

L. W. Bacon

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1887b

Bearing the Sword as God's Minister.

A SERMON TO CITIZEN-SOLDIERS

PREACHED IN THE

Independent Presbyterian Church,

SAVANNAH.

March 20th, 1887,

BY

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SAVANNAH
VOLUNTEER GUARDS BATTALION.

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SAVANNAH VOLUNTEER GUARDS BATTALION.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, April 15th, 1887.

At a meeting of the Savannah Volunteer Guards, held on the 11th inst., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved,

First. That the eloquent and powerful sermon entitled "Bearing the Sword as God's Minister," delivered on March 20th, 1887, by the Reverend Leonard Woolsey Bacon, D. D., at the Independent Presbyterian Church, in this city, has been read with pleasure by the members of this Battalion, and has made a profound impression upon them.

Such noble words from so distinguished a source cannot fail to do great good, in furthering public interest in the Volunteer Military Commands of Georgia, and in strengthening the Commands themselves in numbers and spirit.

If the truth of this sermon should be appreciated by the people of Georgia, then, indeed, will the military organizations as "the bulwark of the law, the guaranty of public order, the last appeal of imperiled government," prosper and be sustained fittingly.

Second. That the grateful thanks of this Corps are extended to Dr. Bacon for the delivery of this sermon and the Secretary will communicate to him the purport of these resolutions.

T. P. RAVENEL,
Secretary S. V. G.

Bearing the Sword as God's Minister.

A SERMON TO CITIZEN-SOLDIERS.

ROMANS, xii. 19—xiii. 7. Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto the wrath [of God;] for it is written vengeance belongeth to me; I will recompense, saith the Lord. * * There is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. * * Wouldst thou have no fear of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same; for he is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is a minister of God. * *

I. PETER, ii. 13—17. Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King, as supreme; or unto Governors, as sent by him for vengeance on evil-doers and for praise to them that do well. * * *

JAMES, iv. II., 12.—Speak not one against another, brethren. He that speaketh against a brother or judgeth his brother, speaketh against the law, and judgeth the law; but if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law but a judge. One only is the law-giver and judge, even he who is able to save and to destroy; but who art thou that judgest thy neighbor?

These warnings in the Epistle of James are not spoken concerning civil duties, but concerning church duties. The members of the little local brotherhoods to whom the epistle was sent are warned against censoriousness and evil speaking, because it was taking the law into their own hands, when they were aggrieved, and righting themselves by their own tongues, instead of leaving that to the

great Head and Governor of the Church, who would redress all such wrongs in his own time. The rule is given to Christians in the church; but the reason for the rule is as wide as the whole field of civil polity, and includes the duty of citizens to each other and to the government. The language of it is the statement of a political principle, which is applied by way of illustration and accommodation to the moral duties of the brethren in those primeval Christian congregations. The man who takes the law into his own hands to redress his own grievances by pronouncing judgment on his fellow citizen, by that act condemns the law and insults the government. He usurps the function of the State, and just in the measure of the gravity of his act inflicts a blow upon its authority. That the State is at hand, with ample power, with willing intent, with prompt alacrity, to do its duty, leaves him without excuse in his invasion of its prerogative. The Christian apostle does more than teach this. He presumes it as a thing recognized and accepted—a thing that may be argued from as an admitted principle. It is a most impressive fact, containing more instruction and argument than we now have time to draw out from it, that these three Christian apostles, Peter, James and Paul, so widely unlike in their modes of thought and expression, should be accordant and constant in enunciating the fundamentals of political morality; that nowhere the instinct of vindictive justice—the angry hatred of an unrighteous act, and the desire to have it punished—is rebuked by them as wrong; that constantly it is marked as a thing not to be suppressed, but to be held in restraint from private ex-

pression and satisfaction, because God has ordained his own functionaries of civil government for this very end; and the long oppressions and triumphs of the wicked are to be made tolerable by the thought that even when earthly governments fail of their duty their failures will surely be redressed, and that with no long delay, by the Judge of all the earth. "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather stand aside and give place to the wrath of God: for it is written 'vengeance is mine. I will repay, saith the Lord.'" *Maran atha*—"the Lord is coming"—this was the watchword of their patient waiting. *Maran atha*, they would whisper to each other when scorched by fiery trials. "*Maran atha*; the Lord is at hand. Be patient; don't take the cause into your own hands. Trust the government of the world. Remember, the Judge is at the door." And this duty of deferring to the government of God is joined, in the system of Christian morals, to the duty of submission to the existing government, whatever it may be, as God's representative on earth.

This requirement to yield honor and obedience to the institutions of human government as being God's ordinance for punishment and reward, acquires immense emphasis from the circumstances in which it was pronounced. These apostolic scriptures that have come to us in the ends of the world for our instruction were given at first (according to the common method of the Bible) to a particular people, with reference to a particular government at a particular time. And what manner of government was it which these Christians of the first age were required in the name of their Lord to obey and honor

as God's ordinance for the execution of justice? This "supreme king," the Roman Cæsar, what is he? An irresponsible despot whose tyrannical rule, through process of military usurpation, has extinguished the historic liberties of the Roman republic. That proud people had taken the sword against the liberties of the world, and in the height of their success their own liberties had perished by the sword. God "gave them a king in his anger;" and such a king! "Thus I will! thus I choose! take my will for a reason"—this was the constitution of the empire. "Martial law" is defined to be "the will of the commanding officer." The empire was martial law; the word emperor means commander-in-chief. The emperor's word dethroned princes and set up mean men on high. It changed the face of kingdoms. The ends of the earth suffered in the fluctuation of his caprices, and Rome itself was his slave. The king was *supreme*. The apostle's word is not one whit too strong. In the authority which he arrogated, and in the adorations which he accepted, the emperor was a blasphemous usurper of dignities which belong to God alone.

And the "governors that were sent by the king"—what were they? The mere creatures of the emperor's whim, not instituted nor confirmed by any popular choice, but commissioned in the name of the Cæsar; foreigners from distant Italy imposed upon the subject nations by military force, and extorting a reluctant tribute from the people by means of an army of odious publicans;—petty despots, the tools of a tyrant, whose title to their authority lay in the strength of their alien legions and the dreadful name of Rome. And when we come to the personal character of

the rulers in question, what is it, as it appears in these very documents of the apostles' age? The occupant of the imperial throne, at the time, was that monster whose vices have made the name of Nero a proverb of wickedness in every language of Europe. The "governors" were such men as the forcible-feeble Pilate, the sneering Festus, the corrupt and rapacious Felix, who (as Tacitus says of him) "wielded the power of a king with the temper of a slave." And the actual administration of this government was sometimes a course of persecution which counted it a crime to be a Christian, as to be a thief or a murderer.

Such were the men, and this was the thing, to which these harmless Christians were required to yield submission and honor, first, as a divine institution, and then as a beneficent institution. There is nothing here about legitimate titles—nothing about natural or constitutional rights—nothing about the consent of the governed. Nothing but the bare duty of submitting, with deference and respect, to one of the most corrupt, tyrannical, usurping and unjust governments in human history, just because, for the time being, it was the power, and, being the power, was God's ordinance, and God's ordinance for good. It is hardly possible for any government to be so bad but that it will do more good than evil. Its acts of wrong and injustice, however frequent, will be the exceptions, and its common course will be for the punishment of malefactors and the praise of them that do well. It was one of the noblest characters in English history—Richard Baxter—who, having suffered much from one of the vilest of governments,

declared nevertheless that the worst of all governments was better than anarchy. So long as the power is the power, able to assert, maintain, vindicate and enforce itself, submission to it is not only a necessity but a duty.

It is only when the power ceases to be power and becomes impotency, and the real power passes into other hands, that the right and duty of revolution can arise. There may sometimes be occasion for a struggle to decide where the power really is, when that is in doubt. But when this question is settled that must be the end. Mere futile resistance to settled governments is a crime and always a crime. This is Christian morality, and it is sound political philosophy. Neither in Christianity nor in polity is there any provision for assassins or dynamite conspirators. There is no right residing anywhere to make turbulent and aimless resistance of law, or to begin hopelessly unsuccessful revolutions.

This seems a hard saying to you—this command of submission. It will be a hard saying until we come to apprehend the double application that it has to us Americans. To the *subjects* of a great empire the New Testament Scriptures prescribed the duty of submission; to its *rulers* they prescribed the duty of using the sword of power efficiently and for the enforcement of justice. You will never fully understand, fellow citizen, the bearing of this teaching on your duty, unless you learn to see its relation to you as being in your own person both subject and ruler. You have thought yourself, perhaps, not exactly one thing nor the other, but something between the two, with not much subordination as the subject, and not

much responsibility as the ordained of God to civil power and trust. A low and unworthy conception both of your duty and your dignity! Your authority in that trust of government with which you are invested, bears with it not less of the sanction of the King of kings than did that of the grandest Cæsar that ever throned himself amid the glories of the Palatine Hill, or that of the most legitimately descended Stuart or Bourbon that ever wrote himself "king by the grace of God." And on the other hand there is no duty of submission to existing government that was demanded in the name of the Lord from the humblest Christian under the dominion of the Roman Empire, that does not devolve on us reinforced by ten-fold sanctions unknown to them of old time. The American citizen is not the less a subject for holding in his hand a share in the supreme authority of the State. He is not one inch the less a king for being the most loyal and faithful of subjects. It is one natural consequence of those false Jacobin notions of the merely human sanction of government, which we love to teach to each other and to our children, that we lose that religious reverence for human law which is an essential article of Christian morality; that we think it a light matter to be unfaithful to laws of our own making; inso-much that so acute an observer as Herbert Spencer declares that he recognizes in American society a marked "decay of the sentiment of justice," and that a judicious writer of our own characterizes the tendency of this age by saying that we are becoming "a nation of law-breakers."*

* "Dangerous Tendencies in American Society."

And now, fellow citizens, having spoken to you, in the first place of your duty of obeying, I turn—

II.—In the second place, to speak to you of your duty of enforcing obedience. By just as much as it is your duty, being subjects, to submit to those powers which by God's ordinance bear the sword; by just so much is it your duty, being ordained of God as rulers, to bear the sword, and bear it not in vain. The sword: it is a lethal weapon, meant to maim and slay. To bear the sword: it means, being translated into current forms of modern speech, to wield not only the policeman's club, but the musket and bayonet, to handle the battalion, to train the Gatling gun. And this terrible duty it is, which, by virtue of that supreme civil authority wherewith you, the citizens, are divinely invested, is imposed upon you, and which you are charged to fulfill not vainly, as giving account thereof to God.

Put away from your mind that debased and unworthy notion that government is a system of coaxing and humoring by which everything is to be made pleasant to everybody. It widely infects the American mind from the misreading of that doubtful aphorism that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," an aphorism which is doubtless capable of being read in a true sense, but which is commonly and most mischievously read in a false one. Settle it clearly in your minds that government implies law, and that law is something more than good advice; that the statute book is not, as some zealous reformers seem disposed to consider it, a volume of moral essays, nor the Legislature a sort of Tract Society on a large scale; whose

business it is to enact "prohibitory" laws, for the sake of moral impression, without reference to their being enforced; understand that law is not law, unless it is enforced by penalty; and that civil penalty can be enforced because, in the last resort, those military powers that are symbolized in that syllable "the sword," are ready to be wielded whenever the emergency requires. I have seen too much---we all of us have seen too much, though not so much as we are likely to see before we are done with it---of the miserable working of the idea that the art of good administration consisted in a genial compromise---a tacit compromise, of course---with law-breakers; in judicious winking at the lesser, and sometimes the greater crimes; and in a happy-go-lucky getting along with things until after the next election; that the criminal classes have their rights as such, and that if they do not have rights, they certainly have votes, so that it is very unwise to alienate their good will, and that a good local government ought not to be in violently unfriendly relations with brothels and tippling houses, and gambling hells.

O citizens, give no harbor in your mind to such base and cowardly and wicked thoughts. Fully settle it in your heart, as fundamental among your political principles, that the only right, the only prudent, the only tranquil relation of society toward persistent law-breakers, is a relation of unceasing war.

The supreme ruler, whether it be the emperor or the body of the citizens, must of course, wield the sword of society in part by other hands. It is his responsibility---your responsibility, O citizens, for

you are the supreme ruler here—to see that it is committed to hands that are both able and faithful. Make sure that the executive head of such a community as this is not a man who is too popular. Let him be a man, always, who hates a scoundrel, and whom scoundrels hate and fear. Whenever your votes are solicited for “our universally popular fellow-citizen” for Mayor, don’t vote for him. You have no use for that kind of a man in that place. Find some one to vote for who is not quite so popular. And make sure that the high executive trusts, both civil and military, are held by men of nerve as well as discretion—men who know there is only one humane way to use the sword, and that is the prompt, swift, severe way; men who won’t be guilty of the inhumanity of firing blank cartridges, or firing overhead—a course that never yet was taken with a mob without involving five-fold manslaughter—men who will not flinch from severity against rioters out of consideration for “innocent bystanders,” but who knows that the bystander in a riot *isn’t* innocent, but is an integral though inactive part of the riot, without whose presence the riot would promptly cease—men the very names of whom, whispered among the mob, when the bayonet tips are seen above the crowd, will be the sure promise of bloody wounds and death to some one, quick, sudden, as soon as the last syllable of the riot act is read, if there is any crowd left by the time that syllable is reached. Such officers are humane. All others are cruel, like that tender-hearted sheriff in Cincinnati three years ago, whose warning to the militia to fire overhead involved the slaying and maiming of two hundred people.

But, citizens, and especially young citizens, this wielding of the sword by proxy, by committing it to brave and resolute hands, is not the whole of your duty in the case. You can not be quit of your responsibility to God for your share in the government on any such easy terms. The duty of bearing arms in the maintenance of that government in the royal dignity of which God has by birthright given you a share, is a personal duty not to be fulfilled by the payment of a commutation tax, or the finding of a substitute. What the State wants in this service is not your paltry dollar or two, or your cheap man: it wants *you*. The reasons which some one will perhaps allege to his own mind to excuse him from this personal service in arms are reasons why he ought to serve. Have you many cares for business and property? This should be the first of them. Do you enjoy the quiet of your own fireside? This is the protection of it. Have you high social position and tastes to which the associations of the service are uncongenial? Then you are the very man that is wanted in the ranks to make it evident that that position is beneath no man's dignity. Do you suspect that you would encounter some things there that would not be agreeable to your feelings as a Christian disciple? Then it is the very place where you are wanted. You would much rather join the Young Men's Christian Association, and seek some opportunity of Christian usefulness there? If you can not do both, you would much better join a militia company, and behave yourself therein as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. It is as good an opportunity of Christian usefulness as you are likely to find anywhere.

Perhaps there is some young man here whose excuse to himself for shirking this common duty of a good citizen is this, that he is always ready, when the exigency arises, to come out and give his service to the cause of law and order. Very likely you are, or think you are. There are commonly men enough, when, for lack of adequate force to begin with, the mob has gathered head, and property and government are in peril—men enough to rush tumultuously together and form something like a second mob to fight the first. But this is not what society wants of you. It needs your steady, trained and disciplined support. It does not want you by and by to put down a riot. It wants you now, so well equipped, so drilled to soldierly duties, so conscious of the touch of your comrade's elbow, that no riot shall ever dare begin. You are impatient of this mere sham and show of military service—this child's-play of martial dress and parade? It is a childish notion indeed in you to suppose that this is nothing but child's-play. It is manly work. The holiday parade that displays through these noble and historic streets the formidable battalions of a well-equipped militia drawn from the best citizenship, is something more than holiday parade; it is law; it is government; it is public order and security. The latent consciousness that such a force exists invisible in the midst of society, and that, in an hour, from shops and factories, from banks and counting rooms, from schools of learning and libraries of elegant leisure, the summons of the State would evoke it, as the horn of Roderick Dhu called his clansmen forth from every rock and bush---this it is, that makes the baton of

an unarmed constabulary as potent as the cannon, and causes the courage of the most audacious criminal to wither and collapse, when the sheriff's finger taps him upon the shoulder. That is the truly efficient militia which is so efficient that it never has to be called on for any service but drill and parade, and never fires ball cartridges except at targets. The battalions that are sneered at by fools as dandy regiments and carpet-knights, never seeing actual service nor doing any but parade duty, may well be satisfied with the record that they have borne the sword as ministers of God, and borne it so far from in vain, that there never has been need to stain it with the blood of an extinguished insurrection.

I confess, and am glad to make the confession thus publicly, that never, anywhere in the world, have I been in a community where such arguments as these could seem so nearly superfluous as here in Savannah. If I wished to boast among my friends in other regions of the distinguishing honors of my new home, I should be at no loss for amiable and admirable things of which to speak, but pre-eminent among them I should name its incomparable organization of civic soldiers, the bulwark of the law, the guaranty of public order, the last appeal of imperiled government. But these arguments are not superfluous, even here, however they may seem so. For if the character of this honorable service is to be maintained against the continually recurring tendency to decline and decay, it will be due to the well-instructed conscience of the younger citizens.

It is not enough that the young gentlemen of Savannah are now enlisted in this service. They must

know the good and serious reasons why they ought in conscience be so enlisted. If this service is recommended only by frivolous reasons—social prestige, gay uniforms, competitions in drill, the *esprit du corps*—then depend upon it that, as life grows more earnest and its struggles more severe, under the new constitution of society, earnest men will quit the service and only frivolous men, or worse, will adhere to it, and so, in progress of time, the character of the service will decline. And if it does decline—ah well! I need not prophesy. Some awful page of future American history will tell our posterity what followed, in some of the now approaching conflicts of society, in certain States in which the militia was left to be recruited and officered from the whisky shop and the beer garden.

I have spoken to you (I.) of the Christian duty of submitting to government; and (II.) of the Christian duty of enforcing submission to government. It ought not to take long now to show—

III.—That the one object of maintaining the power of government, and the sole condition on which, in the long run, this power can be maintained, is this, that it should be used in the interest of righteousness. When this object is habitually defeated, and this condition fails, government will still go on for awhile—longer or shorter—until by and by suddenly it finds that the strength has gone out from it; and losing its strength it has lost its right; for God has ordained the powers that be—he has not ordained the imbecilities and impotences that be.

Or it will find a new power suddenly emerging, whose strength lies in the failure of the government

to fulfill the vital functions of government, and which snatches at the reins of authority, intent, for the time, to usurp and perform the abdicated duty. And this compels a fight—short or long—a riot, we call it, if it is brief—a civil war, if it is protracted; in either case, a miserable shame and calamity in any State or nation. Compels, I say; for such insults to its authority, such invasions of its most sacred prerogative, government must resist, or must by and by perish. It must declare and must make good its word by whatever force may be required, that no mob shall usurp its God-given prerogative of executing justice upon criminals; and from every stirring of the “wild justice” of the populace, must learn the salutary lesson that the government which holds its prerogative only to neglect and pervert it, will not hold it long. The ruler who bears the sword, and bears the sword in vain, will presently not bear the sword at all.

For this clear teaching of the New Testament is corroborated by the common experience of society, and especially the wretched experience of many of our own States. The violent invasion and usurpation of the prerogatives of government will surely take place, in the form either of private revenge or of wild Lynch-court justice, whenever society has lost confidence in the administration of justice by the State. The infallible consequence of the abdication by the State of the duty of punishing criminals is not that criminals are safe from punishment, but that that grave function is delivered over to the wild, uncertain justice of the mob, or the frantic hand of private vengeance. Where lies the safeguard of public order

in times of public indignation against atrocious crime? Does it lie in the truncheons of a drilled constabulary? in the bayonets of an organized militia? in the squadrons and batteries of a standing army? Yes, here; but not here alone. Back of all these lies the conviction, deep in men's minds, that the Law may be trusted to punish. This it is which suffers the suspected criminal to lie safe for the time within the prison walls. This speaks to the heady passion of revenge and says, "put up thy sword, for they who take the sword shall perish by the sword." God himself deigns to make appeal to this confidence in his public justice, saying, in Paul, "Avenge not yourselves; give place to my wrath; vengeance is mine; I will repay." And when human government cannot make like appeal, constabularies or militia can avail only for awhile. The instinct of a wild justice flings aside police clubs like grass, and bayonets like rotten wood, and leaps like a tiger on its victim. Lynch law, private assassination, do not prevail in communities where strong and faithful government is quick to follow crime with adequate penalty. Such acts as these are the opprobrium of any government, as it is written, "he that judgeth his brother judgeth the law." The murder of every assassinated malefactor, of every victim of the Lynch court, is recorded to the shame of a delinquent State. When I hear it whispered, as I do hear it with regard to a recent crime of peculiar malignity,* that there are criminals whom the police cannot be trusted to pursue and

*The question whether this suspicion had any just ground, was quite aside from my argument. But I am glad to say that, judging from such information as I have since had access to, there was nothing in the incident referred to, to sustain it.

seize, then I know what to expect. Whether the suspicion be just or unjust, if it continues, it will do its work. There will by and by be assaults, assassinations, mobs and Lynch courts.

That defeat of public justice which is the peril of our commonwealths is traceable to its several sources in all the three departments, the Legislative, the Judicial, the Executive.

1 *The Legislative.* For in many, not to say most, of the American States, a shameful tradition of English law prevails, by which those crimes which above all others most incite to fierce and deadly vengeance,—crimes against the sanctity of the family, like adultery and seduction—are, either by legislation, or for want of legislation, excepted from the list of crimes that are known to the penal law. And with what result? To inaugurate a common law, set forth, not, indeed, in judicial decisions, but in jury verdicts, which authorizes assassination, which constitutes the assassin a popular hero, and erects the open, unblushing perjury of juries into a public virtue. By legislation like this, government abdicates one of its prime functions, and remands society to the old savage law of blood-revenge, with no provision of cities of refuge with which to mitigate its fierceness.

2. The responsibility for the defeat of justice resides in part in the *Judicial* department of the State, and specially and notoriously in the way in which the jury system is operated for the protection of known criminals from just and lawful punishment. The mischief wrought by certain bad and false traditions of English law, which were never right, but are more than ever false and demoralizing when they are brought into

this country and this century, discredits the law in the minds of the people. The old fiction—which was always a fiction—that the motive of a criminal prosecution is the personal animosity of the king against the accused, is the teeming mother of other fictions yet that still survive on this side the sea, and disturb the equal course of criminal justice. We made our declaration of independence a hundred years ago, but we shall not have gotten through with establishing our independence until more of the corollaries of that old maxim of despotism have been eliminated from the course of criminal procedure.

3. The responsibility for the defeat of justice resides in part in the *Executive* department of the State, in consequence of the perversion, perhaps we ought rather to say in consequence of the existence, of the pardoning power. There never yet has been in any State, a Governor so wise, so virtuous, so resolute, that it was safe to trust him with the pardoning power. There is no State in which the pardoning power, wherever vested, is habitually used, that would not be stronger and happier if there were no pardoning power at all. Generally speaking the pardoning power is simply an expedient for sacrificing the immense interest which society has in the constant, steadfast, impartial course of public law and justice to the individual interest of her least deserving members. The commonest and most plausible pretext for the use of the pardoning power is a self-stultification—the claim, in a given case, that later disclosures of fact have made it probable that the prisoner was unjustly convicted. Such a case as this is no case for pardon. Send back the man to the

courts to be tried anew, under all the advantages and all the difficulties of a judicial investigation; and then, if he can make good his claim, send him forth into society, not a guilty man pardoned, but an innocent and injured man acquitted and vindicated; and if there is to be any pardoning done, let the State, in the person of its highest officers, go humbly suing to the feet of this innocent and liberated prisoner, and ask *him* to pardon the State for the wrong that it has inflicted on him; but let us have done with this demoralizing and absurd business of pardoning innocent men for having committed no crime. And let us have done to the very utmost with the business of “executive clemency”—clemency to the criminal that is cruelty to the State. Abolish the pardoning power, and it might no longer be impossible for the State to avoid the dreadful necessity of the gallows.*

Thus, reminded by the splendid martial pageant of the last month, I have set before you something of that serious meaning of it all, which is so commonly lost out of sight and mind. I leave with you these lessons, derived directly from the teachings of the Old and New Testaments, and addressed to all citizens, and especially to citizen-soldiers.

1. The duty of obedience to law and constituted government.
2. The duty of enforcing obedience to law, (*a*) by

* It is no obscure or difficult argument which demonstrates that every end which *ought* to be sought by means of the pardoning power could be better attained, with more safety and certainty, by legislative provisions which should substitute an orderly judicial process for the arbitrary intervention of “personal government,” at the discretion of an Executive officer.

vesting its executive powers in capable and faithful men; (b) by personal service in bearing arms.

3. The duty of seeing to it that government is so administered, in all its departments, Legislative, Judicial, Executive, in the steadfast, sure execution of justice on evil-doers, that the enforcement of obedience shall not be impossible.

And for the fulfillment of this great and solemn trust, O citizens, may God give you an understanding mind, a strong and courageous heart, and a will inflexible and incorrupt. AMEN.

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