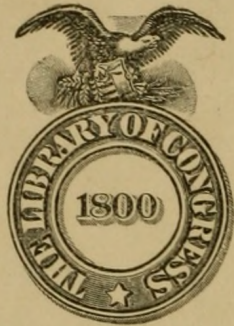


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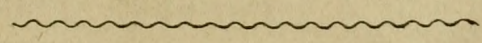
THE TRUE LIFE OF A NATION:
AN
ADDRESS,
DELIVERED AT THE INVITATION
OF THE
ERODELPHIAN AND ECCRITEAN SOCIETIES
OF
MIAMI UNIVERSITY,

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THE EVENING PRECEDING THE ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT,
JULY 2D, 1856.

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BY E. D. MAC MASTER.  
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PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETIES.



NEW ALBANY: *Ohio*
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1856.

A D D R E S S .

MR. PRESIDENT;

GENTLEMEN; FELLOW-CITIZENS:

While these hills and valleys, which God hath made so beautiful, were yet covered by the primeval forests, in which the wild beast still made his lair and there still lurked the aboriginal savage, the spot upon which we stand was consecrated to learning and religion. By acts of the Congress of the United States, of April, 12th, and May, 5th, 1792, there was granted to certain parties therein named, in trust, for the establishment of an institution of learning, one full township of land, within a tract therein designated, in the land district of Cincinnati; conformably to a previous order of Congress of the 2nd of October, 1787. *The year seventeen hundred and eighty-seven;* mark it, fellow-citizens; a memorable era for this great Northwestern Territory! In pursuance of these acts of Congress, by letters-patent, executed by George Washington, President of the United States, under date of the 30th day of September, 1794, one full township of land, of six miles square, to be located with the approbation of the Governor for the time being of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, was granted to the parties named, to be holden, in trust, for the purpose indicated in said acts of 1792. Some difficulties having arisen in respect to the title of the lands first entered, by an act of

Congress, of March, 12th, 1803, to amend an act entitled "An Act to enable the people of the Eastern division of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio to form a Constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes;" in virtue of the acts of 1792 and in lieu of the township therein granted; the title in fee simple of one entire township, to be located under the direction of the Legislature of the State of Ohio, was vested in the said Legislature, to be holden in trust for the establishment of an academy.*

The State of Ohio, having thus become the depository of this trust, by an act of the Legislature, of April, 15th, 1803, appointed three commissioners, "to perform all and every matter and thing necessary to be done, in locating and registering the said College township, or thirty-six sections of land." The Commissioners under this act located the College township, near the centre of which, and upon whose highest elevation, we are now assembled; and reported their proceedings to the Legislature at its next session. In pursuance of all these antecedent acts, the Legislature, by an act of February, 17th, 1809, established this institution of learning "by the name and style of the Miami University, for the instruction of youth in all the various branches of the liberal arts and sciences, and for the promotion of good education, *virtue, religion, and morality*, and for conferring all the literary honours granted in similar institutions;" creating certain citizens therein named, their successors, and others, duly elected, from time to time, by the Legislature, "a body politic and corporate, by the name of the President and Trustees of the Miami University;" vesting in the said corporation all powers necessary to carry into effect the design of the institution; and therewith the title to the lands, with authority to dispose of the same under leases, the annual rents and all other income of the corporation to be appropriated to the endowment of said University, "in such manner as shall most effectually promote *virtue, morality, piety, and know-*

*Journal of Congress, October 2nd, 1787; and Laws of the United States, vol. I, 499, II, 287, III, 542.

ledge.”* The published Laws of Ohio show nine several acts of the Legislature, passed at different times, from February, 6th, 1810, to February, 10th, 1824, for the carrying out of the original design of the institution.

By an Ordinance of the President and Trustees, of July 6th, 1824, a Faculty of Instruction was organized; and on the first Monday of November next ensuing, the University was opened for the reception of students§. From that time till the present, it has flourished, under the authority of the State, the general supervision of the Board of Trustees, from time to time appointed by the Legislature, and the immediate direction of the Faculty, as it has existed from time to time by the appointment of the Trustees.

It is not without a purpose, Mr. President, gentlemen, and fellow-citizens, that I have referred to this history of the establishment of the University, and have recited the substance of this various legislation in relation thereto. A University, established for such objects, under such auspices, and sustaining such relations to this Commonwealth and to the highest Federal authorities of the United States, ought, in its own appropriate place, according to its own proper vocation, and in a way consonant to its own character, so far as in it lies, to take care that the Republic receive no detriment. And, called at the invitation of the young gentlemen of these societies of the University, and as I have been informed with the approval of the proper authorities of the University itself, to bring to the academic festivities of these high days of its anniversary celebration, my humble contribution for the entertainment of this hour, I know not how I can better fulfil the object of the appointment, than by inviting you to a consideration of the question; *What is the true life of a nation, which, by the law of its being, it is bound to live; and what the inward principle of that life, by acting upon which alone, it can preserve its existence, develop its powers, accomplish its objects, and attain the ends of its being?* Perhaps the consideration of this question, too, is not without some suitableness to the times upon which we have fallen.

*Laws of Ohio, vol I, 36, VII, 184.

§Ordinances of the President and Trustees of Miami Univ., p. 103.

I. WHAT IS THE TRUE LIFE OF A NATION, WHICH, BY THE LAW OF ITS BEING, IT IS BOUND TO LIVE.

The life of a nation, like that of an individual man, is twofold, external and internal.

The external life of a nation is the sum of all its actings as a body-politic with other nations; in war; in diplomatic intercourse; in treaties of peace, of amity, of commerce; in confederations and alliances for objects of common advantage, or of common humanity; and, in general, of its actings upon the whole of the wide field of action which is covered by international law. This external life expresses itself in the official actings of the public functionaries of the government at home, charged with the administration of foreign affairs; of diplomatic functionaries abroad; and, in war, of armies, including commanders-in-chief, inferior officers, subalterns, and the soldiery.

The internal life of a nation is the sum of all its actings as a body-politic towards itself and its own citizens, and in reference to its own internal affairs. This internal life expresses itself, pre-eminently and most conspicuously, in the official actings of the various public functionaries, legislative, judicial, and executive, invested with the powers of the government for the administration of its public affairs. It includes, however, also the actings of the various subordinate municipalities established under the general national authority, through their respective functionaries; and, in a hamacritic polity, such as that of the United States and of the several States of the Union, in the actings of conventions of deputies to effect changes in the organic law; and even the political actings of semi-official meetings for political purposes, and of individual citizens in the exercise of the right of suffrage and in obeying the laws.

The common life of a nation has its seat in the nation organized and existing as a *State*. The term *State* designates the nation under its highest form of organization and its most perfect character as a *Body-Politic*, existing under its proper constitution and constitutional laws and institutions, with its constitutional and legal functionaries; while the term *nation* is taken with a wider latitude of meaning, as including various elements not belonging strictly to the political life of a people.

And the common life of a nation, we say, has its seat in the nation existing as a Body Politic; that is as a *State*.

The question, then, what is the true life of a nation, which, by the law of its being, it is bound to live, must be determined by a consideration of the origin, character, objects, and ends of the State.

1. The State, then, has its *origin* in the constitution of man's social nature and his external relationships in the world; and is thus instituted by God, as the Creator and Ruler of the world.

This is the doctrine of the highest human authorities both of ancient and modern times, and is the common sentiment of mankind. Thus Plato, in his Republic, says; "Let us invoke to ourselves God for the constitution of the State." *Θεὸν δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἐπικαλώμεθα.** In his Laws, he represents this principle as the *foundation* of the binding force of all laws. Says he, "The Gods are, they are good, and they have a respect for justice very different from that of men, this is indeed to us the finest and best preamble of all laws." *Θεοὶ τ' εἰσι, καὶ ἀγαθοί, δίκην τιμῶντες διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπων. σχεδὸν τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν νόμων κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἀριστον προσίμωτον ἂν ἔιη.†* Cicero, in his Laws, represents the first principles of all laws as derived to us from this Divine source. Speaking of God, he says, "*Nunc ibidem ab eodem * * sunt nobis agendi primordia.*" And again, "Let the citizens of a State first of all be persuaded of this, that the Gods are the Rulers and Governors of all things; that those things which are transacted are carried on by their power; and how sacred becomes civil society, when the Gods are present now as judges, now as witnesses."—"Sit igitur hoc a principio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri iudicio ac numine; * * * quamque *sancta sit societas civium* inter ipsos, Diis immortalibus interpositis, tum iudiciis, tum testibus‡" The Greek philosopher and historian Plutarch, who flourished in the end of the first and beginning of the second century of the Christian era, gives a notable testimony to the common sentiments on the

*Rep. Bk. IV.

†De Legg. Bk. X.

‡De Legg. Bk. II. S. iv., vii.

subject of the ancient world. Says he, "There has never been a state of Atheists. If you wander over the earth, you may find cities without walls, without king, without mint, without theatre or gymnasium; but you will never find a city without a God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations, than a State without belief in the Gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation." Coming down towards our own times; says Bacon, "All government is the ordinance of God, and religion is the chief bond of human society." And again, "A king is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name. He must make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the scales: for he that casteth in religion only to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in those characters, *Mene, Mene; Tekel; Upharsin*; he is found too light, and his kingdom shall be taken from him. The king that holds not religion the best reason of State, is void of all piety and justice, the best supports of a State."* Mr. Locke, in his Letters on Toleration, maintains that "an acknowledgment of the being of God lying as it does at the foundation of the belief of a future retribution, it ought to be required as a condition of citizenship." Mr. Burke, in his Reflections on the Revolution in France, says, "Taking ground on that religious system of which we are now in possession, we continue to act on the early received and uniformly continued sense of mankind. That sense not only, like a wise architect, hath built up the august fabrick of States; but, like a provident proprietor, to preserve the structure from prophanation and ruin, as a sacred temple, purged from all the impurities of fraud, and violence, and injustice, and tyranny, hath solemnly and forever consecrated the commonwealth and all that officiate in it. This consecration is made that all who administer in the government of men, in which they stand in the person of God himself, should have high and worthy notions of their function and destination. * * * * All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with the idea that they act in trust; and that they are to ac-

*Works, I, pp. 212, 463, 308, London, 1838.

count for their conduct in that trust to the one great master, author, and founder of society. * * * * * All know and feel this great ancient truth; "Quod illi principi et præpotenti Deo qui omnem hunc mundum regit, nihil eorum quæ quidem fiant in terris acceptius quam cætus hominum jure sociati quæ civitates appellantur." They take this tenet, not from the great name which it bears, but that which alone can give true weight and sanction to opinion, the common nature and common relation of men. They think themselves bound, not only as individuals in the sanctuary of the heart, or as congregated in their personal capacity, to renew the memory of their high origin and caste; but also in their corporate character to perform their national homage to the institutor and author of civil society. * * * * * They conceive that He who gave our nature to be perfected by our virtue, willed the necessary means of its perfection: He willed therefore the State: He willed its connexion with the source and original archetype of all perfection."* Says another authority infinitely greater than all these together, "Let every soul be subject to the Higher Powers; for the Powers that be are ordained of God: Wherefore ye must needs be subject for conscience sake; for they are the ministers of God."†

2. Political society with its order, being thus founded in Divine institution, and its power resting ultimately upon Divine authority, its ultimate and highest *ends* are moral ends; and the highest *objects*, about which it is conversant, and by which its ends are attained, are objects, moral, nay religious in their nature.

We may say without hesitation, that the chief *end* of the State is the glory of God in the highest well-being of men. It must, however, always be borne in mind, that this, its highest end, the State may not seek the attainment of by all means indifferently, however good in themselves; but only by acting within its own appropriate sphere, and by doing the specific work which God has appointed it to do. It is not all things of a moral and religious nature of which the State may assume the management. Its highest ends, however, are moral in their nature.

*Works, vol. III, pp. 108, 109, 114, Boston, 1807.

†Rom. XII, 1, 5, 6.

So also the highest objects of the State, about which its powers are conversant, and by which its ends are attained, are moral objects. The first, chief, and most essential object of the State is the establishment of *Justice*; by the protection of its citizens in those determinate rights,—“perfect rights,” as they are called by legal writers,—which, from the nature of the case, are capable of being enforced; among the most important of which are those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Beyond this, which is acknowledged to be the primary object of the State, there is a wide field, embracing all which may be included under the general title of *economy*, concerning which it has been long disputed how far it lies properly within the appropriate sphere of the State. Upon this debatable ground I do not wish here to enter. I speak only of the primary, highest, and most essential object, the establishment of justice. This, we say, is an object essentially moral; nay, religious, in its nature. To the most superficial mind that thinks at all upon the subject, it must be obvious how many civil and political questions, about which the administration of justice is conversant, do run directly and immediately into the domain of religion. Such are the questions concerning the conjugal, parental, and filial relations, and the rights and obligations pertaining to these relations; to education; to the Sabbath; to blasphemy and obscenity; to systems of religion which are directly subversive of morals; and, in short, to the whole rationale of crime and its punishment. It is the common idea of mankind that the criminality of crime, that which makes crime to be crime, is its *moral* demerit, and that this moral demerit is the true ground of all punishment of crime by the State. This idea of mankind arises from the constitution of their moral nature, and embodies itself in the language of every people. All penal law must necessarily rest upon strict principles of justice. There is not a civilized nation upon earth that would endure to have the administration of punishment avowedly proceed upon any other ground. All morality, too, ultimately grounds itself upon religion. There is, it is true, another theory of morals which has obtained a wide currency. I do not, however, enter here into this subject, or stop to inquire, what is the moral value of an ethics

which is without religious origin, sanction, or aim. I here assume that all morality grounds itself upon religion. Upon the question before us, the testimony of the Scriptures is explicit and decisive. "Wilt thou not be afraid of the Power? If thou doest *evil* be afraid of the Power; for he is *a minister of God, an avenger*, (*ἔξοδίζος*,) to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil; wherefore ye must needs be subject for conscience sake"*

3. The State, founded in Divine institution, appointed for the attainment of moral ends, and conversant about moral objects, is itself a *moral person*, possessed of *moral character*, and as such is bound to act in conformity to the principles of the moral law of God, as the supreme standard by which it shall conduct its affairs.

The idea of the *personality* of societies, implied in that of a common life, is familiar to all men. It is recognized by the laws of all civilized nations, as belonging even to those private and very limited and subordinate associations of men, formed for the promotion of learning, or art, or science, or the commercial and material interests of men, or any of the lawful objects of private life. Much more is it everywhere recognized as belonging to the State;—a public society; not only possessed of intelligence, will, activity; but which has its foundation in the universal law of man's social nature; which comprehends all men as its members; which is permanent in the reciprocal rights and obligations existing between it and its members; and which is indispensably necessary to the well-being of men, and to the development and perfecting of their nature, qualifying them for this world and for the world to come.

But to this public personality of the State belongs *moral character*. The State, as a public person, is itself under law to God, and is bound in all things to inquire what is his will, and to obey his high behests. Not only so; but the State as a public person, thus itself under law to God, is, under God, sovereign in all political and civil relations over men. It is the great minister of Justice, as such establishing Justice among men. There is, indeed, a wide field, comprehending numerous and manifold indeterminate duties of good-will, of kindness, of beneficence, between men, which are incumbent upon them

*Rom. xiii. 4, 5.

in all the various relations of human life, of which the Divine law alone can take cognizance. But the State recognizes all those determinate obligations, the correlatives of determinate rights, which from their nature are capable of being enforced by law; and by measures, partly preventive, partly punitive, it seeks to repress all wrong, and to establish among men universal and impartial justice. By its laws it declares itself on the side of all justice and against all injustice. What it does not thus prevent, in the exercise of its function of judgment, it inquires into, condemns, and punishes. Thus in this high, august, and awful office of the Administrator of Justice, as has been finely said, "The State, though from afar, imitates Omnipotence; perhaps the least inadequate of all earthly representatives of that Divine power, which is the true foundation of all legitimate government." We hold, therefore, that the State is a public person, essentially moral, nay religious, in its origin, its ends, its objects, and its character.

There is, indeed, another and widely different theory of the State, which takes its name from Bishop Warburton, one of its most distinguished advocates. It is the legitimate offspring of the system of ethics, which, taking its rise from the sensational philosophy ascribed to Locke, was developed by Paley, and carried out more fully to its logical consequences by Bentham; the system which makes conduciveness to happiness the ground of moral obligation, confounds the distinction between the idea of *the right* and *the useful*, the *τὸ δίκαιον* and the *τὸ χρηστόν*, and which, thus confounding human language, goes to obliterate from the mind the very idea of duty. The Warburtonian theory of the State is, that civil society, with its whole government, institutions, laws, and administration, having a purely human origin in social conventions and compacts, is properly conversant only about outward, material, and merely earthly interests; that it possesses no moral character, and has nothing to do with moral considerations; that it exists only to secure what, according to a very narrow view, are taken to be the rights of person and property; that, as it is baldly enough expressed, "the object of political society is the preservation of body and goods;" or, as some one has still more coarsely said, that all the State has to

do is "to look out that my neighbour does not pick my pocket or box my ears." Says Locke, in his work on Civil Government; "Political power I take to be a right of making laws, with penalties of death, for the regulating and preserving of property; and of employing the force of the community in the execution of such laws, and in the defence of the Commonwealth from foreign injury; and all this for the public good." Says Warburton, "Whatever refers to the body is in its jurisdiction; whatever to the soul is not."

It has been very justly remarked by Dr. Arnold, that the Warburtonian theory appears not to be the natural conclusion of inquiries into the character, objects, and ends of the State; but a device to enable us to escape from difficulties which we know not how to deal with. That there are difficulties arising from the state of human nature and of the world, and which will continue to exist so long as this remains what it is, is true. But, however these difficulties are to be obviated, we cannot accept, for relief from these, this godless theory. There is no virtue in calling things by hard names; and we would rather avoid it. But the attempt to constitute political society without God, and to ignore his being, and his dominion, and his law therein, is simply political and social Atheism. It is a theory which may justly be denominated false, earthly, sensual, devilish; and its prevalence every way fraught with the greatest evils. It reduces the State from the character of a great Moral Power in the earth, the Administrator of justice, and the Vicegerent of God, to that of a mere police; and its great office from the highest of merely natural vocations, to the lowest of all functions. In profound contempt of this low, utilitarian, godless theory of the State, Mr. Burke points out its degrading and ruinous effects. "The age of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished forever. * * * * Even commerce, and trade and manufacture, the gods of our economical politicians, are themselves but effects. They too may decay with their natural protecting principles. * * * If commerce and the arts should be lost in an experiment to try how well a State may stand without these fundamental principles, what sort of a thing must be a nation of gross, stupid, ferocious,

and at the same time poor and sordid barbarians, destitute of religion, honour, or manly pride, possessing nothing at present, and hoping for nothing hereafter."* In a still loftier strain and higher tone, to the same affect, writes the eloquent and distinguished British statesman, Mr. Gladstone. "It is a strange and appalling state of things when the creatures of God fall away from the law and purpose of their several natures. It is not that, when reduced from the rank of a moral personality and Divine power to the condition of an animal existence, without traditions, without hopes, without a future, or a past, without a perception that passes beyond the visible into the indestructible, without virtue, without glory, the State must necessarily cease to exist. No: it may drag onward, even when it has reached the utmost goal, a worthless load of life. It may aspire to the resemblance of that Nebuchadnezzar, who, from the tiara and the purple; came to herd with brutes. The State might still, after such a change were wrought, wield, during its permitted time, those masses of human power which, to our contracted vision, appear great, and produce proportionate results. It would still be the organ of the nation, would have fleets and armies at its command; but the God of battles would no longer go forth with its hosts; His presence would have departed from the vacant shrine; and the acts done under a scheme which involves the avowed and formal abandonment of the highest law of duty, must by a sure though perhaps a circuitous course, essentially tend to that corruption out of which they were engendered. * * * Can it need any argument in detail, to show that when men, whose temptations are already great, are placed in a function which must be habitually discharged, without the possibility of authoritative reference to a spiritual standard, the habits created and confirmed by such a function must, as an ultimate rule, be framed after the fashion of the world and a fallen nature, and must therefore exercise upon personal character an influence of a hardening and deteriorating description? For he that declines to submit his entire conduct to the active control of the will of God and claims to regulate it upon, perhaps not a hostile, but an independent principle, is so far withdrawing himself from God, and guilty

*Works, III, pp. 92, 96.

of the highest positive offence against his law, which claims, not a negative, but a positive service. Is it extravagant to say, that the effect of such a change would be to repel men of the highest consciences and noblest and most unselfish aims, from public office, and to leave it to be administered by that inferiority of virtue, which, in the course of years, is always proved to be inferiority of strength? This taking the heart out of the function of governors would inflict on them a real degradation, far different from any which can ever attach to the humblest and most despised of such offices as fulfil the law of their institution, by being performed, relatively to their best capabilities, for the glory of God. * * * Thus would mankind set up a vast, unconsecrated, atheistic power at the head of all their social interests, as an example for all individuals to follow, a model to teach them, an authoritative declaration to assist the evil voice within in teaching them, that they may withdraw their own individual lives from allegiance to God, and base their methods of social conduct upon a code in which his name is not to be found. * * * If without religion we can learn and discharge our duties to our country, and our laws, and our authorities, can we not also without religion, learn our duties to our parents, brethren, families, friends, where we are aided by natural instincts and where the return in the shape of enjoyment, is more certain, immediate, and abundant, as well as the corresponding penalty of failure to perform them? We learn, then, that the argument which is good to prove that religious differences (or irreligion,) have no bearing upon the discharge of political duties, is equally good to prove that they have no bearing upon private life, and consequently asserts the possibility and propriety of both a social and moral system founded on atheism, in its real and substantial sense, of the denial of a providential government of the world. Is not this assertion, conveyed through the most authentic organs which are at human command, an issue awful to contemplate?''*

*Gladstone's "State in its Relations with the Church," Vol II, pp. 348, &c. Lond. 1841.

II. WHAT IS THE INWARD PRINCIPLE OF THIS LIFE OF A NATION; BY ACTING UPON WHICH ALONE, IT MAY PRESERVE ITS OWN EXISTENCE, DEVELOP ITS POWERS, ACCOMPLISH ITS OBJECTS, AND ATTAIN THE ENDS OF ITS BEING?

In reply to this inquiry I answer, that it is the true, living, and practical spirit of Christianity in the heart of a nation.

The fact of the deep depravation in all men of their moral nature, is one for an authentic account of the origin of which we are indebted to the Sacred Scriptures. For the fact itself, we might rest upon the testimony furnished by the universal observation and experience of mankind themselves, both in the Pagan and the Christian world. This depravity has its root in atheism. Lord Bacon has evinced a better exegetical sagacity than many professional divines, in interpreting the Scripture account of the fall of our race. "As for the knowledge," says he, "which induced the fall, it was the knowledge of good and evil; wherein the supposition was that God's commandments and prohibitions were not *the originals of good and evil*, but that these had *other beginnings*, which man aspired to know; *to the end to make a total defection from God, and to depend wholly upon himself.*"† An atheistic ethics, taught often since from many chairs of philosophy and in many books even of Christian divines; but taught first by the Father of lies, transforming himself into an angel of light; was embraced by man; and thence followed a total defection from God and dependence on himself. Man was not made, no creature is, to be an *Ens Autocrates*, a being having the law of his conduct in himself. Hence in the vain and presumptuous attempt, his life has been full of all error and distraction.

Rebellion against God and alienation from the life of God have implanted in human society the seeds of dissolution. This evil works even in individual man. So long as he is obedient to God, his understanding is enlightened, his passions are in subordination to his reason, all the faculties of his nature are in a state of harmony, and peace reigns in his heart and life. But when he revolts against God, his understanding is darkened, the inward harmony of his own nature is disturbed, its low-

†Works, Vol. I, p. 14. Lond. 1838.

er faculties are broken loose from their proper restraints, and he is full of disorder, and misery. So does this same prolific cause of evil tend to ruin in all human associations. Disobedient to the Divine law, and casting off the fear of God; the rein is thrown upon the neck of evil passions; selfish cupidity, envy, anger, wrath, strife; and all is full of anarchy, confusion, and every evil work. Perhaps nowhere is this more apparent; nowhere at least does it appear on so great a scale; as in the sphere of national life. From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?

Christianity is a Divine scheme for the remedy of these evils. It is essentially a scheme of reconciliation. First of all, through the fulfilment of the righteousness of the Divine law by the obedience unto death of the Son of God, on behalf of sinful men, it restores them to their true legal relations to God. It at the same time redeems them from the bondage of corruption, and restores them to holiness. As a Divine power, coming down from God out of heaven, it enters into humanity, and transforms men, by the renewing of their minds, into the Divine image. It reveals to them the Divine law as the rule of their life: for, while delivered from the condemnation of the law, they are not without law unto God, but are under law to Christ. It sets before them the most powerful motives: for the love of Christ constraineth us. This law, moreover, is written, not with pen and ink, or on tables of stone, but with the Spirit of the living God, on the tables of the heart: for it is the Spirit that quickeneth. This Divine power penetrates into the inmost depths of men's moral being, heals the very fountain and purifies all the inward springs of human conduct, and becomes in them the informing principle of a new life. It thus regenerates society in its elements, in individual men. It extends this healing and life-giving influence to all domestic and social relations. It enters into political society, implants in the minds of men new principles of action in political affairs, conforms the inward springs of their conduct to a new law, purifies their motives, and renovates the State. Thus, where it is embraced, Christianity becomes, through all the relations of human life and all the spheres of human action, a system of

reconciliation. It reconciles men, every one to himself, all to one another, and the whole unto God. As in the physical world, so in the moral, one law of attraction, prevailing through the whole system and all its parts, one all-pervading power, correcting the perturbations by which else its order might be disturbed, binds the parts, great and small, to each other, and the whole to the common centre and source of light, and life, and blessing. Hath the science of a godless statesmanship any provision like this? In all the political philosophies of earth, is there any principle that hath a power like this to conserve and secure the well-being of States?

It is the want of a power such as that of Christianity, to redeem men from the curse of the Divine law and from the bondage of corruption, which has been the true cause of the ruin of all the nations of the earth, which have passed away and perished. Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece, Rome, all have perished for want of a Religion that could save them. In heathenism, a corruption of natural religion, there were indeed some elements of religious truth, some scattered rays of light, refracted, and decomposed, and dispersed, and gilding with fantastic colouring the thick clouds which hid from the heathen nations the face of God. But heathenism had no power to redeem the nations from ungodliness and sin. Knowing not God, they festered in their own corruption, till one by one they perished. Monitory and instructive are the lessons upon this subject, which history, from the monuments of the past, teaches to living nations, if haply they have ears to hear. They all confirm the doctrine, that the life of a nation, which by the very law of its being it is bound to live, is essentially a religious life; and that the inward, informing principle of this life, by acting upon which alone it can preserve its existence, develop its powers, accomplish its objects, and attain its ends, is the true, living, practical spirit of Christianity in the heart of the nation.

III. OUR OWN NATION,—WHAT IS ITS DESTINY?

I turn, fellow-citizens, from these general remarks to the practical question concerning our own nation;—what is *its* des-

tiny? Nations die like men. Many nations, great and mighty, have died, and the places which once knew them now know them no more forever. In Christianity there is hope for the living nations. But, even since Christianity entered the nations, nations have perished. The empires of Constantine and of Charlemagne and Otho,—where are these? For ages all the nations of Europe have been like the tumultuating billows of the Ocean which break along its Western shores; like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. The present nations of Europe,—does any man think that these are to stand under their present systems? And our own nation, our own nation, sprung of such a lineage, the possessor of such a patrimony, the expectant of such hopes, what is its destiny? Is it to live forever? Or has it, too, in itself the sentence of death?—and are already the seeds of corruption beginning to work towards its dissolution? Shall some future Gibbon sit amidst the ruins of the Capitol, and project the plan of “the History of the Decline and Fall of the American Empire?” Shall some future Layard, in a remote age, disentomb the remains of New York and San Francisco? This it is which makes the general question of the life of nations one to us of special interest. Were this out of account, the general question would still possess for us, as philanthropists, a general interest. But when it concerns our own nation, it is a question which comes home to our bosoms and our business, and possesses for us a profound and absorbing interest.

The Roman Senate, when Hannibal had crossed the Alps, and in the battle of Cannæ cut to pieces the Roman army, leaving 40,000 men and the great body of the Roman knights dead upon the field, and was daily expected at the gates of the city, decreed its solemn thanks to the Consul Varro, who with the wreck of his army had fallen back upon Rome, determined to defend it to the last extremity; *because in perilous times he had not despaired of the Republic.* We, fellow-citizens, do not despair of the Republic. We have good hopes of the Republic. It does not become the friends and advocates of civil liberty and self-government to be terrified and frightened from their propriety, by the conflict of opinions which must take place wherever liberty is enjoyed; or even the occasional outbreaks

of violence, which, much as they are to be deprecated and when they occur to be condemned, from the present condition of human nature, are unavoidable under the working of a political system such as ours.

But, while we refuse to be alarmed without cause, or beyond cause; or ourselves to become alarmists; it were a false position to assume that there are no evils and causes of evil in our nation, by which its future welfare, or even its existence, are endangered: and there is neither wisdom, nor patriotism, nor piety, in the confidence which arises from a heedless and thoughtless ignorance, and a shutting of our eyes upon the existence of such dangers, or the causes from which they arise; but only fatuity and presumption. Other nations, many and great, have perished. The main causes, however accidentally varied, of this ruin of empires are such as exist universally in human nature: and it is only by a clear apprehension and appreciation of these causes, and by a timely, constant, vigorous, and faithful employment of the means of counteracting these causes, that we as a nation are to be saved from the same fate with those nations which have already passed away. Nations, like individual men, have their laws of life; which can never be violated with impunity; and which cannot be grossly, habitually, constantly, and perseveringly violated, without sooner or later undermining the national constitution,—I mean that constitution, which lies deeper than any constitution written on parchment, in the law of our social nature established by God,—and bringing on dissolution and death. In the case of our own nation it is not to be denied that, while there are reasons of encouragement cheering to the heart of the patriot, there are symptoms ominous of evil. They are the best friends of their country and the truest patriots, who, in their places, and according to their opportunity and the measure of their ability, call attention to the evils and causes of evil which exist and to the appropriate means of their remedy. I can only touch slightly upon some of these, which seem to me at this time to claim special notice.

1. First, undoubtedly, among the existing evils, and causes of evil and of danger, is to be placed *a great defect in national religion.*

Allow me to say here, that I make a broad distinction between a national *religion* and a national *church*, either con-founded or blended in one with the State, or legally established by the State. These are entirely different matters, to be clearly distinguished in the minds of men. It is, indeed, a great question, What are the *normal relations* which, according to the will of God, *ought* to exist between the two great Divinely ordained societies, the Church and the State? And it is curious to remark the contrast between the confident dogmatism, on the one hand, often in perfect unconsciousness of all the conditions of the question, of men who have perhaps never spent an hour in inquiry on the subject, and on the other the acknowledgment of the difficulties in its proper solution, by the ablest men who have devoted to the subject the study of a life-time. But I have made mention of this question, only for the purpose of the more distinctly putting it entirely aside in the consideration of the matter of which I am now speaking. The principle we go upon, in what I am now saying, is that the nation, quite irrespective of any question about the relations which ought to exist between it and the church, ought itself to possess, as a State, the Divinely ordained Administrator of justice among men, and therein sustaining the high office of the Vicegerent of God, a religious character and life of its own.

I have before noticed the distinction between the terms a nation and a State. The term *nation* designates a people viewed in respect to various elements which do not belong immediately and directly to its political character and life; as race, language, literature, art, science, philosophy, and the like. The term *State* designates a nation in that form in which it rises to its highest organization as a *Body Politic*, existing under its organic law, with its constitutional laws and institutions, and its public functionaries, legislative, judicial, and executive.

Now it is not enough that the obligations of religion be acknowledged by the *individuals* composing a nation, in their individual capacity, and in their social relations, and that the spirit of religion pervade the various spheres and govern the activities of their private life. It is true, indeed, that religion, as a living, practical, governing power for good, has its seat pri-

marily in the hearts of individual men; and that that religion will be of little efficacy for good in respect to any interests whatever, and will be of little worth any way, which is not so seated. It is true also that a religion, so seated in the convictions and affections of a people, influencing them indirectly in their political relations, as well as in all others, may in some sense be called a *national* religion. But this is not enough. The State, being a public person, having a distinct personality of its own, has in this respect obligations and necessities of its own. Having its origin in Divine institution, and therefore the creature of God, existing for moral ends, conversant about moral objects, possessed of a moral character, and having moral responsibilities to and reckonings with God, it ought, as a State, to have a religious character and life of its own, and in suitable forms to give expression to these. This is peculiarly incumbent upon the State, as such; because the State assumes to exercise dominion over its subjects, their property, their persons, and their lives, and to make peace and war with other nations, as the Vicegerent of God, in the name of God, and by the authority of God; and it is monstrous, that a power vested in men should, in that august and dreadful name, assume such prerogatives, and yet not expressly acknowledge its own subjection to the Majesty in the heavens, and to the Divine law, as the supreme standard by which it is obliged to conduct all its affairs. Nothing less than such an express and solemn acknowledgment, in its organic law, and in other appropriate forms, of God and his law, and a corresponding spirit pervading its legislation, its judicial procedure, and its whole administration of public affairs at home and abroad, comes up to the proper idea of a *national* religion.

I have said, that there is in our own nation a great defect of *national* religion. I do not say that it is without any national religion, even in this highest sense of a religion of the State. Perhaps, after all, we have, in profession at least, more of national religion, than either the enemies or the friends of religion have generally imagined. Judge Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, Art. VI., Sect. 3; and Amendments Art. I; which have by some been supposed to exclude all religion pro-

perly national, holds the follow language: "The right of a government to interfere in matters of religion will hardly be contested by any persons, who believe that piety, religion, and morality are intimately connected with the well-being of the State, and indispensable to the administration of justice. * * * It is difficult, indeed, to conceive how any civilized society can well exist without them. And, at all events, it is impossible for those who believe in the truth of Christianity, as a divine revelation, to doubt that it is the duty of government to foster and encourage it among all the citizens and subjects. This is a point wholly distinct from that of the right of private judgment and of the freedom of public worship according to the dictates of one's own conscience. * * * * Probably at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and of the amendment to it, now under consideration, the general, if not the universal sentiment in America was, that Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the State, so far as it is not incompatible with the private rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. An attempt to level all religions, and to make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation. * * * The real object of the amendment was, not to countenance, much less to advance Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity, but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any *national ecclesiastical establishment, which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government.*"*

Through the Common Law of England; which, except where it has been limited by constitutional provisions or by statute law, is the law of nearly all the States of the Union; Christianity has a legal recognition as the religion, at least of the people, if not of the States. Such are the views of the most eminent statesmen and jurists of our country. In the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York, in 1821, Chief Justice Spencer, perhaps the most able jurist who has appeared in that Commonwealth, "declared it to be his deliberate and decided opinion, that the Christian religion is

*Story's Comm. Sect. 1865, 1868, 1871.

a part of the law of the land." With this view Mr. Rufus King, long eminent in the councils of that State and of the nation, expressed his agreement. "I hesitate," said Mr. King, "in agreeing to the doctrine, which seems to deny to the Christian religion the acknowledgment, protection, and authority, to which I have believed it to be by law entitled. * * *

The laws of the State do so far recognize and establish the Christian religion (comprehending all denominations of Christians,) as a portion of the law of the land, that defamatory, scandalous, or blasphemous attacks upon the same may and should be restrained and punished. While all mankind are free to enjoy religious profession and worship within this State, yet the religious profession of the Pagan, the Mahomedan, and the Christian are not, in the eye of the law, of equal truth and excellence," &c. Chancellor Kent held that, though the Christian religion is not properly a part of the law of the State, yet, "Christianity is, *in fact*, the religion of the people of the State; * * * the foundation of all belief of a future state, and the source and security of all moral obligation: and to blaspheme the author of that religion, and to defame it with wantonness and malice, was an offence against public morals, * * * and in that view the offence is punishable." In this view substantially concurred Mr. Van Buren, Gov. Tompkins, Mr. Henry Wheaton, and other eminent members of the Convention.* Such also are the views of Mr. Webster, maintained in the case of *the Heirs of Girard vs. the City of Philadelphia*. In various forms direct and indirect the institutions of the Christian religion are recognized in the Constitutions and laws of the United States and of the particular States, and in their daily practice.

It is not true, then, that there is made by our nation the entire separation of religion from the State and all political affairs which is often alleged. But it is true, and it is a matter of just reproach, that in the Constitution of the United States, the organic law of the nation, there is, in direct and express terms, no recognition of the being, the providence, or the law of God; that in some of the more recently formed State Constitutions there are ill considered and ambiguous ex-

*Reports of the Convention, pp. 462, 464, 574, 577; Albany, 1821.

pressions on the subject of religion; and that all these Constitutions, without infringement on any rights of conscience or true liberty of religion, might contain, and that they ought to contain, a clearer and more express acknowledgment of Christianity. It is well known, indeed, what gave occasion, at least in great part, to the jealousy on the subject felt by the framers of these Constitutions. In every fibre of my moral nature, I sympathize with those who, looking back upon the past history of the world, regard with intensest abhorrence the illegitimate union of Church and State, with all its train of evils, and who desire to see all this every where come to an end. Whatever else is doubtful, this is clear, that the Church and the State ought to be strictly kept each within its own sphere; and that in no case ought offices properly political to be vested in ecclesiastical functionaries as such. I believe that the great body of the Christian ministry are in integrity and intelligence not inferior to any other class of men. But I know no hierarchy; Greek, Roman, or Protestant; Prelatical, Presbyterian, or Independent; which I would be willing to see trusted with power; even in ecclesiastical affairs, much less in political; not hedged around on all sides by all possible guards against abuse. I am, moreover, not blind to the difficulty of a public acknowledgment of Christianity in express and definite terms, by States in their constitutions, and laws; where the people profess different forms of religion; and it is but right that this be fully and fairly considered. But the just claims of Christianity; as against Paganism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Mormonism, and all false religions, and against irreligion; as being the religion which is of God, are to be fearlessly asserted; and the obligation of all men and all States expressly to acknowledge it as such, and practically to obey it, is to be maintained. There is, then, in our nation a great defect in national religion: and of all the evils which endanger the well-being of the nation, this is that which is the most fundamental and the greatest. Does any one doubt that, if the true, living, practical spirit of Christianity were in the heart of the nation, and pervading all our constitutional forms, our legislation, and our administration, this would bring

security, peace, and prosperity to our nation? The nation that disregards this sins against its own life.

2. Growing out of that of which we have just spoken, is another evil of great magnitude; the prevalence of a low, utilitarian, and false ethical, and politico-ethical philosophy; and, as the effect of this, a low, materializing, Chinese civilization.

In reference to the whole theory which makes the object of life to be the augmentation of physical comforts and enjoyments, and of the various elements which make up an accumulation of physical good, well does Mr. Sewell in his "Christian Politics," say, "It is right, it is absolutely necessary, at this day, that all who value their country, should raise a warning voice, whether in the legislature, or in the pulpit, or in schools, or in books, against the theory which would make this accumulation the end of society, and the primary obligation of the citizen. Such a theory has gnawed its way, not only into all our political philosophy, but into our public legislation and private practice, till it has degraded society from its highest functions, has sensualized and animalized its character, and has extinguished the noblest instincts of private as well as of public life."

3. As the legitimate effect of both the evils mentioned, appears another, fraught with the greatest danger; a passion for foreign aggression and territorial aggrandizement.

How much talk, these ten years past, have we had, about our "manifest destiny;" meaning by this a destiny to subvert the governments of neighbouring nations, to butcher their subjects, and to rob them of their domain! Do those who thus talk not know that, in such a career, we can only be imitators, repeating the old and ruinous game of all the great empires of antiquity? Our true destiny is one of our own, and is of a very different kind from this, if but we have a heart to understand it. It was a high compliment which was paid by the eloquent Kossuth to our country, when in his address to the Legislature of this Commonwealth, at the capital, some years ago, he said; "The United States have been raised up by God, to be a new Mountain of Law to all nations; and the people of the United States to be a new Moses, to proclaim that law to all peoples." Happy did we know our high calling, and were

we qualified to fulfil it. Only the spirit of Christianity can teach us this.

4. Nearly connected with all these evils, is a fourth; false views of liberty; and an overlooking of its true ends.

What is true liberty? It must be distinguished from licentiousness. "Wherever;" says Prof. Lieber, "men of whatever condition, ruler or ruled, individually, by classes, or as nations, claim rights, without acknowledging corresponding obligations, there is oppression, lawlessness, and disorder. Wherever there exists a more intense attention to right than to concurrent and proportionate obligation, evil ensues. The very condition of right is obligation. Let us call that freedom of action which is determined and limited by right, Liberty; freedom of action without limitation by obligation, Licentiousness."* Liberty, too, it should ever be remembered, is not itself an *end*, as men are ever prone to think it; but only a means to ends, which are higher than liberty. It is but the opportunity, without interference or hindrance, to pursue the great objects and ends of our being which God has set before us. It is ever a proper inquiry, what is the *end* of liberty?—*why* should we be free?—just as it is a proper inquiry, why should we exist? The proper answer to both is, That we may fulfil our duties to God, to ourselves, and to our fellow-men; that we may work the work for which God has given us our being in the world. Liberty, rightly understood, is liberty to do this without hindrance, and to enjoy the rewards which God has connected with duty. We are in not a little danger from the growth among us, in high places and in low, of the political vice which the Greeks call *ἀκολασία*; a reckless, wilful, wicked *lawlessness*, in men claiming the rights of freemen, while they give way to the carelessness, the folly, and the licentiousness which are in keeping only with the character of slaves. It is a political vice which, when it becomes prevalent, is a mortal malady in the body-politic. It destroyed the Greek democracies. Nothing but the power of Christianity can cure this evil, and teach men the true nature and ends of liberty, and form in them the *σωφροσύνη*, the habit of *self-government*, which alone makes liberty a blessing.

*Pol. Ethics, Vol. II, p. 3.

5. Nearly related to that of which I have just spoken, is a disregard of parental and other just authority by the youth of the country.

Of this is born that character known among us as "*Young America*." "*Young America*" is the personification of *young ruffianism*. He is ignorant, crude, and therefore full of self-conceit; forward, unmannerly, impudent; wanting in all respect for age, or station, or character; the boy controlling the father, the pupil patronizing or cashiering his teacher, and the young man demanding that court be paid him by the old man; sharp-faced, and hard-faced, and precocious in the knowledge of all evil. This is "*Young America*." It is well when such a character gets a name, that he may be identified, and that common decency may put into the hand of every honest man a whip, to lash the young rascal naked through the world. I feel a great interest in boys: I like boys: but not this boy "*Young America*." He is a bad and dangerous fellow. He will steal your purses: he will burn your houses: he will unseat your judges: he will break up your ballot-boxes: he will mob your assemblies. Keep your eye upon him: mark him: whip the "*unwhipt Adam*" out of him, or he will ruin you.

6. Closely connected with the evils which I have mentioned, is another; an exaggerated egotistical individualism, the vice everywhere of barbarism.

7. Another evil worthy of notice, is an inordinate love of private well-being, leading to the seeking of profit, or of quiet and enjoyment, at the expense of fidelity to the claims of public justice.

This is one of the forms in which the selfishness of human nature appears. The man of trade says, Let my traffic prosper and my fortune grow, whatever becomes of Justice. The man of leisure, the man of ton, of fashion, of sumptuous living, says, Let me enjoy my quiet, and my pleasures; although the scales and the sword fall from the hands of Justice. The professional man says, Let me pursue my calling; the scholar, Let me enjoy my books; the man of science, Let me explore the caverns of earth and survey the heavens; although Justice be cast down from her seat by the hand of

violence, her decrees trodden under foot, and her voice smothered. This is an evil. What the Greeks called *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, a forward, busy, officious intermeddling with all matters, which do not belong to one, because for them he has no fitness, certainly is no virtue. But the Greek *ἀπραγμοσύνη*, a withdrawing from all active participation in, and heedless disregard of the public affairs of the State; from whatever cause it arises, is a political vice, and of evil consequence; and is one of which, with its ill consequences, we are in danger. Especially is there danger, that from the rough, coarse, low quality of politics among us, men of intelligence, of knowledge, of culture, of refined tastes and moral sensibilities, whose participation in political affairs would be attended with the greatest advantage, will retire from them in disgust, or as feeling themselves personally unfitted for the din, and the dust, and the besoilment of the political arena; leaving the conduct of political affairs to those who are least fitted for and least to be trusted in their direction.

8. Another evil is that of an excessively augmenting public revenue, collected, contrary to the principles and genius of a democratic government, by indirect taxation; and consequent corruption.

9. Another evil, to which, from the peculiar structure of our political system, we are exposed, is one comprehending two opposite dangers; on the one hand that of Federation, leading to anarchy; and on the other that of Centralization, leading to absolutism.

10. Another evil from which we are in danger is the tendency to turbulence in a Democratic polity.

Do not misunderstand me. I am a democrat, as I understand democracy. Not according to that bastard democracy, which so often usurps the name of the true, while it has no element of its character, but is only its miserable caricature. True Democracy is, doubtless, a great good for a people who know how to use it as not abusing it. The whole polity of our own government is becoming more and more Democratic, at least in profession. If it be imbued with the true principle of Democracy, I do not object. Said M. Serré, in the Legislative Assembly of France, in 1820, in a tone of deprecation;

“Democracy flows on with a full stream.” “If,” replied M. Collard, one of the most patriotic men and truest lovers of liberty in that country, “If by Democracy you understand that progress of industry, art, law, manners, and light, which has now for some centuries been increasing, I am well pleased with such democracy: and, for my own part, instead of blaspheming the age in which I live, I feel grateful to Providence for having assigned my birth to an epoch, in which God has been pleased to call a greater number of his creatures than heretofore, to a participation in the virtues, the intelligence, and the manners, which had hitherto been reserved but for few.” This is Democracy as I understand it; only, holding as I do that true Democracy has sprung from a Christian civilization, I would ascribe to it more of Christian character. It is, indeed, a fruit of Christianity; whose glory it is that it condescends to men of low estate, to take hold upon the human nature in them, and redeeming and regenerating it, to raise them up to the pursuit of honour, glory, immortality, and the end eternal life. Christianity does not treat men with contumely, with disdain, with contempt. It does not talk with supercilious spirit and in opprobrious words, of “the lower orders.” It has in its vocabulary no such terms as “the populace,” “the rabble,” “the canaille.” It comes preaching the gospel to the poor, that, transformed by the renewing of their mind, they may be made God’s sons and daughters, God’s nobles; and that, even in earthly relations, it may lift up the poor and the needy from the dung-hill and set them among princes. This is Democracy as I understand it: it is the only democracy I care for. Let it flow on with a full stream. But this it behooves us to understand and to consider;—that if our democracy do not ruin us, it must be of this kind. It must be animated and actuated by the spirit of Christianity. This, let it be deeply settled in our hearts, is the condition on which alone a democracy is possible. There is no other alternative. Without doubt, a people must be ruled, either by a sword of iron, or by the sword of the Spirit, which bringing them under law to Christ, makes them a law unto themselves.

11. In speaking of the evils which endanger the well-being of our nation, it would be a prudish affectation of reserve which

you do not expect of me, if I were to omit to mention that evil of gigantic magnitude, which more than any other, or than all others together, is at present threatening our continued existence as a united people, and the dark shadow of which is filling with gloomy apprehensions the minds of so many patriotic and good men;—I need not say that I mean slavery, and especially the present spirit of slavery propogandism.

Fellow-citizens, upon this subject of slavery I am no anarchist, no fanatic, no factionist. I have never made it a hobby; for I do not ride hobbies. On slavery, where it already exists, I have seldom publicly spoken or written. First, because, admiring the Divine wisdom and beneficence in overruling this great evil, to the bringing of a wretched people from savageism and heathenism to some knowledge of Christianity and the acts of civilized life, and, as I hope, training them as a missionary people, to go back to the land of their fathers, carrying the lights of Christianity and a Christian civilization to a continent which has for 3000 years lain buried in a night of Egyptian darkness, I have been inclined to be still before God, and patient in view of the wrong in the human instrumentality. Second, because not living among a slaveholding people, I have thought it less my vocation to discuss this subject than evils existing among ourselves. Third, because I have been convinced that, if the question of slavery is to have an issue, peaceful and beneficial to all the parties concerned, men living in the midst of it alone are competent to deal effectually with it; and I have always cherished, and am still disposed to cherish, the hope, that there will be found in the States where slavery exists true-hearted ministers of the Divine word, and true statesmen, who in their respective spheres, would be faithful in the great work which God has laid upon them; in preparing the way and guiding the people in measures for the abolition of the whole system. Whenever I have spoken upon this subject, it has been with a clear and full recognition of the manifold and great difficulties which embarrass the question of slavery and the slave population, as one to be practically dealt with; with disapproval of the injustice of an indiscriminate denunciation of all, the guilty and the innocent alike, who are in any way connected with the system; and

with an acknowledgment of the great consideration which I think is justly due to honest-hearted men, implicated unwillingly in the evils of the system, who are doing the best they can under their circumstances, and are seeking, in patience and prudence, by means wise, safe, and feasible, to bring it as soon as possible to an end. All this I have always said; though some small men, for their own small ends, have misrepresented me on the subject. All this I now repeat.

But, having said these things; having said them always; and now saying them again; I say further, that when the question is about a demand *on the whole nation*, the free States as well as the slaveholding, through the *national* government, to *nationalize* a system which exists only by *local* law, or custom having the force of law, and to *perpetuate* it, and *extend* it into new territories; then, fellow-citizens, the question belongs to *you*, and to *me*, and to us *all*, and to *each one* of us; the merits of the system are open to discussion; and upon it, as upon all other great political and moral evils which afflict our country, and its remedy, I must speak, as I have always done, plain and fearless words, according to the truth of the case, as I apprehend it.

Christianity I believe to be the true remedy for all moral evils, and for all political evils which arise from moral causes. I believe that it is the only effectual remedy for this evil of slavery. Let us inquire how Christianity deals with slavery.

Christianity did not encounter slavery, during the personal ministry of its Divine author, Christ Jesus, on the earth; for *slavery* never existed in Israel. But our Lord laid down the fundamental principle which must, whenever acted on, put an end to slavery, with all other injustice and oppression, in the second great commandment of the Divine law, like unto the first,—“Thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself;—all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even the same unto them.”

When Christianity came abroad among the Græco-Roman populations, among whom it first met a slave, how did it deal with slavery?

Let us understand *what slavery is*; that we may know what we are inquiring about, and not talk in ambiguous terms,

without any conclusion. *What is slavery?* What is it, as it existed among those Græco-Roman populations where Christianity first met it; and as it exists among modern nations?

Aristotle, the great master of dialectics among the subtle, sharp-witted, and discriminating Greek philosophers, gives us the distinctly defined ethical and political conception of *slavery*, as it existed among that people. The relation between the owner and his slave he represents as like that between an artizan and his tools. He expressly defines a slave to be ὄργανον ζῶον, *an animate tool*: or, by another term, ἔμψυχον ὄργανον, *an animate tool*; or, if you please, *a tool with a soul in it*. He turns the matter back and forth, that there may be no mistake. Says he; ὁ δοῦλος ἔμψυχον ὄργανον;—τὸ δ' ὄργανον ἀψυχος δοῦλος:—*a slave is a tool with a soul in it; a tool is a slave without a soul*. And *this is slavery everywhere*. In the codes of those States in our own country that undertake to define what a slave is, he is defined to be one who “shall be taken and held to be, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, whatsoever, *goods and chattels* (cattle), in the hand of his owner.” And, in States where the terms slave and slavery are not formally defined, this is the definition that is assumed, and on which the whole system and the procedure under it rests. This is slavery: a system which divests human beings of the character and rights of *persons*, and reduces them to the character of *things*, having no rights. Hence the refusal of the laws to recognize marriage and other domestic relations as existing among slaves, or to protect the rights belonging to those relations. Hence the authorization of traffic in slaves as in other chattels (*cattle*) and goods, at the will, and solely for the profit of the owners. Hence the denial to them of the means of intellectual and moral culture. Hence the prohibition of even teaching them to read God's word.

O, but this system, it is said in apology, is not carried out in practice; and there are other laws to protect the slaves from cruelty. Besure, the system is not *universally* and *consistently* carried out. That is just what Aristotle says about it, as slavery existed even among the heathen; that a common humanity, breaking through the restraints imposed by this unnatural system, established between the man who was a slave

and the man who was his master, a human fellowship. Much more is not the system universally and consistently carried out, where a Christian civilization exists. The *Krupteia* could not exist in a Christian country. Men, even wicked men, are not devils. Nevertheless *the system*, as established by law, and to a great extent actually carried out in practice, is what has been represented. We have given the terms in which the authors and maintainers of the system have chosen to define it.

Now, how did Christianity treat this system, when, under the direction of the inspired apostles of Christ, it first encountered it? Did it sanction a system which holds a man to be *a tool*?—*a living tool, even a tool with a soul in it*? Did it set the seal of its approbation upon such a relation as this? It did no such thing. Every principle of common humanity reclaims against it. Every principle of natural justice condemns it. The whole genius and spirit of Christianity sets on it the seal of its reprobation, as heathenish, inhuman, false, and devilish.

The Epistle to Philemon is, I believe, with the “Christian” defenders of slavery, the classical epistle; though, for the life of me I never could see why. Well, what does the Epistle to Philemon say? Onesimus, a fugitive slave, came to Rome, where he met Paul, and was by his ministry converted to Christianity. Paul sent him back to his master Philemon, also a Christian, with a letter. And what does the letter say? “To the Honourable Mr. Philemon, greeting; Sir: I, Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, being here at Rome, on the business of my apostleship, have caught Onesimus, your *tool with a soul in it*, running away; and having captured it, and handcuffed it, I had it up before the Præfect, and have got out a warrant; and now I send back to you your undutiful *tool with a soul in it*, in chains, that you may recover your *property*, and have the use of your *tool with a soul in it*: for we have a law, and by our law you have an undoubted *right* to your *tool with a soul in it*. And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brother Philemon; Amen.” Was this the Epistle? No: not exactly. Happily the document is extant, and in your own hands, and in your own tongue wherein you were born, that you may read and understand. How read you?—“Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, to Philemon:—*I might be much bold*

in Christ Jesus TO ENJOIN thee that which is convenient: yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee for *my son Onesimus*; whom I have sent again. Thou, therefore, receive him, that is *mine own bowels*. Receive him *not now as a servant* (a δούλος, a tool, or a servant even;) but *above a servant*, A BROTHER;—receive him AS MYSELF.—The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit: Amen.”—That is the letter. I think that if the Commissioners' papers under *our* fugitive slave law were made out in the terms of this *mittimus* of Paul, there would be no mobs about the matter, around Faneuil Hall, the old cradle of liberty.

But there are other Apostolical epistles which touch upon this matter:—What do they say?

This same Apostle Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, writes; “Art thou called, being a servant; care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; be not ye servants of men.” In the epistle to the Ephesians he writes; “Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart: with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men.” In the Epistle to the Colossians, he says; “Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men.” In the first Epistle to Timothy, he says; “Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit.” Peter, another of the chief of the Apostles, says; “Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward: for this is thankworthy toward God, if a man, for conscience toward God, endure grief,

suffering wrongfully:—because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps.”

This is what the Apostles of Christ say on the subject to servants. What is the import of all this, and its bearing on the question before us?

The question is, *what duties* did the Apostles enjoin on servants; and *on what grounds*? Let it be remembered that, according to the conception of the Greeks, the relation between the master and his slave was the same as that between an artizan and his tools; a slave was ὄργανον ζῶον, ὄργανον ἔμψυχον; an animate tool, a tool with a soul; but a mere *tool*. Now, do the Apostles enjoin on servants to yield themselves to their masters *in their quality of tools*, to be taken, held, and used *as tools*? Do they enjoin this on the ground that their masters are their *owners*, and they are the *tools* of these owners? These are the questions which are pertinent to the case before us, when the object of the inquiry is to learn whether the Apostles *sanctioned slavery*: for this was the slavery they had to do with; and it is what *slavery* is essentially everywhere. These questions require no answer.

But, let it be supposed that those whom the apostles address by the term δοῦλοι were, not tools, but *bond-servants*, as no doubt they were; we repeat the question, *What duties* did the Apostles enjoin on them as bond-servants; and *on what grounds*?

Why, they begin by saying to the bond-servant, “If thou mayest be made free, use it rather.” If the inward and outward conditions of freedom exist in your case, so that you can obtain it, use your opportunity. But if not, “care not for it;” do not be troubled about it. And why? Because you suffer no wrong, no injustice, in being held as a bond-servant, though you are fitted for freedom? Is this the reason of the injunction, Care not for it? No: but it is this. Christianity puts those who embrace it, the bond and the free alike, into an infinitely higher sphere than that of your earthly life, and introduces them to relations, privileges, obligations, and destinies, before which the earthly shrink into insignificance. In view of this, if you suffer in your bondage hardship, or injustice, bear it with patience and cheerfulness, as you do other

evils. There is added an express admonition as to *the ground* on which bond-servants, in such a case, are to perform their duties. "Ye are bought with a price: be ye not servants of men:" that is, your duties, in the case supposed, rest not on the ground of any *right in your masters* to hold you as their bond-servants, but on the ground of *your relation to Christ as his* bond-servants. 1 Cor. vii: 21, 23. In harmony with this are all the other passages which we have cited from the Apostles. They enjoin on servants to be obedient to their masters; to be subject to them; to account them worthy of all honour; and to serve them with cheerfulness and fidelity, avoiding the vices of duplicity and deception, to which they had from their condition peculiar temptations. But *on what ground* are they required to perform these duties? Is there one of these passages in which the obligation to these duties is made to rest on the ground of a *right in their masters* to hold them as bond-servants? Not one. In them all there is not one word to any such effect. On the contrary, it is remarkable how constantly in all these passages the obligation to these duties enjoined is placed on entirely different grounds;—their relations to God and his Christ. *Be ye not servants of men:*—be obedient, *as unto Christ;*—*as servants unto Christ;*—doing service, *as unto the Lord:*—Whatsoever ye do, do it *as unto the Lord, and not unto men:* Let servants count their masters worthy of all honour, *that the name of God be not blasphemed:*—this is thank-worthy, if a man *for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully:*—*because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps.* Eph. vi: 5, 7. Col. iii: 22, 24. 1 Tim. vi: 1, 2. 1 Pet. ii: 18, 21. The scope of all is this. Christianity is just entering into these heathen nations, and will in time transform all things. Do not, in the beginning, hinder its entrance, by your impatience under wrong and injustice. Take joyfully, if need be, the spoiling of your goods and the loss of all things. Do all things and suffer all things, for Christ's sake, and the gospel's sake. If they call you *tools*, they called Christ a seditionist and a blasphemer. If they rob you, they crucified Christ. You are identified with Christ in this great redemption. You are called to fill up that which is behind of the sufferings of

Christ for his body's sake. This is what the Apostles say to servants, and this is its import.

What do the Apostles say to masters? "Ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your Master is in heaven." "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in heaven." And what is the import of this? A recognition of *their right* to hold and use their servants *as tools*? A *right* to hold them as their *bond-servants* even, in perpetuity? No such thing. There is not a word to any such effect. Is it not rather, Obliterate, at once and forever, from your minds this heathenish idea, that your servants are your *tools*. Recognize them as your fellow-men, whom God hath made of one blood to dwell together on the face of the earth; if Christians, as your brethren in Christ. If their character is such as to disqualify them for freedom, or the laws make their emancipation impossible, hold them, while the necessity continues, as your *servants*; as your *bond-servants*; if need be, your *involuntary bond-servants*. Give to them, in this character and these relations, what justice and equity require; the things needful for the body, education, intellectual and moral and religious culture, fitting them for freedom; and, when this is possible, freedom. Is not this that which is *just and equal*?

But, "Christianity," it is said, "does not begin with outward revolutions and changes, which to be useful, require an inward preparation." Very true. But how is this inward preparation in the masters and the slaves to be effected by Christianity, if the ministers of Christianity never expound Christianity in its relation to this enormous wrong?—How, if the burden of their gospel to the slaves is; "Obey your masters, *as their slaves*; your *owners have a right* to hold you as their *slaves*, their *property*, their *goods and chattels* (cattle): that is your *condition* and your *character*; be content with it?—How, if the burden of the gospel to the masters is; "You have *a right* to hold and use your slaves, *as slaves*, your *property*; your *goods and chattels*: only remember they are *tools with souls in them*; and be kind to them, and let them have prayers in their quarters, and get preaching for them:—and that will do.—That is about what is *just and equal*?" How, I ask, is Christianity to effect

the inward preparation in slaves and masters, if such be its exposition?

“But the Apostles enjoined great forbearance on the subject, on account of the state of society, and of the laws, and of public opinion among the heathen.” Yes: I admit it. So I interpret many of the injunctions upon servants. But, what then? Are slaveholders at this day, and in the United States, to be regarded and treated as *heathen*? Is *that* the plea?

“Well, but this discussion of the subject is producing great excitement, and endangering our national union: if only you all will quit agitating the subject, and let *the gospel* be preached, the *simple gospel*;—*the spirit* of the gospel will work the destruction of slavery, quietly and peaceably.” It will, will it? Yes: I believe so. But *what gospel?* and *what preaching* of the gospel? The spirit of Christianity has been working for 1800 years in the world, and it *has* worked the destruction of slavery over nearly all the world that has received it. How is it in our own country? In our own country it has been working for some 200 years from the planting of the first colonies;—for eighty years since, as an independent nation, appealing to God, we solemnly declared to the world, that “we hold these truths to be *self-evident*; that all men are created *equal*, and are endowed by their Creator with *certain inalienable rights*; among which are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness;”—for sixty-eight years, since the people of the United States ordained and established the Constitution of the United States, “in order to form a more perfect union, establish *justice*, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and secure the blessings of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity.” What progress has been made by the spirit of the gospel in working the destruction of slavery? What progress in this last period, since our national system was perfected, and the spirit of the gospel has had free course? Why, at the time of the establishment of the Constitution, there were less than *half a million* of slaves: now there are more than *four millions*. Are you satisfied with this result of the working of the spirit of the gospel? Again, what progress has the spirit of the gospel made in working such a change in the public opinion, the sentiments, the purposes, of the peo-

ple, as shall bring about the destruction of slavery? The Convention which formed the Constitution, composed of statesmen who were statesmen, in effect said: "We are forming a Constitution, for the establishment of justice, liberty, and the general welfare; a Constitution to endure, as we hope, for many ages. Here is this system of *slavery!* It exists. It cannot be immediately terminated: *We* have no power over it. But it is an anomaly in States where it exists; contrary to natural justice; a paradox in the moral system. It must be temporary in its existence. It is destined soon to die. It is in direct conflict with the ethical and ethico-political principles of our whole system, and the ends for which this Constitution is formed: and the name of *slavery* must not blot the face of this Constitution, destined to continue, long after this anomalous and nefarious system shall have passed away and perished."* And accordingly the term *slave*, or *slavery*, or the equivalent of either, is nowhere found in the instrument. Of set purpose they were kept out. The very strong language used at that period by Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, and all the great statesmen, of the South not less than of the North, is well known. Well, what progress these sixty-eight years has the spirit of the gospel made, in working such a change of public sentiment on the subject as to effect the destruction of the system? Why, this system of slavery, which takes and holds men and women to be goods and chattels, in the early days of the Republic barely endured, endured reluctantly and with difficulty, because of a supposed necessity, has gradually increased in power, and advanced step by step, in its pretensions, and its assumptions, and its aggressions, until, grown so strong as to seize upon and wield to its own purposes, the national government, it has through a long course of years, made this an instrument for its own perpetuation and extension into new regions—and this system, which was morally too bad to be named in the Constitution, it is now claimed that the Constitution recognizes and binds the whole nation to protect as one of the most sacred of rights! And this is the progress!

*See The Madison Papers, Vol. III, pp. 1261, 1263, 1388, 1390, 1391, 1393, 1394, 1427, 1428, 1429.—Yates's Secret Debates; and Martin's Report to the Legislature of Maryland, pp. 64, 66. Albany, 1821.

Well, we think that it is time that the spirit of the gospel, working to the destruction of slavery, by creating right convictions, and sentiments, and principles on the subject, in the minds and hearts of the individual members of the nation, had begun to work up into the Body-Politic, and to express itself in political actings of a different kind from these. And we are glad to see indications of this, in the present discussions, and the present awakening of the public conscience and the public heart upon the subject. We have always known that, sooner or later, it would come. The discussion will go on. Better views will obtain. The truth will prevail. Right principles will gain the ascendancy over sordid interest, and a spirit of timidity, and a mistaken expediency, in the minds of men; and then they will *act* upon these better views and principles.

To all this there will be, as there has been, opposition from various quarters.

First, there will be the whole class of men who make a trade of politics; who have their gain, whether of personal honours and consequence or of pecuniary emolument, by this craft. These men will be full of patriotism; O yes, and of all patriotic virtues;—virtues of the kind described by Burke, in a passage well applied by a distinguished Senator of our own country, in a great speech, involving this question of slavery, some years ago. “Far, far from the Commons of Great Britain be all manner of real vice: but ten thousand times farther from them, as far as from pole to pole, be the whole tribe of spurious, affected, counterfeit, and hypocritical virtues. These are the things that are ten thousand times more at war with real virtue, these are the things that are ten thousand times more at war with real duty, than any vice known by its name and distinguished by its proper character. Far, far from us be that false and affected candour that is eternally in treaty with crime;—that half virtue which, like the ambiguous animal which flies about in the twilight of a compromise between day and night, is to a just man’s eye an odious and disgusting thing.”*

Next, there will be another class of traders, the men that

*Quoted by Hon. W. H. Seward, in his Speech in the Senate, on the admission of California, March, 1850.

buy cotton from the slaveholders, and sell to them coarse muslins, and coarse woollens, and brogans, and cotton-gins, and sugar-mills, and plows, and hoes, and handcuffs, and whips. This class of patriots will be very anxious, too, about the union, and the country, and our liberties, and our national greatness and glory.

Then, there will be the class of "the higher orders," as they complacently call themselves. Very comfortable in their own condition, they are very little troubled by sufferings which themselves do not feel;—marvellously calm, and patient, and conservative, under wrongs, and injustice, and outrage, which do not touch them. This class of men are, by nature and by habit, averse to whatever causes a deep and powerful movement of the mind and the feelings of a people. More affected by a sense of present evils, than by the hope of future good, they demand at all events *quiet*. Why should their repose be disturbed by a fuss about *the negroes*, "who are better off than the lower orders of the whites in the free States?"

Then, there will be found that class of very fair and impartial men, always a large one where there is a controversy between *right* and *wrong*, the half and half men, full of that kind of candour which the British satirist describes,—the

"Candour which loves in see-saw strain to tell,
 "Of acting knavishly, but meaning well;
 "Too nice to praise exactly, or to blame,
 "Convinced that *all* men's motives are the same;
 "And finds, with keen discriminating sight,
 "Black's not so black, nor white so VERY white
 "Barras plays traitor, Merlin takes a bribe:
 "What then; shall candour these good men proscribe?
 "No: ere we join the loud-accusing throng,
 "Prove, not *the facts*,—but that *they thought them wrong*."

These "candid" men, 'tis often hard to bear; and one is often ready to say,

"Give me the avowed, the erect, the manly foe;
 "Bold I can meet him;—perhaps may turn his blow;
 "But, of all plagues, good heaven, thy wrath can send,
 "Save, save, oh!—save me from the 'candid' friend!"

"I love the bold, uncompromising mind,
 "Whose principles are fixed, whose views defined;
 "Who owns, when traitors feel the avenging rod,
 "Just retribution, and the hand of God."*

We expect opposition from all these classes, and from some others. Nevertheless the discussion will go on; truth will prevail; and, sooner or later, the right will triumph. We do not despair of the Republic. We are full of good hopes of the Republic; because we are full of good hopes in God. The fearful and the unbelieving may say, 'It will be foul weather; for the sky is red and lowering;' and their hearts may fail, because they hear the mutterings of the thunder and the swellings of the troubled waters, portending a coming storm. The agitation of the political and moral elements is not the worst thing that can happen a people. The progress of society and the improvement of the human race, require the repression of wrongs against humanity, the redress of grievances, the reform of abuses, the establishment of universal and impartial justice in all the public and private relations of a people. No doubt, it were a thing to be desired, that all such reformations and ameliorations should take place without agitation or conflict; and that blessings should come to men only under forms of beneficence, and by means in themselves fraught with pleasure. But to expect this betrays both unacquaintance with the history of the world, and ignorance of the spirit which actuates the god of this world and the powers of darkness, in their war with the powers of light seeking to redeem and bless mankind. These reformations and ameliorations, at all events, are necessary. This subject of slavery and especially of slavery propagandism will be discussed. I hope calmly, temperately, wisely, truthfully. But it will be discussed. If violent men are by the discussion of it excited to deeds of violence, we shall regret it. Such deeds we shall deprecate in advance, and reprobate when they occur. If by their violence they stir up civil commotions, and strifes, and conflicts, which God forbid, we shall deplore it: but there are greater evils than even this. Alger-

*"New Morality," by the Hon. Geo. Canning:—slightly altered.

non Sidney was quite right when he said; "Civil tumults, and wars are not the greatest evils that befall nations. 'Tis ill that men should kill one another in seditions, tumults, and wars: but 'tis worse to bring men to such misery, weakness, and baseness, as to have neither courage nor strength to contend for anything;—to have nothing worth defending, and to give the name of peace to desolation." So we think. I repeat, that the agitation of the political and moral elements is not the worst thing that can happen a nation. Even though it should be marked for a time by some violence and confusion, this may be the necessary means of moral and political improvement. Nature hath, not only its sunshine and its gentle and fertilizing rains; but, also, its hurricanes, its inundations, and its earthquakes, which avert greater evils; the types of convulsions in the moral and political world, which may have been made inevitable by our own faults, or those of our predecessors.

But there will be no civil wars, or commotions, to affect injuriously the permanent well-being of the nation. God, our God, the confidence of all the ends of the earth, He who stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves, and the tumult of the people, will lay his hand upon these, and say, Peace; be still;—the clouds will disperse, and the sun break forth;—and it will be found that the agitation of the elements has but served to render the atmosphere more pure and wholesome, and the fitter to sustain the life of a free nation.

Of any disruption of the bonds of our national union, or any serious disturbance of the public peace, growing out of the questions at present agitating the public mind, I have no fear. There may be here and there a man who will try conclusions not with the weapons of reason, but with the bludgeon, and here and there one, in raving threatenings, venting the insane fulminations of fatuity and folly.

We will not mind these violent and unreasonable men. There are in the South, as well as in the North, sane men, wise, honest-hearted, patriotic men; who dislike slavery as heartily as we do, and with more cause. To them we will address ourselves, as well as to the men of the free States. We say to them; as

we have always said; Slavery, as it exists within your own States, by your own *local* law, we have no Constitutional power over; with it we will not interfere; we leave it to your own disposal. We will do you no injustice in our words or in our judgments. We will acknowledge the difficulties of the question which you have to solve. We will appreciate every honest endeavour to bring it to a right solution. When you desire it, we will assist you, from the common resources of the nation, in removing the evil. But when the claim is set up that this system, which, contrary to the law of nature, exists only by *local* law, shall become *nationalized*, and that its "*rights* under the Constitution," and according to the "compromises of the Constitution," shall be recognized, and acknowledged; and it, through the national government, shall be protected, perpetuated, extended, by the free States, by the whole nation;—we say, No. We say that in favour of *slavery*, a system which takes and holds men and women to be "goods and chattels, to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatsoever," there *are* no compromises of the Constitution. We say, that such a system *has no rights* under the Constitution, or anywhere else. We say, that a system, which was morally too bad to be named in the bond, the bond don't bind the parties under it to recognize and protect. And when the claim is set up and urged, that the free States shall become parties in perpetuating and extending it; we say, *We will not do it*. When Demosthenes was exerting all his power in an endeavour to rouse the Athenians to a vigorous opposition to the ambitious designs of Philip against the liberties of Greece, expressing the determination of a resolute heart not to be moved from its purpose, he said; "Greece shall be free: I swear it by our brave forefathers; by the manes of those illustrious men who fell at Marathon, at Plataea, and at Salamis; by their sacred ashes which sleep in the public monuments; and by the eternal gods." So we, with the sacred ashes of our fathers before our eyes, and their memory in our hearts, will swear by the Eternal God, the true and living God, that as the Lord liveth, and as our soul liveth, by our agency, a system too bad to be named in the Constitution, shall not under that Constitution, formed for the establishment of justice, liberty, and the general welfare,

be nationalized; nor a system which holds men and women to be goods and chattels, be extended into territories consecrated to freedom.

Gentlemen of the Erodelpian and Eccritean Societies; a word to you, and I have done.

Erodelpians;—the Platonic *Ερως*, from which your Society takes its denomination, is not the *affection* denoted by the term *φιλία*; nor yet the *emotion of satisfaction* designated by the term *ἀγάπη*; but rather *desire*, the *ἐπιθυμία σοφίας*. The other element of your composite name indicates that for the gratification of this desire you seek to Delphi. Not the least regret have I, that you should go thither, explore the hidden cavern where once stood the Adytum of Apollo's Oracle, and wandering all around famed Parnassus, bring thence whatever of spoils you can gather there. But not from these sources, let me tell you, will all your labours bring to you satisfaction. It has often been remarked of the old Greek philosophy, and especially of the philosophy of Plato, that it awakened in the hearts of men a sense of wants and created in them desires, which it had no power to satisfy. The Socratic idea of *ἔρως*, as developed in the Symposium of Plato, is that of an *ἐπιθυμία σοφίας*, by which the soul, filled with desire for the Divine wisdom, is winged to soar to the heavens, and seek it there. A greater Teacher than Plato ever dreamed of has come down from the heavens, and has appeared among men, as the Light of the world and the Life of men. That is the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and without whose revelations the world, and above all in the world, man, must ever remain an inexplicable enigma. This explains the mystery of the world and of man. This is the true wisdom which alone can meet the deep wants and satisfy the yearning desires of the soul that reflects. The true wisdom is to be obtained only by seeking unto the Oracles of God, in which the great Teacher speaks to men.

Eccriteans;—you are *eclectics* and *critics*. Allow me to commend to you a precept out of the Divine Oracles to which I have referred;—*Πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.*

Gentlemen; a principal object of your residence in this University and of all your learning here, is the formation of *character*. The Greek moralists made the four cardinal virtues to be *δικαιοσύνη*, *σωφροσύνη*, *ἀνδρεία*, and *σοφία*;—*righteousness*, *self-government*, *manliness*, and *wisdom*. They are worthy all to be inlaid as corner-stones in your building. Deep at the foundation of these and all other virtues lies another, the *subjective ἀλήθεια*,—that *inward truthfulness* of mind, which pre-disposes the understanding objectively to perceive in things *what is true*, and the heart to cleave to it, and the will to obey it. This is fundamental to all good character. Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things honest, whatsoever things just, whatsoever things pure, whatsoever things lovely, whatsoever things of good report; if there be any virtue, and if any praise, think on these things. So, in this seat of learning, established by this Commonwealth, and endowed by the munificence of this great Confederacy of Commonwealths, there shall be bred up, from time to time, a new stock of men, good men and true, high-minded and high-principled men, who shall know, and knowing dare to maintain, not their rights only but their duties also, both their rights and their duties, the supports and the crowning glory of States.