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"THE UNION, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS."

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ADDRESS OF REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER, AT THE MARYLAND INSTITUTE,

On Tuesday Evening, Jan. 31, 1865.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I count myself most happy to be present with you to-night. It is the first time, [applause] it is the first time that I have ever spoken in the State of Maryland, and it is a matter of peculiar gratification to me that I am permitted, in speaking in Maryland, to stand upon free soil.—[Applause.] And to speak to a free people. For, as justice is both just and merciful, so God inspired you to do as act of justice which carries with it also remuneration; and in setting free the black man, God has made you free, for while men have slavery, there never is one slave without there being two.

He that holds is bound as much as he that is held: one cord of slavery binding the master at one end and the slave at the other, and as men are susceptible of injury in proportion as they rise in the scale of civilization, and as wrong doing is mischievous in the proportion in which a man is developed, so, I have always held that the master was more mischief wrought and damaged by slavery than the slave himself. And I congratulate the white people of Maryland that at last they are free. (Applause.) Neither do I deem it a matter of light moment that the day upon which I am permitted to appear before you to speak some words for my fellow-men is a day signalized,—illustrious—by the passage in Congress of the bill amending the Constitution of the United States. [Great Applause.]

Many tidings have been borne over the laboring wires, but never has the ever-flashing lightning ever written any message that methinks was so joyous to the world as this second Advent message, and angels may well rejoice in Heaven, while men rejoice on earth; for we see the dawn of that day in which there shall not be a slave upon the Continent. (Applause.) And this is the first legislative step looking towards it; and before either you or I are much older this will be a land as free in fact, as it has been in theory and in pretence.

All my life long I have had a wish to speak to my fellow citizens in the Southern States. I will not say that I have been a sufferer, because I could not, for I will not disguise it from you that I have never ceased to feel ashamed for my country that such an one as I and those associated with me in the work of liberty, had never in our whole life before been permitted to speak in the slaveholding States. This is my first essay, for until within a year or two,—not since I have drawn the breath of life—have I been able to go into more than one-half of the territory of the United States without being subject—I will not say to misuse—but promptly I should be rendered up as a misdemeanor to destroy another of the witnesses of liberty. The time is coming when it is not treason for men to believe in the Declaration of Independence. [Long continued applause.]

The time is coming when man—true manhood, under all aspects—white or black, foreign or home bred, is to be esteemed worthy of living. We are ourselves dwelling in times out of which history is going to be made—a thick, strong, wonderful fabric of history, is being woven, even out of materials which are growing before your eyes and before mine. It is coming to live in such a day—and since, for more than thirty years I have longed for it, labored for it, preached for it, and had the faith that my children or their children would see it—since it has come into my day, and these eyes behold it—I feel as though I could die cheerfully, and say my life though I could die cheerfully, and say my life has completed more events and experiences than it is given to generations to see, not to speak of the life of a single man. Our times are marvellous—exceedingly less than miraculous.

I come to night to speak to you, fellow-citizens, for now I am not ashamed to claim you as my fellow-citizens. [Applause.] I come to speak to you, to-night, upon the great question of our age, at home and abroad—I mean the question of labor. Regard the phenomena of our times—the events which are taking place—but the leaves and the twigs which run back to the root—labor.

History may divide itself into two great periods—ancient and modern. I could divide these parties by the questions which have been discussed in the world—the questions of Governments and States belong to ancient history.

When the great questions of the world cease to be exclusively of Governments and States, and begin to be questions of the governed, not of the State, out of the citizen—then modern history begins. In ancient times the question was "How shall Government be established and maintained?" It was thought that was divine, and divine in a sense that transcending the divinity of the men governed. It was thought that Government and that monarchy were of one, something more and better than manhood in its essence and in itself alone. The governed were incidental to the Government, and therefore of some importance; but it was the throne which represented to the old imagination the majesty of God. How Government was to be maintained was almost the exclusive, first question of the world.

Then, next came the question of States—one step in advance, when it was felt that the community must be looked after—that it was the State that must be looked after. Men were of but very little account, except as constituent elements, necessary to the construction of a State. This was the theory and these were the questions of the Grecian Commonwealths. Liberty in ancient history had no feet to stand on, for it had not yet learned what was the true foundation, and what was the true substructure of liberty.

Individual liberty was unknown in the Roman times—in the Grecian times—and in the earlier medieval times. Man as an individual was what a brick is worth—and what is one brick worth?—ten thousand of them loding their individuality by being laid in lines in cement, will become a structure that is beautiful and grand; and that was the old conception of a State. Men were so many bricks, good for nothing else; and when packed together, enough to shape a State—then the State, as the result, was glorious; but men were valuable only in the proportion in which they contributed to this result. It was reserved for modern times to teach the doctrine beginning in the immortal truths of Christianity, that the individual man is himself definitely, that the individual has a right to rise—coming from God, bringing with him some of the moral qualities and attributes of the Father—going back again to God—going through the gate of tears and signs here—going through the gate of immortality thither, and destined to live forever and forever; and by virtue of this origin, by virtue of the dignity of nature, received from God, and the divine capacity of endless growth, by virtue of immortality, man became honorable—not because he or its father were crown—not because his hand had a sceptre—not because even he was cultivated and fruitful of ideas—not because he was refined—not because he was worthy in any other respect, but simply and only because he was a man born of God, and destined again to immortality.—So great was the value wrapped up in a single individual man, that it were better for him that he had never been born than to do touch with harm the least and lowest of these creatures of God the Christ was the teaching of Christianity. Better that a millstone were hanged to his neck and he drowned in the depths of the sea, than he should lay hands of mischief upon the lowest and meanest creature that ever crawled upon the face of the earth, even though he be the dusky laborer of the tiny swamp.

The creature who has such attributes and surroundings is too sacred for any man to harm or any man to neglect. (Long continued Applause.)

And so it has come to pass, little by little, that the germinating influences of christianity, which began by teaching us, not that man is good—not that all men are equal—not that all men are strong—not that men are worth alike to the State, or community or family, but teaching us that all—even the lowest man—has elements of value transcending all human measurement. Christianity beginning with that radical doctrine of manhood, has introduced new discussions and new debates. The questions of modern society are questions not of the State, but of the citizen.

They are questions not of the Throne, but of the people; that is the throne controls, and even monarchy is obliged to change its theory according to circumstances. Monarchy no longer disdains public sentiment and popular will, but is constrained to exercise arbitrary and absolute power in a certain degree, according to the indications and purposes of the masses of the people. For as the change goes on, step by step, it is characterized in this—that questions of the citizen are no longer questions of politics—they are not any longer rights of conscience, merely—they are no longer civil rights—that was an early period of development—no longer are they questions of pecuniary rights—of broker, merchant, banker, or farmers' rights—those were early questions, and had to be adjusted; but as the mass of men, thank God! are born poor, and have to labor for a living, there is not one thing connected with the mass of mankind so much as the question of labor.

That comes home to everybody and is every time. It is the most universal question; it overlies all others. This is the question which is agitated always. Sometimes it takes one form, and is called the question of political economy. It is called sometimes a question of politics. It is with some a moral question. The question of work and workers is the question of our age—is the question of France and of England; it is the question of Germany; it is, of all other questions, the question of America.

The question of work and workmen is the one I wish to speak about to night; not so much about the work as about the worker; not so much about labor itself, except as the word "labor" includes "laborer."

The great civil war which we now wage, like our former great Revolutionary war, began in the cause of work. We have been told in our histories that our fathers broke off their allegiance to Great Britain on grounds of political difficulty. That was inferior—that was the shape it took; but I say that the preceding and preparing causes of the American Revolution were causes that had their origin in labor. In the Colonial days labor was repressed. English legislation absolutely restricted it. There are to be found, in reference to New England, more than forty statutes previous to the Revolution, restricting or forbidding labor, and there was scarcely one single channel of labor remaining free and unobstructed, in domestic or any other large manufacture. There was hardly one upon which the royal finger had not been put, and it was the irritation—the sense of wrong in regard to the free rights of labor in the Colonies that led to the condition of dissatisfaction and distrust which, in the first wind of the Revolution, began to shake down our fathers as apples already ripened and loosened.

It was then that the question took a political turn. The English policy had at first dissatisfied and alienated the active minded colonists on the subject of labor, and the Revolutionary war was really the child of the labor question. Now, as it was in that so is it in this. Although it is supposed by some minds we have such profound men—we have so many philosophers—there is a school of philosophy so deep that I think no lines ever fathomed it—I do not know whether it has had its existence among you or not—that if a few pestilent agitators had never been born, or being born, had quickly been sent to the gallows, this country would never have had these difficulties. [Applause and laughter.] And it is among their popular receipts for peace that if you hang a few men at the South and a few men at the North, you will have peace.

I remember, when I was a boy about five years of age, entertaining an opinion, which I would have been ashamed of when older, for as I was going to school on a bitter March morning, passing through some bottom-ball trees, and observing under the influence of the cold the wind which came through them, I told my sister that if I had my way, I would have them all cut down, because I thought it was the trees which made the wind, and not the wind which moved the trees. [Laughter and applause.] Now, Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips, the whole Anti-slavery gentleman did not make the slaves in the country—the trees in the country made them. They are themselves the creatures of those great causes. As the operation of the silent laws of nature brings growth out of the earth, so again, on the one side and the other, have these causes been their moulders and fashioners, and they been the children of the times in which they live—not the times, their children. [Applause.]

I propose, if you will allow me, to go a little more into this labor question as being the cause of this war. Allow me to enlarge on the two aspects of the Northern idea of labor and the way it worked itself out, and the Southern idea of labor, and the way it worked itself out. [Laughter and applause.]

When our fathers settled these colonies, they had no plans or designs upon the subject of labor. That was a question, which, as a philosophy, was not contemplated by them. It was merely a fact, and not a philosophy.—Alike in North and South, servile labor was introduced but not in equal measure, and circumstances which I need not detail, not long after the Revolution, had drawn a dividing line, which was also a thermal line. There were climatic influences which affected the question of labor, and the South embraced enforced labor—black labor—not that they selected the blacks on purpose—but they were there, and they were obliged to make their theories conform to the fact. The North, from various considerations,—some of them moral, and some of them commercial—adopted white and free labor.

Now, it is not worth our while to go back and sit in judgment between them and their principles, and blame, one way or other. It is sufficient that that is the fact—that the system of labor adopted in the North was free labor, and the system in the South was slave labor. Let us look to the way in which Northern ideas of labor conformed themselves to the out-work of those ideas on society, and the result of that society acting over against Southern ideas of society. First take into account the doctrine of man. No liberty of reasoning respecting the Northern States will prove *facie* the fact that the man was ignorant—prima and I hold that to educate, not simply on the sanctity of the individual man but on the ground of safety to the State, it is the best political life insurance. (Applause.)

Now, as to this doctrine of educating a man for social reasons, see how it worked out.—Our fathers began to educate,—and education is not merely changing the contents of the brain. Physiologists now know very well that the artificial quality of brain becomes transmissible, and lines by continuance of transmission, it becomes fixed and hereditary. That is to say, suppose the law of transmission, which we recognize in the herd and in the stable, by which we maintain any strain of blood, with all the qualities of it,—by which we maintain an imported strain of sheep and cattle—do you suppose that law is a fact that is ruling in the animal kingdom, and is no law in the human family? The law of blood and stock and breeding is truer in the human than anywhere below it; and if you begin to educate a man you begin to lay the foundation for a transmissible quality, which becomes hereditary, and the brains of Northern men are bigger and the quality of the brain is finer. It is going over and going over, until it is thoroughbred. Fathers have children in their own likeness. And that is the law now. While our forefathers educated the common people, because they had moral grounds and reasons for it, see what they did. The whole mass of the community began to grow more and more intelligent, from the top of society clear down to the bottom; men began to be more watchful, more comprehensive, more sagacious; their thought and industry to seek channels by which they might express themselves.

The man who worked with his hands began to think, and his hands became the highway of his thought; and the consequence was that the Northern man had more brains in his hand than the Southern man had in his whole head. [Applause and laughter.] Every nerve and every fibre of the Northern man were educated, and they constantly sought while they worked to devise new methods for accomplishing their useful purposes; and as they worked, they kept on thinking and thinking.

The farmer, if it were too cold or too extensive could be a carpenter, and thus support himself and his family. He may have been a farmer or a carpenter, and now he must be a minister, for through his education he can be a minister or anything else that requires brains. [Applause.]

And the universal fertility of the Yankee nation has sprung from nothing else than that result of education, which has given the country brains,—brains. I think the best thing about man is brains. Perhaps you have never been in New England—perhaps you never have spent years, as I have done, with its people, and in New England, where the natural products are granite and ice. [Laughter and applause.] There are one or two things of indigenous growth—huckleberries and grass, I believe. [Laughter and applause.] But there were pretty nearly all the stock in trade that nature gave to us. All the rest is artificial—all the rest has been invented, or forced out of reluctant nature by the indefatigable, prying screw and forcible processes of educated brains, until now, every hill is as fruitful as Lebanon was of cedars—every valley is crowned with rich and wonderful agriculture—every stream, as soon as it knows how to work, hurries to work from the spring all the way to mill upon mill, singing, as it goes, and every single farm has its little workshop where of winter nights the farmer who works all day works also, closing boots or making all manner of vessels that men or women ever thought of. (Applause.) The whole population have been educated to work, and they have got rich doing it. They have got rich, on the average, than any other people on the face of the globe. This is an augmenting ratio, as you go from New York—as you go into Ohio—as you go into Indiana, (my own loved and still loved State)—and as you go through the Northern and Northwestern States, where we have working, intelligent workmen, untrammelled, educated, free to go where they please, and to do what they please, and make matters their servants, and by her extract wealth from the elements above, from the earth beneath, from the sea, and from the stones even—so the whole North became immensely rich. Education had not only this blessed effect on work, but see what effect it had, through work, on population.

In the first place, you can support a greater population where there is variety of work than in any other way, and where there is variety and remunerativeness of work, you can always support easier a large population in fourfold or tenfold the space than where there is no work; and workmen, indeed, will always be richer than a pastoral people; for a community which has diversified production will always be richer than those in the simple form of labor. So the productiveness of work in the North made it populous and by the law of easy support, and even the ratio of increase was always greater. It produced wealth to be able to meet the forced production of population, and the ratio of population in the North has been very great.

Next came in emigration, because the men who go abroad from the old countries are of two sorts—one is those from prudential reasons, fleeing from the face of justice, and the other from reasons honorable, but painful —of necessity—fleeing for something to eat and something to do. This last class, though inconvenient for awhile, are very valuable to us in the end. I am one of those who believe in emigration. I believe in it all the way through—that it is, clear up to the Irish. [Applause and laughter.] I not only believe in that, but I believe it is better to make them citizens immediately. While I think nobody ought to be a citizen or exercise the elective franchise who cannot read and write, yet in respect to our foreign population, and the new population. I am one of those who believe we cannot afford to have them in our midst without the responsibilities of government upon their shoulders. It instructs them—it sobers them. Though the first effort of Irishmen to administer republican government is not convenient, it is because all new work in new hands is always so.

Have a little patience. It cannot matter; but after they have been in the country two or three years or so, they are almost as good voters as we have, and their children quite as good. Although at first inconvenient, I think it is better policy to trust your institutions and liberty to these emigrants, and I am willing and I think in reference to the Southeast and most ignorant of our home-bred population. Here, then, is the condition of things in the North. Do you believe, to-day, there is in France or England an equal population as refined, that is as intelligent—that is as free, and that has as great a capacity of producing wealth industriously as our free-State Northern population?

If you go to England there the lower class of laborers are not producers of wealth to any extent, and the upper classes are not wealth-producers. There is a middle class which produces wealth there. But in the Northern States of America there is not a class that does not produce wealth. In the North everybody works, and is the creator of his own prosperity, from the top of society clear down to the bottom. The North is a hive of workmen—work, work, work, is the law of the North. It is not only honorable, but it is considered a disgrace not to work, and for not working a man must have some peculiar reason—as in the case where in other families for sickness they are saying to do to occupy his hand day by day.

This brings me to another point, the fruitfulness of work in the North. See how it has made our towns—how it has made our population happy—how well qualified they are to how high they live. The farmer has in his house his meat, his drink, his to-in. You do not express surprise when you go into the country to find in the farmer's house as good carpets as in the city. I expect to hear the strum of the piano out of the smokehouse, out of the farmer's house, as out of the professional man's house. I am not surprised when a draygman in New York tells me that in sending my daughter to the first school, to educate her I was in the cars recently in New England, and met the soap man—that original of all political Yankees—and who discoursed to me as to his success in peddling soap in the cars.

The first thing a Yankee does is to sell the factory, and next he does is to sell soap.—(Laughter.) That soap man has made himself rich; that is, he has as much as he wants. That is what I mean by riches; for a man with ten millions is not rich if he has not got all he wants. He informed me of his daughter was in Boston at one of the high schools there. There was a man peddling soap, who had made in that respectable, honest, and lucrative vocation, not only enough to supply his home with comforts, but to educate his daughter with the best of the land. It does not surprise us to see the day laborer put his children down to school, or to bring home a piano for his daughter to play upon. It is the system of Northern society—the system of American free labor. So it is we have been in every where, and these banks are full of the fruit of the common people's savings.

We find the villages bordering each other, and the roads are lined with noble houses and orchards and gardens, and trees and fields in, generally, covering the free, broad expanse of this happy, Christian land; because they have acknowledged the common man, educated the common man, and sanctified his work. [Great Applause.]

Now, let us turn for a moment and look at the Southern idea. The South holds the first doctrine of political economy to be that all men were not born free and equal, and secondly that capital ought to own labor. They hold this in extreme theory, I admit, but it is sufficient for popular representation—the prevalent doctrine. The South holds, that God in his most Southern school holds, that God in his inscrutable wisdom made one class of inferior beings to be the handy and the feet of other beings to be the hands; and the right of the white classes, and that it was the right of the white man to own the black man; that is, in a more abstract form, that it was the right of capital to own labor.

They have gone on that theory, and taken the black man and made a slave of him, so that he no longer works for himself. You have to take with that fact all the incidents. If you take the spider, you have to take the spider's web. Take the slave, and you have to take all those influences which spring out of slavery, and which I think are blacker than the blackest-tailed spider. (Laughter and applause.)

If you say it is right to own a man, you cannot own him and not own his wife, and you cannot but have control over the marital relations. If you own the father and the mother, it cannot be that the children will not be up to them for guidance and instruction, beasts, being slaves, they are of course held to be property.

The poor slaves cannot have the control of the parental relation, for they are themselves to answer the purposes of property. The slave is this mercantile view, to be to some extent an article of currency, and you have to make it buyable and sellable, not only with the greatest facility, but you have to see to it that, when he is made currency, he does not become too current, and go off! (Great laughter and applause.) You have to educate him from your brains; take a granite cell; take mountains, and rivers, and lakes, there rear up a demonstration of the worth of liberty and labor among common people.—And we have a garden of Eden in the North. [Applause.] On the other side He said to them, "You were represent in the last days the worst forms of monarchy and oppression take the equatorial garden and see what you can do there." And they have toiled on through a hundred years, and their land, as contrasted with Northern land, is like a wilderness. [Renewed applause.] They feel it; they know it; and what do they say?

They say that those miserable peddling Yankees come down here and get all their money. Why don't you go up to New England and get their money, for it is fair play either way? They say that they raise all the products, that they raise King Cotton; but that they have to send them abroad in Yankee ships, and that the Yankee shipmasters cheat them in making change. [Laughter and applause.] There is not one of them who has the honesty to open his eyes and to say, "We have put our foundation upon quicksands; we have falsified; we have corrupted the law of God; we have defiled manhood; we have a wrong system of labor, and the consequence is that we are ignorant, we are incompetent, we are a wild people; we are not wealthy as compared with the North." [Applause.]

Do you want to know what I take to be the most dangerous documents in the world for men upon a wrong basis?

The most dangerous abolition document, the most dangerous to throne and hierarchy, is the Bible. [Great applause.] I always maintained, when at the South they stopped the Liberator, the Independent, and the Tribune, passing through the mails as incendiary documents, and they were so foolish as to allow the Bible. I did not understand they were so much shrewder than Yankees—they let the Bible go and corrupted the Ministers. [Applause.] There it was not God bringing down the light of eternal fire, flaming with intelligence and all the motives to true manhood.—Christ may let the thief upon the cross pass through the gate of Heaven, saying to him, and those like him, they knew not what they did; but for the Minister who dares not stand for Christ's poor—for the man who treads under foot one of Christ's poor—He will say, inasmuch as you did it to the least of these, you did it to me; for them there will be no place found for repentance. And that is the reason why the dangerous document did not do more mischief in the South. [Applause.]

There is another dangerous document, troublesome down South. I mean the American census. It is a terrible thing, that census list! I know that the collecting and digesting of it were put into hands to make it come out in the best way; they made *requests* of this, and all sorts of fishes out of that,—but it was so much testimony of the condition of the slave States as contrasted with the free States. Every ten years that census came out it was like the appearing of an accusing angel. (Applause.) It was seen that the North was growing more and more populous, and that their representation was increasing constantly. The South felt that soon they would be a hopeless minority in Congress, then free and slave labor developed into active antagonism.

If you will indulge me, I will make a few remarks on the question of peace. You know we are being continually agitated and excited by rumors of peace. Every letter and gentleman and lady cries, "Peace, Peace," when "there is no peace." I don't regard immediate peace as being half so good as permanent peace. [Applause.] In the first place, I utterly dread and should regret a compromise, a peace that should be coaxed and persuaded, and that the Government should get it, so that all men should be in doubt who was the party of rebellion or the party of authority. I think the Government of these sovereign United States ought to have its authority and majesty so vindicated in this matter that the world shall see this Government compels it. [Long continued applause and cries of "That's the doctrine."] I think, secondly, that the odious, unmeasured and immeasurable guilt of this slaveholders' war demands before God and mankind such a terrible settlement that not even Catoline himself would dare, for the next one hundred years, to raise another civil war. [Great applause.]

I am willing to see this work got through in righteousness, but I am not willing to see it got through in a sneaking compromise. (Applause.) To the men who say to you that the South made mistakes, and that we must try to soften their fall, I have no sympathy. The moment they will say, as a man, before the nation, "we have made a mistake; we lay down our arms," I will go as far as any man, then, to soften their fall—to bring back the prodigal son—I would even run, as the father in the Scripture did, seeing him afar off, run, and throw his arms about his neck, and welcome him back, but not with his hands in his hands. (Great applause.)

I hold that the South has violated the law of justice, the law of humanity, the law of all legislation, and the law of fidelity—it has blasphemed God and His creatures, and so great a wickedness never was done with so much cruelty and so much needless suffering; and now I hold that they are bound to make an open, public retraction, and their punishment is to be such as to stand before the world as the legitimate punishment of a monstrous national transgression. (Applause.) It may cost us a little more money—it may cost us a few more children—it may cost us a few more weary months' sailing on this turbulent sea of blood. What then? I am for one willing to give my own and my children's blood if I may leave to my country the legacy of freedom, unstained by treachery in the future. (Applause.) Oh! you know, and I know, as I verily believe God knows, that this must end—slavery has got to hang on the gibbet. (Applause.)

The cord is around its neck, and the three executioners, one with one hand on one shoulder, and another with a hand on the other shoulder, and the third finishing the fatal gibbet,—let these officers of the law,—let Grant, and Thomas, and Sherman [applause,] point out the path, while all men stand expectant, sad and sorrowful there should be crime, but thankful there is retributive justice. I have no sympathy for the men who run towards slavery, and ask for something may be done to soften his fall.—[Applause and cries of "No softening—no softening."] ["Blair, Blair."] I call no names. No cruelty but justice—justice I demand. I demand it in the name of a violated country—I demand it in the name of a dishonored Government—I demand it in the name of twice a hundred thousand martyrs who have spilt their blood for nothing, if we have a patched-up compromise. Let the procession go on! [Great applause.]

Southern statesmen said, and they were correct, that their day had passed unless one of two things could be done; they must increase the number of slave States, or break off perpetually and peremptorily. They tried the first and failed, and then they tried the second and failed, and then they tried the second and failed, and God they failed there, too. [Great applause.] So then this conflict began, and we stand to day making the subliment manifestation the world has ever seen. I know that war is bad, and that it is impossible to portray or calculate the sufferings which flow from it, but when we come to judge of the vast and amazing example this is going to be to other nations I am not that with-[Applause] there were as many benefits gained as have been by this war. [Applause.]

I count myself most happy in being able to mark out to night one point I intended to make, and that is observe the bearing upon the extinction of slavery. This vote of our Congress to-day, which I presume will be or be ratified by the constitutional number of States, has made this the very twilight of eternal emancipation. [Applause.]

Fellow citizens, I am one of those who would take gradual emancipation rather than nothing, but I should take it with the distinct understanding that gradual emancipation is prolonged mischief. There is nothing so intolerary when a man has once wrong as immediately to acknowledge that wrong and learn to do right. And every experiment upon the globe shows that gradual emancipation is not wise. What would you think if a man were infected and asked the doctor whether he could cure him, and the doctor would answer, "It is best not to do it suddenly, but I think in about eight years I can." (Laughter.)

I would rather take sulphur and get well in a week. (Applause.) What would you think of a man opposing gradual cessation from coasting alive? (laughter) that it was not safe to take him off too suddenly; that you must take him from the fire little by little—take him away a little, and then wait two minutes—why by the time that you had got him out of the influence of the fire he would be dead. You may not steal but steal no more; that is the simple doctrine of emancipation. Stop peremptorily. As to this matter, I am afraid of slavery. You may tell me that in South Carolina there is but one slave we are in any mode to recognize—it is yeast enough to raise the devil upon the continent. (Laughter and applause.) It does not take but a little yeast to set fermentation going. The seminal point may be small, but the outgrowth is immeasurable; and I am afraid of slavery in any shape. Maryland never did a more statesmanlike thing than when she said there shall be no slaves here, none, none. (Applause.)

Now what is the bearing of this question on the subject of re-union. A great many men think that we can never live together again in peace. I think that we have never before lived in peace, but that we are going to. Those who chose to put their consciences in their pocket books, whisper slavery there and liberty North, might go to New Orleans, Mobile or Savannah in safety, but not so with the man who avowed his principles of freedom there as in New England. I have never seen the hour since I have been a man when it was safe for me to go to New Orleans or Charleston. Do you suppose that there will be a re union which will be worse for me? (Laughter and Applause.) If I had been in the South as they have talked of hanging me there would be no limbs left upon the trees in their forests. (Laughter.) I do not think that we are going to have a worse peace than that.

In what history did men ever learn that war prevented entire union? Wheat unground cannot be made to commingle; you may stir it up with water, but you cannot make it adhere. If you want to make bread out of wheat you must grind it. [Applause.] Now before this war there was jurisposition but no union. I think by the time that the stone turns round once more, we will have it ground. [Applause.] I hold that men who respect each other can live better together than those who do not. I do not degrade my respect for Southern men, they have fought well in a bad cause. They have fought as well and endured as bravely in as bad cause as ever made martyrs out of men, that with all their faults I have a warm side for them. I think I would go farther to serve them now than before.—By the time Sherman gets up to South Carolina, I expect they will have respect for the courage of Northern men.

I am an attentive reader of extracts from Southern papers, and the only State I see indulge in braggadocia is that incurable State of South Carolina. (Applause.) They are bragging still; but I see no intimations that Northern men are cowards, and if there were only five to one Southern man they can whip them. I think we will come together, not only with more respect, but in consequence of the war better acquainted, and we will have a more thorough and cordial union. From the Union that is coming there will be slavery for Christ's poor—for the man who treads under foot one of Christ's poor—He will say, inasmuch as you did it to the least of these, you did it to me; for them there will be no place found for repentance. And that is the reason why the dangerous document did not do more mischief in the South. [Applause.]

There is another dangerous document, troublesome down South. I mean the American census. It is a terrible thing, that census list! I know that the collecting and digesting of it were put into hands to make it come out in the best way; they made *requests* of this, and all sorts of fishes out of that,—but it was so much testimony of the condition of the slave States as contrasted with the free States. Every ten years that census came out it was like the appearing of an accusing angel. (Applause.) It was seen that the North was growing more and more populous, and that their representation was increasing constantly. The South felt that soon they would be a hopeless minority in Congress, then free and slave labor developed into active antagonism.

If you will indulge me, I will make a few remarks on the question of peace. You know we are being continually agitated and excited by rumors of peace. Every letter and gentleman and lady cries, "Peace, Peace," when "there is no peace." I don't regard immediate peace as being half so good as permanent peace. [Applause.] In the first place, I utterly dread and should regret a compromise, a peace that should be coaxed and persuaded, and that the Government should get it, so that all men should be in doubt who was the party of rebellion or the party of authority. I think the Government of these sovereign United States ought to have its authority and majesty so vindicated in this matter that the world shall see this Government compels it. [Long continued applause and cries of "That's the doctrine."] I think, secondly, that the odious, unmeasured and immeasurable guilt of this slaveholders' war demands before God and mankind such a terrible settlement that not even Cataline himself would dare, for the next one hundred years, to raise another civil war. [Great applause.]

I am willing to see this work got through in righteousness, but I am not willing to see it got through in a sneaking compromise. (Applause.) To the men who say to you that the South made mistakes, and that we must try to soften their fall, I have no sympathy. The moment they will say, as a man, before the nation, "we have made a mistake; we lay down our arms," I will go as far as any man, then, to soften their fall—to bring back the prodigal son—I would even run, as the father in the Scripture did, seeing him afar off, run, and throw his arms about his neck, and welcome him back, but not with his hands in his hands. (Great applause.)

I hold that the South has violated the law of justice, the law of humanity, the law of all legislation, and the law of fidelity—it has blasphemed God and His creatures, and so great a wickedness never was done with so much cruelty and so much needless suffering; and now I hold that they are bound to make an open, public retraction, and their punishment is to be such as to stand before the world as the legitimate punishment of a monstrous national transgression. (Applause.) It may cost us a little more money—it may cost us a few more children—it may cost us a few more weary months' sailing on this turbulent sea of blood. What then? I am for one willing to give my own and my children's blood if I may leave to my country the legacy of freedom, unstained by treachery in the future. (Applause.) Oh! you know, and I know, as I verily believe God knows, that this must end—slavery has got to hang on the gibbet. (Applause.)

The cord is around its neck, and the three executioners, one with one hand on one shoulder, and another with a hand on the other shoulder, and the third finishing the fatal gibbet,—let these officers of the law,—let Grant, and Thomas, and Sherman [applause,] point out the path, while all men stand expectant, sad and sorrowful there should be crime, but thankful there is retributive justice. I have no sympathy for the men who run towards slavery, and ask for something may be done to soften his fall.—[Applause and cries of "No softening—no softening."] ["Blair, Blair."] I call no names. No cruelty but justice—justice I demand. I demand it in the name of a violated country—I demand it in the name of a dishonored Government—I demand it in the name of twice a hundred thousand martyrs who have spilt their blood for nothing, if we have a patched-up compromise. Let the procession go on! [Great applause.]

Southern statesmen said, and they were correct, that their day had passed unless one of two things could be done; they must increase the number of slave States, or break off perpetually and peremptorily. They tried the first and failed, and then they tried the second and failed, and then they tried the second and failed, and God they failed there, too. [Great applause.] So then this conflict began, and we stand to day making the sublimest manifestation the world has ever seen. I know that war is bad, and that it is impossible to portray or calculate the sufferings which flow from it, but when we come to judge of the vast and amazing example this is going to be to other nations I am not that with-[Applause] there were as many benefits gained as have been by this war. [Applause.]

I count myself most happy in being able to mark out to night one point I intended to make, and that is observe the bearing upon the extinction of slavery. This vote of our Congress to-day, which I presume will be or be ratified by the constitutional number of States, has made this the very twilight of eternal emancipation. [Applause.]

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And the universal fertility of the Yankee nation has sprung from nothing else than that result of education, which has given the country brains,—brains. I think the best thing about man is brains. Perhaps you have never been in New England—perhaps you never have spent years, as I have done, with its people, and in New England, where the natural products are granite and ice. [Laughter and applause.] There are one or two things of indigenous growth—huckleberries and grass, I believe. [Laughter and applause.] But there were pretty nearly all the stock in trade that nature gave to us. All the rest is artificial—all the rest has been invented, or forced out of reluctant nature by the indefatigable, prying screw and forcible processes of educated brains, until now, every hill is as fruitful as Lebanon was of cedars—every valley is crowned with rich and wonderful agriculture—every stream, as soon as it knows how to work, hurries to work from the spring all the way to mill upon mill, singing, as it goes, and every single farm has its little workshop where of winter nights the farmer who works all day works also, closing boots or making all manner of vessels that men or women ever thought of. (Applause.) The whole population have been educated to work, and they have got rich doing it. They have got rich, on the average, than any other people on the face of the globe. This is an augmenting ratio, as you go from New York—as you go into Ohio—as you go into Indiana, (my own loved and still loved State)—and as you go through the Northern and Northwestern States, where we have working, intelligent workmen, untrammelled, educated, free to go where they please, and to do what they please, and make matters their servants, and by her extract wealth from the elements above, from the earth beneath, from the sea, and from the stones even—so the whole North became immensely rich. Education had not only this blessed effect on work, but see what effect it had, through work, on population.

In the first place, you can support a greater population where there is variety of work than in any other way, and where there is variety and remunerativeness of work, you can always support easier a large population in fourfold or tenfold the space than where there is no work; and workmen, indeed, will always be richer than a pastoral people; for a community which has diversified production will always be richer than those in the simple form of labor. So the productiveness of work in the North made it populous and by the law of easy support, and even the ratio of increase was always greater. It produced wealth to be able to meet the forced production of population, and the ratio of population in the North has been very great.

Next came in emigration, because the men who go abroad from the old countries are of two sorts—one is those from prudential reasons, fleeing from the face of justice, and the other from reasons honorable, but painful —of necessity—fleeing for something to eat and something to do. This last class, though inconvenient for awhile, are very valuable to us in the end. I am one of those who believe in emigration. I believe in it all the way through—that it is, clear up to the Irish. [Applause and laughter.] I not only believe in that, but I believe it is better to make them citizens immediately. While I think nobody ought to be a citizen or exercise the elective franchise who cannot read and write, yet in respect to our foreign population, and the new population. I am one of those who believe we cannot afford to have them in our midst without the responsibilities of government upon their shoulders. It instructs them—it sobers them. Though the first effort of Irishmen to administer republican government is not convenient, it is because all new work in new hands is always so.

Have a little patience. It cannot matter; but after they have been in the country two or three years or so, they are almost as good voters as we have, and their children quite as good. Although at first inconvenient, I think it is better policy to trust your institutions and liberty to these emigrants, and I am willing and I think in reference to the Southeast and most ignorant of our home-bred population. Here, then, is the condition of things in the North. Do you believe, to-day, there is in France or England an equal population as refined, that is as intelligent—that is as free, and that has as great a capacity of producing wealth industriously as our free-State Northern population?

If you go to England there the lower class of laborers are not producers of wealth to any extent, and the upper classes are not wealth-producers. There is a middle class which produces wealth there. But in the Northern States of America there is not a class that does not produce wealth. In the North everybody works, and is the creator of his own prosperity, from the top of society clear down to the bottom. The North is a hive of workmen—work, work, work, is the law of the North. It is not only honorable, but it is considered a disgrace not to work, and for not working a man must have some peculiar reason—as in the case where in other families for sickness they are saying to do to occupy his hand day by day.

This brings me to another point, the fruitfulness of work in the North. See how it has made our towns—how it has made our population happy—how well qualified they are to how high they live. The farmer has in his house his meat, his drink, his to-in. You do not express surprise when you go into the country to find in the farmer's house as good carpets as in the city. I expect to hear the strum of the piano out of the smokehouse, out of the farmer's house, as out of the professional man's house. I am not surprised when a draygman in New York tells me that in sending my daughter to the first school, to educate her I was in the cars recently in New England, and met the soap man—and who discoursed to me as to his success in peddling soap in the cars.

The first thing a Yankee does is to sell the factory, and next he does is to sell soap.—(Laughter.) That soap man has made himself rich; that is, he has as much as he wants. That is what I mean by riches; for a man with ten millions is not rich if he has not got all he wants. He informed me of his daughter was in Boston at one of the high schools there. There was a man peddling soap, who had made in that respectable, honest, and lucrative vocation, not only enough to supply his home with comforts, but to educate his daughter with the best of the land. It does not surprise us to see the day laborer put his children down