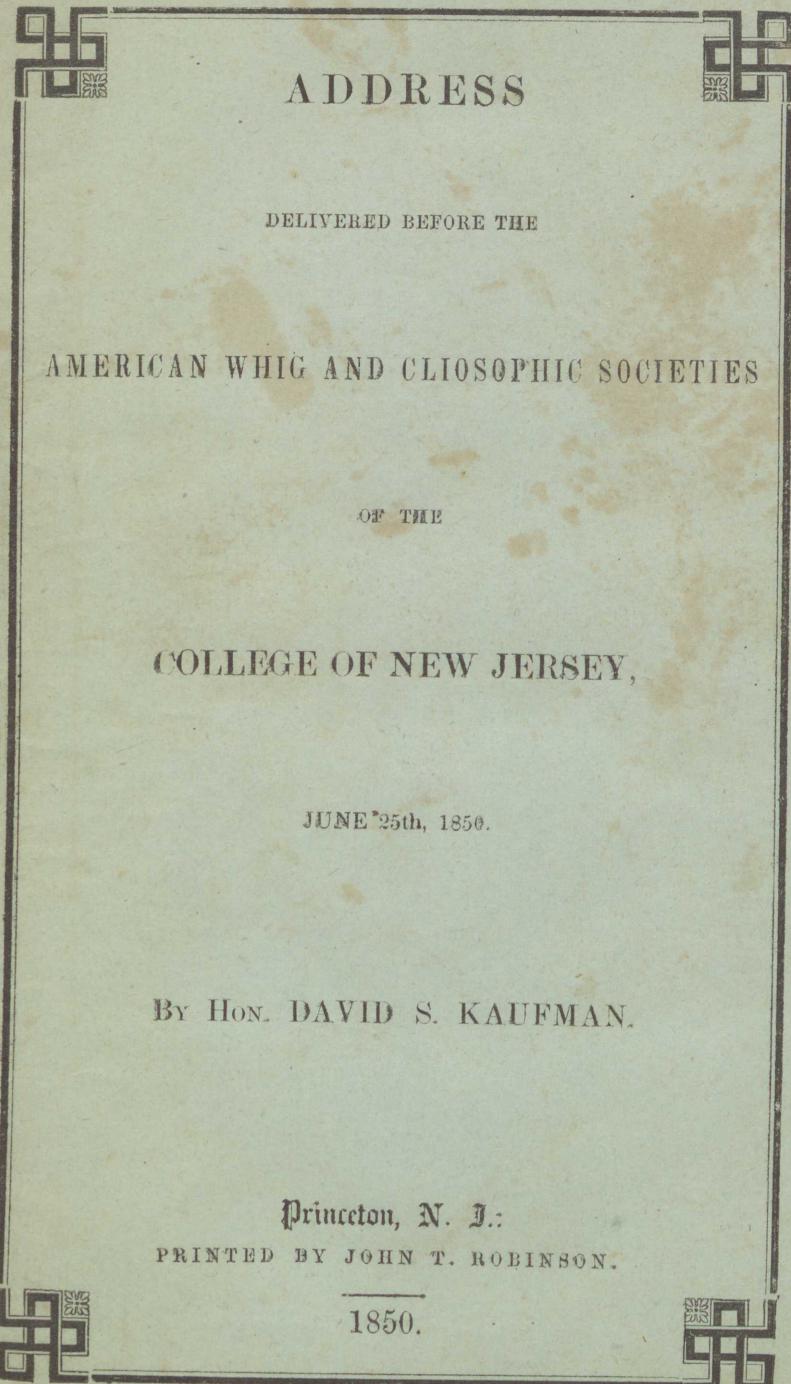


CLIO-Talitha & Clio Documents -

Address by Kaufman, David S.

WHIG-CLIO RECORDS

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ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN WHIG AND CLIOSOPHIC SOCIETIES

OF THE

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY,

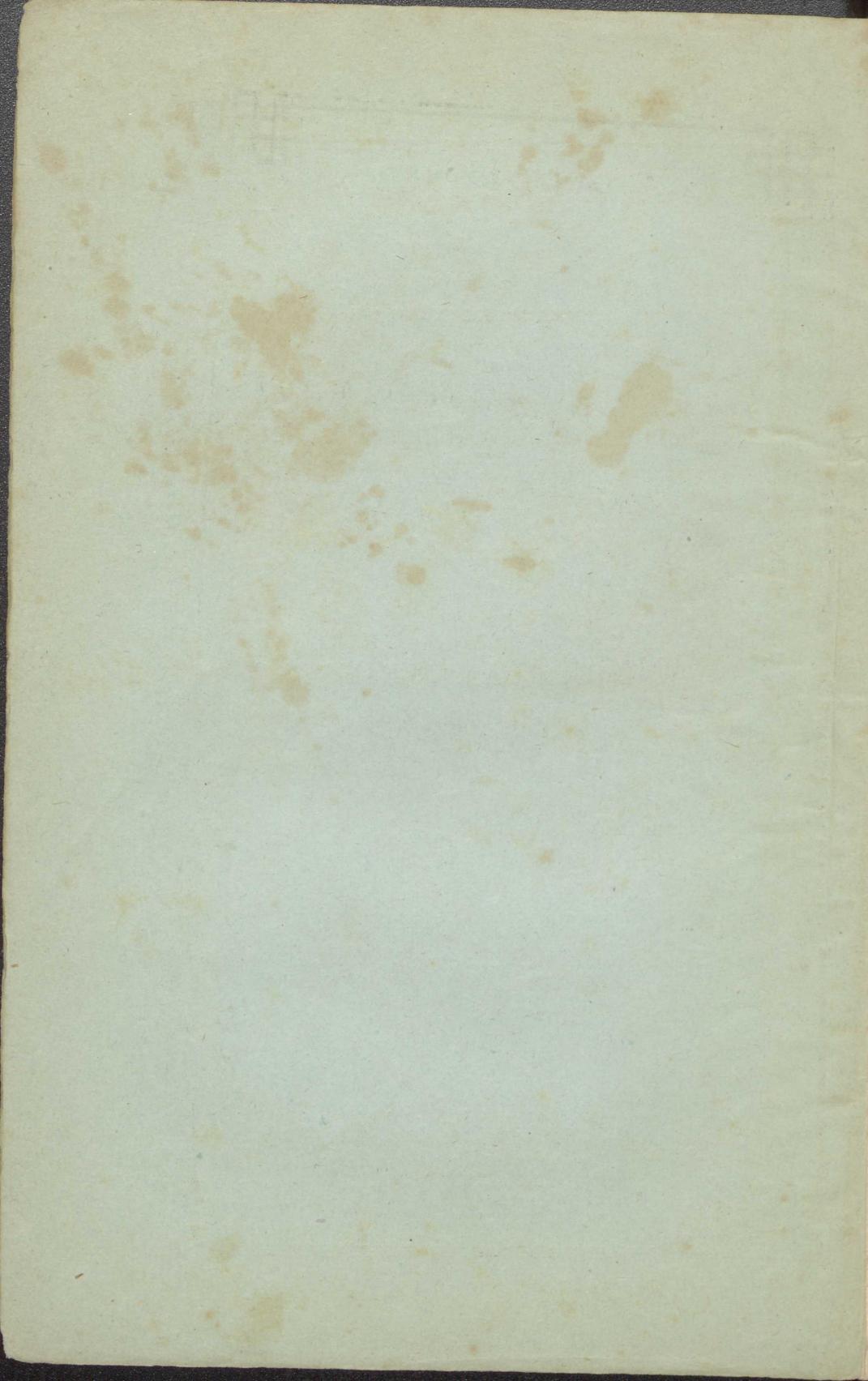
JUNE 25th, 1850.

BY HON. DAVID S. KAUFMAN.

Princeton, N. J.

PRINTED BY JOHN T. ROBINSON.

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YDDEB

CORRESPONDENCE.

Extract from the Minutes of the Clio Sophia Society.

CLIO HALL, June 26th 1850.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Hon. D. S. KAUFMAN, for his able and eloquent address delivered yesterday, and that a committee consisting of Prof. Forsyth and Messrs. Mershon and Canfield be appointed to ask a copy of it for publication.

JNO. FORSYTH, JR.,
STEPHEN L. MERSHON,
WILLIAM H. CANFIELD, } Committee.

Extract from the Minutes of the American Whig Society.

WHIG HALL, 26th June, 1850.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to the Hon. D. S. KAUFMAN for his able and eloquent address delivered yesterday, and that a committee be appointed to request a copy for publication.

RICHARD S. FIELD,
RICHARD S. MC' CULLOH,
J. HOWARD NIXON, } Committee.

WASHINGTON CITY, September 16th, 1850.

Gentlemen of the American Whig and Clio Sophia Societies—

I have received copies of resolutions passed by your Societies requesting a copy of my address, delivered before them on the 25th of June last, for publication. In accordance with usage, I comply with your request. I must however express my regret, that the exciting and agitating scenes, through which Congress has passed during its present session, and a repetition of which I devoutly pray, it and the country may never again witness, have prevented me from giving that attention to the preparation of my address, which justice to myself, and gratitude to you for the honour conferred, demanded at my hands.

With great respect yours,

DAVID S. KAUFMAN.

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN WHIG
AND CLIOSOPHIC SOCIETIES—

This sacred edifice, these Professors, and Trustees, the vigilant custodians of our venerable Institution, the presence and animating smiles of female beauty, and the enlivening strains of music which have just fallen upon our delighted ears, remind me most feelingly of the time, when seventeen years ago I exchanged the peace and quiet of this classic retreat, for the noise and tumult of active busy life. Although I find here the same college buildings, the same campus, and the same societies bearing their ancient insignia, and honored names, with all of which are linked a thousand interesting recollections, yet in all else how great the change! The faces which cheered me, and the hands which pressed mine at parting, are many of them now the tenants of the cheerless sepulchre. The asterisk of death is appended to many a name dear to recollection, as appears from your mournful catalogue. New faces, and new forms have, I had almost said, usurped their places, and are annually sent forth to swell the ranks of those who have gone before them, and eventually to push them off the stage of action. Like the billows of the ocean, one class follows another, until all are tossed against the breakers of Death, and give way

for their successors, only to share the same inevitable fate.

Notwithstanding these melancholy associations, this place is forever hallowed in my recollection. The lessons in morality and education which I here received; my regard for my venerated preceptors, some of whom—alas! not all—are still the spared monuments of Divine mercy; the friends which I here made, some of whom I occasionally meet in the pathway of life; the society to which I belonged, and for which my boyish attachments have never ceased; and my revered Alma Mater to whom I have ever turned with filial affection, even when a citizen of a foreign land, all conspire to make this next to home, the favoured place in my affections.

To those of you who will remain here after the close of this weeks' ceremonies, it may not be amiss to speak a word of advice. Your commencement has not yet come, but it will overtake you before you are aware of it, and as is always the case before many of you are prepared for it. It has been finely and truthfully said, “if the spring put forth no blossoms, in summer there will be no beauty, and in autumn no fruit.” How aptly illustrative of the condition and fate of the young student! If he fail to nurture the seeds of knowledge and instruction daily sowed in his youthful understanding, the meridian of his life will be cheerless, and his sun will set in clouds and darkness. Listen not to the siren song which whispers in your ear that severe application is incompatible with exalted genius. However that idea may have been propagated, and it has been, even by some whose genius is unquestionable, yet rest assured that

the midnight oil has been industriously consumed by all who have attained the highest ranks in science and literature. This idea is a most fatal delusion, an ignis fatuus leading you into errors of which you will bitterly repent when it is, alas! too late.

Study is as necessary to make the scholar, and to perfect his character, as are the axe and the pruning-hook to convert the rude forest into a variegated lawn, or an enchanting park. Besides, labour intellectual or physical is absolutely necessary to human happiness. The curse pronounced upon Adam that "in the sweat of his brow should he eat bread," has become one of the greatest of human blessings. However large your share of this world's goods, you can enjoy no real or permanent happiness without engaging in some occupation that will engross your attention, and stimulate you with an honorable ambition to excel in it.

You should recollect too that the privileges you now enjoy are of the highest character—privileges enjoyed by the children of but few of your fellow-countrymen. The offspring of the toiling millions are denied the great advantages now vouchsafed to you! Industry, inheritance, chance, or good fortune, has given to your parents the means of enabling you to minister at the altar of science, and of enjoying her inestimable teachings. How many thousands of poor young men are there in our country, who touched by the fire of genius, yearn to partake of your privileges but to which stern inexorable poverty denies them access! How many thousands are there who would regard themselves the most fortunate of earth, and whose dearest aspirations would be gratified if they

were permitted to share the rich intellectual banquets daily spread before you! But they are denied admission within your portals. Fickle fortune has frowned upon them, and "chill penury represses their noble rage." Thousands and tens of thousands of the brightest jewels are thus lost to their country, their budding glories concealed, and their names added to the undistinguished throng that crowd the road of obscurity down to the grave! What a deep and lasting impression should these considerations make upon your minds! How should they cause you to press forward in the discharge of the labours before you in order that you may become shining lights, diffusing a steady and beneficent radiance over the community in which your destinies may be cast, and even lending your aid to foster youthful genius when it has not the means of fostering itself!

It is to those of you, however, who are about to graduate to-morrow, that I design more particularly to speak to-day. Although at the end of your collegiate life, you are but at the beginning of that career which is to test your character and usefulness to your fellow-men. To-morrow is your "commencement" day. It is appropriately so designated. You only then really commence the hazardous journey of life. You are now to become in the highest sense responsible members of society. If you have neglected golden opportunities here, you can never perhaps entirely reclaim them, and you will get no credit with the world for advantages neglected. You are now to step upon the stage of action, and take your part in the great drama of human life. Your country looks to you and the young men annually sent forth from

our seminaries of learning for assistance, support and guidance. You are to become the future Divines, Physicians, Lawyers, Teachers, Statesmen and Orators, that are to bless, or curse society, and to guide the destinies of this great country. How deep and momentous your responsibilities! How Atlantean the shoulders that can bear them with ease and dignity!

How gratifying must it be to you that you have such a country as ours to serve and protect! Although a wise Providence has implanted in the breasts of all men an attachment to the land that gave them birth, and a belief that it is

“Beloved of Heaven o'er all the earth besides.”

yet this is often an error, pleasing indeed, and productive of the contentment so necessary to the happiness of mankind. But with us, thank God, this belief is no illusion. No monarch is here born to rule. No aristocracy eats out the substance of the People, despising the labour which feeds and pampers them. No unbridled majority tramples on the rights of the minority, but all are restrained within the limits of a constitution inferior only in wisdom to the laws of God or the teachings of our holy Saviour. Here are no standing armies to crush our liberties—no taxation without our consent—no Bastiles in which to immure the free—no adulterous union between Church and State—no test oaths as passports to civil and religious stations—no fealty or allegiance but to God and the Constitution—no abridgement of the freedom of speech—no curtailment of the liberty of the press—no torture to wring from trembling victims a confession of crimes whether guilty or not—no trial but by jury—no cruel or unusual punish-

ments inflicted : and no rude invasion of the domicil of the citizen over which as his castle the law throws the broad mantle of its protection.

Such is a brief synopsis of those constitutional guarantees, that have made the United States of America the pride and admiration of the whole earth. No wonder that the career of our country has been one of unbounded progress and unparalleled advancement. Three millions of people have increased to upwards of twenty ! Thirteen states have grown to thirty, and the cry is " still they come !" When independence was declared, her territory was bounded on the west by the Mississippi. Next was added the rich and invaluable province of Louisiana. But even when I left here a few short years ago, our Union was bounded on the southwest by the small and inconsiderable river Sabine. Now that boundary has been removed. The Rio Grande supplies its place and the golden shores of the Pacific have been added to our already invaluable possessions, making this country the most powerful and independent on earth, and containing within itself everything necessary to the existence of a nation, and to the prosperity and happiness of a people. Upon the banks of the father of rivers, that mighty cestus of the Union, rolling to the Gulf the waters of the north and south, of New York and Pennsylvania, of Tennessee and Texas, regions which were in 1776 the home of the savage, there are now fourteen sovereign States, bound together by every tie of interest, affection, and recollection, and cemented by a constitution, the work of patriots, and the purchase of the best Whig blood of the Revolution. The majestic steamboat

ploughs our noble rivers bearing away to the markets of the world, the rich products of the enterprise of the pioneer, and returning to him by these natural highways an abundant reward for his labours. Our flag floats in triumph upon every sea; our commerce whitens the deep; our agriculture, like Egypt in the days of Joseph, feeds the famishing of other lands; and our inventions, and manufactures for ingenuity and utility surpass those of the whole world besides. Under the influence of that invaluable provision of the constitution of the United States, authorizing Congress "to promote the progress of science, and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors, and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries," how many brilliant discoveries and inventions have been made by the American mind, destined to bless not only their own country and age, but mankind itself to the remotest generations. It stimulated Fulton to apply steam to the propulsion of boats, thus opening the way to homes for millions of freemen in a country, that, but for him, would now be roamed over by inhuman savages! It led Whitney to invent the cotton-gin which enriches the south, gives profitable employment to the north, feeds the operatives of Europe and provides cheap clothing for the whole civilized world! It has induced Professor Morse to invent a new language—a language by which the people of the most distant portions of the land can hold sweet converse with one another, as if face to face, and which has affirmatively answered the question of the man of Uz. "Canst thou send lightnings that

they may go and say unto thee here we are?"* These and a thousand other most useful and wonderful discoveries, and inventions are the proud products of American intellect. Let any one visit our Patent Office to see the manifold fruits of American ingenuity and invention there collected and he will return amazed, astounded and overwhelmed. And indeed these constitute the proudest achievements of the human intellect. The orator, the statesman, and the soldier, too long have appropriated to themselves the lion's share of human reputation, and have secured too exclusively the pages of history; but nothing was ever more unjust, and the time will come when the humble votaries of science and invention will obtain the proudest niche in the temple of fame. How many men figure in their day and generation as great men, by the noise they make in the affairs of society, who have not one tenth part of the mind or capacity necessary to construct, much less to invent a steam engine or a power press.

Such are some of the useful and laudable objects of American ambition. Strength of mind secures fame, wealth and immortality to its possessor, while mere strength of body is viewed as a property only held in common with many inferior animals unendowed with reason. The names of a Franklin and a Rittenhouse will flourish in immortal youth whilst those of a Hyer and a Sullivan will perish with the shameful atrocities which their superior *physical* strength and energy enabled or induced them to engender. And yet how different is public sentiment now from what

* Job xxxviii. 35.

prevailed in the olden time! Feats of physical strength constituted the greatest excellence amongst the ancients. Hercules is more famed in ancient story for strangling the serpent in his cradle, and for his destruction of the Lernean Hydra, than is the immortal mathematician, who discovered the wonderful truth contained in the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid. The characters of Homer, in the opinion of that inimitable poet, are clad in their highest perfection when invested with miraculous physical strength, and their crowning virtues are not even tarnished by atrocities the most shameless. The strength and courage of Achilles are not in any way detracted from by the horrid cruelty of dragging the lifeless corse of Hector around the walls of his ill-fated Ilium. The deities themselves are represented as engaged in feats of strength, from which they derive their peculiar fame and reputation. Jupiter is surnamed *Tonans* and derives his superiority among the gods from the power and terror with which he thundered; Neptune from the efficacy of his trident; Vulcan from the stalwart energy with which he struck his celestial anvil; and so with others. Even the fame of Sampson one of the judges of Israel is principally derived from the same source. The slaying of the lion, the carrying away the gates of Gaza, and the energy and strength which he displayed in the last effort of his power, involving himself with his enemies in one common destruction constitute the main facts in his history upon which the sacred historian has dwelt. But

“*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*”

Mind now triumphs over matter—intellectual over physical strength, and the proudest achievements of man are those which result from intellect; and which instead of merely giving fame to their authors result in conferring lasting benefits upon the human family.

Our beloved country is the home and the hope of all the nations of the earth. When persecution grinds the patriot of other lands, he finds here a welcome asylum, and a city of refuge from his pursuers. A slave in his native land, an unsuccessful revolutionist of his oppressed country, he, at once, on landing upon our shores puts on the habiliments of freedom, and becomes in a short time entitled to the proud privileges of an American citizen. He is more than welcomed. If he has been unfortunate in his struggle with tyrants, sympathy is awakened in his behalf, and liberality contributes from her bountiful lap to relieve his necessities and alleviate his misfortunes. He finds too in the broad prairies of the west and south, a home which the beneficence of this government offers to him almost without money and without price, where he can become a sovereign of the earth, rearing his family in competency, and receiving from a bountiful and virgin soil abundant compensation for his labours. But this kindness of our government and people does not merely extend to those who seek a shelter under our benign institutions. Was Carraccas partly swallowed by an earthquake? Our coffers were opened and relief sent to succor the distressed. Was Ireland starving, and famine with her phantom hand beckoning her sons and daughters away but they could not? Two "argosies" laden with cargoes richer than the golden fleece of

Jason, freighted with *bread*, the generous contribution of a free people, sped to the green Isle to minister to their dread necessities. Did the fearless navigator Sir John Franklin venture beyond "his depth?" The American government did not hesitate to assist a philanthropic son of hers, Mr. Grinnell, in his endeavour to restore him to his family, his country, and to the cause of enterprise throughout the world. Have the patriots of South America, Greece, Poland, Hungary, Italy, and other nations endeavoured to restore to their countries the long lost rights of man? The voice of encouragement from our happy millions was heard in the distance like the sound of many waters animating them to deeds like those which made our fathers free.

The United States is the great college of liberty for the whole world. Without any name other than *United States* its *catholic* mission is thus indicated, and its destiny proclaimed as the school for the emancipation of all nations. Its population is made up of emigrants, and their descendants, from every civilized nation of the earth. New York was early settled by Dutch, English, Scotch, French and Germans; New Jersey by Dutch, and Swedes; Pennsylvania by Germans, English, Irish, Welch, and Dutch, and Delaware by Swedes and Finns. The Mayflower brought to the inhospitable rock of Plymouth the stern Puritan or Round head; the Ark and the Dove brought Calvert and his catholic followers to Maryland; Smith introduced into Virginia the spirited and polite cavalier. Each one of these little colonies became the nucleus of powerful States, differing in their religion, manners and feelings; but united in their devotion to

human liberty, and when the hour of trial came, making common cause against their oppressors, and after a seven years war throwing off the thraldom of European domination.

It is a gratifying reflection that the students in this great seminary of human liberty, will themselves, their children, or their children's children go forth, as missionaries and teachers of emancipation to the now king-ridden countries from which they or their fathers came. Those who come here although deeply attached to the country that takes them to her bosom, and cherishes them as her own begotten sons, do not lose their ardent attachment to their native land :

"Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

They will grow and multiply here until the time arrives for co-operating with those who are labouring to form a right public opinion there, when they will return and help to stay the arm of the oppressor, to lift their brethren out of the slough of tyranny, and plant their feet upon the *terra firma* of constitutional liberty.

I fear there are some who may consider that in the picture I have drawn of our great and happy country, I have omitted one thing which mars its beauty, and that is domestic slavery. That this institution has proved an apple of discord is but too true, and that it may eventuate in the destruction of this mighty governmental fabric, is the anxious fear of many. But under the guidance of faithful and patriotic counsels this catastrophe will be averted. I am a northern man by birth and a southern man by adoption. In regard to this fearful subject I speak to you the words of truth, and I hope they may sink into your hearts. Slavery is not a spot upon the sun of our union, or

if one it was planted there by the permission of an all just and overruling Providence, and does not obscure its dazzling brilliancy. Who does not see in the transplanting of the African to America, the means of restoring to the degraded descendants of Ham the benefits of civilization and christianity? I appeal to the distinguished Vice President of our College, who has laboured so efficiently and zealously in the great and good work of colonizing the enfranchised and civilized African in the land of his fathers. A republic has sprung up in the heart of Africa, governed by a constitution and laws. It is extending—the English language is there spoken—all the rights of American citizens are there enjoyed—christianity is taught, and civilization is supplanting the reign of barbarism. This republic of Liberia offers the only means of effectually suppressing the African slave trade, and is a nucleus around which will gather other free states, until eventually benighted Africa may emerge from her long night of barbarism, her degraded sons be elevated from the dust, and prepared for happiness here and a blissful immortality hereafter.

It is an interesting fact that whatever atrocities may have subsequently characterized the African slave trade, a trade put under the ban of the law by this government with the cordial approbation of the south, it originated with La Casas a Dominican monk, and a missionary among the Indians of San Domingo, who, struck with pity at the sufferings inflicted by the whites upon the Indians, formed the idea of transporting to that island Africans, whose adaptation to that tropical climate, and greater power of endurance, rendered them capable of toil which the feeble Indians

could not sustain. And now I aver in the face of this brilliant and enlightened auditory, that in no country upon the earth is the African as happy, as useful to himself or to the country he inhabits, as the southern slave. Our inimitable Union does not fail even when its slavery is subjected to the scrutinizing gaze of the inquirer. It confers unnumbered blessings upon the black man as well as the white. Look at Africa! Its miserable inhabitants are as stationary in regard to improvement and progress as the beasts that perish, and its petty kings are ever making war upon the different tribes for the sake of captives who are sold to slavers for mere trinkets, baubles, and gewgaws. Look at San Domingo! The scenes of blood which accompanied the emancipation of its inhabitants are now followed by a mock empire,—a sable king, lords, dukes, marquises and serene highnesses and that beautiful island is now the home of idleness and brutality. Look at Jamaica, and its enfranchised Africans! Instead of being a great producer of the tropical fruits, that island has become the prey of the idle and vicious habits of those who were prematurely emancipated by the mistaken philanthropy of England. And the same is equally true of Gaudalupe, Martinique and the other West India Islands, from all of which the whites are flying to our happy land to avoid the effect of a hasty and ill-judged African emancipation. Look at the free negroes in your own northern states and compare their condition with that of the southern slaves. The latter protected by law and an enlightened public sentiment, well fed, well clad, and not overworked (for that they

cannot be) eminently contribute to their own happiness and the country's prosperity. No corroding cares and anxiety for the future harass them. They know that they, and their offspring however numerous will be abundantly provided for. As citizens then of this Union so beneficent in all its operations, watch closely to condemn the movements of those, who would convert the jocund laugh, and merry song of the industrious slave into the demoniac yells of infuriated savages !

There is, gentlemen, one species of the human family, that I cannot neglect to caution you to beware of. Fly him as you would the pestilence, avoid him as you would contagion, crush him as you would the adder. Just entering as you are upon the threshold of human life, he will continually cross your path. He loves to prey upon the young. You will find him at the social board, at the hustings, and in all the walks of private and public life. He has existed from the beginning of the world down to the present day, and unfortunately has flourished most on the generous soil of our free republic. He is prefigured by the subtle and accursed serpent that "produced man's first disobedience, and brought death into the world and all our woe." He is represented in holy writ by the reckless Esau, who sold his birthright for "pottage of lentiles." His moral and physical deformities are beautifully delineated by the poet of the Iliad in the character of Thersites, to whom the thong of Ulysses was so appropriately applied :

"Loquacious, long and turbulent of tongue,
Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controlled,
In scandal busy, in reproaches bold,

His figure such as might his soul proclaim;
 One eye was blinking and one leg was lame;
 Spleen to mankind his envious heart possessed,
 And much he hated all, but most the best' —

He is a hypocrite of the deepest dye and wears a mask to conceal his deformities. He is the very soul of faction and delights to swim in its turbid waters. He is a Judas who would betray his Saviour. He worships no other deity but self. He is abhorred of God, and detested by man. He has the malice *pre-pense* of a murderer. He stirs up strife, envy and sectional discord. He arrays parents against children, and brothers against sisters. He infuses his deadly poison into social intercourse, and disturbs the flow of the human affections.

"A monster mixed of insolence and fear,
 A dog in forehead, but in heart a deer."

He would array the poor in mortal combat against the rich, and the African against the Caucasian. He is totally destitute of shame, and insensible to the opinions of the world. He would blacken the purest and most spotless character if he could thereby succeed in his engrossing desire of self-promotion. He is as inconstant and shifting as the vane of the weather-cock, or the winds of heaven. He would sacrifice justice, right, mercy, constitution, and country to catch the popular breeze. He pretends to an awful zeal in behalf of the rights of those whose favour he is courting. He claims prescience of events, and credit for bringing them about. He endeavours to twist his own acts done for *one* purpose so as to make them suit any other that may be popular at the hour. He has neither soul, heart, nor courage—his appetite grows with what it feeds on. The best men, and even nations have been his victims, and yet his

ravenous maw is ever unsatisfied. Like Nero he laughs when his country is burning. Like Satan he offers those whom he is tempting "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them." He administered the deadly poison to the patriot Phocion, and the fatal hemlock to the virtuous Socrates. Athens fell by his subtle machinations. He has been the bane of all the confederations that have ever existed. He destroyed the Amphycitionic League, the Germanic Confederation, the seven United Provinces, and the old Swiss Confederacy. He is still at work aiming his envenomed shafts against our own glorious Union. Need I say to you that the name of this hideous being is Demagogue! Heaven rid our land of this awful curse. Oh! save it from this malaria of death. It will require watching and praying to thwart his designs. He will insinuate himself into all the existing parties of a country, or if he thinks he can better effect his object, he will create one for himself. If a member of the political party to which you may attach yourselves, (for political parties are necessary incidents of free governments,) sacrifice him as freely as if he belonged to the opposite. If we can succeed in checking the progress of this monster, and frowning him out of political existence, we will confer untold blessings upon our country, and may predict with certainty that our Union will be immortal.

You have looked upon *that* picture: now look upon *this*. You have contemplated with horror the demagogue: now view with delight the Statesman:

"See what a grace is seated on **HIS** brow.
 * * * * *

A combination and a form indeed,
 Where every God does seem to set his seal
 To give the world assurance of a **MAN**."

His whole soul is absorbed with love of country. He knows no sections, courts no factions, foments no discord. He practices justice, acts conciliation, and adheres rigidly to the constitution. "Nihil aut sensit, aut dixit, aut fecit nisi pro patria." He treads the path of duty wherever it leads and "takes no steps backwards." He says to the tempter, popularity, "*get thee behind me, Satan.*" A Curtius, he will throw himself into the imminent deadly breach to save his country. A Regulus, he will not consent to violate his plighted faith, although certain political death awaits him. An Aristides, he sacrifices expediency to justice, interest to principle, and will do no act, however profitable it may seem, that will tarnish the honest reputation of his country. A Brutus, he will sacrifice friendship and even gratitude if necessary, on the altar of the public good. He is sincere, candid and frank. He speaks the whole truth regardless of consequences to self. He respects the rights, feelings and even the prejudices of others. He pretends to no infallibility. He has no guide of political conduct but the constitution. He has no self-sufficient standard which he chooses to designate *conscience*, and which he puts above that sacred instrument. When he swears to support it, he does it without equivocation, or mental reserve. He protects the rights of the few against the demands of the many, with as much alacrity, as he does the rights of the many from the exactions of the few. He believes that the majority should be controlled by the constitution, and that when they go beyond it, they tread upon forbidden and dangerous ground. I have thus attempted to describe the Statesman. His portrait is much easier

drawn than that of the demagogue. *Truth* is plainer than *Fiction*. It has no circumlocution. Like the annals of the poor it is “short and simple.” Let me adjure you then to support and sustain the fearless, independent, patriotic Statesman. Give him a generous confidence. He is engaged in a war with Amalek. Stay up his hands like Aaron and Hur, and Israel will prevail—justice will triumph. If such should be the determination of the American people, then, as the strivings of the elements are followed by the shower, and the genial sunshine that revive, freshen and beautify our earth, so will our contests end in brightening the chain of the Union, and in refreshing and enlivening our affections for it!

Although invited here to address the two literary societies, yet, I cannot omit to pay my attention briefly to the ladies, who constitute so interesting a portion of my audience, and to court their powerful and effective influence in the good work of securing the permanency of our happy form of government. I am proud of your brilliant presence to-day. The smiles of woman encourage man in the performance of the most rugged duty. You render my task to-day comparatively pleasant, though that pleasure is diminished by the reflection that I have not the ability to discharge it in such manner as to command your unqualified commendation. You render pleasant the meeting of the weather-beaten tars returned to-day from the sea of human life, and cheer the young mariners who are about to embark on the same voyage which we have already taken. Although excluded from our literary societies, and in this country from participation in government, war, and the more active

duties of human life, yet your influence is all pervading and all powerful for good or evil. Man is to woman as the plastic clay in the hands of the potter. She can mould him to her will. The serpent of Eden never could have succeeded in his fell designs upon man, if he had not been aided by the eloquent, touching and seductive tongue of woman! The world is substantially controlled by her. She contributes directly or indirectly to the most important events of society. The Grecian Poet informs us that the refusal of Agamemnon to restore the “black eyed captive” Chryseis brought pestilence and death upon the army of the Greeks, and that the lovely Bryseis was the cause of arousing

“ Achilles’ wrath, to Greece the direful spring
Of woes unnumbered.”

When all else had failed, the protestations of Veturia, and the tears of Volumnia saved Rome from the vengeance of her haughty and exiled son, Coriolanus. The gallant amazon, Joan d’ Arc put herself at the head of the French armies, defeated the English who had invaded her country, and under the folds of the victorious oriflamme, achieved feats of prodigy and valour. And who can calculate the wonderful impetus given to our own glorious revolution, by our female heroines of 1776? If such then is your influence, how deep and solemn your responsibility?

It is to woman, intelligent, educated, Christian woman, that we are to look for help in the great work of restoring *fallen* man to civilization, refinement and power. Republics cannot exist without the holy teachings of the mothers which they contain. Who is there here to-day that has not received from the

sacred lips of maternal love those noble principles which are the surest guide of conduct in life ?

While on the one hand it must be admitted that your rights have been in many instances flagrantly disregarded by man, on the other, you must shun the visionary schemes of those who under the banner of the "rights of woman" are endeavouring to unhinge society, and to place you in a sphere unsuited to your nature, and the purity of your character. The domestic hearth is the proper arena of the labours and the triumphs of woman. There she is the presiding deity. From that silent recess she speaks with the authority of the Delphic oracle, and man obeys. She called upon him to abolish the unjust law invented by dishonest speculators, in virtue of which she lost her property by marriage, and which permitted sharpers who could intoxicate, delude, and swindle her husband to rob the wife and her innocent children of their daily bread, and the legislators of nearly thirty States enacted a law to protect "the rights of married women." She complained that it was wrong and cruel to turn out of doors the wife and children of a man, who may have been overreached by his unscrupulous and unfeeling neighbour, and "homestead exemption" laws are passed. And if I may here be permitted to refer to my own state, Texas, I would observe that of her munificent donations of lands to immigrants, the wife receives the one-half, and moreover that she is there by law entitled to one-half of all the property acquired by the husband during marriage, instead of the mere dower, or *life* interest in the *one-third* of his *real* estate. But a better day is dawning when the rights and interests

of woman will be more effectually guarded. History will record with astonishment the injustice to which woman has been subjected even here, in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Our country, however may claim the honour of having begun this reform. Lend it your aid. Frown upon the demagogue; turn away from the fanatic; reprove the intemperate; encourage virtue, education and piety; train the rising generation in the pure principles of Christianity and republicanism, to a deep devotion to liberty and the constitution, and be assured that public opinion will soon clothe you with all the rights necessary to make you what God declared you should be, an "help meet for man."

It has been said that

"A thousand years scarce serve to form a State,
An hour may lay it in the dust."

Although only in the first century of our national existence, it is a mournful fact that mutterings of discontent are heard throughout the land, that alienation and distrust are begining to exist amongst those whom "love should knit and sympathy make one." Open and avowed advocates of disunion exist in different portions of this confederacy. They are daily increasing. We have reached an awful crisis! Never before has your annual orator addressed you at such a momentous period as the present. I feel its mighty responsibilities. I should be recreant to my feelings and to duty, if I spoke of any thing but the country, when she is in danger. The darkness of night is upon her. Whether it is the darkness that is to usher in a long and brilliant day, or one that is to know no morn, time alone can develope. One of the most important questions ever decided by

man, is now to be settled by the American people. It is this, can majorities be trusted with the rights of minorities; are written constitutions any guaranty for human rights. If they are not, then the boasted capacity of man for self-government is a mere visionary, utopian dream. It has been well settled that they are not safe in the keeping of a monarch or of an aristocracy, but it has never yet been fairly tried, whether they are safe in the hands of a representative democracy. If the rights of any portion of the people, however small, are taken away it does not alleviate the blow, to say, it was done by the majority. Democracies may be fully as tyrannical as monarchies. The tree is known by its fruits; the injury is measured by its effects no matter how inflicted, whether by one, a few, or many hands. The question then to be decided is, whether the people have sufficient intelligence and patriotism to carry out the provisions of the constitution in its letter and spirit. Will they prostrate the demagogues, scout the fanatics, and scourge the incendiaries who endeavor to incite the people to oppress the weaker section of the confederacy? Have they sufficient command over themselves and their prejudices to say with a hearty good will:

"Fiat justitia, ruat coelum"?

Have they the justice of Aristides? Are they animated by the divine teachings of our holy Saviour? These are the great questions of the day, the age, the country, and the world. If they are answered in the affirmative by the voice of the American people, then the storm will be allayed, the billows will cease to roll. But if the contrary should be the response;

if sectional prejudice, or mad fanaticism, or an unprincipled ambition shall rule the hour, then we may regret that this Union ever was born. It will then show itself "a monster of horrid mien," instead of the bright creation of as noble and patriotic intellects as have ever lived. The south may be first sacrificed, but then the poisoned chalice will be commended to the lips of those who might have stayed the catastrophe. Leaving out of view the untold horrors involved in a change of the present fraternal relations of these States, the events of the day prove that slavery is not the only thing at which the agitators are striking. The Bible is to be pronounced a cheat; Christ to be proclaimed an impostor; Paul to be denounced as a hypocrite; the Sabbath is to be abolished; marriage to be despised; the present framework of society will be totally disorganized; property declared theft, Agrarianism, Communism, Fourierism, and Socialism will supplant the present order of things; anarchy, and bloodshed close the horrific picture!

I need not say to you that I have an abiding confidence that these direful events will be avoided. I have a deep-seated trust in the Providence of God, and the intelligence of the people. The cup of our blessings is too full to permit them wilfully, and madly to dash it from their lips. It cost too much toil, suffering, and blood to be lightly appreciated. The reverence for our ancestors is too deep; the love of our children too great to permit us like "the base Judean to throw away this pearl greater than all his tribe." The recollections of the past, the blessings of the present, the hopes of the future, all, demand of

us, compel us to preserve this our temple of liberty from the irruption of the Goths and Vandals of our own and foreign lands. It will, it must be done!

Amidst the wrangling and disputation now prevailing in the capital of our Union, there is yet one scene exhibited to the visitor there, well calculated to reanimate his hopes, and to rekindle the decaying embers of patriotism. In Washington, on the banks of the noble Potomac, at the point of its confluence with the Tiber, a stately pile is gradually ascending to the heavens, intended to commemorate the virtues, and self-sacrificing patriotism of the "Father of his country." Its foundations composed of the enduring granite, and its superstructure of the eternal marble; it will stand there a lasting monument of the nation's gratitude. Erected by the voluntary contribution of the people, each will feel an interest in its preservation, and that interest will be transmitted to their children, and their children's children. Each State in the Union is sending her block of native marble engraved with appropriate devices, and inscriptions, to be placed in this monumental pile, as a memento of her love for the Union, and for Washington. I saw there the block forwarded by the noble Palmetto State bearing the motto which every patriot should cherish "Dum spiro spero," and that other motto which she has so signally illustrated by her past history, "Animis opibusque parata." Already we see in this noble pile the gift of little Delaware, supported by those of Maine and Arkansas, the last two being States unknown to him whose glory they have united to commemorate, while the latter is composed of territory, acquired since his decease. Texas will send her con-

tribution, taken from the sacred walls of the Alamo, upon which is represented her "lone star" to show that she is not behind her sisters in the act of devotion to the noblest of the human race. In this pile, will these different tributes be mingled; the north with the south, the east with the west, embracing and supporting one another with sisterly affection. Can the people who are thus bringing their gifts to a common altar, carry on a war at once suicidal, fratricidal and parricidal; and thus before their pile is completed, convert it into a Babel, a blasted monument of their ingratitude and impiety?

But Washington has a monument in the hearts of the free everywhere, more grand and enduring than any which human hands can erect. It is high as Heaven, deep as Earth and lasting as time itself. To his cradle will the wise men of all future republics come and worship. He is "above all Greek, above all Roman fame"! In the character of Washington we see all the virtues without any of the foibles, of the greatest patriots of ancient and modern times. As a soldier he was brave, skillful and merciful; as a statesman wise, prudent and independent; as a patriot true, vigilant and self-sacrificing; and as a man faithful, capable and honest. At the close of his public career, Liberty crowned him as her own chosen son, and amongst the inestimable jewels that he bequeathed to his grateful countrymen is the following:

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations

—*northern* and *southern*—atlantic and western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render *alien* to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.”

Let then each and every one of us here to-day swear upon the altar of our country unfaltering devotion to that constitution and Union which were so dear to him. Let us treasure in our heart of hearts his estimable advice, and drive from our temple of liberty all those who defile and pollute it.

This is sacred ground, dedicated to civil and religious liberty. The very name of your venerated institution, “Nassau Hall,” is redolent of freedom. Here Washington fought, and Mercer died. The title “American Whig” by which one of your honoured societies is designated proves that it had its birth amid the throes of the American revolution. And the name of the other, “Clio-philic,” illustrates the necessity of *History* to transmit the glorious events of that revolution to the remotest generations. As long then as the *Whig* principles of 1776 are cherished, and *History* which has been well styled “philosophy teaching by example,” shall impress them upon the American mind and American heart, faction may rave, fanaticism may howl, and treason may threaten, but all in vain. Founded upon the affections of the peo-

ple, blessed with their smiles and protected by the very benefits which it dispenses, this Union will last until all the nations of the earth shall make their exodus from the house of bondage, and each man "can sit down under his own vine and fig tree with none to molest or make him afraid."

Let me, then, my young friends, most of whom I meet here to-day for the first time, and, what is a more solemn reflection, most of whom I meet also for the last time upon earth, adjure you, and you my brothers, *alumni*, and every one within the sound of my voice, sacredly to observe and scrupulously to comply with every provision of the constitution. Preserve the absolute equality of the States, infuse by your moderation and justice a love for the government and the Union. See that the majority with your consent, never trespass upon the rights of the minority, and then as a band of brothers joined we can all with one accord and conscious triumph exclaim :

" What God in his infinite wisdom designed
And armed with republican thunder,
Not all the earth's despots and factions combined
Have the power to conquer or sunder
The union of lakes ; the union of lands ;
The union of States none can sever ;
The union of hearts and the union of hands,
And the Flag of the Union forever!"

