

AN  
ADDRESS,  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY  
OF  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY,  
27 AUGUST, 1835.  
ON  
THE DUTIES OF EDUCATED MEN IN A REPUBLIC.

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BY THEOPHILUS PARSONS.

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BOSTON:  
RUSSELL, ODIORNE & CO.  
1835.

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## A D D R E S S .

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MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :

AMONG our educated men, there are those, who believe that in this country, there is no room for literature. Perhaps, a doctrine, which it would be treason to utter within the atmosphere of Harvard, may be new to some of my younger brethren. I am not, however, without the fear that there are few of them to whom I speak who have not heard some scholar, whose words were listened to and remembered, lament, that while our institutions foster and repay every mode of activity but his,—they leave that, without recompense and without value. Here, say these complainers, the “accursed thirst for gold” is all but slaked ; political ambition easily rewards her mercenaries ; for if only the foremost ranks can clutch the spoils which are their promised pay, the least and lowest of them may always hope that some new fermentation in the body politic will convert the dregs

into the scum, and so throw them to the surface. The various professions, if crowded, are so, because, in some way, all succeed ; the very laborer earns here comforts and luxuries which can be reached elsewhere, only by classes far above him ; and, in a word, no industry can go astray in this wide land, save the industry of the scholar ; that may hope for no reward but its own day and night of wasting toil,—no distinction, but the pale brow and the dimmed eye, which point too plainly to the only goal the scholar is sure to reach.

Believing, as I do, that this is all wrong ; that mental labor and culture are, here, without value or power only when they are directed by principles or aim at objects which belong to other ages and circumstances ; and that the social and political condition of this country offer to active talent the high reward of unbounded usefulness, if it be but guided by a just appreciation of the use it should perform,—I trust to be excused for having selected as the subject of this address, The duties, imposed upon our educated men, by the democracy of our institutions.

I know that I have uttered a word, which has been for many years, a war cry. But nothing can be farther from my wish or purpose, than to allude to, or remember, or awaken the remembrance of, the party distinctions of the present or of any former

age. Surely, there should be some cities of refuge into which the din of partisan warfare shall not penetrate ; hours, when the attention may be given to wider interests, than can be embraced within the limits of a sect. We may belong to a party, to different, to opposing parties ; but we all belong to our country ; and each in his place, owes to his country a debt of duty, and owes it to himself to learn, how best this duty may be done. We are here, as members of a literary society ; and I know no subject which ought to interest us more, than the measure and the kind of usefulness demanded from the Literature of this country, by the fact of its Democracy.

Nor is this fact one which it is easy to recognize in its full extent. There is nothing in the past which teaches us this lesson. Nothing in history tells us whither the democracy of the present day leads, or what it demands. The republics of Greece were small states, and could scarcely be called democratic whilst by far the larger portion of their inhabitants were wholly destitute of political power : and in republican Rome, the people had no power until they won it by sedition, which, when it was successful, became revolution ; and the idea that the old patrician families had, of right, a superiority over the mere people, was so rooted among them, that these families never lost their predominance ; and

even when the Julian emperors had succeeded in establishing their sovereignty, the general reverence for ancient institutions and the lingering power of the great families, compelled the masters of the world to surround themselves with a Senate, to whom much of the administration of the government was always entrusted. As Rome fell, the feudal system arose ; equally unknown in the forests of northern Germany and the milder climates which the inhabitants of these forests subdued, it was created by the peculiar circumstances which attended the establishment of the barbarians in the provinces of Rome. And in this feudal system there was assuredly nothing republican. Rank was most accurately defined, most carefully defended ; and the idea of political equality scarcely existed in Europe.

Yet, though we see, hitherto, nothing of democracy, we may see in all this, a tendency towards it ; and may we not give to history something of unity, of wholeness,—may we not connect its periods by a chain of unbroken continuity, by carrying with us the idea, that, in the existing democracy of this country, and in the impending democracy of Europe, we have but the consummation of tendencies that have been always active. In the East, where history begins, government was despotism ; the sovereign had all power, and the people none ; and then



was power in the hands of *one*. With the conquests of Alexander, the supremacy of the world passed from the East to the West; and Power began to pass from the *one* to the *few*, on its way to the *many*. Courts which shared their monarch's power, senates and aristocracies mark this period; and, towards its close, the feudal sovereigns found a long array of barons standing between them and the people. At length this new world was revealed; and to these shores came men who were willing to make their homes in the wilderness, only because they could not endure the oppressive weight of European institutions. Thus this nation began. The war of the revolution only confirmed and established principles of civil government which had always existed here; and had always been preparing us to demand and to frame a constitution which places political power in the hands of all.

It is often said, in reference to this fact, new as it is on earth, that the experiment is here being tried, how far sovereignty may, with good results, be entrusted to the people. I can use no such language. These changes, and all changes, are, in my view, governed by Providence; and I do not hold that God makes himself wiser by trying experiments. There is, whether we are able to discern it or not; there is, as certainly as that His infinite love is directed by His infinite wisdom:

there is an end, towards which these changes lead, and for which they are, and to which they will go. And may we not, by a calm consideration of man's nature, and of the wants and the capacities of that nature, and by the help of that faith in the divine mercy which assures us that the highest good which He can give to man must ever be before Him in His government of the world,—may we not, without the presumptuous hope of comprehending the designs of infinity,—see, that, by the changes which have thus led the world along a pathway that may yet be traced, from the absolute dominion of one to the equality of all,—God would establish among men, as His best gift, their voluntary submission to the sovereignty of Truth. Had I said the sovereignty of Law, I should but have expressed the same idea in other language; for Law is, or should be, only Truth applied to Life.

In the infancy of society, simple obedience to ruling individuals, was the only form in which law could be administered; the world was old enough to obey, but not to know the reason and the good of obedience. A form of government, nearer to what should be, existed, when, with the flow of ages, the maturity of the human character advanced, and nations began to take some share in their own government; and then the division was no longer



into the one master and the many slaves, but into classes who ruled and classes who obeyed. In the governments which are to be established upon principles that are now beginning to manifest their character, and exert their powers, the people will go to the law only, as to their master; and the law will be the expression of public opinion, of public sentiment, of the general will. And the peace, order and prosperity of nations, will conform precisely to the degree in which their law and the public opinion that sustains it, conform to justice and to right.

'The education of the human race, for so may it be called, will receive some illustration, from the changes which occur in the life of the individual. The child obeys, because superior power controls him; as he advances in life, he begins to enquire, to reason, to exercise somewhat of self-government; but, whatever be his age, the man, the moral and intellectual man, has not grown into his full stature, until he yields a willing obedience to the commands of reason and of conscience. Such too are the epochs in the life of the world; and if I dare to hope that the opening dawn of the manhood of mankind is breaking upon us, I know that we can yet see but the first faint streaks of the morning; I know too, that the whole heaven above us is black with clouds, and that from them

storm may descend and strow the earth with ruin, before the coming day is established.

Am I asked why I utter reflections like these to a literary society? May I not answer,—in the spirit of that question lies the mischief. We have here no power but the law, and the law has here no power but that of public opinion. Shall this opinion be left to corrupt beneath the poisonous influences of passion and vice, and of a craving for unhallowed power? The demon brood of sin and selfishness are awake and at work; shall there be none who will labor against them? Shall the whole direction of public opinion, be left to the demagogue who pays for the votes which give him place and pelf, the expected price of flattering falsehood; to the raving infidel, who would gladly crush down to the level of his own reptile life, every thing which lifts itself towards Heaven; to the wild and dangerous fanatic, who pursues perhaps some object which the good are willing to call good, but who, in his pursuit of it, renounces the guidance of reason and of justice? Will you indeed entrust this work to these hands? If you launched upon the deep, and gave up your helm and the whole government of your ship to maniacs from a madhouse, you were more wise, more prudent. Who will undertake to measure the danger that awaits us, if the intellectual

strength of this country, all of it that is yet unpervverted and unpolluted, be not roused to its duty, and go not in earnest to the work of purifying our moral atmosphere, before it be too late. What will help us even to imagine the whole of the good, or of the evil, which must grow out of unchecked freedom. Of the good, the marvellous growth of this country, from a colony into an empire within the span of man's life, is but a feeble type; and on the other hand, the ruins, the many ruins which now deform our land, the riots and the crimes, the violence, the murders, which we read of in every newspaper, until we turn from them as from a thrice told tale, they tell us of the possible evil that awaits us, only as the spray that wets the seaman's cheek tells him of the wave which is even now gathering its might to overwhelm him. In speaking of this matter, I have no fear of exaggerating; words cannot do it; for if men used their freedom only for each other's good, and loved the kind restraints of conscience and of truth, earth would indeed be heaven. But is there not too much cause for the fear, that the existing tendencies of our national character are in an opposite direction; and if they be not arrested, if a new direction be not given to our progress, is it too much to say, that we, or our children, may see this earth become,—the antipodes of Heaven.

It may be said, where is there any indication of a general want of just views and principles in this country. Are we so much worse, are we more mistaken than our fathers, or our neighbors? Not so, but we know, or should know, that what the unrestrained power of the people seeks, that it will accomplish. And what it shall seek, must depend upon the bent which is given to public sentiment; and this again depends upon the truths and principles which are operative within and upon the mass of the people.

And who are they, who may hope to influence, if not to determine, the character of these principles? If I answer, the educated men of this country, I must be understood to use the word in its widest, in its truest sense; to speak not only of them whom colleges and academies have assisted in this work; nor of them at all to whom these facilities have been tendered in vain; but of all, whom a thirst for knowledge, or a consciousness of talent, or taste, or habit, or circumstances, have led, either in the proper use of facilities, or in defiance of difficulties, to cultivate the power of thinking, and of stating the results of thought, in conversation, through the press, or in any other way. And I might easily illustrate my views of the duties which now lie upon all of these, wheresoever they may be, by instances of good which may be done, of evil which may be checked, of danger which may be



averted, by means of the truth, and by no other means.

Nor could I perhaps find an instance apter for my purpose, than by alluding to a law of political change, than which the experience of the world suggests none more universal, none more absolute ; I mean the law that power and property cannot long be separated. The necessary limits of an occasional address must prevent my attempting to give the illustration of this law, which history affords ; but I see those among my hearers who cannot have forgotten the frequent reference made to it by our wisest men, when our constitutions were being formed. And one of the ablest works, which the discussions and enquiries of those days gave rise to, is nothing more than a demonstration of the law itself, and an exhibition of its operation throughout the past. Whenever in any nation, any class were in possession of the advantages of wealth and not of political power, there has always been conflict and confusion until these two were brought together ; if they who had the wealth were able to preserve it, they gained with it the power ; and if they could not succeed in acquiring or retaining political power, their wealth departed from them. Does this law of political change throw any light upon the character of the existing commotions of this country, or upon the



results towards which they are tending? How stand the facts. Political power is here in the hands of the whole; indefeasibly, irrecoverably in their hands;—and wo be to him who would wrest or steal it from them. Is it so with the property of the country? It may be said that property is here more equally divided than ever elsewhere. It is so; but is it possessed by all and shared equally by all? For that is the condition of the power of this country. And are there no signs of an effort already begun to bring these two together? An effort, not on the part of the rich, to add to their wealth, political power; for such an effort, if made, could not struggle against all that would resist it, into visible existence. Nor could it be made; for who would be bold enough to hope, even if he were base enough to wish, that the Mammon whom he worshipped, might become our king. But the effort to unite the power and property of this country comes in an opposite direction; in the only direction in which it could possibly go forward to success. In a word, is not the power of this country now attacking the property of the country? If this be not the case, what means the fearful cry which already resounds throughout the land, of the “poor against the rich?” What means the fact, the pregnant fact, that the political aspirant, who happens to be free from the impediment of conscience or of principle, finds no surer

way to rise than to join in the hue and cry against the aristocracy of wealth. If you have so far observed the signs of the times as to note the watch-words of our various parties, have you forgotten that the most active among them now declares, that the despot against whom the liberty of America is called to contend, is aggregated property? Hope not for safety from the fact that most of our rich men have come out of the ranks of poverty, and that those of the poor they have left behind them, who might otherwise be ill disposed, will keep open the pathways which may lead them also, to riches. When, when were covetousness, and envy, and rapacity, so reasonable, so patient. Hope not that you see but the signs of a momentary effervescence, soon, to subside of itself. Regard it rather as the first deep murmuring, the warning voice, that the yet distant tempest sends before it. It is not civil war that is coming upon us; for there cannot be resistance enough to make a war. Neither the bullet, nor the bayonet—no, nor the guillotine, will be the instruments by which the mischief is to be wrought. The laws and the institutions of the country will be the subjects of attack, and the subjects of change; your halls of legislation will be the battle fields in this combat; and *there* the war has already begun. The course which such things take can never be predicted;

but there is danger that in some way or other, the power of this country will attack the laws which favor the acquisition and protect the rights of property, and cease not from the attack, until an amount of confusion and distress are spread over us which it would be too painful to anticipate.

How is this danger to be averted ; how is this attack to be resisted ? I answer, not by trusting to the strength of your police, nor to the organization of your party, nor to your struggles at the ballot-box ; but by bringing home to the minds and hearts of the people, the indisputable principles, the clear and simple truths, on which the rights of property rest. Infuse these truths throughout the whole of Society, you, who may do it. Teach to the two contending classes, to them who have the wealth and them who covet it, the same truth ; teach them that favor and security to the rights of property on the one hand, and to the rights of industry on the other hand, are one and the same thing, and an universal good. It would be a work worthy the best efforts of the whole talent of any age, to make all the members of the body politic know and feel this truth ; and the many kindred truths which cluster around it. Then would wealth know, and knowing perform, for its own sake, if from no higher motives, its proper uses ; and then would poverty derive its

just advantage, from its neighbor, wealth. Then would property be safe, for who would dare assail it, when the whole would rise up to defend it, for the reason that it lay in the hands of its possessor, and was known to be there, for the benefit of the whole.

Then will the problem be solved, the law be fulfilled ; for then will the power and the property of the country come together. Not that they will meet in the same hands ; not that he who has his share of political power may claim an equal portion of the whole wealth of the community ; not that he who, by industry or inheritance, has property, may insist that his political power shall be in just proportion ; but the power and the property of the country will meet in the same common object ; they will come together in their unity of purpose, of action, of influence ; for both will be so held and so used, as may best subserve the general good. I am not dreamer enough to suppose that this consummation is at hand, or that any possible efforts can bring it very near to us. I ask only that the progress of our country may be in this direction, rather than in its opposite. If we would be wise, let us see distinctly the end towards which we would go, and thither let us turn our faces, even if our distance from it be immeasurable, and our progress towards it, very slow. In these days of universal unrest and fluctuation, let us, if we can, find some prin-



ciples, which, like guiding stars, may look forth from their far heaven of peace, with a calm, unchanging radiance.

The character of our institutions imposes upon all who are capable of diffusing truth, a peculiar duty, from the fact that the actual working of these institutions gives rise and force to peculiar errors and falsities, which could scarcely exist elsewhere. For two generations, too many of our aspirants to office and lovers of popularity, have been addressing to the people—in whose hands lies, under Providence, not the power only, but the destiny of this country—most sweet, most soothing flatteries. The people, in the aggregate, are now told, constantly and habitually, by almost all who speak to them, not of their sovereignty only, but of their intelligence, and purity, and worth. The common mode of addressing them is, to suppose that they, the people, cannot err; and every party tells them that whatever there be of wrong in the land, comes from the mischievous influence of the opposite party, and that to correct the wrong, nothing more is needed than that the people should cast this influence aside,—and be themselves. And as the dulled palate gets cloyed with sweets, the adulation must be grosser, and yet always grosser, or it fails of its reward. It would seem as if the dangers and delusions which in all ages have beset sovereignty, cling to it even here. We have here no



monarch save the sovereign people. But is it more a maxim of the country which our fathers left than of that which they founded, that the King can do no wrong? We have here no monarch but the sovereign people; nor can they be told of this too often, if they are so told of it, as to awaken not a consciousness of power only, but a sense of duty, of fearful responsibility. But are they *so* told of it? In the melancholy histories of the decline of the kingdoms and empires of old, no pages bear a more saddening record than those which describe the language with which their sovereigns were approached, and the falsehoods which surrounded them. We pity the unfortunates exposed to these delusions. We feel instinctively that human nature could not withstand them. Are not the same things now addressed to the sovereigns of this country? What difference is there, excepting that then, they were addressed to individuals or to families, and now, to masses? Is there in this difference enough to justify the practice; enough to allay our fears of its effect? Do reason, do experience permit us to believe, that individuals, by the mere fact of association, are at once ripened unto perfection, and so exempted from that need of restraining and correcting influences, which belongs to humanity? Not so, not so. And the constant, emphatic assertion of this infallibility of the people, as it has no foundation in fact or in reason, so it cannot be without actual and

most injurious consequences; and these, as I believe, are already beginning to develope themselves. Already the most fatal error which can exist in a republic, prevails throughout this land. Already it has become the common feeling—not the declared, asserted, defended doctrine, but the common, the prevailing, the practical feeling,—that, in a republic, the will of the people *makes* the right.

This is not merely an error; it is the very opposite of the truth. The true idea of a republic is, not that the will of the people makes the right, not that might is right, but that no earthly power can or should control the people, in their inquiry as to what is right. Do I seem to make a distinction without a difference? How would it be, in the case of an individual, who found himself liberated by any favorable circumstances of position or of fortune, from the restraints and necessities to which most of us submit? Would it be the same thing to his neighbors, to the community, to himself, whether, on the one hand, he regarded whatsoever gratified his own will, as, for that reason, right and fitting for him to do; or, on the other, looked higher than his wishes, and far above his passions, for a guide, and gladly heard and obeyed the commands of justice and of truth? Is there not between these two principles, these two modes of conduct, a difference as wide as that which separates all that is good from all that is evil? But what have I said of the indi-

vidual, which is not true, and true for the same reason, of every individual, of the whole, of the people? May I not carry this analogy yet farther? He who learns what is right only from his own will, and makes his conscience bow down before his passions, must soon find that the law is at hand, to restrain, perhaps to punish; and that his abused liberty has gone from him, because his abuse of it made it incompatible with the common good, and with his own. So must it be with a people. There should be no earthly master, there need be none, there will be none, so long as the people consent that the truth may determine for them what is right; so long as they acknowledge the Truth for their sovereign. But we must hold that right is separated from wrong only by an arbitrary and fluctuating distinction; we must believe in the permanence and absolute power of evil, before we can hope that a republic can flourish and endure, which is built upon the principle, that the will of the people makes the right. The influence of that principle would, of itself, create an absolute necessity, for the world's sake, for that people's own sake, that it should have,—and it would have—a master.

Let there be established within a republic, the doctrine, that whatever a majority may be led to agree upon, that majority, on no other evidence, and for no other reason, may regard, and assert, and enforce, as *right*; that they need not go

beyond the fact of their own declaration for the proof, nor beyond their own will for the source, of right ; establish this doctrine in the lives, in the practices, in the hearts of the people, and the foundations of the moral and the social, no less than of the political world, are broken up. The progress of the country cannot but be downward. If the majority of the nation can make the right, why may not the majority of a party ? why may not the veriest slave of a party, make it for himself ? All passions, all propensities, all tendencies which need restraint, will learn that there is none ; and with every new indulgence will get new vigor, and new boldness, until the law itself becomes their instrument. Every new appeal to the people, will call upon lower motives, and baser feelings, than were aroused before, and at length the cup of degradation will be full, and the people will declare, by every act, that they have lost all relish for Liberty, unless it be corrupted into License. Then their hour has come, and their chains are ready.

But let the opposite sentiment, of the sovereignty of truth, prevail ; invigorate the body politic with the principle that right is not their creation, and depends not on their will, but on His will who made them free, only that they might the more freely seek and find it in His will,—and you send your country forward upon a career which cannot but be forever onward and upward. Then, every



change in our political condition, will compel all who would ask the support or confidence of the people, to take higher ground than sufficed before ; for every change will enlarge the sphere and confirm the authority of that truth, under whose banners the battle was fought and the victory won.

It may be said, that it is idle to hope that the mass of our thinking men will ever be roused to this effort. A duty which lies upon so many, none will discharge. A homely proverb teaches, that what is every one's business is no one's. But, in the first place, what other hope do our institutions and the character of our people permit us to indulge ? And, in the next place, the proverb is no longer true, when the universal danger is seen to be coming near to every individual, and is threatening to enter every door, and disturb the peace and destroy the security of every home. Then each man's share of the general peril calls upon him to resist, with a voice which even selfishness must hear. If the thinking men of this country have not come to this point, we have only to hope that they may reach it soon ; and that the outbreak of violence, the shock to our institutions, the expenditure of human life, may be enough to teach them their danger and their duty, before they are enough to subvert the foundations of our whole prosperity.

Nor will an honest and heartfelt respect for truth and right, permit any to place their own wills and



individual judgments in opposition to the Law, which is the only authorized exponent of the will and the judgment of the whole. Nor will this reverence for law, be blind and foolish. It will insist that the law become worthy of respect. Every thing that is wrought through the agency of man, must partake of human infirmity, and can advance only by gradual improvement ; but, while it is practically adopted as one of our political maxims, that unequal or insufficient laws may be put aside or helped out by violence, whenever a mob thinks violence desirable,—it becomes certain, that the law will remain in its general operation, unreasonable and unrighteous. Nor can you effectually engage the whole wisdom and the whole justice of a people in the unceasing endeavor, to take from its law all defect or inequality, until you can make that people acknowledge the Truth as their sovereign, and the Law as her voice.

Let me then appeal to the loyalty of the scholars of my country. You, you at least, will acknowledge the truth as your sovereign. The walls of Harvard were not built up, her rich endowments given, and kindred institutions every where established, merely to provide you with the means of earning your bread by the labor of the mind, rather than of the hand. Far higher, far nobler, and more widely-reaching, were the purposes and hopes of the wise and good men, to whom we owe these

foundations. They believed that the colleges, and academies, and schools, which were the objects of their parental care, would be as so many fixed points whence education might radiate truth throughout the land. They founded those institutions, in the same spirit, which has elsewhere studied the confines of nations with fortresses, and expended the strength of nations in preparations for resistance. They knew that the main defences of our land should not be such as these. And if they placed not around the liberty and happiness of their country, ramparts built of the enduring granite of our hills,—have they therefore left them defenceless? Do I not see around me, a host, whom our fathers, by the institutions which they founded with wise forecast, have armed for this warfare? Have they not bound you to this service, by an obligation co-extensive with the good that education has wrought for you, and with the blessings that the truth would preserve for the remotest future? Have we not the right to call on you to come to the labor and to the conflict;—to come, on your allegiance.

Among the fancies of certain of the philosophizing historians of the present day, is that which discovers in the series of human vicissitudes, a cyclical arrangement. It tells us, that, whatever we observe to-day, is only that which the observers of some earlier age

may have looked upon, though it come up now in a new form, and under a manifestation varied and modified by the circumstances of the age. Without exactly professing to adopt this theory, or to find in history sufficient evidence, that men, in their progress through time, follow laws analogous to those which govern the great masses of the universe in their motion through space, I would say that the hypothesis may find some illustration in the relations of resemblance and analogy, which may be discovered, or imagined, between the existing or approaching conflicts of the present age, and the universal disturbance of Europe, during the centuries when her nations were assuming the forms which, in the main, they have since retained. I allude to the long period, when from the peasants' war in France, and the struggles of the Artaveldes, father and son, in the Netherlands, and of Rienzi in Rome, and of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade in England, and of similar commotions almost every where, all Europe was in constant agitation.

At the time, the whole fabric of society appeared to be falling into fragments. The population rose in some places, almost in a mass ; and they marched forward with a fury and a frenzy which knew no purpose but that of destruction. Yet these great disturbances were quelled, and peace resumed its sway. How was this accomplished ? By the union and resolute resistance of them who were made,

by the circumstances of those times, the defenders of law and of order. They were few; in proportion to their numerous assailants, very few; but they were the strongest; for the strength of that day, lay in the sword and the lance, the horse and the impenetrable mail. The chivalry of the nations awoke; it was roused and arrayed by the instinct of self-preservation; and when the hour of battle came, a single steel-clad battalion, rode down thousands of their unarmed enemies; and so, peace was established. Have we again, in the revolution of human events, reached a similar crisis? Is the epoch which is to be characterized by the establishment of governments founded on these new principles, to be preceded again by convulsions? It may be so; but if the influences at work within, are the same, their outward manifestation is widely different. The true assailants of the law and of the peace of society are not now the indigent; for, to few, in this prosperous land, can that name be given; and there is no reason for attributing to any one class, more of hostility or of indifference to the best interests of our country, than to any other. But they whom we have now to resist, are the poor in all that constitutes wealth of character; or rather, they are the false principles, the prejudices, the passions, and the vices, which war against the best prosperity of the man, and make him who yields to them, poor indeed. Are not these our enemies, our fierce, unsparing enemies; are



they not near ; do we not hear the sound of their trumpets ? And are there any who may come to our rescue in this new danger ; is there now, a chivalry ready to put on their armor, and encounter this new foe, with the same earnest and resolute spirit, the same conviction that they must defeat or perish before their enemy, which gave victory to the defenders of order and of law, in those earlier times. Who will help us in this extremity ? The sword has lost its power, and the lance is a feebler weapon than the pen. Who can help us, if they will not, for whom education has opened the whole armory of truth ? On you then, on you must lie the burthen and the heat of this day of toil and of conflict ; your place is in the forefront of the battle ; shrink not from it ; a more glorious reward is within your reach, than ever warrior won ; conquer, and you will not merely secure for your native land that order, peace and independence, for which good men in all ages have willingly poured out their blood like water,—but you will break into fragments that can never again be riveted together, the fetters that have bound the heart and the mind of man in their long vassalage to crime and error ;—you will make the whole Future free. Aye, conquer in this warfare, and you will give to your country a higher prosperity than the most hopeful have dared to dream of,—and you will give to that prosperity the Immortality of Truth itself.