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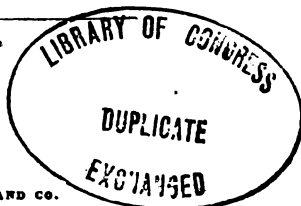
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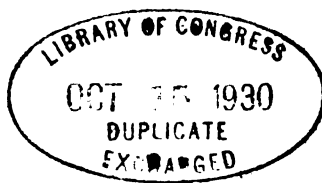
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ADDRESS.
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

HITHERTO, the graduates of our American colleges have sustained a character altogether worthy of the high privileges with which their juvenile novitiate had been distinguished, and eminently creditable to their respective seminaries. Proudly, indeed, might the guardian Genius of our prosperous Republic contemplate the noble band of patriotic youths, who, from year to year, have issued from our Academic Halls, and exclaim, with the exulting mother of the Gracchi, "these are my jewels!" Through all the perils of revolution, of war, of party strife, they have proved the faithful and intrepid champions of national independence, of civil and religious liberty, of popular rights, of constitutional government, and of human happiness. There may have been among them honest differences of opinion, but in regard to radical principles there has occurred but little to disturb the harmony and peace of the great political confederacy. They have cheerfully and zealously co-operated in the one grand work of achieving the greatest happiness of the greatest number of citizen freemen. That there may not have been some selfish, ambitious, reckless, and even traitorous spirits among the number, it would be presuming too much on human virtue to affirm. But a solitary *Judas* will not entail dishonour upon the whole body of the faithful.

Happy—thrice happy my country—glorious beyond all previous example would be her destiny—could it be assumed that all her enlightened and liberally educated sons will ever be found true to her cause and devoted to her welfare! May we reasonably indulge in hopes and anticipations so grateful and auspicious? Are there no ominous symptoms of yielding integrity, of spurious treasonable ambition, of factious parricidal enterprise, of desperate fraternal discord, already visible? Have not some, at least, of our wise and learned and honorable men begun to calculate the value of our National Union, and even to threaten its dissolution? Is then the fair fame of our infant republic to be tarnished, and the hopes of mankind to be blasted, by the very

class of citizens who should have died to prevent a catastrophe so humiliating and disastrous? Whence is it that such men should thus be induced to jeopard national blessings and national glory, actually possessed or certainly within our reach, which have never yet been paralleled in our world? I am willing to believe that there is more delusion than knavery in the case—that it is a momentary phrensy which will soon pass away; and that the gathering cloud will disappear long before the tempest shall burst upon our still peaceful habitations.

But the existing crisis, whatever may be the issue, is full of warning and instruction. Ten years ago—and who would have hazarded the prediction that the value of the Union was likely to become, within any assignable period of time, a subject of grave calculation or even of speculative discussion? And yet, already, it is the common theme of every newspaper and of every party. The importance and stability of the union, the advantages and disadvantages of the union, are freely and universally canvassed. Its destruction therefore is among *possible* events. And this is itself a fact of most portentous bearing. It speaks a language which cannot be misunderstood: and it necessarily creates doubt, misgiving and apprehension in regard to the future. We may take for granted, as we confidently do, that the measures of the *present* agitators and *nullifiers* will be triumphantly defeated; but still the melancholy conviction fastens on the mind, that the union of these states may hereafter, and perhaps at no very distant day, be destroyed for ever! “One and indivisible” is no longer the sacred motto of every American. In evil hour the subtle enemy has invaded our delightful paradise—has cast the apple of discord into our once united and therefore invincible host—is eagerly prompting brother to imbrue his hands in the blood of brother:—and yet who, of all our honest industrious millions, has descried his approach or suspected his insidious purpose? Are *they* about to surrender their understandings, with their lives and liberties, as a sacrifice to the very demon of avarice and ambition—blindly—unconsciously—without motive—nay in direct contravention to every principle and consideration which ought to influence rational and responsible agents?

It has been often remarked, that where superior learning is restricted to a few, it is likely to be perverted and abused to

the injury of the many. And all history affords ample evidence of the fact. Every species of tyranny and high-handed injustice, practised on the people by government, has found advocates and abettors among the learned. They surrounded the throne and crouched at the feet of Augustus and Nero, of Charlemagne and Haroun, of Alfred and Henry VIII., of Saladin and Tamerlane, of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, of the Popes and the Bourbons. Nor is there any lack of them, at this day, in St. Petersburg, Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, Cairo or Constantinople,—so far as the mere instruments of despotism or superstition may be required. Their talents, science and skill are essential to the schemes and political machinery of their masters. Thus too, in the all-grasping aristocracies of ancient Rome and modern Venice, learning, as well as wealth and power, centred chiefly in the patrician order, and was therefore generally its ally and apologist. And thus it has ever been when monopolized by a small number. It is its diffusion among the people which causes iniquity in high places to tremble—and either drags the despot from his throne, or converts the tiger into a lamb. What are now the prerogatives of an English monarch compared with those exercised by the Stuarts, the Tudors, and the Plantagenets? Had the people of England remained stationary in their primitive darkness and ignorance, like those of Spain and Portugal, neither English nor American liberty had ever been the theme of history or of song.

But, unhappily, it is even yet possible for the people, both of England and America, to be misled by the crafty and ambitious, when aided by learning and intelligence. A Gracchus may play the demagogue as well as a Marius or Catiline. Ignorant people may be deluded by a Wentworth or a Wilkes, by a lord Gordon or a Mr Cobbett : and men have been every where eager to avail themselves of popular excitement to gratify a vaulting ambition. Our country, it is feared, has at length reached the period of relaxing selfish prosperity, when a few of her gifted sons are preparing to raise the whirlwind and the storm of popular fury, in order to mount to that dazzling pinnacle of distinction which they despair of attaining by more legitimate means. Such men can operate only on the ignorant and credulous. In no State of this Union are the people so corrupt, venal, or barbarous as deliberately to sanction any system of measures man-

ifestly unjust or iniquitous. They are not, like the beggarly rabble of degenerate Rome, ready to sell their suffrages or services to the highest bidder. Nor do they resemble the degraded populace of a modern European Metropolis, that may be roused by the flattering blandishments of a cunning reformer or military adventurer. Our people are still free and honest citizens. They will espouse the cause of truth and liberty and justice, whenever they clearly comprehend it. The demagogue therefore, who would mould them to his purpose, must first make them believe that his object is righteous.—That the cause in which he would enlist their zeal is absolutely and unequivocally just. No man in this nation is sufficiently talented, eloquent, and popular to seduce a large body of the people, in any section of the country, to his standard, unless they become thoroughly persuaded that his aim is honorable and patriotic. They could not be hired or flattered to abet injustice, or to elevate personal lawless ambition.

But in regard to measures of policy and legislation which they do not understand, it is easy, by incessant misrepresentation and artful appeals, effectually to blind and mislead them, until they fancy themselves egregiously wronged; and that they are called on, by every consideration of duty and interest, to seek by force that relief or redress which is denied them by government. While under the spell of this delusion, a fictitious grievance is the same to them as a real one. They will contend for what they believe to be right, as sturdily as they would do were they assured of the fact by a divine revelation.

Now precisely such is the present aspect of our national affairs. Questions are in agitation before the public, which but few of our ordinary citizens are capable of fully investigating and appreciating for themselves. The Bank—the Tariff—Internal Improvements—how many even of our most enlightened sages are masters of these perplexing themes of universal discussion and concernment? They have a length and a breadth, a height and a depth—they involve so many apparently dissimilar and conflicting interests—they reach so far into the future, and affect so many rights, so many branches of industry, so many local privileges or prejudices—they bear so directly on doubtful unsettled constitutional doctrines or constructions—are alarming or harmless, beneficial or noxious, according to

opinions already formed relative to the powers reserved by the several states or conceded to the General Government—that the wisest statesmen need not blush to acknowledge the difficulty of an equitable adjustment, and of arriving at clear, definite, unqualified opinions which may be fearlessly inculcated at all times and in all places.

Are these vexed questions, then, within the competency of every village editor and of every village declaimer summarily to pronounce upon? Are the people—the mass of the people any where—adequate to this high duty? Of course not. And hence the wily demagogue has ample scope for the exercise of his peculiar gifts. He may dogmatize in learned phrase and pompous diction, without fear of rebuke or exposure, until his auditors feel the conviction that all is right or that all is wrong—as the case may be. For both these opposite effects are produced by the same means in different places at the same time. And in each case the people are equally innocent and equally imposed on. They receive as oracular, the statements and illustrations of their leaders—to whom they habitually look for information upon such intricate matters. They are flattered too, at the same time that they are cheated. Not that their immediate instructors are always wilful deceivers. They may be more fool than knave. They may themselves be the mere unconscious instruments of some great magician, who moves the wires unseen behind the curtain; and whose mandate is law throughout all his dependent and affiliated ranks.

I have such entire confidence in the unsophisticated native integrity and good sense of the great body of our people, as to affirm without hesitation, that not a single state or county could be found which would advocate injustice, knowing it to be injustice. The people of Massachusetts, for example, would not vote, if they could do it with impunity and with the certainty of success, to levy a direct tax on the citizens of South Carolina for their own particular benefit. Nor would they sustain the tariff a single day if they knew it to be oppressive to one portion of the Union, and beneficial only to another. They are taught, and they believe, that it is equally advantageous to all. They support it therefore as a great national blessing. If they err, it is because they have been badly instructed. Send them to college, and perhaps they will be able to form a better judgment.

This would be wiser and cheaper, more humane and more logical, more republican and more christian, than to attempt their conversion at the point of the bayonet.

In like manner, the good people of the South oppose and eschew the tariff, not because it is in their view a fair and equitable system of taxation. They are willing to bear their due proportion of the public burdens. Nor do they denounce it because it promotes their own industry in common with that of the whole republic. But because they are instructed that it is a Yankee project to render them tributary to the avaricious North. That it is virtually a direct and almost prohibitory tax upon their agricultural staples, and therefore ruinous in its character and tendencies. They are further made to believe that it is the settled policy—the inflexible determination of the despotic, arbitrary, covetous North, to maintain this odious tariff, at all hazards, henceforth and forever. And that the only possible remedy is *nullification*: which may lead—but no matter—to civil war and to the dismemberment of our glorious Union!

Here, then, is a two-fold delusion. First, as to the fact; and second, as to the remedy. The South is made to believe that the North is deliberately unjust and oppressive. Whereas, among the plain people of the North, there exists no such design or desire. The people, as such, would not do injustice to the Hottentots—much less to their own brethren. The tariff may be as partial and mischievous as the South represents it; but the North does not perceive or believe it to be so. There is some difference between an injury inflicted ignorantly and unconsciously, and another committed with malice prepense and aforethought. And the very *gist* of the matter lies in the *quo animo*—the purpose—the intention. I do not believe that a majority of any one thousand American citizens, including manufacturers themselves, could be found in any vicinage of New England, New York, or Pennsylvania, who would insist on a continuance of the tariff, if they believed it to be as onerous on the South as the Southerners themselves proclaim it to be. Nor would the Southerners be thus madly exasperated, if they fully understood the sentiments of their well intentioned brethren at the North. Nor would they, if left to themselves, ever dream of nullification as a remedy for their grievances—admitting them to be as gross and monstrous and unbearable, as they are currently por-

trayed in many of their leading journals and by not a few of their most prominent statesmen. The remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease, and could never secure the object professedly aimed at, nor compensate for a thousandth part of the miseries which it might entail upon themselves and upon the whole republic. I leave out of the account political chieftains on both sides. They have their own game to play. And it is precisely to expose this foul play that I have glanced at a topic so unclassical, and apparently so uncongenial with the spirit of a literary festival.

What then is the proper and only remedy for all such evils? Undoubtedly, it is simply this: The people must be more thoroughly instructed. If a dozen or twenty knowing individuals can thus misguide and deceive the multitude, either at the North or at the South, they must be met and encountered by other knowing ones of equal ability, if not of better principles. When the number of intelligent men in any place is comparatively large, it will not be in the power of one or a few to impose on the whole community. In no state, city or county, could even a Pericles or a Tully long control the popular mind, if opposed by a Franklin or a Henry. It would be vain to eulogize the tariff in Philadelphia, if the people could discern and estimate its [reputed, I do not say, acknowledged] injustice. And equally vain to preach up nullification in Charleston, were the whole subject thoroughly comprehended by the citizens generally.

Since then we cannot prevent the existence and constant growth of learned men of some sort and to some extent, let us have as many as possible. If they are rogues all—why, then, set a rogue to catch a rogue. If fifty league together to do harm, let us have a thousand, and then union will be impracticable: and fifty thousand will be still less dangerous. The more the better. And if the whole sovereign people would get knowledge, like Franklin in the workshop, or like Jefferson in the college, or like Washington on the farm and in the camp, or like Whitney every where, they would probably be none the worse either as private citizens or public benefactors.

And here I take occasion to remark, for the special benefit of my youthful charge, that if they would become qualified to command respect in the world by their talents, their virtues, or their attainments, they have yet a great work to perform. We have

heard and read much of self-made and self-taught men. The truth is, that every eminent man—especially among the literary, the scientific, the professional—has been a self-made man. Bacon and Locke, Milton and Newton, Burke and Mansfield were as truly self-made and self-taught men, as were Johnson and Franklin, Ferguson and Rittenhouse, Herschel and Fulton. The first enjoyed the advantages of a college directly, the latter indirectly: and all attained distinction by the same intellectual process. They severally availed themselves of all the instruments and sources of knowledge within their reach: and persevering industry, as a law of their existence, ensured them victory and honour. Rumford, Hutton, Davy, Sherman, Pope, Wythe were as much debtors to the college as were Barrow, Edwards, Dwight, Fox, Scott or Canning. The books, the science, the literary taste, the universal consideration attendant on superior mental endowments, which colleges had created, multiplied, diffused, and every where exhibited, led Franklin, as they have led thousands, to imitate, to master, to emulate, to rival the excellence thus presented to their view and to their ambition. Had there been no colleges or seminaries of liberal learning—no literary or scientific enterprise or spirit abroad—Franklin might have been a Confucius or a Numa among barbarians, but he would never have been the first of philosophers and statesmen among the most enlightened nations of the earth.

The great men of Greece were all nurtured in her colleges, in one or other of the modes just specified—as had been those of Egypt and Babylon and Phœnicia, centuries before. Her statesmen and her generals were thoroughly educated and literary men. Among her distinguished warriors were Pericles, Themistocles, Aristides, Socrates, Æschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Xenophon—the brightest names also in the catalogue of her literature, eloquence and philosophy. Nor did the Roman hero and politician disdain the arts and accomplishments of conquered Greece—as the Gracchi, the Scipios, the Bruti, the Catos, the Luculli, the Cæsars, the Ciceros may testify. But when the learned colleges of Athens, of Rome, of Alexandria were extinguished by barbarian conquest, and all western christendom had become the prey of ignorance and despotism, letters and refinement still lingered within the proud walls of Bagdad, of Cordova and of Constantinople. At length, in the 13th and

14th centuries, the university again resumed its proper office, and began to scatter light amidst the surrounding darkness—especially in Italy, France, Germany, Holland and Britain. The ancient classics were disinterred from beneath the rubbish of ages—were studied, edited and admired. The art of printing was seasonably invented. The capture of Constantinople by the Turkish Moslems, in the 15th century, dispersed a host of veteran Grecians among the schools of western Europe. Colleges were every where established, enlarged and improved. And the first grand result was the glorious reformation. Here was the dawn of modern liberty, and of that vast process of amelioration which has been advancing and extending far and wide ever since. The influence of enlightening literature has been felt, not only in Protestant Christendom, but throughout Roman Catholic Europe; and is penetrating the strong-holds even of Mohammedan and Pagan priestcraft and degradation. All this marvellous improvement has been effected by the university and the schoolmaster. Let no man deem lightly of the instrument which has elevated himself and millions of his kindred to so lofty a height in the scale of being.—Which secures to him liberty of conscience, the rights of humanity, the fruits of his industry, and all the blessings and immunities of free institutions and of self-government.

Wherever the university has been suffered to flourish and expand, and to send forth its salutary streams among the people, there have been growing up both the capacity and the determination to resist all gross oppression. And *there* too a decided progress has been made in all the arts of peace, and especially in the science of government. In Spain, Portugal and Russia, a fool or a ruffian may be tolerated on the throne, because the university has been kept in bondage and the people in ignorance. But were a Nero seated on the throne of England to-morrow, he would not dare to violate a single law of the realm. He could no more enact the part of a Richard or a Henry, than the meanest subject could commit murder with impunity.

But in our country, though we may not dread the cruelties of a Nero, or the proscriptions of a Sylla, or the usurpations of a Cæsar, yet we may dread the arts of a popular favourite acting upon an ignorant and excited people. We have no refuge

or security from popular insanity but in the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves. This is our only bulwark against the inroads of ambition and the wiles of selfish profligacy. Every sensible man among us knows this to be the fact. Our Washingtons and Franklins and Jeffersons have long since announced it: and though dead, their warning voice is still heard and respected by every enlightened patriot. Base and reckless and suicidal is the policy which seeks to prostrate the college and university under the specious pretext of giving to the people a common-school education.

I care as little about names as any man. If the *name* of college or university be unsavoury in the ears of the people or of the people's guardians and conscience keepers, let it be cashiered. Let our colleges and universities be called academies, lyceums, gymnasia, common schools, or popular intellectual workshops—or by any other republican appellation, if any more acceptable or less invidious can be invented. It is the thing—the substance—the knowledge—the mental enlargement and energy and power—that I would give to the people in as ample measure as possible. That they may be sovereign in fact as well as in name. That they may be capable of knowing and guarding and asserting their own rights and liberties, without the second sight of any political juggler or officious bankrupt Solomon.

I would create here in Nashville, or in Knoxville, or in Memphis, or in each, a university or great common school—with accommodations for a thousand pupils—with able instructors, libraries, apparatus, and all manner of useful fixtures and appurtenances—at the expense of the commonwealth. Every poor youth, properly qualified, should be admitted to its privileges *gratis*. The rich might pay for their sons. But none should be excluded for want of means. If more than a thousand pupils should offer—enlarge the establishment, or erect others upon the same plan. This would be a species of internal improvement worthy of the republic, and which would elevate Tennessee to a rank never yet attained by any people. And the Legislature which shall boldly lay the corner stone of such a magnificent temple of popular instruction, will deserve and will gain a glorious immortality, whatever may be the verdict of their constituents or of their contemporaries. Their magna-

nimous and enlightened patriotism will be celebrated a thousand lustrums after the petty interests and conflicts of this selfish generation shall be forgotten.

I have asserted that colleges have done good, or that learning has been useful. That, like wealth and power, when possessed only by a few, it has been often abused to the injury of others. That our college graduates have generally been the faithful sentinels and advocates of popular rights. That if any appear to be swerving from the straight path of rectitude, it is because they have discovered an ignorant mass on which to operate. That the only remedy for the evil—the only preventive of its recurrence and of its rapid increase—is the immediate education of a much larger proportion of the people. Not the giving them what is called a common school education—the most of them have this already—and it does not suffice. The man who can merely read and write is no match for the thorough-bred political gladiator. He cannot dispel the sophistry even of the village attorney or of the village gazette. He is just the man to be led astray by the newspaper essayist. And the newspaper is the very engine employed to gull the people who can read, but who are too ignorant to discriminate, to reason and to judge.

None but enemies of the people will ever gravely maintain that a common school education, in the ordinary meaning of the phrase, is all they need.* This would be virtually telling them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water under political task-masters for ever. Why is it that our lawyers rule the nation, and fill all our lucrative offices, from the presidency downwards? Simply and solely because they can do something more than read and write. If our mechanics and farmers would enter the lists with our lawyers, they must acquire the same degree of intellectual power and address. Nor would this prove a very difficult achievement. Take the common run of our lawyers—and like our parsons—they are *no great things*. The mechanics and farmers might easily beat them at their own game and with their own weapons. If they did but understand their interests,

*That I am hostile or indifferent to *common schools* will not be suspected by any person in the least acquainted with my views on the subject. I have been their public and zealous advocate on all suitable occasions. Among others, I may refer to a series of essays, which appeared in the Nashville Republican, during the winter and spring of 1831, under the caption of "Public Schools."

they would unite with the schoolmaster, make common cause with him, and assert their natural rights and influence in society. Let them take this matter of schools and colleges into their own hands. Let them rally around our most respectable and meritorious, though poor, persecuted and much reviled university. Let them contribute the trifle of a hundred thousand dollars or so, to its funds, and send to it a few hundred of their clever youths to acquire the art of lawyer-fighting—and we shall soon see them at the head of affairs, as they ought to be. This is the best advice that I can give them. If they prefer ignorance, and are determined to keep their sons in ignorance—then, farewell to all their greatness, and to all the dignity which their position might justly command. They may frown upon colleges—they may abuse them—they may starve them—they may scatter them to the winds—but they only sink themselves the lower in the general scale of humanity. Instead of training their own sons to illustrate their names and to adorn the commonwealth, they will become the spoil and the scorn of every European or Eastern adventurer who may choose to settle among them. For they cannot interdict the ingress of as much talent and learning from abroad as will suffice to discharge those public and professional functions to which they would themselves be totally inadequate.

I have been pleading the cause of farmers and mechanics for some ten or dozen years past. Because upon them, as enlightened, judicious, independent, patriotic citizens, depend the destinies of this republic. The question is, shall they lead or be led? Shall they arrest and put down the factious spirit of unprincipled ambition, or shall they tamely lend themselves as the instruments and the victims of its desperate and treasonable purposes? The crisis has arrived when the people must speak and act wisely and resolutely, or their ability to speak and to act, with decisive efficiency, will be lost for ever.

The lawyers are now our sole political guides and instructors. They engross the learning of the country; I mean all that learning which is brought to bear on government, legislation and public policy—for the physicians rarely intermeddle in these affairs; and the clergy ought forever to be excluded by law, if not by a high sense of duty. Our farmers and mechanics therefore, who constitute the great body of the people, are governed by the lawyers. Now it is not in human nature, that in such a country

as ours, there should not grow up a sort of professional aristocracy, which in time may become irresistible. Wherever there is a privileged order, no matter how constituted—whether like the *patrician* of ancient, or the *ecclesiastic* of modern Rome—it will, if not duly checked and counterbalanced, in the long run, become overbearing and tyrannical. I look to the college for a seasonable supply of countervailing agents. I look to a well educated independent yeomanry as the sheet anchor of the republic. I look forward to the period when it will not be deemed anti-republican for the college graduate to follow the plough; nor a seven days' wonder for the labourer to be intellectual and to comprehend the constitution of his country.

I am not unfriendly to lawyers. I could say much in their praise, were I in the humor of pronouncing encomiums. In their proper sphere, they are useful and necessary. But that they should engross the legislative, judicial and executive functions of the government, is neither republican, nor safe, nor, upon any ground, defensible. There would be reason in the thing, if, like the farmers, they composed a large numerical majority of the population. But that a few thousand of any particular profession, class or order should rule over millions is as anomalous, and as inconsistent with the genius of our popular institutions, as would be an hereditary aristocracy possessing the same exclusive privilege. The farmers have no alternative but to yield their necks to the yoke, or to open up for their sons a great high way to the scientific halls of the university. Belonging, as I do, to their respectable fraternity by birth, by early association and by all the ties of kindred—the son of a labouring farmer, the brother of labouring farmers, and the father, it may be, of labouring farmers and mechanics—I cannot be indifferent to their welfare even upon the most selfish considerations. But I feel conscious of a higher motive. I seek to elevate my country, by imparting to all her sons the noblest attributes of humanity. That we may be forever a nation of enlightened, generous, high-minded, self-governing freemen. The envy and the admiration of the world.

I have availed myself of every suitable occasion to impress on the minds of my pupils the sacred duty which they owe their country, of endeavouring through life to promote the cause of popular education. To do their utmost to enlighten the pub-

lic mind, and to establish a system calculated to diffuse useful knowledge among the labouring classes of the community. Let them be the persevering, intrepid, uncompromising advocates of the good old orthodox doctrines of our revolutionary heroes and sages. Countenanced by such a veteran phalanx of wisdom and philanthropy, and animated by the noble purpose of perpetuating the liberty and happiness of their country, they may well disregard the undeserved and groundless hostility which lofty virtue seldom fails to provoke.

I shall not stop to inquire what Tennessee has attempted or effected for the instruction of her half million of freemen. One thing I have heard however, which, though too monstrous to be credited, I feel constrained just to glance at. It is this—that some former legislatures, so far from having directly and munificently aided the paramount cause of education amongst us, have actually withheld from the schools and colleges funds which had been solemnly appropriated to their use by the National Congress. This I presume to be mere gratuitous slander. For, if true, it would be enough to impart fresh lustre to the everlasting fame even of the Goth and Vandal! History, however, will detail the facts: and impartial posterity will sit in judgment. I trust the present or a future legislature will correct the error, if any have been committed by their predecessors, so that the faithful historian may be enabled to record the satisfaction to justice, law, and honour, upon the same page which shall transmit the story of the people's wrongs.

There is magic in a sound—in a name—in country. Who does not love his country—one's own native country—the hallowed home of his infancy, of his kindred, of his fathers' sepulchres? How does it strike the ear and thrill the bosom of the pilgrim in a foreign land? What citizen of this vast Republic, when abroad in distant climes, has not felt the glow of patriotic enthusiasm and exultation mantle his cheek when the proud name *American* has greeted his ears from the voice of approving strangers—or burned with indignation if mentioned in terms of disrespect or measured praise? And are we about to forfeit our inherited title to this glorious appellation? Are we to be known hereafter as Tennesseans, or Carolinians, or Georgians, or Kentuckians, or New-Yorkers—and not as AMERICANS? We are the only people on this immense continent who have ac-

quired and appropriated, by universal consent, the distinctive national epithet of *Americans*. The rest are Canadians, or Mexicans, or Peruvians, or Colombians, or Bolivians, or Brazilians. We, and we only, are Americans. And who so base as tamely to suffer this illustrious name to be merged in a dozen or twenty little party provincial by-words—to be scoffed at by all the world?

Every individual of a great, magnanimous and honoured nation, is himself a sharer of his country's glory. Her reputation is reflected upon himself. He becomes thereby more respectable in his own eyes, more chivalrous in his sentiments, and more sternly patriotic in all his purposes. His country's name, like a coronet of nobility, is a passport to honour and distinction wherever he goes. Thus it was in the better days of the Roman commonwealth. *Roman* was a more august and commanding title than that of satrap, prince, or king. I am no blind admirer of Roman policy or of Roman virtue. But I do admire that personal self-devotion which could yield every thing to country; and, as it were, identify individual existence with the prosperity and glory of the republic. The patriotism of the old Roman was large and generous, though utterly regardless of every principle of international justice and morality. To Rome, as his supreme divinity, he consecrated his energies and his undivided homage. For her, he laboured and fought and conquered and died. His worst crimes were national, and were perpetrated to advance the grandeur of Rome. He never dreamed of elevating himself at the expense of his country. Of all such mean, stupid, selfish, infamous ambition, he was innocent and unsuspected. There was sublimity in his single-hearted devotion to country—however lamentably defective may have been the standard by which his martial achievements were estimated.

Happily for us, American patriotism and ambition may be gratified in a more legitimate sphere. Not in conquering other nations—not in extending the territorial limits of the republic—not in enriching our Metropolis with the spoils and ruins of a thousand cities—not in blotting from the map of the world any rival Carthage or splendid Corinth—not in triumphs and ovations and gladiatorial butcheries to amuse an idle, besotted, rapacious rabble. We have no such objects of national ambition. War is not our congenial element. We covet no enlargement

of territory. It is as vast already as even Roman ambition could desire. We have only to preserve it undivided and undiminished as a rich legacy to posterity. Upon this grand point our patriotic efforts must be concentrated. The union of the states must be maintained at every hazard and sacrifice. This is the first grand maxim of our political creed. It should be inculcated in every school and by every patriot. It should be instilled into the heart of every child, as a sacred principle, by every parent. THE UNION OF THE STATES should be the motto and the watchword of every American, and be engraven upon the arms and the banners of every party, sect, and institution of the land. It should be heresy, treason, infamy, to compass its destruction or to impair its foundations.

The Union safe—we have other noble national objects to achieve. The arts of peace—science, literature, religion—whatever embellishes, whatever elevates, whatever purifies the character, and contributes to the happiness of mankind—these it will be our study and our ambition to promote. We have a national literature to create. Englishmen have affected to despise us as a degenerate and vulgar race. We have taught them some seasonable lessons at the cannon's mouth, both on the land and upon the ocean. This species of bloody rivalry, we trust, is at an end. We must now contend for the prize of intellectual supremacy. For though English literature is as much our inheritance as the English language and English jurisprudence, yet since we are refused the boon and are daily stigmatized on account of our literary poverty and meagre scholarship, let us have a literature strictly American—such as Americans may be proud of, and such as British criticism may no longer ridicule or annihilate. Let every department of useful learning, of profound science, of elegant letters, of manly authorship, be boldly essayed and perseveringly prosecuted.

Providence has placed us on a lofty and conspicuous eminence. The eyes of the world are upon us. We have a glorious part assigned us: and deep and damning will be our infamy if we fail to perform it. To us has been intrusted the experiment, never yet fully tried, whether a people can govern themselves without kings or nobility or standing armies. To us is allotted the enviable distinction of demonstrating, on the largest scale, that any number of millions of free and equal citizens may dwell

together in peace, and exercise all the prerogatives of self-government without tumult, anarchy or domestic warfare. We are to exhibit the phenomenon of a well educated, intelligent, virtuous nation—free without licentiousness—religious without a religious establishment—obedient to laws administered by citizen magistrates, without the show of official lictors or fasces, and without the aid of mercenary legions or janizaries. We have it in commission to instruct the world in the science and in the art of government. Should we march onward in the career of peaceful philanthropy which Heaven seems to have destined and marked out for us—what an invaluable inheritance shall we not bequeath to the latest generations, in the honoured—universally honoured—hallowed name of AMERICAN?

In conclusion, I adopt the language and the sentiments of an eminent living statesman: and sure I am that every American, to whom the unsullied splendor of his country's glory is dearer than life, will respond a hearty Amen.

“While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that, I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned, to behold, for the last time, the sun in Heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonoured fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgeous Ensign of the Republic, now known and honoured throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as, *What is all this worth?* Nor those other words of delusion and folly, *Liberty first, and Union afterwards*—but every where, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole Heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—*Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.*”*

*The Candidates were then admitted to their Degrees with the customary formalities, and the following remarks were addressed to them.

Young Gentlemen: We now part, perhaps to meet no more on earth. Soon, very soon, we must all meet at the bar of the eternal Judge of quick and dead, to hear the last solemn award which shall fix our destiny for weal or woe for ever! How trivial are all terrestrial concerns—the honours of literature, the renown of heroism, the achievements of the patriot, the reputation of the statesman, the delights of popularity, the rewards of painful industry, or even the glory of country—when compared with the awful and resplendent realities of a future world, the blessings of immortality, the felicity of Heaven, the holy friendship of angelic spirits, the unspeakable love and approving smile of the King of kings and the Lord of lords!

To follow the meek and lowly example of HIM who went about doing good—to imitate the unobtrusive virtues of HIM, who, when on earth, had not where to lay his head—to secure a refuge in the mercy and righteousness and atoning sacrifice of HIM whose kingdom is not of this world—to suffer contumely, reproach, scorn, contempt, poverty, persecution and death for HIM who endured them all, without a murmur, for our sake—will, in the great day of universal reckoning and retribution, be accounted infinitely more glorious and honourable than to have conquered armies or governed empires, or than to have founded or saved republics. The humblest disciple of the despised and crucified babe of Bethlehem will then eclipse, in celestial splendor, the proudest genius that ever astonished or delighted mankind. The martyr's crown will then have acquired a value and a radiance, even in royal eyes, which a thousand worlds could not purchase.

Therefore, set not your hearts upon this transitory and delusive scene. With all your getting, get understanding. Covet chiefly that pure, enlightening, saving wisdom which is from above. Seek first and above all things the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and you will be armed against every foe and be sure of the divine favour and protection. Be christians, that you may be happy in time—happy in death—and happy for ever!

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