery. Though a man of intense convictions, stating them in thunders of impassioned words, never was a political debater more courteous to his opponent, more mindful of the amenities of the forum, more generous in construing the utterances of those who differed with him. In marshaling evidence against the Democratic policy upon any measure, he would always quote from Democratic papers or Democratic orators, very seldom from the press and politicians of his own party. Pre-eminently a constructive statesman, he endowed his speeches with a practical quality that made them

immediately available for the principles and methods under discussion ; and this, too, when the amount of work that he accomplished was almost incredible. Besides serving on the Military Committee — then the most important and the busiest of all committees — of the House during the thirty-eighth Congress, 1863–65, he delivered speeches on the following: “Deficiency bill,” “Bill to continue bounties,” “Revenue bill,” “Confiscation,” “Conscription bill,” “Bill to revive grade of Lieutenant-General,” “Resolution of thanks to General Thomas,” “Sale of surplus gold,” “Relating to enlistments in the Southern States,” “Bill to drop unemployed general officers,” “New Jersey railroad bill,” “Currency bill,” “The state of the Union, in reply to Mr. Long,” “The expulsion of Mr. Long,” “A correspondence with the Rebels,” “Revenue bill (No. 405),” “The inquiry in relation to the Treasury Department,” “The Army appropriation bill,” “Pennsylvania war claims,” “The bankrupt bill,” “Repeal of fugitive slave law,” “Bill to provide for claims for rebellion losses.” And no one of these but what was most carefully and fully prepared. And from this beginning the stream of his activity widened into a vast sea.

As a lawyer his career was not so brilliant, but if we may accept the suggestion of the cases that he argued, it was because his political duties left him but little time for the law. And this is still more

patent when it is recollected that, with the exception of 1868 and 1880, he bore a conspicuous part in the yearly political canvass on the stump. Ohio, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, record with gratitude his powers in a canvass. He was the most serious and the most instructive man on the stump in the Republic. As a lawyer he was logical, clear, careful, never slighting anything or anybody, and always confirmed in the justice of his cause.

His scholar's career, his literary activity, his style, the training and habits of his mind are, perhaps, at this moment of the greatest interest. The growth of his intellect began with the unsurpassed English of the Bible, much of which he learned at his mother's knee. This was the grounding of that upright Christian career which he so earnestly entered upon and so fearlessly followed, of that profound reverence for Christian teachings, which was afterwards strengthened and confirmed by his preaching in the pulpits of his sect. The next mental development was his love of freedom and his ambition to be *something* in the world, brought out by the bristling pages of "The Pirate's Own Book," Weems's "Marion," border histories, and Grimshaw's "Napoleon," which also stirred his soldier's spirit, volumes that over and over again aroused his ready enthusiasm. To these succeeded the dry sentences of Kirkham's Grammar, then,

book-keeping, penmanship, and elocution. The next refining influences upon his mind were the able ministrations of his teacher at Hiram, Miss Almeda A. Booth, the Margaret Fuller of the West. Xenophon's "Anabasis," the Pastorals of Virgil, the Georgics and Bucolics entire, Demosthenes on the Crown, and the first six books of Homer, accompanied by a thorough drill in Latin and Greek grammar, preceded his entrance at college. In these studies he was very thorough, at all times examining and perusing collateral works to the particular text book upon which he was engaged.

On his arrival at Williamstown he found a great prize, — a good library. His absorption in the double work of teaching and fitting himself for college, had hitherto left him little time for general reading, and the library opened a new world of profit and delight. He had never read a line of Shakespeare, save a few extracts in the school-readers. From the whole range of fiction he had voluntarily shut himself off at eighteen, when he joined the church, having serious views of the business of life and imbibing the notion — then almost universal among religious people in the country districts of the West — that novel-reading was a waste of time, and therefore a simple, worldly sort of intellectual amusement. Turned loose in the college library, he began with Shakespeare, which he devoured "with the divine hunger of genius" from cover to cover. Then he went to English history and to



the English poets. Tennyson pleased him best. In Charles Kingsley's "Alton Locke" and "Yeast" he found congenial spirits. Longfellow's "Hiawatha" produced a lasting impression. At the end of six months this serious reading produced intellectual dyspepsia, his mind could not assimilate the food fed to it, it refused to be bound down to the printed page. He therefore revised his notions of fiction, and came to the conclusion that romance is as valuable a part of a mental repast as salad of a dinner. In consequence he prescribed for himself one novel a month, and on this medicine his mind speedily recovered its elasticity. Cooper's "Leatherstocking Tales" were the first novels he read, after these Sir Walter Scott. Then an English classmate introduced him to Dickens and Thackeray, and he roared with laughter over Mr. Bumble. During this course of reading he made notes of everything he did not clearly understand, such as historical references, mythological allusions, technical terms, etc. These notes he would take time to look up afterward, in the library, so as to leave nothing obscure concerning the books he absorbed. The ground his mind traversed he carefully cleared and plowed before leaving it for fresh fields.

Garfield studied Latin and Greek, and took up German as an elective study. One year completed his classical studies. German he carried on successfully, until he could read Goethe and Schiller

readily and acquired considerable fluency in the conversational use of that language. The influence of the mind and character of Dr. Hopkins was seriously felt in shaping the direction of his thoughts and views of life. He repeatedly said that the good president rose like a sun before him and enlightened his whole mental and moral nature. His preaching and teaching were a constant inspiration of the young Ohio student, and he became the centre of his college life, the object of his hero worship. In all the college literary work Garfield joined enthusiastically. He was a member, and one year, 1855-6, president of the Philologistian Society. He contributed constantly to "The Williams Quarterly." This gave him an advantageous journalistic experience and brought him into closer relations with the men around him. One year Garfield formed one of the corps of editors, and during this connection with it he numbered among his contributors Professor Chadbourne, Horace E. Scudder, G. B. Manly, S. G. W. Benjamin, J. Gilfillan, W. R. Dimmock, John Savery, and W. S. Hopkins, some of whom survive to-day to a more distinguished fame than the pages of "The Williams Quarterly."

Garfield graduated with the class honor in metaphysics, reading an essay on "Matter and Spirit, the Seen and Unseen." It is singular how at different times in the course of his education, he was thought to have a special aptitude for some partic-

ular line of mental work, and how at another period his talents were as pronounced in some other line. First it was mathematics, then classics, then rhetoric, and finally metaphysics. The reason of all this lay in his remarkably vigorous and well-rounded brain, capable of effective work in any direction. His studies had breadth. He was always busy, yet never a recluse or bookish fellow. His studies were also noticeable for their evenness. He had large capacity and extreme diligence, and he applied both to any subject that he undertook. What he did was accomplished by hard work. There was nothing spasmodic, but ever a steady, healthy, onward, upward progress. This judgment on his life then, has been equally applicable at all times since.

His intense love of books never left him. All through his congressional career we catch glimpses of his literary life, his turning aside, lest his great dread should be accomplished of "falling into a rut and becoming a fossil." Though he might not have admitted it, there was little danger of such a relapse. In a letter to an intimate friend, he says, under date of July 8, 1875: "I am taking advantage of this enforced leisure to do a good deal of reading. Since I was taken sick I have read the following: Sherman's two volumes; Leland's 'English Gypsies;' George Borrow's 'Gypsies of Spain;' Borrow's 'Romany Rye;' Tennyson's 'Mary;' seven volumes of Froude's England; several plays of Shakespeare, and have made some progress in a

new book, which I think you will be glad to see, 'The History of the English People,' by Professor Green, of Oxford, in one volume."

His interest in books was always fresh and vigorous. Brief verdicts on much of his reading are recorded in his correspondence. The "Shakespeare Tales" by Charles and Mary Lamb afforded him a great deal of pleasure. Walter Savage Landor's "Pericles and Aspasia" he found to be one of the finest things he ever read, furnishing as it does in a vivid and beautiful style "the best obtainable summary of the spirit and character of Greek history, politics, philosophy, and literature." Reclus's "Physical Geography" he deemed a remarkable book, and "Ten Great Religions," by James Freeman Clarke, he read several times, the perusals leading him to believe he had taken too narrow a view of the subject of religion. During the winter of 1874-75 he made a thorough study of Goethe and his epoch, and sought to build up in his mind a picture of the state of literature and art in Europe at the period when Goethe began to work, and the state of the same when he died. After grouping the facts in order, he wrote out a sketch, as was his custom in regard to his reading, of the impressions produced upon his mind. It was this sort of work that permitted his literary growth to keep pace with his political power, and made him eventually the scholar of the White House. I will venture on the reader's patience, a private letter which will still further

illustrate how consistently President Garfield kept pace with himself. It touches on his great interest in Horace.

“WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 16, 1871.*

“DEAR PROFESSOR: Before I am wholly overwhelmed with the very arduous and long-continued work which this winter’s session will impose upon me, I will take the time to write you a long, and I hope not an uninteresting letter on a subject to which I have given some attention, from time to time, during the last few years.

“Since I entered public life, I have constantly aimed to find a little time to keep alive the spirit of my classical studies, and to resist that constant tendency, which all public men feel, to grow rusty in literary studies, and particularly in the classical studies. I have thought it better to select some one line of classical reading, and, if possible, do a little work on it each day. For this winter, I am determined to review such parts of the Odes of Horace as I may be able to reach. And, as preliminary to that work, I have begun by reading up the bibliography of Horace.

“The Congressional Library is very rich in materials for this study, and I am amazed to find how deep and universal has been the impress left on the cultivated mind of the world by Horace’s writings.

“In a French volume before me, entitled ‘Édi-

tion Polyglotte,' M. Monfalcon, Paris, 1834, in which the Latin text and translations into Spanish, Italian, French, English, and German are given, I find a catalogue of the editions of Horace published in each year from the date of the invention of printing down to 1833. This remarkable catalogue of editions fills seventy quarto columns of Monfalcon's book. Besides this Polyglot edition, there are lying on my table, for reference, two thick volumes made up wholly of comments on Horace (the body of the text being wholly omitted), by Lambin, a great French scholar, who lived two hundred years ago; also two thick volumes by Orelli, the Swiss scholar, who died in 1850; also three volumes of the Delphin Horace, edited by Valpy, the English scholar. These form but a small part of the stores of Horatian literature which our library contains; but these facts refer rather to the bibliography of Horace, and are aside from the particular point I have in view in this letter.

"I have observed, in looking over the works on Horace, that a line of thought has been pursued by scholars and antiquarians quite analogous to that pursued by scientific men in forecasting — I might almost say discovering — facts by induction from general principles. Let me illustrate this. You remember the familiar illustration of it in the case of Leverrier, who found a perturbation in the movements of some of the planets of the solar system, and, after having established the character

and extent of that perturbation, declared that there must be an unknown planet of a certain size in a certain quarter of the heavens, whose presence would account for the perturbation; and finally, by pointing the telescope to that quarter of the heavens, the predicted planet was found.

“A recent fact may afford a still further instructive illustration of the same principle. Two weeks ago to-day, Professor Agassiz, on the eve of departure for South America on a voyage of scientific discovery, addressed a letter to Professor Peirce, of the United States Coast Survey, in which he predicts with great particularity what classes of marine animals he expects to find in the deep-sea soundings of the southern hemisphere; what disposition of bowlders, the character and direction of glacial groovings, he expects to find in the southern continent. The Professor has so fully committed himself that the result of the expedition must be a great triumph or a great failure for him.

“Now, quite analogous to these researches in the field of science has been the process by which scholars have discovered the long-lost location of the country residence of Horace. Its site, and almost its existence, were forgotten during the centuries of darkness which the Middle Ages brought upon Europe; and it was only after the revival of learning that men began to inquire for the old shrines and homes of the ancient Greeks and Romans. For a long time the site of the country

home of Horace was merely a matter of conjecture, and scores of theories were advanced in regard to it. I have now before me the work which was, I believe, the first thorough and elaborate attempt to apply the scientific process to the discovery of the site of the villa of Horace. It is in three volumes, of about five hundred pages each, and was written at Rome in 1766-67 by the Abbé Bertrand Capmartin de Chaupy, a French ecclesiastic, who about that time spent several years in Rome, and subsequently, at the time of the French Revolution, fled to Italy, partly for safety and partly to gratify his love of classical study.

“I have run hastily over these volumes, and will give you a brief statement of the scope and character of the argument. The first volume lays down the method by which we should proceed in finding the location of the Horatian villa. In following out this method, he brings together all the references made to it, directly or indirectly, in the works of Horace, and many other similar references from many other contemporary authorities and authors of the next succeeding period. From these elements he sets forth in general terms the features that any proposed site must possess in order to be trusted as the real place.

“In his second volume he applies the results of the first volume to all the localities that have been proposed as the site, and reaches the conclusion that none of them will stand the test.



“In the third volume he traces the history of the changes that swept over the country in the neighborhood of Rome, the devastations and rebuildings, the decays and reconstruction of cities and villas, and finally directs all his tests to one point, which he affirms, *à priori*, must be the very location.

“This investigation leads him to the conclusion that the country home of Horace was situated among the Sabine Mountains, a few miles above Tivoli, upon the little river Digence, between the mountains Lucretile and Ustica on one side and the village of Mantella on the other, and not far from Varia, which was a little village on the Anio, and is now the hamlet of Vario.

“Such were the conclusions drawn by the Abbé from his elaborate investigation. Subsequent explorations have, I believe, in the main confirmed the correctness of his conclusions.

“In a London edition of Horace, of 1849, by the Rev. Henry Hart Milman, there is printed a letter by G. Dennis, written, as its author believes, near the very spot where Horace wrote most of his odes. The letter is a most charming one, full of enthusiasm for the poet and his works, and gives a delightful description of the country and its surroundings.

“Did I not know that I lack the time and you the patience, I should be tempted to send the whole letter; but, when you visit us in Washington, as I hope you will do some time, you must not fail to read it. I hope I may not have distressed you with the length of this letter.

“My children are nearly recovered from scarlet fever. All the family are now well, and join me in kindest regards to Mrs. Demmon and yourself.

“Very truly yours,

“J. A. GARFIELD.

“Professor I. N. DEMMON, *Hiram,*  
*Portage County, Ohio.*”

Such constant study had naturally a strong influence on his utterances, an influence unquestionably good. These utterances are never dry. You cannot read a dozen sentences anywhere, not even in his annual “budget” speeches, and not find some profound idea that is all human in its interest. His animal spirits, his extreme cheerfulness, his gentleness and courtesy, threw an indescribable charm into his speeches, and won him a more patient hearing than was accorded his brother Congressmen. When he rose talking ceased, as in days before the war, when Peyton or Wise asked the time and attention of the House. He possessed boldness of imagery, picturesqueness of illustration, logical analysis, unbounded patriotism developed by history and the hard facts of 1861, large powers of observation, poetry, respect for men, an ardent admiration for the Union and the Constitution, and a supreme faith in his Creator. The character of his utterances is largely prophetic; what he said of others almost invariably applies with greater force to himself. In delivery he was sympathetic and powerful, and never failed to win the

respect and applause of his audience. He never delivered a bad speech or a dull one ; it is doubtful if he knew how. He leaves no one behind him in our halls of legislation who is completely worthy to lift the mantle he has relinquished. In the history of the American Congress, Garfield's character and ability are unique.

His death was the completed majesty of his life, — a death that has redounded to the welfare of the American nation, that prompts a broader charity, a greater love, a profounder faith among all classes of Americans. The President was more to us in dying than in living. He has harmonized and united the American people far better than the most brilliant administration could have done ; he has forced us to forget, as of old he ever strove to do, our pettiness and our selfishness in the common outburst of a great emotion. So, cheerfully and well, he served us to the end, bravely, manfully, uncomplainingly taking his part in

“The direst tragedy that ever challenged wonder.”



# GARFIELD'S WORDS.

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## PART I. — MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS.

The selections that follow under this head relate to a variety of subjects, in the main, other than of purely patriotic or political import.

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### GARFIELD'S CREED.

Its Corner Stone.

1. I would rather be beaten in Right than succeed in Wrong.

A Principle.

2. There are some things I am afraid of, and I confess it in this great presence: I am afraid to do a mean thing.

*Speech at Cleveland, Oct. 11, 1879.*

Reverence for Boys.

3. I feel a profounder reverence for a boy than for a man. I never meet a ragged boy in the street without feeling that I may owe

him a salute, for I know not what possibilities may be buttoned up under his coat.

**The Shriveled Time of Life.**

4. You and I are now nearly in middle age, and have not yet become soured and shriveled with the wear and tear of life. Let us pray to be delivered from that condition where life and nature have no fresh, sweet sensations for us.

*Private Letter to Mr. Hinsdale, Dec. 31, 1872.*

**Uprightness.**

5. It is not enough for one to know that his heart and motives have been pure and true, if he is not sure but that good men here and there, who do not know him, will set him down among the lowest men of doubtful morality.

*Ibid.*

**Garfield's Effort in Public Life.**

6. I have always said that my whole public life was an experiment to determine whether an intelligent people would sustain a man in acting sensibly on each proposition that arose, and in doing nothing for mere show or for demagogical effect. I do not now remember that I ever cast a vote of that latter sort.

*Private Letter, April 4, 1873.*

A Radical, not a Fool.

7. I am trying to do two things: dare to be a radical and not be a fool, which, if I may judge by the exhibitions around me, is a matter of no small difficulty.

*Private Letter, Jan. 1, 1867.*

A Bulwark of Opposition.

8. I am glad to have the opportunity of standing up against a rabble of men who hasten to make weather-cocks of themselves.

*Private Letter, Dec. 15, 1867.*

The Shores of Life.

9. Strolling on the shore of life, it is with reluctance I plunge back again into the noisy haunts of men.

*Letter to A. F. Rockwell, on revisiting Williams College, Aug. 1866.*

Garfield's Dread.

10. I must do something to keep my thoughts fresh and growing. I dread nothing so much as falling into a rut and feeling myself becoming a fossil.

*Private Letter, July 11, 1868.*

The Fight against Gloom.

11. There is much in life to make one sad and disheartened; but whether we maintain a cheerful spirit or not, depends largely on the way in which we view the events and outcomes of life. I think the main point of

safety is to look upon life with a view of doing as much good to others as possible, and, as far as possible, to strip ourselves of what the French call egoism. *Private Letter, April 30, 1874.*

**Safety from Gloom.**

12. The worst days of darkness through which I have ever passed have been greatly alleviated by throwing myself with all my energy into some work relating to others. Your life is so much devoted in this direction that I think you will find in it the greatest safety from the danger of gloom. *Ibid.*

**Garfield's Model.**

13. This public life is a weary, wearing one, that leaves one but little time for that quiet reflection which is so necessary to keep up a growth and vigor of Christian character. But I hope I have lost none of my desire to be a true man, and keep ever before me the character of the great Nazarene.

*Letter to Dr. Boynton.*

**A Christian's Reply.**

14. I would rather be defeated than make capital out of my religion.

*Remark at Chatauqua, Aug. 8, 1880.*

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**Wrinkles.**

15. If wrinkles must be written upon our brows, let them not be written upon the heart. The spirit should not grow old.

*Letter to Col. Rockwell, on revisiting Williams College.*

**Danger.**

16. It may be well to smile in the face of danger, but it is neither well nor wise to let danger approach unchallenged and unannounced.

**A Good Symbol.**

17. Hope rises and falls by the accidents of war, as the mercury of the thermometer changes by the accidents of heat and cold. Let us rather take for our symbol the sailor's barometer, which faithfully forewarns him of the tempest, and gives him unerring promise of serene skies and peaceful seas.

**Communists.**

18. Who of us would not be communists in a despotism?

**The Shallowness of Words.**

19. With words, we make promises, plight faith, praise virtue. Promises may not be kept; plighted faith may be broken; and

vaunted virtue may be only the cunning mask of vice.

*Decoration Day Oration, 1868.*

#### Sovereign Power.

20. Wherever you find sovereign power, every reverent heart on this earth bows before it.

*Reception Speech, Washington, Nov., 1880.*

#### Lying.

21. It is not right or manly to lie, even about Satan.

*Warren, O., Sept. 19, 1874.*

#### Governments and Man.

22. Governments, in general, look upon man only as a citizen, a fraction of the state. God looks upon him as an individual man, with capacities, duties, and a destiny of his own; and just in proportion as a government recognizes the individual and shields him in the exercises of his rights, in that proportion is it Godlike and glorious.

*Ravenna, O., July 4, 1860.*

#### The Treatment of Crime.

23. It is cheaper to reduce crime than to build jails.

*House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

#### The Mandate of Christianity.

24. Christianity bids us seek, in communion with our brethren of every race and clime, the blessings they can afford us, and to

bestow in return upon them those with which our new continent is destined to fill the world.

*House of Representatives, April 1, 1870.*

#### The Advantages of Communication.

25. Distance, estrangement, isolation, have been overcome by the recent amazing growth in the means of intercommunication. For political and industrial purposes California and Massachusetts are nearer neighbors to-day, than were Philadelphia and Boston in the days of the Revolution. It was distance, isolation, ignorance of separate parts, that broke the cohesive force of the great empires of antiquity.

*Address before the Literary Societies of Hudson College.*

#### Intercourse.

26. We cannot if we would, and should not if we could, remain isolated and alone. Men under the benign influence of Christianity yearn for intercourse, for the interchange of thought and the products of thought as a means of a common progress toward a nobler civilization.

*Ibid.*

#### The Dead.

27. We hold reunions, not for the dead, for there is nothing in all the earth that you and I can do for the dead. They are past

our help and past our praise. We can add to them no glory, we can give to them no immortality. They do not need us, but forever and forever more we need them.

*Geneva, Aug. 3, 1880.*

**The Power in the Speech.**

28. No man can make a speech alone. It is the great human power that strikes up from a thousand minds that acts upon him and makes the speech.

**The Doctrine of Chance.**

29. Nothing is more uncertain than the result of any one throw; few things more certain than the result of many throws.

**The Fools.**

30. There are always a few who believe in the quadrature of the circle and the perpetual motion. The gods of Greece were discrowned and disowned by the civilized world a thousand years ago; and yet within the last generation an eminent English scholar attested his love for classical learning, and his devotion to the Greek mythology, by actually sacrificing a bull to Jupiter in the back-parlor of his house in London.

**Talent's Substitute.**

31. If the power to do hard work is not talent, it is the best possible substitute for it.

**The Fruits of Occasion.**

32. Occasion may be the bugle-call that summons an army to battle, but the blast of a bugle can never make soldiers or win victories.

**Methods of Discovery.**

33. Things don't turn up in this world until somebody turns them up.

**The Fellowship of the Virtues.**

34. There is a fellowship among the virtues by which one great, generous passion stimulates another.

**The Kingdom of Opinion.**

35. In the minds of most men the kingdom of opinion is divided into three territories: the territory of yes, the territory of no, and a broad, unexplored middle ground of doubt.

*House of Representatives, Jan. 28, 1880.*

**A Mystery of Sorrow.**

36. It is one of the precious mysteries

of sorrow that it finds solace in unselfish thought.

**The Deception of Calm.**

37. Quiet is no certain pledge of permanence and safety. Trees may flourish and flowers may bloom upon the quiet mountain side, while silently the trickling rain-drops are filling the deep cavern behind its rocky barriers, which, by and by, in a single moment, shall hurl to wild ruin its treacherous peace.

*Ravenna, July 4, 1860.*

**The Laborer's Commodity.**

38. The laborer has but one commodity to sell, — his day's work. It is his sole reliance. He must sell it to-day, or it is lost forever.

*House of Representatives, Feb. 24, 1876.*

**The Desire of Men.**

39. I take it for granted that every thoughtful, intelligent man would be glad, if he could, to be on the right side, believing that in the long run the right side will be the strong side.

*Cleveland, Oct. 11, 1879.*

**Men and their God.**

40. There are times in the history of men and nations, when they stand so near the veil

that separates mortals and immortals, time from eternity, and men from their God, that they can almost hear their breathings and feel the pulsations of the heart of the infinite. Through such a time has this nation passed. When two hundred and fifty thousand brave spirits passed from the field of honor through that thin veil to the presence of God, and when, at last, its parting folds admitted the martyred President to the company of the dead heroes of the Republic, the nation stood so near the veil that the whispers of God were heard by the children of men.

*Oration on Abraham Lincoln.*

#### The Portion of Man.

41. For the noblest man that lives there still remains a conflict.

#### The Principles of Ethics.

42. The principles of ethics have not changed by the lapse of years.

#### The Value of Victory.

43. Victory is worth nothing except for the fruits that are under it, in it, and above it.

*New York, Aug. 6, 1880.*

**Our Happiness.**

44. We are never without a man or a motto to shout over.

**The Fame of the Fisherman.**

45. The fame of the dead fisherman has outlived the glory of the Eternal City.

*Arlington, May 30, 1868.*

**Theological Scholarship.**

46. To profound theological scholarship German is indispensable.

*Private Letter, July 30, 1873.*

**Intelligent Americans.**

47. No intelligent American of our day leads an isolated life.

*Cleveland, July 11, 1873.*

**A Missent Millennium.**

48. A millennium that comes before its time would be a very profitless and stupid affair.

*Ibid.*

**Light.**

49. Light itself is a great corrective. A thousand wrongs and abuses that are grown in darkness disappear like owls and bats before the light of day.



## ART.

## True Art.

50. True art is but the anti-type of nature — the embodiment of discovered beauty in utility.

## The Spirit of Art.

51. We cannot study nature profoundly without bringing ourselves into communion with the spirit of art, which pervades and fills the universe.

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CHARACTER.

## The Production of Character.

52. Every character is the joint product of nature and nurture.

## Where to Pitch the Tent.

53. I beg you, when you pitch your tent, pitch it among the living and not among the dead.

*Cleveland, Oct. 11, 1870.*

## The Problems of Character.

54. The problems to be solved in the study of human life and character are these :

Given the character of a man and the conditions of life around him, what will be his career? Or, given his character and career, of what kind were his surroundings? The relation of these three factors to each other is severely logical. From them is deduced all genuine history. Character is the chief element, for it is both a result and a cause — a result of influences and a cause of results.

#### Knowledge of Character.

55. I have sometimes thought that we cannot know any man thoroughly well while he is in perfect health. As the ebb-tide discloses the real lines of the shore and the bed of the sea, so feebleness, sickness, and pain bring out the real character of a man. For years he pushed away the hand that was reaching for his heart-strings, and bravely worked on until the last hour. I do not doubt that his will and cheerful courage prolonged his life many years.

*Oration on Congressman Starkweather.*

#### The Foundation of Character.

56. Character is the result of two great forces: the initial force which the Creator gave it when He called the man into being;

and the force of all the external influence and culture that mold and modify the development of a life.

*Oration on Congressman Gustave Schleicher.*

#### The Influences of Character.

57. No power of analysis can exhibit all the latent forces enfolded in the spirit of a new-born child, which derive their origin from the thoughts and deeds of remote ancestors, and, enveloped in the awful mystery of life, have been transmitted from generation to generation across forgotten centuries. Each new life is thus "the heir of all the ages."

*Ibid.*

#### A Rare Gift of Character.

58. The great Carlyle has said that the best gift God ever gave to man was an eye that could really see ; and that only few men were recipients of that gift. I venture to add that an equally rare and not less important gift is the courage to tell what one sees.

*Oration on Zachariah Chandler, Jan. 28, 1880.*

#### The Formation of Strong Character.

59. There will be a period when old men and young will be electrified by the spirit of the times, and one result will be to make

every individuality more marked and their opinions more decisive. I believe the times will be even more favorable than calm ones for the formation of strong and forcible characters.

*Private Letter on the breaking out of the War.*

#### The most Interesting Object in the World.

60. If the superior beings of the universe would look down upon the world to find the most interesting object, it would be the unfinished, unformed character of young men, or of young women.

*Hiram College, July, 1880.*

#### The Value of Leisure.

61. I congratulate you on your leisure. I recommend you to keep it as your gold, as your wealth, as your means, out of which you win the leisure you have to think, the leisure you have to be let alone, the leisure you have to throw the plummet with your hand, and sound the depths and find out what is below; the leisure you have to walk about the towers of yourselves, and find how strong they are, or how weak they are, and determine what needs building up, and determine how to shape them, that you may make the final being that you are to be. Oh, those hours of building!

*Ibid.*

## The Early Influences.

62. No page of human history is so instructive and significant as the record of those early influences which develop the character and direct the lives of eminent men.

*Oration on Joseph Henry, Jan. 16, 1879.*

## The Moment of Discovery.

63. To every man of great original power, there comes, in early youth, a moment of sudden discovery — of self-recognition — when his own nature is revealed to himself, when he catches, for the first time, a strain of that immortal song to which his own spirit answers, and which becomes thenceforth and forever the inspiration of his life

“Like noble music unto noble words.”

*Ibid.*

## Poverty no Obstacle to Advancement.

64. Let not poverty stand as an obstacle in your way.

*Oration on Miss Booth, Jan 22, 1876.*

## GREAT CHARACTERS.

## George H. Thomas.

65. Not a man of iron, but of live oak.

*Oration on Geo. H. Thomas.*

**Thomas's Simplicity.**

66. His character was as grand and simple as a colossal pillar of chiseled granite.

*Ibid.*

**Thomas's Power.**

67. His power as a commander was developed slowly and silently ; not like a volcanic land lifted from the sea by sudden and violent upheaval, but rather like a coral island, where each increment is a growth, — an act of life and work.

*Ibid.*

**Lincoln's Place.**

68. He was the pilot and commander of his administration.

*Oration on Lincoln.*

**Lincoln's Character.**

69. He was one of the few great rulers whose wisdom increased with his power, and whose spirit grew gentler and tenderer as his triumphs were multiplied.

*Oration on Abraham Lincoln.*

**Miss Booth.**

70. After her return from Oberlin, she paid more attention to the mint, anise, and cummin of life.

*Oration on Miss Booth.*

John Stuart Mill.

71. I can't see that he ever came to comprehend human life as a reality from the actual course of human affairs, beginning with Greek life down to our own. Men and women were always with him more or less of the nature of abstractions ; while, with his enormous mass of books, he learned a wonderful power of analysis, for which he was by nature surprisingly fitted. But his education was narrow just where his own mind was originally deficient. He was educated solely through books ; for his father was never a companion. His brothers and sisters bored him. He had no playfellows, and of his mother not a word is said in his autobiography.

*Private Letter, Jan. 18, 1874.*

Zachariah Chandler.

72. As a political force Mr. Chandler may be classed among the Cyclopean figures of history. The Norsemen would enroll him as one of the heroes in the halls of Valhalla. They would associate him with Thor and his thunder hammer. The Romans would associate him with Vulcan and the forges of the Cyclops, who made the earth tremble under the weight of his strokes.

*House of Representatives, Jan. 28, 1880.*

Congressman Starkweather.

73. He had one experience that almost every man must have before his character can be fully tested. He was tried in the fiery furnace of detraction and abuse. I remember well, in that period of assault, how calmly, how modestly, and yet how bravely he bore himself — without bitterness and without shrinking — boldly meeting all assaults, calmly answering, bearing himself through the storm like a genuine man as he was. That was the test that set the seal of character and gave assurance that he was made of the real stuff of which genuine heroic men are made.

Robert Burns.

74. To appreciate the genius and achievements of Robert Burns, it is fitting to compare him with others who have been eminent in the same field. In the highest class of lyric poetry their names stand eminent. Their field covers eighteen centuries of time, and the three names are Horace, Beranger, and Burns. It is an interesting and suggestive fact, that each of these sprang from the humble walks of life. Each may be described as one —

“ Who begs a brother of the earth,  
To give him leave to toil,”



and each proved by his life and achievements that, however hard the lot of poverty, "a man's a man for a' that."

A great writer has said that it took the age forty years to catch Burns, so far was he in advance of the thoughts of his times. But we ought not to be surprised at the power he exhibited. We are apt to be misled when we seek to find the cause of greatness in the schools and universities alone. There is no necessary conflict between nature and art. In the highest and best sense art is as natural as nature. We do not wonder at the perfect beauty of the rose, although we may not understand the mysteries by which its delicate petals are fashioned and fed out of the grosser elements of earth. We do not wonder at the perfection of the rose because God is the artist. When He fashioned the germ of the rose-tree He made possible the beauties of its flower. The earth and air and sunshine conspired to unfold and adorn it — to tint and crown it with peerless beauty. When the Divine Artist would produce a poem, He plants a germ of it in a human soul, and out of that soul the poem springs and grows as from the rose-tree the rose.

Burns was a child of nature. He lived

close to her beating heart, and all the rich and deep sympathies of life glowed and lived in his heart. The beauties of earth, air, and sky filled and transfigured him.

“ He did but sing because he must,  
And piped but as the linnets sing.”

With the light of his genius he glorified “the banks and braes” of his native land, and, speaking for the universal human heart, has set its sweetest thought to music, —

“ Whose echoes roll from soul to soul,  
And grow forever and forever. ’

*Oration on the Anniversary of Burns's Death*

## GREAT MEN.

### Towering Men.

75. As a giant tree absorbs all the elements of growth within its reach and leaves only a sickly vegetation in its shadow, so do towering great men absorb all the strength and glory of their surroundings and leave a dearth of greatness for a whole generation.

### Honors.

76. A monopoly of popular honors is as much of a tyranny as a monopoly of wealth.

## Descendants of Great Men.

77. It has been fortunate that most of our greatest men have left no descendants to shine in the borrowed lustre of a great name.

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## SUCCESS IN LIFE.

## The Men who Succeed.

78. The men who succeed best in public life are those who take the risk of standing by their own convictions.

## Luck.

79. Luck is an *ignis-fatuus*. You may follow it to ruin, but never to success.

## Poverty.

80. Poverty is uncomfortable, as I can testify; but nine times out of ten the best thing that can happen to a young man is to be tossed overboard and compelled to sink or swim for himself. In all my acquaintance I never knew a man to be drowned who was worth the saving.

## Growth.

81. Growth is better than permanence, and permanent growth is better than all.

The Bestowal of the Wreath.

82. It is no honor or profit merely to appear in the arena. The wreath is for those who contend.

The Man Men Love.

83. If there be one thing upon this earth that mankind love and admire better than another, it is a brave man — it is a man who dares to look the devil in the face and tell him he is a devil.

Pluck.

84. A pound of pluck is worth a ton of luck.

The Chance of the Republic.

85. There is no American boy, however poor, however humble, orphan though he may be, that, if he have a clear head, a true heart, a strong arm, may not rise through all the grades of society, and become the crown, the glory, the pillar of the State.

The Commanders.

86. To a young man who has in himself the magnificent possibilities of life it is not fitting that he should be permanently com-

manded; he should be a commander. You must not continue to be *the employed*. You must be an employer! You must be promoted from the ranks to a command. There is something, young man, which you can command — go and find it and command it. Do not, I beseech you, be content to enter upon any business which does not require and compel constant intellectual growth.

#### Knowledge.

87. In order to have any success in life, or any worthy success, you must resolve to carry into your work a fullness of knowledge — not merely a sufficiency, but more than a sufficiency.

#### Achievement.

88. Be fit for more than the thing you are now doing.

#### Proportion.

89. If you are not too large for the place you are too small for it.

#### The Right Trust.

90. Young men talk of trusting to the spur of the occasion. That trust is vain. Oc-

casions cannot make spurs. If you expect to wear spurs you must win them. If you wish to use them you must buckle them to your own heels before you go into the fight.

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### THE PRIVILEGES OF YOUTH.

#### Two Privileges.

91. The privilege of being a young man is a great privilege, and the privilege of growing up to be an independent man in middle life is a greater.

*Speech at Peekskill, Aug. 4, 1880.*

#### The Glory of Manhood.

92. I have not so far left the coast of youth to travel inland but that I can very well remember the state of young manhood, from an experience in it of some years, and there is nothing to me in this world so inspiring as the possibilities that lie locked up in the head and breast of a young man. The hopes that lie before him, the great inspirations above him, all these things, with the untried pathway of life opening up its difficulties and dangers, inspire him to courage, and force, and work.

*Mentor, Oct. 8, 1880.*

## EDUCATION.

## A Principle.

93. School-houses are less expensive than rebellions.

## Outrages of Education.

94. It is to me a perpetual wonder that any child's love of knowledge survives the outrages of the school-house.

## The Beginning.

95. That man will be a benefactor of his race who shall teach us how to manage rightly the first years of a child's education.

## Wrongly Directed Effort.

96. One half of the time which is now almost wholly wasted, in district schools, on English grammar attempted at too early an age, would be sufficient to teach our children to love the Republic and to become its loyal and life-long supporters.

## The New Necessities.

97. The old necessities have passed away. We now have strong and noble living languages; rich in literature, replete with high

and earnest thought, the language of science, religion, and liberty, and yet we bid our children feed their spirits on the life of the dead ages, instead of the inspiring life and vigor of our own times. I do not object to classical learning — far from it — but I would not have it exclude the living present.

#### Greek.

98. Greek is perhaps the most perfect instrument of thought ever invented by man, and its literature has never been equaled in purity of style and boldness of expression.

#### The Graduate's Achievements.

99. The graduate would blush were he to mistake the place of a Greek accent, or put the ictus on the second syllable of *Eolus*; but the whole circle of the "*liberalium artium*," so pompously referred to in his diploma of graduation, may not have taught him whether the *jejunum* is a bone or the *humerus* an intestine.

#### The Student's Course.

100. The student should study himself, his relation to society, to nature and to art — and above all, in all, and through all these,



he should study the relations of himself, society, nature and art, to God the author of them all.

**A Danger.**

101. It would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools.

**The Idea of Giving.**

102. It seems to me that, in this act of giving, we almost copy its prototype in what God Himself has done on this great continent of ours. In the centre of its greatest breadth, where, otherwise, there might be a desert forever, he has planted a chain of the greatest lakes on the earth, and the exhalations arising from their pure waters every day, come down in gracious showers, and make that a blooming garden which otherwise might be a desert waste. And from our great wilderness lands it is proposed that their proceeds, like the dew, shall fall forever, not upon the lands, but upon the minds of the children of the nation, giving them, for all time to come, all the blessing, and growth, and greatness, that education can afford. That thought, I say it

again, is a great one, worthy of a great nation ; and this country will remember the man who formulated it into language, and will remember the Congress that made it law.

*House of Representatives, Feb. 6, 1872.*

#### Two Forces of Education.

103. Here two forces play with all their vast power upon our system of education. The first is that of the local, municipal power under our State governments. There is the centre of responsibility. There is the chief educational power. There can be enforced Luther's great thought of placing on magistrates the duty of educating children. *Ibid.*

#### The Mind in Education.

104. This work of public education partakes in a peculiar way of the spirit of the human mind in its efforts for culture. The mind must be as free from extraneous control as possible ; must work under the inspiration of its own desires for knowledge ; and while instructors and books are necessary helps, the fullest and highest success must spring from the power of self-help. *Ibid.*

**The Best System.**

105. The best system of education is that which draws its chief support from the voluntary effort of the community, from the individual efforts of citizens, and from those burdens of taxation which they voluntarily impose upon themselves. *Ibid.*

**The Importance of Education.**

106. Next in importance to freedom and justice, is popular education, without which, neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained. *Letter of Acceptance.*

**How to Study.**

107. Use several text-books. Get the views of different authors as you advance. In that way you can plow a broader furrow. I always study in that way. *Reply to a Scholar.*

108. The student should first study what he needs most to know; the order of his needs should be the order of his work.

*Hiram, June 14, 1869.*

**The Perversions of Education.**

109. It will not be denied that from the day that the child's foot first presses the green

turf till the day when, an old man, he is ready to be laid under it, there is not an hour in which he does not need to know a thousand things in relation to his body, "what he shall eat, what he shall drink, and wherewithal he shall be clothed." If parents were themselves sufficiently educated, most of this knowledge might be acquired at the mother's knee; but, by the strangest perversion and misdirection of the educational forces, these most essential elements of knowledge are more neglected than any other.

*Ibid.*

#### A Finished Education.

110. A finished education is supposed to consist mainly of literary culture. The story of the forges of the Cyclops, where the thunderbolts of Jove were fashioned, is supposed to adorn elegant scholarship more gracefully than those sturdy truths which are preaching to this generation in the wonders of the mine, in the fire of the furnace, in the clang of the iron-mills, and the other innumerable industries which, more than all other human agencies, have made our civilization what it is, and are destined to achieve wonders yet undreamed of.

*Ibid.*

**Education and Industry.**

111. This generation is beginning to understand that education should not be forever divorced from industry; that the highest results can be reached only when science guides the hand of labor. With what eagerness and alacrity is industry seizing every truth of science and putting it in harness. *Ibid.*

**Educating Children.**

112. Grecian children were taught to reverence and emulate the virtue of their ancestors. Our educational forces are so wielded as to teach our children to admire most that which is foreign and fabulous and dead. *Ibid.*

**A Condition of Graduation.**

113. I insist that it should be made an indispensable condition of graduation in every American college, that the student must understand the history of this continent since its discovery by Europeans, the origin and history of the United States, its constitution of government, the struggles through which it has passed, and the rights and duties of citizens who are to determine its destiny and share its glory. *Ibid.*

**The Education of Women.**

114. At present, the most valuable gift which can be bestowed on woman is something to do, which they can do well and worthily, and thereby maintain themselves.

*Oration before the Washington Business College, Jan. 29, 1869.*

**The Duty of the Government.**

115. The stork is a sacred bird in Holland, and is protected by her laws, because it destroys those insects which would undermine the dikes, and let the sea again overwhelm the rich fields of the Netherlands. Shall this government do nothing to foster and strengthen those educational agencies which alone can shield the coming generation from ignorance and vice, and make it the impregnable bulwark of liberty and law?

*House of Representatives, Jan. 8, 1866.*

**A Question of Weight.**

116. Is it of no consequence that we explore the boundaries of that wonderful intellectual empire which encloses within its dominion the fate of succeeding generations, and of this Republic?

*Ibid.*

**The Architects of the Future.**

117. The children of to-day will be the architects of our country's destiny in 1900.

*Ibid.*

**The Student's Studies.**

118. Prominent among all the rest should be his study of the wonderful history of the human race, in its slow and toilsome march across the centuries — now buried in ignorance, superstition, and crime; now rising to the sublimity of heroism, and catching a glimpse of a better destiny; now turning remorselessly away from, and leaving to perish, empires and civilizations in which it had invested its faith and courage and boundless energy for a thousand years, and plunging into the forests of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, to build for itself new empires better fitted for its new aspirations; and at last, crossing three thousand miles of unknown sea, and building in the wilderness of a new hemisphere its latest and proudest monuments.

*Address at Hiram.*

**The Power of Intellect.**

119. The intellectual resources of this country are the elements that lie behind all

material wealth, and make it either a curse or a blessing.

*Ibid.*

Our Safeguard from Danger.

120. Finally, our great hope for the future, our great safeguard against danger, is to be found in the general and thorough education of our people, and in the virtue which accompanies such education. And all these elements depend, in a large measure, upon the intellectual and moral culture of the young men who go out from our higher institutions of learning. From the stand-point of this general culture we may trustfully encounter the perils that assail us. Secure against dangers from abroad, united at home by the stronger ties of common interest and patriotic pride, holding and unifying our vast territory by the most potent forces of civilization, relying upon the intelligent strength and responsibility of each citizen, and, most of all, upon the power of truth, without undue arrogance, we may hope that in the centuries to come our Republic will continue to live and hold its high place among the nations as

“The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time.”

*Address at Hudson College.*



## IDEAS.

## The Life of Ideas.

121. Ideas outlive men.

## Great Ideas.

122. Great ideas travel slowly, and for a time noiselessly, as the gods whose feet were shod with wool.

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 LITERATURE.

## The Relations of Art and Literature.

123. What the arts are to the world of matter, literature is to the world of mind.

## A Fault of Modern Literature.

124. The greater part of our modern literature bears evident marks of the haste which characterizes all the movements of this age; but, in reading these older authors, we are impressed with the idea that they enjoyed the most comfortable leisure. Many books we can read in a railroad car, and feel a harmony between the rushing of the train and the haste of the author; but to enjoy the older authors, we need the quiet of a winter

evening — an easy-chair before a cheerful fire, and all the equanimity of spirits we can command. Then the genial good nature, the rich fullness, the persuasive eloquence of those old masters will fall upon us like the warm, glad sunshine, and afford those hours of calm contemplation in which the spirit may expand with generous growth, and gain deep and comprehensive views. The pages of friendly old Goldsmith come to us like a golden autumn day, when every object which meets the eye bears all the impress of the completed year, and the beauties of an autumnal forest.

*Essay on "Karl Theodor Korner" in Williams Quarterly, March, 1856.*

#### The Real Spirit of Literature.

125. He who would understand the real spirit of literature should not select authors of any one period alone, but rather go to the fountain-head, and trace the little rill as it courses along down the ages, broadening and deepening into the great ocean of Thought which the men of the present are exploring.

*Ibid.*

#### The True Literary Man.

126. The true literary man is no mere gleaner, following in the rear and gathering

up the fragments of the world's thought ; but he goes down deep into the heart of humanity, watches its throbbings, analyzes the forces at work there ; traces out, with prophetic foresight, their tendencies, and thus, standing out far beyond his age, holds up the picture of what it is and is to be. *Ibid.*

#### Forced Work.

127. It is indeed an uninviting task to bubble up sentiment and elaborate thought in obedience to corporate laws, and not infrequently these children of the brain, when paraded before the proper authorities, show by their meagre proportions that they have not been nourished by the genial warmth of a willing heart. *Editor's Table, Williams Quarterly, 1856.*

#### The Purpose of Literary Production.

128. It proposes a kind of intellectual tournament where we may learn to hurl the lance and wield the sword, and thus prepare for the conflict of life. It shall be our aim to keep the lists still open and the arena clear, that the knights of the quill may learn to hurl the lance and wield the sword of thought, and thus be ready for sterner duties. We shall also endeavor to decorate the arena with all

the flowers that our *own gardens* afford, and thus render the place more pleasant and inviting. *Ibid.*

Books.

129. The few books that came within his reach he devoured with the divine hunger of genius. *Oration on Lincoln.*

AN ODE FROM HORACE.

A Translation.

WASHINGTON, *January 15, 1874.*

130. Permit me to transcribe a metrical version which I made the other day of the third ode of Horace's first book. It is still in the rough:—

TO THE SHIP WHICH CARRIED VIRGIL TO ATHENS.

I.

So may the powerful goddess of Cyprus,  
So may the brothers of Helen, turn stars,  
So may the father and ruler of tempest  
(Restraining all others, save only Iäpux)

II.

Guide thee, O ship, on thy journey, that owest  
To Attica's shores Virgil trusted to thee.  
I pray thee restore him, in safety restore him,  
And saving him, save me the half of my soul.

## III.

Stout oak and brass triple surrounded his bosom  
 Who first to the waves of the merciless sea  
 Committed his frail bark. He feared not Africus,  
 Fierce battling the gales of the furious North.

## IV.

Nor feared he the gloom of the rain-bearing Hyads,  
 Nor the rage of fierce Notus, a tyrant than whom  
 No storm-god that rules on the broad Adriatic  
 Is mightier, its billows to rouse or to calm.

## V.

What form, or what pathway of death him affrighted,  
 Who faced with dry eyes monsters swimming the deep,  
 Who gazed without fear on the storm-swollen billows,  
 And the lightning-scarred rocks, grim with death on the shore?

## VI.

In vain did the prudent Creator dis sever  
 The lands from the lands by the desolate sea,  
 If o'er its broad bosom, to mortals forbidden,  
 Still leap, all profanely, our impious keels.

## VII.

Recklessly bold to encounter all dangers,  
 Through deeds God-forbidden still rushes our race;  
 The son of Iäpelus, Heaven-defying,  
 By impious fraud to the nations brought fire.

## VIII.

When fire was thus stolen from regions celestial  
 Decay smote the earth and brought down in his train  
 A new summoned cohort of fevers o'erbrooding,  
 And Fate, till then slow and reluctant to strike,

## IX.

Gave wings to his speed and swift death to his victims.  
 Bold Dædalus tried the void realms of the air,

Borne upward on pinions not given to mortals.  
The labors of Hercules broke into Hell.

x.

Naught is too high for the daring of mortals,  
Even Heaven we seek in our folly to scale :  
By our own impious crimes we permit not the thunder  
To sleep without flame in the right hand of Jove.

I can better most of these verses, but send  
to you as I left them in the first rough draft.

*From a Private Letter.*

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### A SPRAY OF ELOQUENCE.

A Monument of our Liberties.

131. When Pericles had made Greece immortal in arts and arms, in liberty and law, he invoked the genius of Phidias to devise a monument which should symbolize the beauty and glory of Athens. That artist selected for his theme the tutelary divinity of Athens, the Jove-born Goddess, protectress of arts and arms, of industry and law, who typified the Greek conception of composed, majestic, unrelenting force. He erected on the heights of the Acropolis a colossal statue of Minerva, armed with spear and helmet, which towered in awful majesty above the surrounding tem-

ples of the gods. Sailors on far-off ships beheld the crest and spear of the Goddess, and bowed with reverent awe. To every Greek she was the symbol of power and glory. But the Acropolis, with its temples and statues, is now a heap of ruins. The visible gods have vanished in the clearer light of modern civilization. We cannot restore the decayed emblems of ancient Greece, but it is in your power, O Judges, to erect in this citadel of our liberties a monument more lasting than brass; invisible, indeed, to the eye of flesh, but visible to the eye of the spirit as the awful form and figure of Justice crowning and adorning the Republic; rising above the storms of political strife, above the din of battle, above the earthquake shock of rebellion; seen from afar and hailed as protector by the oppressed of all nations; dispensing equal blessings, and covering with the protecting shield of law the weakest, the humblest, the meanest, and, until declared by solemn law unworthy of protection, the guiltiest of its citizens.

*Peroration to Argument in the L. P. Milligan Case, Supreme Court, March, 1866.*

## MEMORY.

## A Poem.

132. "'Tis beauteous night; the stars look brightly down  
Upon the earth, decked in her robe of snow.  
No light gleams at the window save my own,  
Which gives its cheer to midnight and to me,  
And now with noiseless step sweet Memory comes,  
And leads me gently through her twilight realms.  
What poet's tuneful lyre has ever sung,  
Or delicatest pencil e'er portrayed  
The enchanted shadowy land where Memory dwells?  
It has its valleys, cheerless, lone and drear,  
Dark-shaded by the mournful cypress tree.  
And yet its sunlit mountain-tops are bathed  
In heaven's own blue. Upon its craggy cliffs,  
Robed in the dreamy light of distant years,  
Are clustered joys serene of other days;  
Upon its gently-sloping hillsides bend  
The weeping-willows o'er the sacred dust  
Of dear departed ones; and yet in that land  
Where'er our footsteps fall upon the shore,  
They that were sleeping rise from out the dust  
Of death's long, silent years, and round us stand,  
As erst they did before the prison tomb  
Received their clay within its voiceless halls.  
The heavens that bend above that land are hung  
With clouds of various hues: some dark and chill,  
Surcharged with sorrow, cast their sombre shade  
Upon the sunny, joyous land below;  
Others are floating through the dreamy air;  
White as the falling snow their margins tinged  
With gold and crimson hues; their shadows fall  
Upon the flowery meads and sunny slopes,  
Soft as the shadows of an angel's wing.  
When the rough battle of the day is done,  
And evening's peace falls gently on the heart,  
I bound away across the noisy years,



Unto the utmost verge of Memory's land,  
 Where earth and sky in dreamy distance meet,  
 And Memory dim with dark oblivion joins;  
 Where woke the first-remembered sounds that fell  
 Upon the ear in childhood's early morn;  
 And wandering thence, along the rolling years,  
 I see the shadow of my former self  
 Gliding from childhood up to man's estate.  
 The path of youth winds down through many a vale  
 And on the brink of many a dread abyss,  
 From out whose darkness comes no ray of light,  
 Save that a phantom dances o'er the gulf,  
 And beckons toward the verge. Again the path  
 Leads o'er a summit where the sunbeams fall;  
 And thus in light and shade, sunshine and gloom,  
 Sorrow and joy, this life-path leads along.

*Williams Quarterly.*

## HISTORY.

### The Battle of History.

133. After the battle of arms comes the battle of history.

*The Province of History, Williams Quarterly.*

### What History Is.

134. History is but the unrolled scroll of prophecy.

*Ibid.*

### The Rewriting of History.

135. The developments of statistics are causing history to be rewritten.

*House of Representatives.*

### The World's History.

136. The world's history is a divine poem of which the history of every nation is a canto and every man a word. Its strains have been pealing along down the centuries, and though there have been mingled the discords of warring cannon and dying men, yet to the Christian philosopher and historian — the humble listener — there has been a divine melody running through the song which speaks of hope and halcyon days to come.

*The Province of History, Williams Quarterly.*

### The Lesson of History.

137. The lesson of history is rarely learned by the actors themselves, especially when they read it by the fierce and dusky light of war, or amid the deeper shadows of those sorrows which war brings to both.

*House of Representatives, Aug. 6, 1876.*

### God in History.

138. Theologians in all ages have looked out admiringly upon the material universe and from its inanimate existences demonstrated the power, wisdom, and goodness of God; but we know of no one who has demonstrated the same attributes from the history of the human race.

**The Lights of History.**

139. All along the dim centuries are gleaming lamps which mind has lighted, and these are revealing to him (the historian) the path which humanity has trod.

**Truth in History.**

140. The cause that triumphs in the field does not always triumph in history.

*House of Representatives, Aug. 6, 1876.*

**The Historian's Work.**

141. Till recently the historian studied nations in the aggregate, and gave us only the stories of princes, dynasties, sieges, and battles; of the people themselves, the great social body with life, growth, forces, elements, and laws of its own, — he told us nothing. Now statistical inquiry leads him into the hovels, homes, workshops, mines, fields, prisons, hospitals, and all places where human nature displays its weakness and its strength. In these explorations he discovers the seeds of national growth and decay, and thus becomes the prophet of his generation.

*House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

## THE PRESS.

## A Weapon of Civilization.

142. The printing press is without doubt the most powerful weapon with which man has ever armed himself for the fight against ignorance and oppression. But it was not free born. It was invented at a period when all the functions of government were most widely separated from the people, when secrecy, diplomacy, and intrigue were the chief elements of statesmanship.

*Address before the Ohio Editorial Association, July 11, 1878.*

## The Martyrs of the Press.

143. In the long, fierce struggle for freedom of opinion, the press, like the church, counted its martyrs by thousands. *ibid.*

## The First Duty of the Press.

144. I may not express the opinion of the majority, but certainly it is my own, that the first and greatest demand which the public makes of editors is, that they shall obtain and publish all the news, that they shall print a veritable and intelligible record of important current events. Rather than to weaken, neglect, or falsify this, it were better that every

other feature of the newspapers should be abandoned. *Ibid.*

#### Free Criticism.

145. I hold it equally necessary to liberty and good government that the press should comment with the utmost freedom upon public acts and opinions of all men who hold positions of public trust. *Ibid.*

#### Unjust Criticism.

146. Unjust criticism and false accusations, are, in the long run, more injurious to the press than to its victims. *Ibid.*

#### The Men of the Press.

147. It belongs to the honor of the press to have developed within the past few years as gallant a body of men, of as bright intelligence as the world knows in any profession. *Ibid.*

#### ✓ Independent Journalism.

148. If independent journalism means freedom from the domination of patronage, wealth, or corruption, freedom from party dictation, all good men will applaud it.

**The Duty of the Journalist.**

149. Let the journalist defend the doctrines of the party which he approves, let him criticize and condemn the party which he does not approve, reserving always his right to applaud his opponents or censure his friends, as the truth may require, and he will be independent enough for a free country.

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**POWER.****The Exhibition of Power.**

150. Power exhibits itself under two distinct forms — strength and force, — each possessing peculiar qualities and each perfect in its own sphere. Strength is typified by the oak, the rock, the mountain. Force embodies itself in the cataract, the tempest, and the thunder-bolt.

**Great Powers.**

151. The possession of great powers no doubt carries with it a contempt for mere external show.

*Oration on Miss Booth.*

## TRUTH.

The Universality of Truth.

152. Truth is so related and correlated that no department of her realm is wholly isolated.

The Food of the Spirit.

153. Truth is the food of the human spirit, which could not grow in its majestic proportions without clearer and more truthful views of God and his universe.

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## FREEDOM.

The Safety of Liberty.

154. Liberty can be safe only when suffrage is illuminated by education.

Liberty's Weakness.

155. For a man to feel that every impulse for laudable ambition must be strangled at its birth, that like fabled Enceladus he has been rived by the thunder-bolt of power and crushed beneath the mountain of its strength, is more than this human nature of ours can

endure. What wonder, then, that ever and anon, when freedom turns the weary side — the fires of devouring vengeance burst forth and shake the fabrics of the old world, till tyrants chatter on their gilded thrones in idiotic terror. At such moments, freedom may seem to have triumphed there, but when the fury of the tempest is past, she lies bleeding — Samson-like — beneath the ruin she has wrought.

#### Freedom's Soul.

156. Equality, the informing soul of freedom!

#### The Foundations of English Liberty.

157. English liberty to-day rests not so much on the government as on those rights which the people have wrested from the government. The rights of the Englishman outnumber the rights of the Englishman's king.

#### The Language of Freedom.

158. Poetry is the language of freedom.

#### Obstacles to Freedom.

159. Freedom can never yield its fullness of blessings so long as the law or its admin-



istration places the smallest obstacle in the pathway of any virtuous citizen.

What Freedom is.

160. Liberty is no negation. It is a substantive, tangible reality.

*House of Representatives, Jan. 13, 1865.*

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## LAW AND ORDER.

Order in the Universe.

161. Mankind have been slow to believe that order reigns in the universe, that the world is a Cosmos, not a chaos.

The Reign of Law.

162. The assertion of the reign of law has been stubbornly resisted at every step. The divinities of heathen superstition still linger in one form or another in the faith of the ignorant; and even many intelligent men shrink from the contemplation of one supreme will acting regularly, not fatuitously, through laws beautiful and simple, rather than through a fitful and capricious Providence.

## RAILROADS.

## Railroads and the People.

163. The American people have done much for the locomotive, and the locomotive has done much for them.

*Speech on the Railway Problem, June 20, 1874.*

## The Value of Railroads.

164. Imagine if you can what would happen if to-morrow morning the railway locomotive and its corollary, the telegraph, were blotted from the earth. To what humble proportions mankind would be compelled to scale down the great enterprises they are now pushing forward with such ease. *Ibid.*

## The Law and the Locomotive.

165. The national Constitution and the Constitutions of most of the States were formed before the locomotive existed, and, of course, no special provisions were made for its control. Are our institutions strong enough to stand the shock and strain of this new force? I fail to believe that the genius and energy that have developed these new and tremendous forces will fail to make them not the masters, but the faithful servants of society.

*Ibid.*

**The Work of the Railroad.**

166. The railroad has not only brought our people and their industries together, but it has carried civilization into the wilderness, has built up the states and territories, which but for its power would have remained deserts for centuries to come. *Ibid.*

**A Force in Civilization.**

167. The railroad has played a most important part in the recent movement for the unification and preservation of nations. *Ibid.*

**The Coming Conflict.**

168. It will be unworthy of our age and of us if we make the discussion of this subject a mere warfare against men. *Ibid.*

**The Value of a Solution.**

169. Its solution will open the way to a solution of a whole chapter of similar questions that relate to the conflict between capital and labor. *Ibid.*

## COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

## Industry.

170. Wherever a ship plows the sea, or a plow furrows the field; wherever a mine yields its treasure; wherever a ship or a railroad train carries freight to market; wherever the smoke of the furnace rises, or the clang of the loom resounds; even in the lonely garret where the seamstress plies her busy needle, — there is industry.

*House of Representatives, April 1, 1870.*

## Commerce.

171. Commerce links all mankind in one common brotherhood of mutual dependence and interests, and thus creates that unity of our race which makes the resources of all the property of each and every member.

*Ibid.*

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**STATISTICS.**

## The Birth of Statistics.

172. The word "statistics" itself did not exist until 1749, whence we date the beginning of a new science on which modern legis-

lation must be based, in order to be permanent. The treatise of Achenwall, the German philosopher who originated the word, laid the foundation of many of the greatest reforms in modern legislation.

*House of Representatives, April 6, 1869.*

What Statistics are.

173. Statistics are State facts, facts for the consideration of statesmen, such as they may not neglect with safety.

*Ibid.*

What Statistics did.

174. Without the aid of statistics, that most masterly chapter of human history, the third of Macaulay's first volume, could never have been written.

*House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

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## SCIENCE.

✓ The Scientific Spirit.

175. The scientific spirit has cast out the demons and presented us with nature, clothed in her right mind and living under the reign of law. It has given us for the sorceries of the alchemist, the beautiful laws of chemis-

try ; for the dreams of the astrologer, the sublime truths of astronomy ; for the wild visions of cosmogony, the monumental records of geology ; for the anarchy of diabolism, the laws of God. *Ibid.*

#### A Resolution.

176. We no longer attribute the untimely death of infants to the sin of Adam, but to bad nursing and ignorance. *Ibid.*

#### Modern Predictions.

177. We no longer hope to predict the career and destiny of a human being by studying the conjunction of the planets that presided at his birth. We study rather the laws of life within him and the elements and forces of nature and society around him. *Ibid.*

#### The Science of Statistics.

178. The science of statistics is of recent date, and like many of its sister sciences owes its origin to the best and freest impulses of modern civilization.

*House of Representatives, Dec. 16, 1869.*

## PART II. — WORDS PATRIOTIC.

The sentences that are included under this head bear, perhaps, a closer relation to our institutions and our national glories than do those that have preceded them.

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### THE POWER OF ELOQUENCE.

ONE of the most celebrated sayings of the late President was uttered in the first hours of the wild fever that followed the death of President Lincoln. Fifty thousand excited men crowded around the Exchange Building in Wall Street to hear how the President died. So wrought up were the listeners that two men who ventured to say that Lincoln ought to have been shot, lay bleeding, dying upon the pavement. This fired the vengeance of the crowd. Suddenly a shout arose, "The World!" "The office of the World!" and ten thousand men faced in the direction of that office. It was a critical moment. To what lengths of destructiveness the crowd might go, no one could foresee. Police and

military would have availed little or arrived too late. Just at this juncture a man stepped forward with a small flag in his hand, and beckoned to the crowd. "Another telegram from Washington," and the crowd hushed into eager silence. Then, in the awful stillness of the crisis, taking advantage of the hesitation of the half-mad men, a right arm was lifted skyward, and a voice, clear and steady, loud and distinct, uttered these words — which instantly hushed the angry human sea, and brought men face to face again with their reasons:—

179. Fellow-citizens! Clouds and darkness are round about Him! His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds of the skies! Justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne! Mercy and truth shall go before His face! Fellow-citizens! God reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives!

*The Golden Thread of Progress.*

180. Throughout the whole web of national existence we trace the golden thread of human progress toward a higher and better estate.



**Heroes.**

181. Heroes did not *make* our liberties, they but reflected and illustrated them.

**Supreme Law.**

182. If the Supreme Court of Herculaneum or Pompeii had been in session when the fiery rain overwhelmed those cities, its authority would have been suddenly usurped and overthrown, but I question the propriety of calling that *law* which, in its very nature, is a destruction or suspension of all law.

*Supreme Court, L. P. Milligan Case*

**Our Legacy.**

183. Let us seek liberty and peace under the law; and, following the pathway of our fathers, preserve the great legacy they have committed to our keeping.

**The Right of Private Judgment.**

184. The right of private judgment is absolute in every American citizen.

*Warren, Sept. 19, 1874.*

**Our People.**

185. If our people are not educated in the school of virtue and integrity they will be

educated in the school of vice and iniquity. We are therefore afloat on the sweeping current: if we make no effort we go down with it to the saddest of destinies.

*House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

#### National Advancement.

186. It is only by persistent effort that we make headway and advancement in civilization. *ibid.*

#### Rights of the American People.

187. It is the right of the American people to know the necessities of the republic when they are called upon to make sacrifices for it.

#### The Farmer.

188. Is it not of more consequence to do something for the farmer of the future than for the farm of to-day?

#### The Servant of his Country.

189. The man who wants to serve his country must put himself in the line of the leading thought, and that is the restoration of business, trade, commerce, industry, science, political economy, hard money, and honest pay-

ment of all obligations ; and the man who can add anything in the direction of the accomplishment of any of these purposes is a public benefactor.

#### The Laws.

190. Here is the volume of our laws. More sacred than the twelve tables of Rome. This rock of the law rises in monumental grandeur alike above the people and the President, above the courts, above Congress, commanding everywhere reverence and obedience to its supreme authority.

#### Voluntary Enterprise.

191. There is another force even greater than that of the State and the local governments. It is the force of private voluntary enterprise, that force which has built up the multitude of private schools, academies, and colleges throughout the United States, not always wisely, but always with enthusiasm and wonderful energy.

*House of Representatives, Feb. 6, 1872.*

#### The Treasures of American Souls.

192. I love to believe that no heroic sacrifice is ever lost ; that the characters of men are

moulded and inspired by what their fathers have done ; that, treasured up in American souls are all the unconscious influences of the great deeds of the Anglo-Saxon race, from Agincourt to Bunker Hill.

#### American Honor.

193. Let no one tarnish his well-earned honor by any act unworthy an American soldier. Remember your duties as American citizens, and sacredly respect the rights and property of those with whom you may come in contact. Let it not be said that good men dread the approach of an American army.

*Proclamation to the Soldiers after the Battle of Middle Creek, 1861.*

#### The Perils of a Nation.

194. A brave nation, like a brave man, desires to see and measure the perils which threaten it.

*House of Representatives, June 21, 1864.*

#### National Bravery.

195. The people of this country have shown, by the highest proofs human nature can give, that wherever the path of duty and honor may lead, however steep and rugged it may be, they are ready to walk in it.

**National Passion.**

196. There is passion enough in the country to run a steam-engine in every village, and a spirit of proscription which keeps pace with the passion.

**The Labor of the People.**

197. The best thing in Patterson, and the best thing in this republic next to liberty, is the labor of our people.

*Speech at Patterson, Aug. 7, 1880.*

**Our Inheritance.**

198. Shall we regard with indifference the great inheritance which cost our sires their blood, because we find in their gift an admixture of imperfection and evil? Surely there is good enough, in the contemplation of which every patriotic heart may say, "God bless my own, my native land."

**The Atlantic.**

199. The Atlantic is still the great historic sea. Even in its sunken wrecks might be read the record of modern nations. Who shall say that the Pacific will not yet become the great historic sea of the future — the vast amphitheatre around which shall sit

in majesty and power the two Americas, Asia, Africa, and the chief colonies of Europe. God forbid that the waters of our national life should ever settle to the dead level of a waveless calm. It would be the stagnation of death, the ocean grave of individual liberty.

#### National Discipline.

200. I look forward with joy and hope to the day when our brave people, one in heart, one in their aspirations for freedom and peace, shall see that the darkness through which we have traveled was but a part of that stern but beneficent discipline by which the great Disposer of events has been leading us on to a higher and nobler national life.

#### National Perpetuity.

201. The hope of our national perpetuity rests upon that perfect individual freedom which shall forever keep up the circuit of perpetual change.

#### Our Duty.

202. It is the high privilege and sacred duty of those now living to educate their successors and fit them by intelligence and virtue for the inheritance which awaits them.

In this beneficent work sections and races should be forgotten and partisanship should be unknown. Let our people find a new meaning in the divine oracle, which declares that "a little child shall lead them," for our little children will soon control the destinies of the Republic.

*Inaugural Address.*

#### The Final Reconciliation.

203. We may hasten, or we may retard, but we cannot prevent the final reconciliation. Is it not possible for us now to make a truce with time by anticipating and accepting its inevitable verdict? Enterprises of the highest importance to our moral and material well-being invite us and offer ample scope for the employment of our best powers. Let all our people, leaving behind them the battle-fields of dead issues, move forward, and in the strength of liberty and the restored Union, win the grander victories of peace.

*Ibid.*

#### Campaign Discipline.

204. The campaign has been fruitful to me in the discipline that comes from endurance and patience. I hope defeat will not sour me, nor success disturb the poise which I have sought to gain by the experiences of

life. From this edge of the conflict I give you my hand and heart, as in all the other days of our friendship.

*Private Letter, Nov. 1, 1880.*

#### A Great Age.

205. This is really a great time to live in, if any of us can only catch the cue of it.

*Private Letter, Feb. 16, 1861.*

#### The Need of the Hour.

206. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, sees all the achievements of our past history, and carries in his heart the memory of all its glorious deeds, and who, looking forward, prepares to meet the labor and the dangers to come.

*Speech Nominating Hon. John Sherman.*

#### Useful Powers.

207. We should enlist both the pride and the selfishness of the people on the side of good order and peace.

#### Dishonor too Costly for the People.

208. The people of the United States can afford to make any sacrifice for their country, and the history of the last war is proof of their willingness; but the humblest citizen



cannot afford to do a mean or a dishonorable thing to save even this glorious Republic.

*Speech on the Currency, July 15, 1868.*

✓ **Citizenship.**

209. Shall we enlarge the boundaries of citizenship and make no provision to increase the intelligence of the citizen ?

*Bureau of Education Speech, July 8, 1866.*

**National Industries.**

210. When we recognize the fact that artisans and their products are essential to the well-being of our country, it follows that there is no dweller in the humblest cottage on our remotest frontier who has not a deep personal interest in the legislation that shall promote these great national industries.

**Liberty and Peace.**

211. Let us seek liberty and peace, under the law ; and, following the pathway of our fathers, preserve the great legacy they have committed to our keeping.

**Native Talent.**

212. For every village, state, and nation, there is an aggregate of native talent which

God has given, and by which, together with his Providence, he leads that nation on, and thus leads the world. In the light of these truths we affirm that no man can understand the history of any nation, or of the world, who does not recognize in it the power of God, and behold His stately goings forth as He walks among the nations. It is His hand that is moving the vast superstructure of human history, and though but one of the windows were unfurnished, like that of the Arabian palace, yet all the powers of earth could never complete it without the aid of the Divine Architect.

**The Mississippi.**

213. I believe the time will come when the liberal-minded statesmanship of this country will devise a wise and comprehensive system, that will harness the powers of this great river to the material interests of America, so that not only all the people who live on its banks and the banks of its confluents, but all the citizens of the Republic, whether dwellers in the central valley or on the slope of either ocean, will recognize the importance of preserving and perfecting this great natural and material bond of national union between the

North and the South, — a bond to be so strengthened by commerce and intercourse that it can never be severed.

*Mississippi River Bill, June 21, 1879.*

Sovereignty.

214. I believe that no man will ever be able to chronicle all the evils that have resulted to this nation from the abuse of the words "sovereign" and "sovereignty."

*Speech against the Camden and Amboy Railroad, March 31, 1864.*

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## OUR FOREFATHERS.

The Patrimony of the Colonists.

215. In their struggle with the forces of nature, the ability to labor was the richest patrimony of the colonists.

The Sacrifice for Self-government.

216. We cannot overestimate the fervent love of liberty, the intelligent courage, and the saving common-sense with which our fathers made the great experiment of self-government.

*Inaugural Address.*

**A Great Quality.**

217. If I were to state to-day the single quality that appears to me most admirable among the fathers of the Revolution, I should say it was this: that amidst all the passions of war, waged against a perfidious enemy, from beyond the sea, aided by a savage enemy on our own shores, our fathers exhibited so wonderful a restraint, so great a care to observe the forms of law, to protect the rights of the minority, to preserve all those great rights that had come down to them from the common law, so that when they had achieved their independence they were still a law-abiding people.

*Speech accepting the Statues of Winthrop and Adams.*

**Samuel Adams.**

218. I doubt if any man equaled Samuel Adams in formulating and uttering the fierce, clear, and inexorable logic of the Revolution.

219. The men who pointed out the pathway to freedom by the light of religion as well as of law, were the foremost promoters of American Independence. And of these, Adams was unquestionably chief.

George Washington.

220. Eternity alone will reveal to the human race its debt of gratitude to the peerless and immortal name of Washington.

221. Hamilton was the master of a brilliant style, clear and bold in conception, and decisive in execution. Jefferson was profoundly imbued with a philosophic spirit, could formulate the aspirations of a brave and free people in all the graces of powerful rhetoric; and other master-minds of that period added their great and valuable contributions to the common stock; but, whether in the camp or in the cabinet, the quality that rose above all the other great gifts of that period was the comprehensive and unerring judgment of Washington. It was that all-embracing sense, that calmness of solid judgment that made him easily chief. Not only the first of his age, but foremost "in the foremost files of time."

**The Declaration of Independence.**

222. The great doctrines of the Declaration germinated in the hearts of our fathers, and were developed under the new influences of this wilderness world, by the same subtle

mystery which brings forth the rose from the germ of the rose-tree. Unconsciously to themselves the great truths were growing under the new conditions, until, like the century-plant, they blossomed into the matchless beauty of the Declaration of Independence, whose fruitage increased and increasing we enjoy to-day.

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### THE GERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The Common Defense.

223. We provide for the common defense by a system which promotes the general welfare.

*House of Representatives, April 1, 1870.*

The Light and Life of the Nation.

224. The life and light of a nation are inseparable.

The Union and Congress.

225. The Union and the Congress must share the same fate. They must rise or fall together.

The Germ of our Institutions.

226. The germ of our political institu-

tions, the primary cell from which they were evolved, was in the New England town, and the vital force, the informing soul of the town, was the town meeting, which for all local concerns was king, lords, and commons in one.

The Covenant.

227. While the Mayflower was passing Cape Cod and seeking an anchorage, in the midst of the storm, her brave passengers sat down in the little cabin and drafted and signed a covenant which contains the germ of American liberty. How familiar to the American habit of mind are these declarations of the Pilgrim covenant of 1620.

*House of Representatives, Dec. 17, 1876.*

Virginia and Massachusetts.

228. Virginia and Massachusetts were the two focal centres from which sprang the life-forces of this Republic. They were, in many ways, complements of each other, each supplying what the other lacked, and both uniting to endow the Republic with its noblest and most enduring qualities. *Ibid.*

The Will of the Majority.

229. Peace, liberty, and personal security

are blessings as common and universal as sunshine and showers and fruitful seasons; and all sprang from a single source, — the principle declared in the Pilgrim covenant of 1620, — that all owed due submission and obedience to the lawfully expressed will of the majority. This is not one of the doctrines of our political system, it is the system itself. It is our political firmament, in which all other truths are set, as stars in heaven. It is the encasing air, the breath of the nation's life.

#### Our Theory of Law.

230. Our theory of law is free consent. That is the granite foundation of our whole superstructure. Nothing in the Republic can be law without consent, — the free consent of the House; the free consent of the Senate; the free consent of the Executive; or, if he refuse it, the free consent of two thirds of these bodies.

*Extra Session, March 29, 1879.*

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## THE CONSTITUTION.

### The Idea of the Constitution.

231. The men who created this Constitution also set it in operation, and developed



their own idea of its character. That idea was unlike any other that then prevailed upon the earth. They made the general welfare of the people the great source and foundation of the common defense.

#### Absolute Power.

232. It was the purpose of our fathers to lodge absolute power nowhere; to leave each department independent within its own sphere; yet, in every case, responsible for the exercise of its discretion. *Atlantic Monthly.*

#### Boundaries of Freedom.

233. Under this Constitution boundaries of freedom have been enlarged, the foundations of order and peace have been strengthened, and the growth of our people in all the better elements of national life has vindicated the wisdom of the founders and given new hope to their descendants. *Inaugural Address.*

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## OUR INSTITUTIONS.

#### National Institutions.

234. It matters little what may be the forms of national institutions, if the life, freedom, and growth of society are secured.

*An Empire.*

235. The last eight decades have witnessed an empire spring up in the full panoply of lusty life, from a trackless wilderness.

*Understanding our Institutions.*

236. No man who has not lived among us can understand one thing about our institutions; no man who has been born and reared under monarchical governments can understand the vast difference between theirs and ours.

*Society.*

237. There is no horizontal stratification of society in this country like the rocks in the earth, that hold one class down below forevermore, and let another come to the surface to stay there forever. Our stratification is like the ocean, where every individual drop is free to move, and where from the sternest depths of the mighty deep any drop may come up to glitter on the highest wave that rolls.

*An Army of Artisans.*

238. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the government to provide for the common defense, not by standing armies

alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans, whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

*Letter of Acceptance.*

✓ Our Duties.

239. We should do nothing inconsistent with the spirit and genius of our institutions. We should do nothing for revenge, but everything for security; nothing for the past; everything for the present and the future.

Difficult Problems.

240. The intelligence and national spirit of our people exhibit their capacity for dealing with difficult problems. Those who saw the terrible elements of destruction that burst upon us twelve years ago in the fury of the civil war, would have been called dreamers and enthusiasts had they predicted that 1873 would witness the conflict ended, its cause annihilated, the bitterness and hatred it occasioned nearly gone, and the nation with union and unity restored, smiling again over half a million soldiers' graves!

The Glory of our Institutions.

241. Individuals may wear for a time the

glory of our institutions, but they carry it not to the grave with them. Like rain-drops from heaven, they may pass through the circle of the shining bow and add to its lustre, but when they have sunk in the earth again, the proud arch still spans the sky and shines gloriously on.

#### A Cause of Alarm.

242. The most alarming feature of our situation is the fact that so many citizens of high character and solid judgment pay but little attention to the sources of political power, to the selection of those who shall make their laws. The clergy, the faculties of colleges, and many of the leading business men of the community, never attend the township caucus, the city primaries, or the county conventions; but they allow the less intelligent and the more selfish and corrupt members of the community to make the slates and "run the machine" of politics. They wait until the machine has done its work, and then, in surprise and horror at the ignorance and corruption in public office, sigh for the return of that mythical period called the "better and purer days of the Republic."

*"A Century in Congress," Atlantic Monthly, July, 1877.*

**Industrial Feudalism.**

243. The consolidation of our great industrial and commercial companies, the power they wield, and the relations they sustain to the State and to the industry of the people, do not fall far short of Fourier's definition of commercial or industrial feudalism. The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways, levy tribute at will upon all our vast industries. And, as the old feudalism was finally controlled and subordinated only by the combined efforts of the kings and the people of the free cities and towns, so our modern feudalism can be subordinated to the public good only by the great body of the people, acting through their governments by wise and just laws.

*Speech on the Railroad Problem, June 22, 1874.*

**Our Success.**

244. Reviewing the whole period, we have the right to say that the wisdom of our institutions has been vindicated, and our confidence in their stability has been strengthened. Legislation has been directed more and more to the enlargement of private rights and the promotion of the interests of labor.

It has been devoted not to the glory of a dynasty, but to the welfare of a people. Slavery, with the aristocracy of caste which it engendered, and the degradation of labor which it produced, has disappeared. Without undue exultation we may declare that the bells of the new year

“Ring out a slowly dying cause,  
And ancient forms of party strife;  
Ring in the nobler modes of life,  
With sweeter manners, purer laws.”

We have learned the great lesson, applicable alike to nations and to men: —

“Self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control —  
These three alone lead on to sovereign power.”

*Resumption Speech, Jan. 2, 1879.*

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## THE REPUBLIC.

The Stability of the Republic.

245. A republic can wield the vast enginery of war without breaking down the safeguards of liberty; can suppress insurrection and put down rebellion, however formidable, without destroying the bulwarks of law; can, by the might of its armed millions, preserve and defend both nationality and liberty.

**The Origin of the Republic.**

246. We have seen that our Republic differs in its origin from all the monarchies of the world. We may also see that it differs widely from all other republics of ancient or modern times. These all centred round a conquering hero or a powerful city, — ours round a principle. In the brightest days of the Grecian Republic, its strength and glory rested upon the life and fortunes of Pericles. In the old Dutch Republic of Holland and the later establishments of modern Germany, freedom was of the city and not of the people. The burghers were the only freemen, and they constituted an aristocracy more haughty and imperious than the hereditary peers of England. The peasants of the rural districts, the toiling thousands, were hardly known to the government, except that they bore many of its heavy burdens. But here, cities are not tyrannies, and freedom in her best estate is found in the green fields of the country, among the hardy tillers of the soil.

*Ravenna, July 4, 1860.*

**Monarchy vs. Republic.**

247. A monarchy is more easily overthrown than a republic, because its sover-

eighty is concentrated, and a single blow, if it be powerful enough, will crush it.

*Private Letter, Feb. 16, 1861.*

**The Power of the Citizen.**

248. In the Old World, under the despotism of Europe, the masses of ignorant men, mere inert masses, are moved upon and controlled by the intelligent and cultivated aristocracy. But in this Republic, where the government rests upon the will of the people, every man has an active power for good and evil, and the great question is, will he think rightly or wrongly?

*House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

**The Dogma of Divine Right.**

249. We have happily escaped the dogma of the divine right of kings. Let us not fall into the equally pernicious error that multitude is divine because it is a multitude.

**Vox Populi Vox Dei.**

250. It is only when the people speak truth and justice that their voice can be called "the voice of God."

**Personal Ambition.**

251. To all our means of culture is added



that powerful incentive to personal ambition which springs from the genius of our government. The pathway to honorable distinction lies open to all. No post of honor so high but the poorest boy may hope to reach it. It is the pride of every American, that many cherished names, at whose mention our hearts beat with a quicker bound, were worn by the sons of poverty, who conquered obscurity and became fixed stars in our firmament.

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## THE NATION.

**The Nation's Life.**

252. The nation has a life of its own as distinctly defined as the life of an individual. The signs of its growth and the periods of its development make the issues declare themselves; and the man or the political party that does not discover them, has not learned the character of the nation's life.

*Faneuil Hall, 1873.*

**The Nation's Purpose.**

253. Methods and details of management are of slight importance in comparison with the central purpose of the nation.

*House of Representatives, Feb., 1876.*

**The Nation's History.**

254. It is well to know the history of those magnificent nations whose origin is lost in fable, and whose epitaphs were written a thousand years ago; but if we cannot know both, it is far better to study the history of our own nation, whose origin we can trace to the freest and noblest aspirations of the human heart.

**Territory.**

255. After all, territory is but the body of a nation. The people who inhabit its hills and valleys are its soul, its spirit, its life. In them dwells its hope of immortality. Among them, if anywhere, are to be found its chief elements of destruction.

**Repression and Expression.**

256. There are two classes of forces whose action and reaction determine the condition of a nation: the forces of repression and expression. The one acts from without, limits, curbs, restrains. The other acts from within, expands, enlarges, propels. Constitutional forms, statutory limitations, conservative customs, belong to the first. The free play of individual life, opinion and action, belong to the second. If these forces be happily bal-

anced, if there be a wise conservation and correlation of both, a nation may enjoy the double blessing of progress and permanence.

#### The Supremacy of the Nation.

257. The supremacy of the nation and its laws should be no longer a subject of debate. That discussion, which for half a century threatened the existence of the Union, was closed at last in the high court of war; by a decree from which there is no appeal: that the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are and shall continue to be the supreme law of the land, binding alike upon the States and the people.

*Inaugural Address.*

#### Facing to the Front.

258. It is manifest that the nation is resolutely facing to the front, resolved to employ its best energies in developing the great possibilities of the future. Sacredly preserving whatever has been gained to liberty and good government during the century, our people are determined to leave behind them all those bitter controversies concerning things which have been irrevocably settled, and the further discussion of which can only stir up strife and delay the onward march.

*ibid*

**The Fountains of our Strength.**

259. The fountain of our strength as a nation springs from the private life and the voluntary efforts of forty-five millions of people. Each for himself confronts the problem of life and amid its varied conditions develops the forces with which God has endowed him. Meantime the nation moves on in its great orbit with a life and destiny of its own, each year calling to its aid those qualities and forces which are needed for its preservation and its glory. Now it needs the prudence of the counselor, now the wisdom of the law-giver, and now the shield of the warrior to cover its heart in battle. And when the hour and the man have met, and the needed work has been done, the nation crowns her heroes and makes them her own forever.

*Oration on the Death of O. P. Morton.*

**The Behavior of the Nation.**

260. The behavior of a great nation in the administration of its laws at a critical moment, is more important than the fate of any one man or party. We have reached the place where the road is marked by no footprint, and we must make a direct line to be fit to follow after we are dead. It is only at such times

that the domain of law is enlarged and the safeguard of liberty is increased. I confess to you that I do not feel adequate to the task; but I shall do my best to point out a worthy way to the light and the right.

*Private Letter, Jan. 4., 1877.*

#### The People of the Republic.

261. The people of a republic like ours are peculiarly like a single great individual man, full of passions — prejudices often, — but with a great heart, despising anything like show or pretense, and always striving forward in a general right direction.

*From a Private Letter.*

#### Society.

262. Here society is a restless and surging sea. The roar of the billows, the dash of the wave, is forever in our ears. Even the angry hoarseness of breakers is not unheard. But there is an understratum of deep, calm sea, which the breath of the wildest tempest can never reach. There is, deep down in the hearts of the American people, a strong and abiding love of our country and its liberty, which no surface-storms of passion can ever shake. That kind of instability which arises

from a free movement and interchange of position among the members of society, which brings one drop up to glisten for a time in the crest of the highest wave, and then give place to another, while it goes down to mingle again with the millions below; such instability is the surest pledge of permanence. On such instability the eternal fixedness of the universe is based. Each planet, in its circling orbit, returns to the goal of its departure, and on the balance of these wildly-rolling spheres God has planted the broad base of His mighty works. So the hope of our national perpetuity rests upon that perfect individual freedom which shall forever keep up the circuit of perpetual change.

*Ravenna, July 4, 1860.*

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## THE COHESION OF THE REPUBLIC.

Deciding the Election.

263. Not here, in this brilliant circle where fifteen thousand men and women are assembled, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed; not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of seven hundred and fifty-six delegates waiting to cast their votes into the

urn and determine the choice of their party ; but by four million Republican firesides, where the thoughtful fathers, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and love of country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and the knowledge of the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by — there God prepares the verdict that shall determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago in the heat of June, but in the sober quiet that comes between now and November, in the silence of deliberate judgment, will this great question be settled.

*Speech Nominating Hon. John Sherman.*

**The American Citizen.**

264. It was said in a welcome to one who came to England to be a part of her glory — and all the nation spoke when it was said, —

“Normans and Saxons and Danes are we,  
But all of us Danes in our welcome of thee.”

And we say to-night, of all nations, of all the people, soldiers, and civilians, there is one name that welds us all into one. It is the name of American citizen, under the union and under the glory of the flag that led us to victory and to peace.

*Washington, November, 1880.*

## THE SUFFRAGE.

## Suffrage and Safety.

265. Suffrage and Safety, like Liberty and Union, are one and inseparable.

*Ravenna, July 4, 1860.*

## Violation of the Suffrage.

266. To violate the freedom and sanctity of the suffrage is more than an evil; it is a crime which, if persisted in, will destroy the government itself. Suicide is not a remedy. If in other lands it be high treason to compass the death of a king, it should be counted no less a crime here to strangle our sovereign power and stifle its voice.

*Inaugural Address.*

## Unsettled Questions.

267. It has been said that unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations. It should be said, with the utmost emphasis, that this question of suffrage will never give repose or safety to the nation until each State within its own jurisdiction makes and keeps the ballot free and pure by the strong sanctions of the law.

*Ibid.*

## Ignorance in the Voter.

268. The danger which arises from ignorance in the voter cannot be denied.

*Ibid.*



**The Disaster of Vice.**

269. We have no standard by which to measure the disaster that may be brought upon us by ignorance and vice in the citizens when joined to corruption and fraud in the suffrage. *Ibid.*

**The Voters of the Union.**

270. The voters of the Union who make and unmake Constitutions, and upon whose will hangs the destinies of our government, can transmit supreme authority to no successor save the coming generation of voters, who are the sole heirs of sovereign power. If that generation comes to its inheritance blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice, the fall of the Republic will be certain and remediless. *Ibid.*

**Disfranchised Peasantry.**

271. There can be no permanent disfranchised peasantry in the United States. *Ibid.*

**Our National Safety.**

272. In a word, our national safety demands that the fountains of political power shall be made pure by intelligence and kept pure by vigilance. ✓

**Our Sovereign's Danger.**

273. The source of our sovereign's supreme danger, the point where his life is vulnerable, is at the ballot-box where his will is declared; and if he cannot stand by that cradle of our sovereign's heir-apparent and protect it to the uttermost against all assassins and assailants, we have no government and no safety for the future.

**The Dangers of Suffrage.**

274. We confront the dangers of suffrage by the blessings of universal education.

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**THE LESSON OF THE MONUMENTS.****What They Teach.**

• 275. What does the monument mean? and, What will the monument teach? Let me try and ask you for a moment to help me answer, what does the monument mean. Oh! the monument means a world of memories, a world of deeds, and a world of tears, and a world of glories. You know, thousands know, what it is to offer up your life to the country, and that is no small thing, as every soldier knows. Let me put the question to

you: For a moment, suppose your country in the awfully embodied form of majestic law should stand above you and say, "I want your life. Come up here on the platform and offer it." How many would walk up before that majestic presence and say, "Here I am, take this life and use it for your great needs." And yet almost two millions of men made that answer, and a monument stands yonder to commemorate their answer. That is one of its meanings. But, my friends, let me try you a little further. To give up life is much, for it is to give up wife, and home, and child, and ambition. But let me test you this way further. Suppose this awfully majestic form should call out to you, and say, "I ask you to give up health and drag yourself, not dead, but half alive, through a miserable existence for long years, until you perish and die in your crippled and hopeless condition. I ask you to volunteer to do that," and it calls for a higher reach of patriotism and self-sacrifice, but hundreds of thousands of you soldiers did that. That is what the monument means also. But let me ask you to go one step further. Suppose your country should say, "Come here, on this platform, and in my name, and for my sake, consent to be idiots,

— consent that your very brain and intellect shall be broken down into hopeless idiocy for my sake.” How many could be found to make that venture? And yet there are thousands, and that with their eyes wide open to the horrible consequences, obeyed that call.

And let me tell how one hundred thousand of our soldiers were prisoners of war, and to many of them when death was stalking near, when famine was climbing up into their hearts, and idiocy was threatening all that was left of their intellects, the gates of their prison stood open every day, if they would quit, desert their flag and enlist under the flag of the enemy, and out of one hundred and eighty thousand not two per cent. ever received the liberation from death, starvation, and all that might come to them; but they took all these horrors and all these sufferings in preference to going back upon the flag of their country and the glory of its truth. Great God! was ever such measure of patriotism reached by any man on this earth before. That is what your monument means. By the subtle chemistry that no man knows, all the blood that was shed by our brethren,—all the lives that were devoted, all the grief that was felt,—at last crystallized itself into granite, rendered

immortal the great truth for which they died, and it stands there to-day, and that is what your monument means.

*Oration at Painesville, O., 1880, Dedication of a Soldiers Monument.*

#### A Story of Greece.

276. Now what does it teach? What will it teach? Why, I remember the story of one of the old conquerors of Greece, who, when he had traveled in his boyhood over the battle-fields where Miltiades had won victories and set up trophies, returning he said: "These trophies of Miltiades will never let me sleep." Why, something had taught him from the chiseled stone a lesson that he could never forget, and, fellow-citizens, that silent sentinel, that crowned granite column, will look down upon the boys that will walk these streets for generations to come, and will not let them sleep when their country calls them.

*Ibid.*

#### The Lesson of Endurance.

277. That is its lesson, and it is the lesson of endurance for what we believe, and it is the lesson of sacrifices for what we think — the lesson of heroism for what we mean to sustain — and that lesson cannot be lost to a

people like this. It is not a lesson of revenge, it is not a lesson of wrath, it is the grand, sweet, broad lesson of the immortality of the truth that we hope will soon cover, as with the grand Shekinah of light and glory, all parts of this Republic, from the lakes to the gulf.

*Ibid.*

## PART III. — WORDS POLITICAL.

SUCH selections as are included under this head relate more particularly to politics, parties, political, financial, and trade questions, and the government, than what have been collected in Parts I. and II.

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### Emigration.

278. Emigration follows the path of liberty.

### Secession.

279. Secession is the tocsin of eternal war.

### The Way We Legislate.

280. We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world; and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people, with their abundant natural resources, possess the requisite skill at any time to clothe, arm, and equip themselves

for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor.

*Letter of Acceptance.*

#### The Duty of Good Men.

281. It is as much the duty of all good men to protect and defend the reputation of worthy public servants as to detect public rascals.

#### Coercion.

282. Coercion is the basis of every law in the universe, — human or divine. A law is no law without coercion behind it.

#### The Judgment of Leaders.

283. The general judgment of all men who deserve to be called the leaders of American thought, ought to be considered worth something in an American House of Representatives on the discussion of a great topic.

*Speech on the Finances, Nov. 16, 1877.*

#### The Movement of the Republic.

284. Over this vast horizon of interests, North and South, above all party prejudices and personal wrong-doing, above our battle hosts and our victorious cause, above all that we hoped for and won, or you hoped for and



lost, is the grand onward movement of the Republic to perpetuate its glory, to save liberty alive, to preserve exact and equal justice to all, to protect and foster all these priceless principles until they shall have crystallized into the form of enduring law and become wrought into the life and habits of our people.

#### Our Theory of Government.

285. Our theory of government is based upon the belief that the suffrage carries with it individual responsibility, stimulates the activity, and promotes the intelligence and self-respect of the voter.

*North American Review, March, 1879.*

#### The Vicarious Atonement.

286. Whatever we may believe theologically, I do not believe in the doctrine of vicarious atonement in politics.

*House of Representatives, June 12, 1876.*

#### The Lessons of Charity.

287. To those most noble men, Democrats and Republicans, who together fought for the Union, I commend all the lessons of charity that the wisest and most beneficent men have taught.

*Ibid.*

**Political Training.**

288. Probably no American youth, unless we except John Quincy Adams, was ever trained with special reference to the political service of his country.

*Oration on the Death of O. P. Morton.*

**The Third House.**

289. In coming hither these living representatives have passed under the dome and through that beautiful and venerable hall which on another occasion I have ventured to call the Third House of American Representatives, that silent assembly whose members have received their high credentials at the impartial hand of history. Year by year we see the circle of its immortal membership enlarging; year by year we see the elect of their country in eloquent silence taking their places in this American Pantheon, bringing within its sacred precincts the wealth of those immortal memories which made their lives illustrious; and year by year that august assembly is teaching deeper and grander lessons to those who serve in these more ephemeral houses of Congress.

*Speech on accepting Carpenter's Picture of the Signing the Emancipation Proclamation.*

**A Picker-up of Bird-seed.**

290. It does not answer my proposition to ramble over the speech and pick up a morsel here and there; to leave the line of debate and become what the Grecians called a mere *sperma-logos*, a picker-up of bird-seed, a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles.

*House of Representatives, March 6, 1878.*

**Military Science.**

291. It would be interesting to trace the changes through which military science has passed during the last century. We should find, especially during the last half century, that at the end of each great war some leading implement was mustered out of service and replaced by a better one; and every such improvement has required a corresponding change in the prevailing methods of warfare.

*North American Review, March, 1878.*

**Female Suffrage.**

292. Laugh as we may, put it aside as a jest if we will, keep it out of Congress or political campaigns, still, the woman question is rising in our horizon larger than the size of a man's hand; and some solution, ere long, that question must find.

*Address before Washington Business College.*

**Political Catch-words.**

293. We are apt to be deluded into false security by political catch-words, devised to flatter rather than instruct.

*Address before the Literary Societies of Hudson College.*

**The Dollar.**

294. The dollar is the gauge that measures every blow of the hammer,

*House of Representatives, Feb., 1876.*

**An Ideal Census.**

295. If we had the power to photograph the American people in one second all in one picture, and get the conditions that the inquiries of the census could give us all at once, as through a telephone, and have it all recorded, it would be the ideal perfect census.

*House of Representatives, Feb. 18, 1879.*

**Church and State.**

296. The division between Church and State ought to be so absolute that no church property anywhere in the state or nation should be exempt from taxation; for if you exempt the property of any church organization, to that extent you impose a church tax upon the whole community.

*House of Representatives, June, 1874.*

**The Democratic Principle.**

297. Our faith in the democratic principle rests upon the belief that intelligent men will see that their highest political good is in liberty, regulated by just and equal laws ; and that in the distribution of political power it is safe to follow the maxim, " Each for all, and all for each."

**The Lights of Practical Science.**

298. As the government lights our coasts for the protection of mariners and the benefit of commerce, so it should give to the tillers of the soil lights of practical science and experience.

*Inaugural Address.*

**The Duty of Congress.**

299. In my judgment it is the duty of Congress, while respecting to the uttermost the conscientious convictions and religious scruples of every citizen, to prohibit within its jurisdiction all criminal practices, and especially of that class which destroy the family relations and endanger social order. Nor can any ecclesiastical organization be safely permitted to usurp, in the smallest degree, the functions and powers of the national government.

*Ibid.*

## THE FEELINGS OF A STATESMAN.

## The Life Behind.

300. Behind this public life lies a world of history, of quiet, beautiful, home-life, within which the religious opinions and sentiments are manifested — a world of affection, the features of which are rarely brought out in this forum. *Oration, Death of Congressman Starkweather.*

## The Isolation of Congress.

301. I have often been saddened with the thought that in no place where my life has been cast have I seen so much necessary isolation as here. *Ibid.*

## An Isolated Place.

302. In some respects this hall is the coldest, the most isolated place in which the human heart can find a temporary residence. *Ibid.*

## The Final Departure.

303. On many accounts my transfer to the Senate brings sad recollections. Do you remember the boy "Joe" in one of Dickens' novels, who said that everybody was always telling him to "move on," that, whenever he stopped to look in at a window to long for

gingerbread, or catch a glimpse of the pictures, the voice of the inexorable policeman made him "move on?" I have felt something of this in the order that sends me away from the house. It is a final departure.

*Private Letter, Jan. 30, 1880.*

#### The World's Wrath.

304. For twenty-two years, with the exception of the last few days, I have been in the public service. To-night I am a private citizen. To-morrow I shall be called to assume new responsibilities, and on the day after the broadside of the world's wrath will strike. It will strike hard. I know it, and you will know it.

*Class Dinner, Washington, March 3, 1881.*

#### The Presidential Fever.

305. This honor comes to me unsought. I have never had the Presidential fever; not even for a day; nor have I it to-night. I have no feeling of elation in view of the position I am called upon to fill. I would thank God were I to-day a free lance in the House or the Senate. But it is not to be, and I will go forward to meet the responsibilities and discharge the duties that are before me with all the firmness and ability I can command.

*Ibid.*

## POLITICAL PARTIES.

## The Birth of Parties.

306. Political parties, like poets, are born, not made. No act of political mechanics, however wise, can manufacture to order and make a platform, and put a party on it which will live and flourish.

## Immortal Ideas.

307. Every great political party that has done this country any good has given to it some immortal ideas that have outlived all the members of that party.

*Speech on the Death of Lincoln.*

## The Death of Parties and Liberty.

308. Organizations may change or dissolve, but when parties cease to exist liberty will perish.

*Address on the Death of O. P. Morton.*

## The Federalists.

309. Whatever opinion we may now entertain of the Federalists as a party, it is unquestionably true that we are indebted to them for the strong points of the Constitution, and for the stable government they founded and strengthened during the administration of Washington and Adams.



**Party Record.**

310. While it is true that no party can stand upon its past record alone, yet it is also true that its past shows the spirit and character of the organization, and enables us to judge what it will probably do in the future.

**The Life of Parties.**

311. Parties have an organic life and spirit of their own — an individuality and character which outlive the men who compose them; and the spirit and traditions of a party should be considered in determining their fitness for managing the affairs of the nation.

*House of Representatives, 1880.*

**The Control of Parties.**

312. The thing most desired is not how to avoid the existence of parties, but how to keep them within proper bounds.

*House of Representatives, Oct. 22, 1877.*

**The Republican Party.**

313. The Republican party gave to the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people.

*Speech Nominating Hon. John Sherman.*

**Democratic and Republican Parties.**

314. The Democratic and Republican parties are examples of a genuine and natural method of organizing political parties. The Democratic party in its earlier and better days represented the genuine aspirations and grand ideas of the American people, and no man can say it was ever manufactured at any particular time by any particular set of men. The Republican party also was a growth springing from the hostility of the American people to slavery, and they rallied around that central idea, an idea broad enough to reach all the ramifications of our whole institutions.

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**PARTY QUESTIONS.****Party Governments.**

315. All free governments are party governments. *Address on the Death of O. P. Morton.*

**Partisanship.**

316. Partisanship is opinion crystallized, — party organizations are the scaffoldings whereon citizens stand while they build up the wall of their national temple. *Ibid.*

**Party Amenities.**

317. The flowers that bloom over the garden wall of party politics are the sweetest and most fragrant that bloom in the gardens of this world.

**Political Issues.**

318. Real political issues cannot be manufactured by the leaders of political parties, and real ones cannot be evaded by political parties.

*Faneuil Hall, 1878.*

**Permanent Political Doctrines.**

319. I should like to adopt political doctrines that would live longer than my dog.

*Cleveland, October 11, 1879.*

320. It is a very awkward thing indeed to adopt a political opinion and trust to it, and find that it will not live overnight. It would be an exceedingly awkward thing to go to bed alone with your political doctrine, trusting and believing in it, thinking it is true, and wake up in the morning and find it a corpse in your arms.

*Ibid.*

## STATESMANSHIP.

## The Qualities of Statesmanship.

321. Statesmanship consists rather in removing causes than in punishing or evading results. Statistical science is indispensable to modern statesmanship. In legislation, as in physical science, it is beginning to be understood that we can control terrestrial forces only by obeying their laws. The legislator must formulate in his statutes not only the national will, but also those great laws of social life revealed by statistics.

## The Demagogue.

322. Perhaps it is true that the demagogue will succeed when honorable statesmanship will fail. If so, public life is the hollowest of all shams.

*Private Letter, April 4, 1873.*

## Special Training.

323. For all the great professions known among Americans special training-schools have been established or encouraged by law except for that of statesmanship. And yet no profession requires for its successful pursuit a wider range of general and special knowledge in a more thorough and varied culture.

*Death of O. P. Morton, Jan. 18, 1878.*

## LEGISLATION.

## ✓ Terrestrial Forces.

324. In legislation, as in physical science, it is beginning to be understood that we can control terrestrial forces only by obeying their laws.

## A Measure of Value.

325. Legislation cannot make that a measure of value which neither possesses nor represents any definitely ascertained value.

## The Minority.

326. As a general rule, long service in a legislative minority unfits men for the duties that devolve upon a majority. The business of one is to attack, of the other to defend; of the one to tear down, of the other to build up.

## The Legislator and Statistics.

327. The legislator without statistics is like the mariner at sea without the compass.

## A Legislator's Study.

328. The legislator must study society rather than black-letter learning.

*House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

## GOVERNMENT.

## Proportion in Governments.

329. A government made for the kingdom of Lilliput might fail to handle the forces of Brobdignag.

## An Artificial Giant.

330. A government is an artificial giant, and the power that moves it is money—money raised by taxation and distributed to the various parts of the body politic, according to the discretion of the legislative power.

## The Powers of Government.

331. We are accustomed to hear it said that the great powers of government in this country are divided into two classes: national powers and state powers. That is an incomplete classification. Our fathers carefully divided all governmental powers into three classes: one they gave to the states, another to the nation; but the third great class, comprising the most precious of all powers, they refused to confer on the state or nation, but reserved to themselves. This third class of powers has been almost uniformly overlooked by men who have written and discussed the American system.

**The Management of Governments.**

332. All free governments are managed by the combined wisdom and folly of the people.

*Private Letter, April 21, 1880.*

**Despotism.**

333. Perhaps, as a mere matter of government, a good despot would make a better government; but for the education of the people governed, a good despotism is worse than freedom with its admixture of folly.

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**CONGRESS.**
**The Vote of Congress.**

334. In the name of common sense and sanity, let us take some account of the flood, that a deluge means something, and try if we can get our bearings before we undertake to settle the affairs of all mankind by a vote of this House.

**A Safe Rule in Legislation.**

335. It is a safe and wise rule to follow, in all legislation, that whatever the people can do without legislation will be better done than by the intervention of the State or nation.

What Congress Is.

336. Congress has always been and must always be the theatre of contending opinions; the forum where the opposing forces of political philosophy meet to measure their strength; where the public good must meet the assaults of local and sectional interests; in a word, the appointed place where the nation seeks to utter its thought and register its will.

337. Congress must always be the exponent of the political character and culture of the people, and if the next centennial does not find us a great nation with a great and worthy Congress, it will be because those who represent the enterprise, the culture, and the morality of the nation do not aid in controlling the political forces, which are employed to select the men who shall occupy the great places of trust and power.

*"A Century in Congress," Atlantic Monthly, Aug., 1876.*

338. I admit most freely that Congress may regulate the act of opening the certificates and may regulate the work of counting, but it cannot push its power to regulate beyond the meaning of the words that describe



the thing to be done. It cannot ingraft a judiciary system upon the word "open." It cannot evolve a court-martial from the word "count." It cannot erect a star chamber upon either or both of these words. It cannot plant the seeds of despotism between the lines or words of the Constitution.

*Speech on Counting the Electoral Vote.*

#### Sound Words.

339. During the many calm years of the century our pilots have grown careless of the course. The master of a vessel sailing down Lake Ontario has the whole breadth of that beautiful inland sea for his pathway. But when his ship arrives at the *chute* of the Lachine there is but one pathway of safety. With a steady hand, a clear eye, and a brave heart he points his prow to the well-fixed landmarks on the shore and, with death on either hand, makes the plunge and shoots the rapids in safety. We too are approaching the narrows, and we hear the roar of the angry waters below and the muttering of the sullen thunder overhead. Unterrified by breakers or tempest, let us steer our course by the Constitution of our fathers, and we shall neither sink in the rapids, nor compel our children

to shoot Niagara and perish in the whirlpool. *Ibid.*

**A Menace.**

340. When you tell me that civil war is threatened by any party or State in this Republic, you have given me a supreme reason why an American Congress should refuse, with unutterable scorn, to listen to those who threaten, or to do any act whatever under the coercion of threats by any power on earth. With all my soul I despise your threat of civil war, come from what quarter or party it may. Brave men, certainly a brave nation, will do nothing under compulsion. We are intrusted with the work of obeying and defending the Constitution, I will not be deterred from obeying it because somebody threatens to destroy it. I dismiss all that class of motives as unworthy of Americans.

*Ibid.*

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**FINANCE AND THE PUBLIC CREDIT.**

**A Valuable Book.**

341. The log-book of this voyage cannot be read too often.

*"The Currency Conflict," Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1876.*

The Fate of a Paper Currency.

342. I for one am unwilling that my name shall be linked to the fate of a paper currency. I believe that any party which commits itself to paper money will go down amid the general disaster, covered with the curses of a ruined people.

*Public Debts and Specie Payments, March 16, 1866.*

Sleight-of-Hand Finance.

343. I believe they will, after a full hearing, discard all methods of paying their debts by sleight-of-hand, or by any scheme which crooked wisdom may devise. If public morality did not protest against any such plan, enlightened public selfishness would refuse its sanction.

*House of Representatives, July 15, 1868.*

The Future of Finance.

344. Let us be true to our trust a few years longer, and the next generation will be here with its seventy-five millions of population and its sixty billions of wealth. To them the debt that then remains will be a light burden. They will pay the last bond according to the letter and spirit of the contract, with the same sense of grateful duty with which they will pay the pensions of the few

surviving soldiers of the great war for the Union. *Ibid.*

#### Debt Questions.

345. All the questions which spring out of the public debt, such as loans, bonds, tariffs, internal taxation, banking and currency, present greater difficulties than usually come within the scope of American politics. They cannot be settled by force of numbers nor carried by assault, as an army storms the works of an enemy. Patient examination of facts, careful study of principles which do not always appear on the surface, and which involve the most difficult problems of political economy, are the weapons of this warfare.

*Speech on Finance, May 15, 1868.*

#### The Way to Legislate.

346. It would be dishonorable for Congress to legislate either for the debtor class or for the creditor class alone. We ought to legislate for the whole country.

*Speech Against Repealing the Resumption Act.*

#### The Perfidy of A Nation.

347. The perfidy of one man, or of a million of men, is as nothing compared with the perfidy of a nation.

*House of Representatives, Feb., 1876.*

Financial Subjects.

348. Men's first opinions are almost always wrong in regard to them, as they are in regard to astronomy, and he who reads the truths that lie deepest, is in imminent danger of being tabooed for a madman.

*Private Letter, Dec. 15, 1867.*

349. Financial subjects are nuts and clover for demagogues. *Ibid.*

Inflationists.

350. In 1862, there may have been followers of William Loundes and John Law among our people, and here and there a philosopher who dreamed of an ideal standard of value stripped of all the grossness of so coarse and vulgar a substance as gold. But they dwelt apart in silence, and their opinions made scarce a ripple on the current of public thought.

*Speech on the Currency, Feb., 1876.*

Revenue Laws as Sign-Posts.

351. If our Republic were blotted from the earth and from the memory of mankind, and if no record of its history survived, except a copy of our revenue laws and our appropriation bills for a single year, the political

philosopher would be able from these materials alone to reconstruct a large part of our history, and sketch with considerable accuracy the character and spirit of our revolutions.

*North American Review, June, 1877.*

#### **An Uncertain Currency.**

352. An uncertain currency that goes up and down, hits the laborer, and hits him hard. It helps him last and hurts him first.

#### **Finance and Public Opinion.**

353. That man makes a vital mistake who judges truth in relation to financial affairs from the changing phases of public opinion. He might as well stand on the shore of the Bay of Fundy, and from the ebb and flow of a single tide attempt to determine the general level of the sea, as to stand upon this floor, and from the current of public opinion on any one debate, judge of the general level of the public mind. It is only when long spaces along the shore of the sea are taken into account that the grand level is found from which the heights and depths are measured. And it is only when long spaces of time are considered that we find at last that level of public opinion which we call the general judgment of mankind.

**An Uncertain Standard.**

354. An uncertain and fluctuating standard is an evil whose magnitude is too vast for measurement.

**The Gold Exchange.**

355. The Gold Exchange and the Gold Clearing-House, of New York, will be remembered in history as the Germans remember the robber castles of the Rhine, whence the brigand chiefs levied black-mail upon every passer-by.

**Successful Resumption.**

356. Successful resumption will greatly aid in bringing into the murky sky of our politics, what the Signal Service people call "clearing weather."

**Bad Faith.**

357. Bad faith on the part of an individual, a city, or even a State, is a small evil in comparison with the calamities which follow bad faith on the part of a sovereign government.

**Confidence in Promises.**

358. In the complex and delicately-ad-

justed relations of modern society, confidence in promises lawfully made is the life-blood of trade and commerce. It is the vital air labor breathes. It is the light which shines on the pathway of prosperity.

#### **Bad Faith.**

359. An act of bad faith on the part of a State or municipal corporation, like poison in the blood, will transmit its curse to succeeding generations.

#### **Three Reasons for Resumption.**

360. We are bound by three great reasons to maintain the resumption of specie payments: First, because the sanctity of the public faith requires it; second, because the material prosperity of the country demands it; and third, because our future prosperity insists that agitation shall cease, and that the country shall find a safe and permanent basis of financial peace.

#### **The Men of 1862.**

361. The men of 1862 knew the dangers from sad experience in our history; and, like Ulysses, lashed themselves to the mast of public credit when they embarked upon the



stormy and boisterous sea of inflated paper money, that they might not be beguiled by the siren-song that would be sung to them when they were afloat on the wild waves.

**Financial Literature.**

362. Let the wild swarm of financial literature that has sprung into life within the last twelve years witness how widely and how far we have drifted. We have lost our old moorings, have thrown overboard our old compass; we sail by alien stars looking not for the haven, but are afloat on a harborless sea.

**Equality of Dollars.**

363. Let us have equality of dollars before the law, so that the trinity of our political creed shall be equal states, equal men, and equal dollars throughout the Union. When these three are realized we shall have achieved the complete pacification of our country.

## REVENUE.

**Revenue, a Motive Power.**

364. Revenue is not the friction of a government, but rather its motive power.

**The Expenditure of Revenue.**

365. The expenditure of revenue forms the grand level from which all heights and depths of legislative action are measured.

**Corruption and Cash.**

366. There is scarcely a conceivable form of corruption or public wrong that does not at last present itself at the cashier's desk and demand money. The legislature, therefore, that stands at the cashier's desk and watches with its Argus eyes the demands for payment over the counter is most certain to see all the forms of public rascality.

**Financial Health.**

367. A steady and constant revenue dawn from sources that represent the prosperity of the nation — a revenue that grows with the growth of national wealth and is so adjusted to the expenditures that a constant

and considerable surplus is annually left in the treasury above all the necessary current demands, a surplus that keeps the treasury strong, that holds it above the fear of sudden panic, that makes it impregnable against all private combinations, that makes it a terror to all stock jobbing and gold gambling — this is financial health.

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## TRADE AND BUSINESS.

### The Wants of Trade.

368. Is there any man in America wise enough to measure the wants of trade and tell just how much currency is needed? Who forgets the infinite difficulty to find a man with brain enough and resource enough to feed an army and to clothe it and to house it? Its house is of the rudest — only a piece of cloth; its clothing is of the simplest, and its food is a definitely-prescribed ration. But it is considered worthy of the glory of one glorious life to be able to feed and clothe and house an army of a hundred thousand men. Now, fellow-citizens, suppose somebody should offer to take the contract of feeding, clothing, and housing Boston and its suburbs,

including half a million of men. Remember that all nations are placed under contribution to supply the city of Boston: every clime sends its supplies; every portion of our land, all our roads of transportation are looked to to supply the tables, houses, and the clothing of this community. Do you suppose any man in the world is wise enough, is skillful enough to supply the wants of this population, in a circle of twenty miles around Boston? Now multiply that by a hundred, and get the population of the United States. Is there any man in this world wise enough, is there any congress in the world wise enough, to measure the wants of forty-five millions of people and tell just what is needed for their supplies? No, fellow-citizens; but there is something behind legislation that does — does all so quietly and so perfectly. Every man seeking his own interest, millions of men acting for themselves, acting under the great law of supply and demand, the laws of trade, feed Boston, feed the United States, clothe, house, and transport the nation and carry on all its mighty works in perfect harmony and with ease, because the higher law above legislation, — the law of demand and supply, — pervading and covering all, settles that great

question, far above the wisdom of one man, or a thousand men to determine it.

*Faneuil Hall, 1873.*

**The Business of the Country.**

369. The business of the country is like the level of the ocean, from which all measurements are made of heights and depths. Though tides and currents may for a time disturb, and tempests vex and toss its surface, still, through calm and storm the grand level rules all its waves and lays its measuring lines on every shore. So the business of the country, which, in the aggregated demands of the people for exchange of values, marks the ebb and flow, the rise and fall of the currents of trade, and forms the base line from which to measure all our financial legislation, is the only safe rule by which the volume of our currency can be determined.

*House of Representatives, January 7, 1870.*

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**STATES RIGHTS.**

**The Powers of Government.**

370. No more beautiful thought was embodied in the structure of our Republic than

this: that our fathers did so distribute the powers of government that no one power should be able to swallow, absorb, or destroy the others.

#### The Character of the Republic.

371. Nothing more aptly describes the character of our Republic than the solar system, launched into space by the hand of the Creator where the central sun is the great power around which revolve all the planets in their appointed orbits. But while the sun holds in the grasp of its attractive power the whole system and imparts its light and heat to all, yet each individual planet is under the sway of laws peculiar to itself.

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### SLAVERY.

#### The Remission of Slavery.

372. I am inclined to believe that the sin of slavery is one of which it may be said that without the shedding of blood there is no remission.

*Private Letter on the Outbreak of the War.*

#### An Alarming Truth.

373. In the very crisis of our fate God

brought us face to face with the alarming truth, that we must lose our own freedom or grant it to the slave.

*House of Representatives, January 13, 1865.*

#### The Death of Slavery.

374. We shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic and in this hall till we know why sin has such longevity and Satan is immortal. With marvelous tenacity of existence, it has outlived the expectations of its friends and the hopes of its enemies. It has been declared here and elsewhere to be in all the several stages of mortality, wounded, moribund, dead. The question was raised by my colleague [Mr. Cox] yesterday, whether it was indeed dead, or only in a troubled sleep. I know of no better illustration of its condition than is found in Sallust's admirable history of the great conspirator Catiline, who, when his final battle was fought and lost, his army broken and scattered, was found far in advance of his own troops, lying among the dead enemies of Rome, yet breathing a little, but exhibiting in his countenance all that ferocity of spirit which had characterized his life. So, sir, this body of slavery lies before us among the dead enemies of the republic,

mortally wounded, impotent in its fiendish wickedness, but with its old ferocity of look, bearing the unmistakable marks of its infernal origin.

*House of Representatives. Constitutional Amendment to abolish Slavery, Jan. 13, 1865.*

#### The Victims of Slavery.

375.. All along the coast of our political sea these victims of slavery lie like stranded wrecks, broken on the headlands of freedom.

*Ibid.*

#### A Great Political Change.

376. The elevation of the negro race from slavery to the full rights of citizenship is the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. No thoughtful man can fail to appreciate its beneficent effect upon our institutions and people. It has freed us from the perpetual danger of war and dissolution. It has added immensely to the moral and individual forces of our people. It has liberated the master as well as the slave from a relation which wronged and enfeebled both. It has surrendered to their own guardianship the manhood of more than 5,000,000 people, and has opened to each one of them a career of freedom and usefulness. -It has given new in-



spiration to the power of self-help in both races by making labor more honorable to the one and more necessary to the other. The influence of this force will grow greater and bear rich fruit with the coming years.

*Inaugural Address.*

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## THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

### The Soldier's Death.

377. If silence is ever golden, it must be here, beside the graves of fifteen thousand men, whose lives were more significant than speech, and whose death was a poem, the music of which can never be sung.

*Decoration Day Oration, Arlington, May 30, 1868.*

### The Character of the Change.

378. It will not do to speak of the gigantic revolution through which we have lately passed as a thing to be adjusted and settled by a change in administration. It was cyclical, epochal, century-wide, and to be studied in its broad and grand perspective, a revolution of even wider scope, so far as time is concerned, than the Revolution of 1776.

**The Strength of Men in Revolution.**

379. In such a revolution, men are like insects, that fret and toss in the storm, but are swept onward by the resistless movements of elements beyond their control.

**How it Should be Studied.**

380. I speak of this revolution not to praise the men who aided it, or to censure the men who resisted it, but as a force to be studied, as a mandate to be obeyed.

**The Need of Vigilance.**

381. Those who carried the war for the Union and equal and universal freedom to a victorious issue can never safely relax their vigilance until the ideas for which they fought have become embodied in the enduring forms of individual and national life.

**The Peace to Be.**

382. Peace from the shock of battle, the higher Peace of our streets, our homes, of our equal rights we must secure by making the conquering ideas of the War everywhere dominant and permanent.

The Spirit of the War.

383. Think of the great elevating spirit of the war itself. We gathered the boys from all our farms, and shops, and stores, and schools, and homes, from all over the republic, and they went forth unknown to fame, but returned enrolled on the roster of immortal heroes.

*Speech before the Boys in Blue, New York, Aug. 6, 1880.*

Our Temple.

384. This arena of rebellion and slavery is a scene of violence and crime no longer! This will be forever the sacred mountain of our Capital. Here is our temple; its pavement is the sepulchre of heroic hearts; its dome, the bending heaven; its altar candles, the watching stars.

*Decoration Day, Arlington, May 30, 1866*

A Lost Opportunity.

385. A tenth of our national debt expended in public education fifty years ago would have saved us the blood and treasure of the late war.

*House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

Our Future.

386. I once entered a house in old Massa-

chusetts where over its doors were two crossed swords. One was the sword carried by the grandfather of its owner on the field of Bunker Hill; and the other was the sword carried by the English grandsire of the wife on the same field, and on the other side of the conflict. Under those crossed swords, in the restored harmony of domestic peace, lived a happy and contented and free family, under the light of our Republican liberties. I trust the time is not far distant when, under the crossed swords and the locked shields of Americans, north and south, our people shall sleep in peace and rise in liberty, love, and harmony, under the union of our flag of the stars and stripes.

*Painesville, O., July 4, 1880.*

#### A Great Hope.

387. I hope to see in all those states the men who fought and suffered for the truth, tilling the fields on which they pitched their tents. I hope to see them, like old Kaspar of Blenheim, on the summer evenings, with their children upon their knees, and pointing out the spot where brave men fell, and marble commemorating it.

*House of Representatives, Jan. 28, 1864.*

## WAR.

## War's Answer.

388. The reply to war is not words but swords.

## The End of War.

389. Battles are never the end of war; for the dead must be buried and the cost of the conflict must be paid.

## Wars without Ideas.

390. Ideas are the great warriors of the world, and a war that has no ideas behind it is simply brutality.

## An Idea of a Battle.

391. To him a battle was neither an earthquake, nor a volcano, nor a chaos of brave men and frantic horses involved in vast explosions of gunpowder. It was rather a calm, rational combination of force against force.

• *Oration on Geo. H. Thomas.*

## The Power of War.

392. After the fire and blood of the battle-fields have disappeared, nowhere does war show its destroying power so certainly and so

relentlessly as in the columns which represent the taxes and expenditures of the nation.

**A Weakness in Human Wisdom.**

393. The wit of man has never devised a method by which the vast commercial and industrial interests of a nation can suffer the change from peace to war, and from war back to peace, without hardship and loss.

*Speech on the Pendleton Inflation Bill.*

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*How forcible are right words.*

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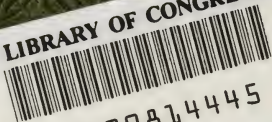








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