

THE NATIONALITY OF A PEOPLE, ITS VITAL ELEMENT.

AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED IN THE

NEW CITY HALL,

BEFORE THE

CITY GOVERNMENT, AND CITIZENS,

OF PORTLAND,

JULY 4, 1861.

BY WILLIAM T. DWIGHT, D. D.,

Pastor of the Third Congregational Church.

PORTLAND:

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1861.

CITY OF PORTLAND.

IN CITY COUNCIL, July 8th, 1861.

ORDERED:

That the thanks of the City Council be, and hereby are, tendered to the Rev. W. T. DWIGHT, D. D., for the eloquent and appropriate Oration delivered by him on the occasion of the celebration of our National Independence, July 4th, 1861, and they request him to furnish the City Government with a copy of the same for publication.

Read and passed by concurrent vote.

Attest: J. M. HEATH, City Clerk.

W. W. THOMAS, MAYOR.

O R A T I O N .

Eighty-five years since on this day occurred an Event, which has rendered the Fourth of July forever memorable, — the Declaration of American Independence by the Continental Congress. Of this event, the second President of the United States, in a letter to a friend on the next day thus affirms: “It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shouts, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore.” These words, uttered with an almost prophetic foresight, have their emphasis doubled when we notice them in connection with other words of the same eminent man, relating to the same subject. As he lay on his dying bed fifty years subsequent, on the Fourth of July, 1826, he was roused from partial unconsciousness by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, sufficiently to be able to inquire, What was the occasion ; and being informed that our Nation’s birthday had returned,

the fire of his patriotism gleamed forth as he exclaimed in reply, — “Independence forever.”

Somewhat more than eleven years later, occurred another event scarcely less memorable, — the unanimous adoption of the Constitution of the United States by the Convention of the then thirteen States; and this was followed by the ratification of each of these States at successive periods, until by the assent of the last of the thirteen in May, 1790, the Constitution became the supreme law of the land. From that day commenced one national government over one people.

On the public commemorations of this day, the speaker’s frequent references to the past, in its historical and other kindred relations to the present, have been deemed allowable. Taking this liberty, it is my intention to notice briefly the condition of our country during the three distinct periods which are formed by the successive adoptions of these two great instruments, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. Such a notice will usefully illustrate the subject, which is then prominently to invite your attention.

The first of these periods includes the colonial existence of our country. It commences with the foundation of each of the thirteen States, as a feeble colony of Great Britain; and terminates with the Declaration of Independence, when their colonial existence ceased universally. It extends from

1607, when the first colony was established in Virginia, to 1732, when the last of the thirteen colonies was established in Georgia; and then continues till July 4, 1776. Each of the thirteen until this last date, was a dependency of Great Britain, acknowledging its subjection to her laws; and all of them until within fifteen years of the beginning of the Revolutionary War, required the aid of the British armies to protect them from the power of France. They were at the same time wholly independent of each other, and disconnected, except so far as the common subjection to the mother country and a community of interests often varying, served to promote a partial fellowship. They were scattered along a belt of sea-coast of twelve hundred miles in length, and running hundreds of miles into the interior where trackless forests arrested the traveller. Their population gradually increased, until at the end of their colonial existence, by the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, they had become about two millions and a half of whites, with an additional half million of slaves. The numerical strength, the wealth, the enterprise, of this scattered population at that date, preponderated greatly at the North.

We now contemplate this same body of people during the second period, from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. They are colonies no longer, for a succession of tyrannical

acts by the King and Parliament of Great Britain, has constrained them to renounce their allegiance, and to proclaim themselves independent States. They wage a war of seven years' duration against the fleets and armies of Great Britain, with varying success and defeat. They resolutely fight and fight on, till early in the second year, Boston is evacuated, and no English army subsequently enters on the main-land of New England — unless as prisoners or marauders. They fight on, till New York is lost, till their main army under Washington is reduced to almost a handful, till Philadelphia is lost, till their paper currency is so depreciated that each dollar is worth but a penny. They fight on, till the capture of Burgoyne and his army secures for them the alliance of France. They fight on, till the South becomes the battle-field, where Tory treason, in anticipation of modern Secession, plots with the foe, and betrays the friends of freedom, and sets law at defiance for two long years, until a New England general, aided by loyal partizan leaders, drives out the foe and puts treason down. They fight on, till Cornwallis and his army are taken; till Great Britain withdraws from the long contest, and peace is made between the two great parties on the footing of entire equality.

The fury of the tempest has now ceased, but the deadly calm of the pestilence has succeeded. An immense war debt hangs on the entire community, for the payment of which no adequate provision

can be made ; in some of the thirteen States, the treaties already made with foreign nations, are disregarded ; public and private credit are alike tottering ; insurrections are breaking out in different portions of the country ; even civil war and anarchy seem not far distant. What, then, has caused this fearful disappointment ? These thirteen States we answer, although forming treaties with foreign powers, do not constitute a nation. They have been through the war, and they continue still, nothing more than a league, a mere confederacy, of States, which could act only, when assembled in Congress, by ordinances which were but simple recommendations addressed to each State separately, that it might enforce them. They are but a feeble confederacy, and not a nation of one people, on each man of whose many millions the government directly acts ; and whose laws, if violated, that government can authoritatively vindicate and enforce. The whole country perceives the magnitude of the evil, and Virginia — then loyal and true — is the first to propose a convention of all these States for the formation of a constitution of government. The convention meets, our admirable Constitution is formed, it is ratified by all the thirteen ; and we now see for the first time the American Nation, one government over a united people.

Let us contemplate for a moment the working of our new national government, that we may be prepared for the wondrous change. It possesses

power to raise whatever revenue is needed, through the imposition of duties on imports and domestic taxes; and lo! at once commerce ploughs the seas, the bustle of trade is speedily heard in each city and village, the payment of the public debt is provided for, and confidence and credit are every where restored. It can also regulate our intercourse with other nations; and treaties are formed, the natives from every land begin to hasten hither, and our citizens in return, visit other lands. It can naturalize foreigners; and the oppressed exile, with the multitudes that toil for scanty sustenance abroad come hither, and become our fellow citizens. It establishes the Post-office, and speeds the mail from the District of Maine to Georgia, and a system of universal intercommunication is thus speedily established. Its Courts are established in every State, in which the citizens of different States may implead each other; while the privileges and immunities of each State respectively, have been already made common to all. It can declare war and make peace; it can raise armies and navies; it can suppress insurrection as well as repel invasion; and it has thus become the protector of all its people, at home and abroad. It is indeed a Government; there is now a powerful Union; Liberty and Law begin to move inseparably together.

We now contemplate the Nation during the third period, from its existence as commencing with that of our Constitution of Government. More than

seventy years have elapsed, and what do we behold? Change, indeed, we necessarily look for; but change is not, of course, advancement—it is occasionally decline. During large portions of the seventy years, the change with France, with Spain, with Italy, with Hungary, has been that of decline; and with China and other nations of the East, it has been almost decline only. But could one of the leaders of that long war, or of the statesmen of that great Convention, have looked at a glance through our nation's progress during this period, from the commencement of our national government until the Fourth of July, 1860, would he not have deemed it a vision of glory? Has history ever pictured, has man ever known, such national advancement since the formation of our race? All that ancient Egypt, or Assyria, or Persia, all that Greece, or Rome, or modern Europe, can present in contrast or comparison, is but the achievements of children. The belt of inhabited region along the Atlantic has been expanding westward, until the front ranks of our immense population have crossed the Mississippi at every point from its mouth to its source, and have reached the eastern limit of vegetation in the vast western valley; and they are now opening California's treasures to the day and ploughing the waters of the Columbia, for a thousand miles of the broad margin of the Pacific. Instead of thirteen States, there are thirty-three. Several of the States are now sufficiently

populous to constitute nations in Europe, and two of our great cities outnumber in population any European capitals — except those of England, France and Turkey. Our tonnage, which had long since been the second in amount — outnumbering that of every country but England, now exceeds her own, having reached five millions of tons. Our population has grown from three millions to thirty-one millions. Our imports have become almost fabulous in value, extending to near three hundred and forty millions of dollars; and these are exceeded by our exports. The area of our national territory is double that of all Europe — excluding that of Russia. Our flag floats in every sea, and bay, and river, and in every port where commerce can enter; the symbol of the nation's power, and the pledge of safety to all who seek protection beneath its folds. "The Great Republic" is the name by which the sovereigns and nations of Europe are beginning to designate us,—a name, already significant like that of ancient Rome;—ominous like the gathering thunder-cloud to every form of despotism and oppression, but genial as the succeeding sunshine to the exile and the oppressed of every land.

Such would have been the just description of our country a year since, on this very day. What is the just description now? I am heart-sick, when I attempt it: You, my friends and fellow citizens, are heart-sick before you hear it; and to every

true American in other continents, the tidings — should they reach him with no previous warning, will all but send a death-chill to his heart and palsy to his brain. It has been reserved for men in this Great Republic, the freest, the happiest, of all the governments and the nations on which the sun has ever shone, to introduce a new crime, and that the foulest — the blackest, against human freedom : they are not only parricides against the United States as the mother country of us all, but they are enemies to the peace and liberty of the world. They have taken up an almost disused and unknown word, harmless in its previous import, as the expression of their new attitude toward our Constitution and Union ; and that word — *Secession* — has already, so far as words can be made such, become infamous, and it will soon, like those who have introduced it, be *taboo'd* through the civilized world. They have first in one State, South Carolina, and then in another, and another, until there are now eleven States banded together, seceded ; or, in other words, in conventions called in some instances for other objects, voted themselves out of our National Union. These conventions have, in various cases, represented but a small minority of the white population, they have done their treasonable work in secret session, in one or more instances they have not suffered the people at large to vote subsequently on the measure ; and where there has been such voting, it has been done

under a reign of terror, as absolute as that of the French Revolution. They have voted themselves out of our Union, out of our Nation, out of all connections or relations with us; and they have proceeded to form a Confederacy, to seize our forts, our ships, and our military stores, to capture detached bodies of our troops, and at length to declare war against our Government and the Nation. We are now, as a people, engaged in a war which has been forced on us by these seceded States: it is a civil war, the worst of all wars in its nature and usually in its evils, and at the present moment none can foresee its termination. It is my intention in a later portion of this address, to show the utter unconstitutionality and wickedness of this pretended right of Secession; but after presenting this fearful contrast to the sun-bright picture which we had previously contemplated, I shall now proceed immediately to notice the subject selected for a brief consideration. It has been suggested, as will be anticipated, by the present conjuncture, and it is this:

THE NATIONALITY OF A PEOPLE, ITS VITAL ELEMENT.

Suffer me then to say, for it is at times necessary — if we would prevent misconstruction, to attach our own signification to particular words and terms, that by the Nationality of a people is here intended that condition, or state, of a People in which it not only is, but is seen by the world to be, a dis-

tinct nation; one great body, under one government. This body consists, it may be, of many millions of individuals, but they are a unit in their public relations to the world around them; for they are all citizens or subjects of one government which acts on each of them personally, and which represents them authoritatively to all similar bodies, or other nations. Now it is not by any means a matter of course that a People, which, in its separate divisions, has a common origin, which has similar customs and laws, and also, a common religion, should have the same Nationality. Holland and Belgium were essentially one People, at the time when they both revolted from that execrable tyrant, Philip II. of Spain; but the Nationality of each has been now absolutely distinct, except for a brief season, for near three hundred years. Our Thirteen Colonies were one People, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War: but had the northern and middle colonies achieved their independence, while the southern had continued subject to Great Britain, there might have been two nationalities here till the present hour.

Our principle, then, is this, that the Nationality of a People is its vital element; it is the source of its power, its renown, its universal prosperity. We perceive the virtual announcement of its truth in the earliest history of our race. Both inspired and uninspired narratives inform us that, from the earliest ages, men's tendencies were not directed toward

a life of solitary individuality, but toward enlarged family gatherings. These in time grew into the tribe; and the tribe either by natural growth or by the absorption of other tribes, ultimately became a distinct people, a State, a Nation. This, we may affirm, was God's design, for his course in providence is but the fulfilment of his design; this is the teaching of history, ancient and modern, and undeniably of the history of Europe for the last six hundred years. The civilized world, for we make no account here of savages and semi-barbarous races, has been composed of distinct and compact nations. All the earlier elements have tended directly and irresistibly toward Nationality: the nation, and not the family nor the tribe, except during the transition period of growth, has been the only state of culmination. The nation distinct, compact, one and indivisible, except where traitors within or enemies without have destroyed its unity, — such has been the actual and the necessary condition of each people of modern Europe for many centuries. Europe is a continent of nations, each having long ages ago absorbed the primitive tribes, and the subsequent petty states in which these tribes were merged. Germany, indeed, contains here and there scattered over its broad territory, an anomalous succession of little duchies and principalities, which have existed merely by sufferance, and whose insignificance has been their chief protection. Italy has been, also,

through the long jealousy of the great powers of Europe, little else than a mere congeries of separate kingdoms and duchies; but she is now fast advancing toward the great aim of her patriots and statesmen,—the absorption of them all in one national kingdom.

It should be also said, before we notice directly the relations of the subject to our own country, that the Voice of God in his word, speaks but one language here. Who that is familiar with the Old Testament, has not, when reading the inspired record which is occupied with the history of the chosen people, been vividly impressed with one great idea, viz: That their whole system of laws—that treasure house from which modern nations have so largely derived their jurisprudence, their national and social customs, their religion, with its divinely appointed ritual, and their political organization, all directly tended and were divinely intended to perpetuate their Nationality! This was the declared, the oft repeated, intent and aim of the Most High from the beginning: their entire history, with its occasional miraculous interpositions, and its prophetic admonitions and denunciations, teaches this great lesson. The chosen people were to continue through all coming time, not simply an aggregation of friendly or contentious tribes, but a distinct and powerful nation; preserving indeed—for this was wise no less than unavoidable—their tribal organization among

themselves, but presenting only one front to every other people,—that of an indivisible body. Let every reflecting man who has discovered the many analogies existing between the inspired account of that extraordinary nation and our own, but trace out fully in the Scriptures what I have here presented in the barest outline, and his conviction of its justness will be decisive. I will but add to this particular topic, that this ancient people maintained their Nationality more than six hundred years, and that then, in connection with a wide spread idolatry, Secession did its work: ten of the original tribes withdrew from the national government, from the holy city—Jerusalem, from its temple—its worship—and its religion. As the result, their history is but the record of wars, of the reigns of successful usurpers whose families were sooner or later murdered by later usurpers, of growing idolatry and corruption, ending in their final overthrow. The seceding tribes have been blotted out from the nations of the earth for near twenty-six centuries; while the Jews, that portion of the people which adhered to its Nationality, are now in existence at this very hour, and to them the divine promises of both the Old and the New Testament in all the glorious future exclusively belong.

But we would now say, with a direct reference to the present crisis of our own country, that it is the Nationality of a People which creates Ances-

tral and Historical Renown. Such a renown, when once acquired, is absolutely priceless, it becomes a part of the very life-blood of each successive generation. The great deeds of individuals, whether in the field of science, or in the arts or in arms; in victoriously battling for the right, or in upholding it at last, when necessary, by a serene martyrdom; render not only the actors, but the nation which produced them, immortal. As no people—while retaining its nationality—ever dies, although ten generations may successively pass away; so every such great deed becomes from the beginning an inseparable possession of the whole body, accompanying it through all changes down the stream of time. A nation's territory may be lessened by a full moiety, its hoarded wealth may be wrenched by foreign foes from its grasp, nay, banded kings and their armies may have almost accomplished its subjugation; but while the nation still exists, its renown, descending and brightening from other ages, shines steadily over it as a constellation which knows no setting nor obscuration. The single tradition of William Tell and the apple which he shot from off the head of his son, has been a safeguard to Switzerland stronger than that of a standing army of ten thousand men. The voyage of the *Mayflower*, and the landing on Plymouth Rock, have become the inalienable inheritance of all the future sons and daughters of New England. The battle at Bunker's Hill will be thus as magical a

watchword to nerve the arm and fire the heart of the true American in Illinois and California ages hence, as was the fight at the straits of Thermopylæ to the ancient Greek. No heart which is not deadened by animal sensuality, or frozen stiff by icy selfishness, ever becomes insensible to the power of this inherited renown. It causes the eye of the child to sparkle and his cheek to burn, it thrills through the breast of gentle and timid woman, it quickens the step and the pulse of white-haired age. Nay, the pages of inspiration reveal the perpetuity of this power. The Psalms of David and the prophetic visions of Isaiah abound with reference to these historical exploits, as constituting — under the divine guidance — a source of strength in the nations' depression, a light in its darkest conjunctures.

But should a People once lose its Nationality, should Secession in its blackest treason here finally triumph, will a secessionist in South Carolina or Tennessee feel the power of this historical renown? All that has given any renown to South Carolina, consists in her history as one of the league of thirteen States during the Revolutionary War, when her gallant partisan leaders put down tory refugees and traitors; and in her subsequent annals, when she was loyal to the Constitution. From these, her secessionists have severed themselves utterly. What have they now to do with the bright past, with the Continental Congress, with the fame of

Eutaw Springs, with the exploits of Marion and Sumter, with the names of Laurens, and Rutledge, and Lowndes? One name, indeed, they may claim; but it is only that of "archangel ruined." Their chief priest and apostle of secession, — No, we will not name him here, on our nation's birthday.

It is a kindred thought, but one which merges not in that just noticed, when we proceed to say that the Nationality of a People is the foundation of its Patriotism. The ancestral and historical renown of any nation is but one of the elements, and that not the strongest, of its love of country. What feeling, nay, what passion, is more widespread or more potent in its sway, what more ennobles man, — save supreme love to his Creator, than the love of one's country? nor is there any more absolutely vital to its prosperity, or even to its existence. The family affections are proverbially styled, natural affections; but the love of country is as natural to man as is parental love or filial love; nor is the destitution of the latter any surer evidence of utter baseness than that of the former. It may be asked in the general sense — Who is incapable of feeling this ennobling passion? for man civilized and man savage has displayed it in all ages, where he has had a country to love. The Briton who was carried sixteen centuries ago as a captive barbarian to Rome, pined after his native shores, just as does now the Englishman who has been for twenty years an exile on the Pampas

of Paraguay. The notion of country may indefinitely vary, just as the circumstances of birth and training, just as latitude and longitude may vary: so that for the born and bred savage the wigwams of his tribe, the forests which he traverses for game, and the plains from which he gathers his autumnal crop of maize, constitute the full idea; while for the native of Paris or Marseilles, every mountain and river, every city and village, every rood of *la belle France* are comprehended in his idea. Why then has man been formed for the indulgence of Patriotism, and why is it in fact a ruling passion over the earth, but for its indispensableness to the prosperity of every country? Weaken its power in any land, and a blight is fast settling on that people: extinguish it, if such be practicable, and its sun goes down at noon.

Love of country, whatever its elements or its source, feeds the life-blood of that country's welfare; and the more enlightened the people, the more efficacious is its sway. The poor savage can give a reason which satisfies himself and satisfies us, why he prefers his wigwam and his hunting ground to all other places on earth. What reasons, then, cannot the native of the United States assign, such as neither the ancient Greek nor Roman, such as neither the now living Prussian nor Frenchman nor Englishman, can ever render? Not only does it contain his birthplace and the home of his childhood, not only is it hallowed by the sepul-

chres of his parents and their ancestors, not only do climate, soil, natural scenery, industry, enterprise, the habits and customs of its people, with their general intelligence and morality, render his country the home of his soul; but here also Freedom has brought all her institutions, and the Religion of Christ has erected its purest altars. Here only would he live, and here only would he die, mingling his ashes with kindred dust, ever blessing God that his birth-place had been this fairest of all lands.

But it is the Nationality of our country which gives birth to all this patriotism. Conceive of our Union as having been rent by treason, into three separate hostile fragments within the first ten years after the ratification of our national Constitution; or imagine that no Constitution had been ever adopted. American patriotism would have then become a dream of the past, or an absurd idea, beguiling, indeed, the recollections of some dying patriarch, but scouted by all besides. Yes, may each true-hearted American exclaim, —“At home, whether on the Pacific or the Atlantic, freedom triumphs, our government is supreme; and wherever winds and waves can waft me, that flag of freedom and of power shields me within its folds. It is all my country: I will live for it, and I am ready to die for it.”

But can Secession consist with the love of country; can a secessionist, by any possibility, be a

patriot? What was our beloved land, our Republic, one year since, to every secessionist in the revolted States? A mere aggregation, a simple league, of thirty-three independent sovereignties, from which any one of the number might withdraw itself at pleasure. What constitutes accordingly, necessarily constitutes, the entire idea of country to those where Secession was first originated and proclaimed? The rice swamps, the cotton fields, and the sand hills of South Carolina. Our flag, which the civilized world has so long honored as the august symbol of our national supremacy and power, the secessionist of Charleston has torn in sunder and trampled in the dust under his feet; and he has substituted the bunting of Palmetto-*dom*, with its rattle-snake hissing and ready to sting. Each of the rebel States is the sole country for its revolted population. Our nation's eagle with the stripes and the stars, represents the great heart of American patriotism: the rattle-snake for South Carolina, the turkey-buzzard or some kindred emblem for Virginia, represent the shrivelled and malignant spirit of secession.

Is it less evident that the Nationality of a People forms its whole Strength and Power? A nation, however great its number, acts but as a unit, in all its public relations, whether at home or abroad. The voices of thirty millions are heard in the single voice of its Congress: the might of thirty millions is wielded by the one arm of its Executive. Our

thirteen, and then our twenty, and our twenty-five, and our thirty-three States, have successively constituted but one body, ordinarily moving as easily and acting as efficiently as if one literal heart beat every where, like the ocean's ebb and flow, as if one literal arm were stretched forth from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The nation one and indivisible, is but another term for the Union of the intelligence, the wealth, the patriotism, the power, of the millions that compose it. What arrests the midnight burglar when about to steal into our then unguarded dwellings, what palsies the assassin's arm, half raised to plunge the dagger into another's heart, but the assurance that the whole power of Portland, and then of the State, and then of the Nation — if necessary, will be armed against him. What preserved the State of New York, when the Whiskey Insurrection agitated Western Pennsylvania, and what made the citizens of Connecticut and New Hampshire tremble when Shays and his insurgent bands traversed Western Massachusetts, but the conviction in the one case, that the power of the nation was pledged, and in the other that it was not pledged, to aid the State in putting these insurgents down? The Nation one and indivisible, whether it be the people of England or France, or the United States:—and then, wherever treason plots, or crime stalks forth in the city at midnight, or the peace of the lowliest hamlet is disturbed by violence, there also the nation

in its strength is present to protect the defenceless; or should protection be at times impracticable, to seize and punish the criminal.

As our Nationality alone preserves us from treason and anarchy at home, it forms our sole defence against invasion from abroad. Until the word, Secession, was adopted as a cover for the foulest treason, our whole people—whatever their party divisions—were ready to meet a foreign foe at any point along our sea and land borders. Had Great Britain or France sent the flower of their armies to our shores during any year since the battle of Waterloo, for the purpose of either our subjugation or intimidation, the strength of our country would as one man have met the invaders on their landing: the nation in its strength, and not a few scattered bands, would have driven back in utter rout to their ships all who had not been slain or captured on the land. It is this Nationality, this union of a people under its own government for self-defence against all enemies, which shields them from aggression and hostility universally.

But were Secession to be permitted to triumph, were our glorious Union to be thus broken and rent into half a dozen Confederacies, instead of our present contest, brief as we trust it is to prove, in defence of our Nationality, what would ensue but a long succession of ruinous wars—the weaker parties appealing at length for aid to France or England; and these nations becoming in concert

or in mutual jealousy, parties in the strife,—with but one sure issue, the final overthrow of freedom on this continent. New England might then have the wretched comfort which was promised to Ulysses, in the cave of Polyphemus:—that of being the last who should be devoured.

We affirm the same principle under a somewhat different aspect, when we say, that it is the Nationality of a people only which gives them Character throughout the world. Nations have intercourse with nations only, and not with the separate provinces or States which compose those nations. Our country knows nothing of the city of Paris, or of any department of France, in its treaties or its other public relations; and France knows nothing of Maine, or of Virginia. The United States and France are the two great parties and powers, and the only powers, that recognize each other; all inferior bodies are as unnoticed and unknown as if they had no existence. As a citizen of the United States, every civilized nation on earth acknowledges my claim to protection while I obey its laws: the naturalized Koszta even, may demand that protection against his own government, and he will receive it. My country in its Nationality, commands the respect of friends and foes alike. Her renown, the symbols of the patriotism and the union of her sons, and the knowledge of her strength, accompany her ambassadors, they precede her ships in every sea, they guard the traveller at the foot of the Pyr-

amids and on the summits of the Andes. The declaration, "I am an American," was fast becoming as sure a title to personal safety and consideration, as was in ancient times the plea,—“I am a Roman citizen.”

Character among other nations, and this is also essential to prosperity, belongs to a People only through its Nationality. Were a citizen of loyal Massachusetts or of revolted South Carolina to seek admission at any European court, or at any foreign port whatever, the one — as a native of the country of Massachusetts, or the other — as a member of the empire of South Carolina; a native of the Penobscot Indians would be recognized as soon as either. Let then such a country as our own lose through Secession or in any other manner, its Nationality, and its separate States would be despised even by an Algerine corsair; for that mighty four-fold chain of historical renown, of patriotism, of strength and power, and of character throughout the world, would be sundered forever.

The principle of Secession is this:—That any State may rightfully withdraw from our national Union, at any time, at its own pleasure. Let our country be at war with any European power, or let a heavy public debt have been incurred for the common welfare, let free trade at one time, or a tariff at another time prevail, or a favorite candidate for the presidency have been defeated,—in each of these cases, or in any other, a State may

vote itself out of the Nation and become at once an independent people. Need I say that, if this principle is admitted, the foundations of our Nationality are instantly destroyed? If one State may secede, so may another, and another, wherever interest or caprice dictates; till but one-half of our Union, or ten States, or even three States, only remain. The Union which our fathers cemented with the blood of the Revolution, and which has made our country the wonder of the world, is thus shrivelled down into a contemptible partnership, which may be dissolved, now or next year, by any one of the thirty-four States, or partners, withdrawing when it will. Eleven States, in the name of their Confederacy, have declared war against our Union, in maintaining the rightfulness of their own secession.

The answer which has been given to this demand that we admit the rightfulness of Secession, has been the rising up of twenty millions as one man, to put Secession down — forever down. The contest which we are waging, lamentable as it is, is the very noblest, the very holiest, in which a nation ever engaged. The war between the Parliament of England and Charles I., nay, our own War of the Revolution, was a common, and unimportant struggle in comparison. Could a grand indictment against the authors and the abettors of Secession in the eleven States, be presented before the One great Tribunal, they would be arraigned, for treason

against the United States; they would be arraigned, as the enemies of civil Liberty through the world; they would be arraigned, as rebels against the supremacy of God. We affirm them to be traitors against the United States. "I owe no allegiance to the United States," exclaimed a Senator of Virginia, who had himself previously taken an oath to support the National Constitution; and that Constitution by its very terms, is "the supreme law of the land," whatever any State may enact to the contrary. The Constitution itself thus solemnly and majestically opens: "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." It is the Constitution of our one and indivisible Nation, and not of the separate States, nor of the People in each State: "We, the People of the United States, ordain." They ordain it, "in order to form a more perfect Union;" instead of the inefficient provisions of the old Confederacy. They ordain it also, with the intent that it shall be perpetual: "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Let it be also understood, that the Constitution expressly forbids each State to exercise the rights of sovereignty: these are reserved to the Nation, acting by

Congress alone. Who, then, fellow citizens, are traitors, what is treason doubled dyed, if these seceders are not the one, if Secession is not the other? With deliberate and full purpose they have applied the torch to our vast National temple;—that our Government, our Union, our entire Nationality, should perish in the ruins.

We also affirm them to be the enemies of civil Liberty, through the world. A republic has been the ideal form of government for the patriots and statesmen of old Greece and Rome, of Holland, of Puritan England, of modern France and Italy. The divinely appointed government of ancient Israel was republican: their degeneracy alone made them in time resign it for a monarchy. In our national republic this ideal, toiled for, fought for, and died for, during long ages, has become actual. Hither have Garibaldi and Gavazzi, hither has Kosuth, hither have freedom's thousand exiles, fled from the continent of Europe, as their refuge and their home. "The Great Republic" beyond the Atlantic and the destined champion for universal liberty, has been the strengthening watchword, over that continent, while despots and their minions have looked askance and trembling at us, across the waters. An oligarchy of slaveholders, supported by the necks of never to be emancipated bondmen, (for this is the distinct avowal) is now attempting, not as a repentant Samson, but as a drunken giant, to tear down the pillars of our Union. Do not,

then, the parricides know what they are doing? Is it not their purpose, when striking at the Nation's heart, to destroy the last hope and refuge of the oppressed? For whither, alas! shall Freedom flee, if her temple and her altars here are to be thrown down? Beyond what unknown seas, on what new Ararat, can she find a shelter and erect a throne?

We affirm them to be rebels against the supremacy of God, as the founder of Civil Government. The great charter of Civil Government, in the New Testament, begins thus: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." The establishment of our national government in all its history is as distinctly marked by the Divine guidance, as was the Exodus of Israel from Egypt. Never in the annals of our race did a people more deliberately, more willingly, adopt their own form of government. Never has the Nationality of a people been more authoritatively sanctioned by Almighty God. And now after seventy years of wondrous prosperity, comes the demon, Secession, to subvert and destroy. When then, we ask, is God's ordinance resisted, when is God Himself—as the source of all civil authority opposed, if not by these authors and their abettors?

Such, fellow citizens, in our necessarily brief survey, is our American Nationality, in its founda-

tions and in the matchless prosperity which it has wrought; such is Secession, its deadly enemy. Two hundred thousand men, volunteering from every city and village, from every plain and hill-top and valley, where the flag of Freedom still waves, are now in arms to uphold the one and put down the other. They are not armed, and they have not been summoned by the President, for the subjugation of the Southern States: they have been summoned and they have been armed, only to put down Secession, now and finally. All honor, all sympathy, all aid, should be rendered to the loyal inhabitants of Virginia, of Tennessee, of Alabama and of every other seceded State! May they soon be enabled to rise in their might, and overthrow their oppressors! Neither is a stern retribution, but much forbearance, where practicable, to be dispensed toward the multitudes enrolled against us, whom the foulest fraud and falsehood systematically practised to deceive them, have made our enemies. But for Secession, no recognition; none forever! With its authors and their traitorous followers, no compromise — no sheathing of the sword, till they surrender at discretion, or are hewn down in battle, or flee into hopeless exile! In thus speaking, I but repeat the sentiments of the statesman of Chicago, who, in his last address there delivered, filled as it is with the noblest utterances of patriotism, thus warns us: “We cannot recognize secession. Recognize it once, and

you have not only dissolved government, but you have destroyed social order, upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French Revolution." And if there are — Let it not be so! but if there are any, in this our community of constitutional liberty and law, who are one in heart with Southern secessionists, or who look selfishly indifferent at the issues of this great strife, can we class them but as the same eminent man has done in that address, where he says: "There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States, or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war: *only patriots — or traitors.*"

Fellow citizens, as has been already said, this is a holy contest. It may yet demand far greater sacrifices, it may call for the life-blood of thousands of our patriot soldiers; but Freedom, Union, Nationality, now encircling the ashes of our fathers, and the altars of our God, are worth every sacrifice. Could the patriots of past ages be permitted to address us, they would unitedly exclaim — "Strike; Strike; and give not over, till your matchless institutions are made safe!" Could departed saints, who laid the foundations of these institutions in their toils and tears, their prayers and blood, be suffered audibly to supplicate in our behalf, a mighty voice of intercession would be heard each hour, — the assurance that He, from whom all help cometh, will give us the Victory!