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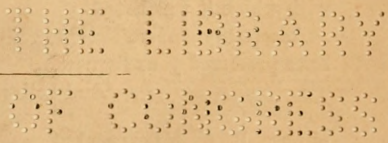
THE CITIZENS OF BOYLE COUNTY, KY.

At Danville, July 4th, 1851.

BY

WILLIAM M. SCOTT,

PROFESSOR OF GREEK, BELLES LETTRES AND CIVIL ARCHITECTURE IN
CENTRE COLLEGE.



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Danville, July 4, 1851.

Prof. W. M. SCOTT:

Dear Sir,—Your able and eloquent address in commemoration of this national jubilee, was listened to to-day with delight by many of your fellow-citizens, but owing to the large audience present, there were a great number of persons who were unable to hear at the distance they were removed from the stand. At the instance of many of your fellow-citizens, and in accordance with our own feelings, we earnestly solicit a copy of your address for publication. In common with other of your fellow-citizens, we believe the publication and dissemination of the principles inculcated in your address, will accomplish much good. We therefore trust you will comply with our request, and advise us at your earliest convenience.

With sentiments of high regard,

We are, dear Sir, your Friends,

And fellow-citizens,

R. A. WATTS,

A. S. M'GRORTY,

THEO. R. DUNLAP,

WM. C. AKIN,

Committee.

Danville, July 5, 1851.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:

I have received your note of yesterday in reference to the publication of the address delivered on that occasion. In reply, I must say that I am persuaded either that you did not hear it, or that personal kindness towards the author has transferred itself to it. In return for that kindness, I feel constrained to place the copy at your disposal. While I regard it as due to myself to say, that the time allowed for its preparation was so short, and that little time so crowded with more pressing duties, that it will require to be read with all the indulgence with which it was heard.

Accept my sincere thanks, gentlemen, for the kind terms in which you have preferred your request,

And believe me, very sincerely, yours,

W. M. SCOTT.

Messrs. R. A. WATTS and others.

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Ms. S. 18011

ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I shall make no apology for addressing you to-day. Your committee, not very wisely, requested me to do so, and I very foolishly consented. If a great mistake has been made, blame your committee for being so stupid as to invite me, and blame yourselves for appointing such a committee. You would have preferred, as I would, to hear another.

If any of you have come here expecting to hear from me the trumpeting of our own praises as a people, you will be disappointed. The truth is, I think we are no better than we should be. We should be better off, but for our own folly : and more prosperous, if it were not for our own vices. Under God we owe to others the good we enjoy, and our freedom from evil. We got it by inheritance from that great and peculiar race to which we belong. We are but a branch of that great Anglo-Saxon tree, whose roots have struck deeper, and its branches spread wider, while the tempests of fourteen centuries have howled through them with all their changes and vicissitudes.

I believe in the "*Fourth of July.*" It is a day to make us humbler, to make us better. It is a day to teach us to look to the past with reverence and gratitude, and to the future with hopefulness and faith. It is a day to penetrate us with profoundest gratitude and thankfulness to our God, to our fathers' God, who hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon all the face of the earth, and hath determined the

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times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation; who hath given us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. I believe in this great national sabbath, which teaches us to love each other more, and hold our country dearer; which brings us together to look in each others' faces, to grasp each others' hands, to forget past differences, lay aside party prejudices and animosities, and to start afresh upon a new year with more love for each other, more zeal for each others' good, and more pure-hearted affection for the land of our dwelling-place and our love; to set out with strength of heart and purpose to be better neighbors, better Kentuckians, better Americans, better Christians than ever before.

I said, awhile ago, that we belonged to a peculiar race, and that we inherit from it the chief elements of our happiness and success.

About nineteen hundred years ago, the Roman Empire had a line of fortresses stretching from the mouth of the Danube westward to the head of the Rhine, and down that to the ocean. Beyond this cordon of military posts, they knew very little of the country and the people, except that they were dangerous enemies. When they looked over the walls, they saw them moving westward with wagons; the men, hardy and rugged, driving the team; the women and curly-haired children crowning the top of the load. When they met an enemy, they drew their long spears and thick swords from the wagon and settled with him and went on. Age after age this stream poured on, till the forests of Germany swarmed with them. When they reached the western sea, they took the hides off their cattle and braced them with sticks, in which craft they rode the waves as the sea-gulls. Whatever they

found that they wanted, they took because they could. Among these there was a tribe distinguished above the rest in stature, in pride and power, though not in numbers, whom Ptolemy made known to the Romans in the second century under the name of Saxones. From the first they appear, few as they were, to have looked upon this world as theirs by divine right. Among the fierce and terrible Germanic tribes, they were the fiercest and the terriblest. In stature they towered above them; in majesty and manly beauty they surpassed them, so that they regarded themselves as the aristocracy, the veritable king-nation of all the Gothic tribes. When the Romans withdrew their forces from Britain, they were attracted to its shores, and finally nearly the whole race was transplanted to that island. There the hardy stock took abiding root, and though engraftings have since been made, the mighty trunk still stands, and the original vital sap still runs through all its branches and fibres. In process of time they reached this continent, and set up their wagons, and shouldered their arms, and started westward again. And this day, if you were to start here and travel north to the shores of Hudson's Bay, upon every road wide enough you would see the wagon with its driver and its load of women and children, heading still to the westward. And could you pass westward, on all your way round the world, over the boundless plains of the upper Missouri and Mississipi, down the banks of the roaring Columbia, through the forests and rocks of Australia and New Zealand, you would see the land dotted with slowly-moving spots, which, upon near inspection, you find to be the moving households of the Anglo-Saxon. Meet him—there is a look about him which intimates that you were best

not interrupt him. The Indians tried that, where are they? The French tried it, and once had all of the Canadas, the whole of this interior valley, and the lower Mississippi. They don't hold it now. The Mexicans recently partially tried it, and the experiment was painful, but it may be hoped salutary.

This race, so mighty, so growing, and so restless, is not an army of locusts or of Saracens, before whom the earth is a garden, and behind them black desolation. They are the pioneers of civilization. They carry law, liberty, religion in their highest known forms wherever they go. To this race we belong. Its history is our history. Its work devolves in our measure upon us. Its responsibilities we must so far forth meet.

I propose to name a few items, for which we are indebted to our connection with this race, and which are among their contributions to the cause of Christian civilization; and you will perceive, on the bare mention of them, that they constitute the very soul and life-blood of our prosperity and happiness as a nation. These views may, perhaps, tend to humble us in regard to our own personal deserving, while they should stimulate us to hopefulness in doing what is before us, for we Kentuckians, are not the least of all people, in need of occasional lessons in humility.

I shall name first, in this connection among the items of that priceless heritage into which we have entered, a *representative government*.

This was a thing unknown to the nations of antiquity. Hence their transitions from freedom to anarchy, and from anarchy to despotism were so sudden and so violent, because nothing of the informing, conservative power of this principle of representation was found in them. It is a check both upon despotism and

democracy, wherever it exists; and so mediates between them, as to prevent them in turn from destroying each other. This principle existed to some extent, in the rude and simple forms of polity, among all the Gothic nations; and from the peculiar necessities of the feudal system, overspread Europe during the middle ages. But it was only in England that it ripened into a representative legislature; and it is there, and among the offspring of the Anglo-Saxon race, that it has had its legitimate influence in moulding the character and manners of the people; and only they have the practical skill to make available use of it. This skill is not the learning of a day nor of an age, but like the application of all great principles, it has been the learning of ages and centuries. It has struggled painfully and slowly up from the *witen a gemote* of our Saxon forefathers to the Parliament of England and the Congress of the United States. And it is destined to reach its perfection only with the perfection of the people who practice it. The bungling attempts and sorrowful failures of others who have attempted to adopt and practice it, show that it is not to be learned at three easy lessons by all. They must be content to take it at first, with the evils their want of skill must connect with it, and learn by long training, and oftentimes, sore discipline, its skilful use and priceless value. This, mankind will learn, and are learning, and when by slow and painful travail, it has worked its way among all people with its elevating, educating influences, they will turn with gratitude to that race that fought and toiled and waited and endured for this principle, and then gave it to the nations and taught them its use. The influence of this principle in carrying down through all departments of society a knowledge of right, and an

intelligent reverence for law, cannot be estimated. What would England have been without a Parliament? And the United States without national or state legislatures?

To this may be added *the jury*, especially as a political institution. The germ of this institution may be traced in the early and simple forms of judicial proceedings among most of the Germanic tribes, but it is only amongst the Anglo-Saxons that it has grown to be in fact *the jury*. When barbarians, they carried it to England and planted it. As they progressed in civilization and healthful refinement, they cherished and perfected it. Wherever they have gone, they have carried it with them, and established it as their most valued institution. They have sustained it when invaded, and fought for it when attacked, and from every struggle in its behalf, they have come forth with a more deep and ardent love for it, and its more sure and abiding establishment.

It is not simply because of the strong guard it throws around life, which its employment in criminal cases secures, nor of its agency in securing equal justice to the parties litigant in civil causes, that it is here mentioned as a legacy to us. It is because it is a political institution of great power, especially when extended to civil causes, because of its educating influences upon all classes of people, because it carries down from the highest judicial officer to the humblest that may sit as a juror, something of the spirit of the judge, by investing all with a temporary magistracy to be exercised according to law and under the sanction of an oath, imbuing them with a sense of right and a respect for justice, making them practically acquainted with the laws under which they live, and presenting a thousand

motives for judging others as they would be judged themselves, that it is regarded as a gift of so high value. No people having this institution, and understanding its use, and appreciating its value, can long be oppressed or live in anarchy, and no people without it, can have any abiding safeguard against either. When the two kindred institutions of representative legislation and trial by jury, shall have won their way to the knowledge and practice of all people, rational and beneficial liberty, now enjoyed in its highest known forms only among the Anglo-Saxon race, will be as widely diffused as the habitations of man.

Another item deserves to be mentioned in this catalogue, because we are accustomed to regard it as the distinguishing glory of this age. I mean that philosophy of nature, the methods of which Bacon deserves the credit of pointing out. These methods have been carried into all the departments of science and art, until now, men have nature at work for them. The fire carries him on his journey, and the lightning runs his errands. All the improvements in the arts of life and comfort, of which we hear so much boasting in these days, are the direct offspring of this philosophy. But that which I regard as among its greatest benefits, is that it has for ever fortified civilization against barbarism by putting the physical power into its hands. It has chained barbarian ferocity at the feet of the civilized world, and is perpetually adding to the massive coils that hold it in check. In our own day we have seen a marked proof of this, in seeing a mere fragment of the maritime force of a small island, operating on the other side of the globe, humble and bring to terms an empire embracing one-third of the human race. Change, in imagination, the seat of war,

and say how many Chinese empires would have to be precipitated upon England with a like result. It is this which has changed the position of Christendom with respect to Mohammedan power; so that by the sufferance and guarantee of two nations in Christian Europe, they retain nominal possession of the land of the Holy Sepulchre, which all Europe combined could not save nor recover from their grasp six hundred years ago. Thus this philosophy has reared around Christian society a rampart more impregnable than the brazen walls of Athens, or the munitions of rocks behind which it may work out its beneficent purposes, free forever from the assaults of barbaric valor and their attendant desolations.

We are no longer to look exclusively to the strong arms and stout hearts of hardy yeomen for the defence of our country in danger, but the natural philosopher in his study, the chemist in his laboratory, and the mathematician at his desk, are the most efficient defenders of the soil. They show us how to construct railroads, by which in twenty-four hours a million of fresh troops, with their equipments, may be concentrated wherever an enemy may land; they construct telegraphs, by which the appearance of an enemy's vessel may be told over the whole continent before she can touch the shore; and they put into the hands of the soldier such engines of war as annihilate armies in an hour. Our generals are no longer your fierce whiskered heroes of the olden time, drinking brandy sweetened with gunpowder, and flavored with aquæfortis, stirred in with a lightning-rod. They must be men of the highest science. They must be the ablest mathematicians, the best natural philosophers, the most skilful chemists, and ablest engineers.

War has thus become a contest of mind, a conflict of intelligence, and the wisest nation is the strongest nation. I wish you to bear this particularly in mind when I come to another point upon which I expect to have time to say a word.

I would like to add to this catalogue, and dwell at some length on it, another item of our rich inheritance, of which we are not the authors; but I have little more than time to name it. I allude to our Christian literature, which goes wherever the English tongue goes, and moulds and educates the minds of all who speak that noble tongue. But the subject is too vast to be touched with any particularity, even had it the whole time to itself. Just ask yourselves, what should we be without it? What should we be as individuals, or as a nation, if there had been no Shakspeare, no Milton, no Bunyan, no nobody?

But I pass from this to the last gift I shall now mention as coming to us from this race, the Reformation. This is properly the work of the Anglo-Saxon race. A Saxon Monk began it. When Romanism would have leaped upon it and trampled it out and scattered it, a Saxon Prince and Saxon chieftains defended it, till it blazed up heaven-high, and the nations began to gather to its brightness. The whole Anglo Saxon mind seemed waiting for it, so that it spread and took fast hold wherever the race extended. It was, in fact, the legitimate outworking of that mind, free, bold, and enterprising in all its spirit. In England, in Scotland it was prevalent; and when Philip, of Spain, after having annihilated it from the Peninsula, was preparing to exterminate it from the north of Europe, Anglo-Saxon arms saved it by the defeat of the invincible Armada, and secured its establishment both in Britain and in

the Northern Kingdoms on the Continent. And now it finds its supporters and its home amongst the Anglo-Saxon race, insomuch that if the race were to perish to-morrow, Protestantism would perish with it.

Think for a moment what we should be—if we could be at all—without any of these, without a representative legislature, without jury trial, without our science of nature, without our English literature, without the Reformation, without the results and fruits of these.

What should we be this day without these trees of life, with their manifold and ever ripening fruits, which have been watched from age to age by our fathers, guarded by their strong arms, and watered with their richest blood? We think it an easy thing to be free, to be personally free, and politically secure, but mankind have not found it so. The whole history of the past scarcely contains an instance of true freedom to the citizen and national independence; and upon all the face of the earth there is not another found besides our own. Mankind have struggled to be free, have fought for freedom, have deserved freedom, but to-day are not free. They have found it easier to win it than to keep it. It has enemies without, ever watchful and malignant. It has generally had enemies within, foolish and treacherous. Between the two, freedom is the rare, indeed, it would seem, the impossible condition of humanity. It has come to us without a struggle; so that we are in danger of forgetting that it cost others effort and toil and life; and still more in danger of forgetting that the abiding condition of our remaining free, is that we continue stronger than all our enemies combined. Our independence could not survive a year, if the tyrants of the earth were able to subvert it.

This day seventy-five years ago, it was declared that the people of these States were, and of right ought to be, free and independent. That declaration was made good, not more by the valor and endurance of our fathers, than by the fact that Englishmen had small heart to fight against freedom and brethren too. Fifteen years afterwards they again assembled to form a more perfect union, and devise such a system as would not only form but preserve that more perfect union. Sixty years has that Constitution and the Union it formed and cemented stood, producing results such as were never seen before nor elsewhere upon the earth. Liberty, prosperity, security, boundless growth, glorious prospects are the fruits. But even this Constitution, this Union, are but the fruits of those precious gifts that have come down to us from our great Anglo-Saxon ancestry. Where would the Constitution be without representative legislation? Where were our personal liberty without trial by jury? Where our advancing refinement without our English literature? Where our improvements in the arts of usefulness and comfort without the Baconian philosophy? Where our religious freedom without the Reformation?

In all the history of humanity, God has never given such a position, such advantages, and such hopes to any people, and offered such a destiny to any nation. To prove false to that destiny, to squander those advantages, to disregard those hopes, would deserve, as it would surely get, the contempt of our posterity, the curses of mankind, and the deep scorn of countless generations. We must neither do it nor allow it to be done. The fact that there are within the limits of this Union those who hate it, is no more evidence that it is not the best condition in which humanity has yet

been found, than the fact that the Devil and his angels were not content in heaven proves that it is not a better place than hell, though it may prove that hell is a fitter place for them. The first prime duty of the nation, is to avert national ruin, whatever it may cost. Those who would distract, divide, weaken, destroy it, are traitors, traitors to their country, traitors to liberty, traitors to the great race to which we belong, traitors to humanity and to God. These trees of life which our great ancestors have nurtured for us, have been watered from the beginning with the blood of patriots. The blood of traitors at times affords them no less wholesome nourishment. "Our glorious institutions have been steeped, from the beginning, in the blood of patriots. Dreadful as the alternative would be, better also steep them in the blood of traitors than let them perish in utter ignominy."

It has got to be a favorite employment, with one class of our politicians, to dissolve the Union, and of another, to save it. Now all this may be well enough for play, and for political wire-pulling, though it resembles too much, children playing at cursing and swearing. I would have them understand that neither is exactly the work of politicians, and let them alone. Whenever the existence of this Union and this Constitution becomes incompatible with true liberty, and retards the advance of the cause of humanity, they ought to be, and they will be, destroyed. As long as they are the best means of preserving and promoting both, they will be preserved. When they are to be destroyed, the people will know it, and have some hand in it; until then, when they are in danger they will come to the rescue. I declare it to be my firm conviction, that the true heart of this great people, requires the perpetuity of

this Union and this Constitution; that when idle chatteringers are dumb, they will call upon the wise and the good to take up the high argument, and settle these high and solemn questions. And when they, who alone are worthy, shall have declared under, their solemn responsibility to posterity and to God, as I believe they ought and will declare, that this Union is to be preserved, and if need be, its enemies destroyed, that then they will come forth from their homes in the mountains and the plains, and say, with the voice of a united and free people, as the voice of many waters, "*Thus it shall be.*"

I am sorry to see so many in these latter days learning the alphabet of treason, set them by South Carolina seventy-seven years ago; in advocating or resisting any measure of the Federal government, saying, thus will we have it, or dissolve the Union; Congress shall pass this measure or we go out; Congress must not repeal that or we dissolve. I have said this is the alphabet of treason, and so it is. The first example was set by South Carolina in 1774. When the Colonies had met in Congress, and had agreed upon a non-intercourse measure, in hopes to bring England to terms through the influence of her merchants, without a resort to arms, the delegates of South Carolina withdrew, declaring that unless she were allowed to export rice and indigo, she would not join with the sister Colonies. As a compromise she was allowed to export the rice, which was the chief item of her export, but not indigo, of which she made very little. This was a bad beginning. This has been her game ever since. Nothing she wanted, but what she claimed at the risk of dissolving the Union. Until now her politicians have gone so far, that if the Congress were to agree in all time to

come, to give her whatever she asks, she could not stay, for her demands are now beyond the power of human legislation to meet. It is nothing less than to make South Carolina the greatest, the richest, the wisest, the happiest State in the Union, to make all the South do as she bids, and all the North go to the mischief. This is her advance from such a beginning in seventy-seven years, and that too, under the freest government ever seen on earth; from which she never suffered a real wrong, and has no good reason to apprehend any. Therefore we should mark well those aspirants for public favor, who think to win that favor by teaching us to lisp the language of South Carolina traitors, and degrade and deprave the government of our choice, and our forefathers' handiwork, by trying to overawe it, and wring from it by threats, what if just, we are more likely to get by fairly presenting our cause, setting forth its justice and its humanity, and appealing to the great heart of a magnanimous people. Disunion can be no remedy for wrongs, nor protection for rights. The motto of wise men and true men must be, "Don't give up the ship. Sink gloriously with it, rather than ingloriously in the whirlpool its descent creates, after we have foolishly or falsely abandoned it. Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I am for the country, the whole country, my country, the Constitution, the Union." We must teach these gentry another use for their figures besides "calculating the value of the Union." Rather let them count the cost of its preservation, at so much per head for traitors' scalps. Rather let them be asked to tell how many wagging tongues cut out would serve to stop such mouths as never open but for treason. Let them be told, state your grievances, propound your wants, and if reasonable and right, you

shall have justice done you; but don't insult the government of our free choice, by declaring it unfit for the government of freemen; don't call it both a fool and a coward, and especially don't put your demands in such a shape as that it must be both fool and coward to grant them.*

This priceless heritage is not ours nor theirs, but is given us in trust for the orphan world and for coming generations, and we must not gamble upon orphans' trust funds, nor rattle the dice upon our fathers' grave-stones, nor allow it to be done.

* It may seem strange to some, that while the enemies of the Union in one section of the country were alluded to in such decided terms, there was nothing said in condemnation of the spirit and proceedings of another class, in another section. It might be sufficient answer to such, to say that, in an address so necessarily brief, there was not time to say everything. But other reasons existed, which might be given, and perhaps it may not be amiss to mention a few of them here.

1. There is little need in Kentucky, or in the South, to denounce abolitionism; it has got very much to be like kicking a man "because he has no friends." It requires little courage to do it.

2. The views and courses animadverted upon in the address, are more likely to find sympathy in this section, and, therefore, it is proper that they should be attended to when only one can; and the warning most needed in such cases is hardest to be given with fidelity.

3. It is not true that the free soil party of the North stand upon the disunion platform, declaring they will break up the Union unless their views are carried out by the general government. It is true there is a fragment of abolitionists who denounce all government as sinful, but they are simply isolated individuals, not only hated but mobbed at the North.

All who take the same ground with Southern disunionists, are to be held as coming under the same condemnation, from whatever quarter they come.

It may be proper to remark further, that there was no intention of expressing an opinion as to the specific course to be adopted by the general government, in case of the secession of any state. That is a great question of expediency, to be decided by the high wisdom of the country, when it has to be decided practically, if ever. So long as the overwhelming mass of the people of this country are in favor of the perpetuity of our existing institutions, they have the right to maintain them, and they are bound to do it. It should be with the largest possible forbearance, but still done.

We start this year upon the second half of the nineteenth century. It rests without ourselves to say whether we shall go on to fill up the measure of our country's glory, or of its ruin and shame. What say you, citizens of Kentucky? What sort of a country shall the sun of nineteen hundred rise and shine upon? One rent into fragments, here a crippled State, there a feeble confederacy, yonder a foreign dependency, and all stained with brothers' blood, shed by brothers' hands? or shall this day on that year be hailed from the granite hills of Maine to the gold mountains of California, from the lakes of the North to the hills of Mexico, by the people of one heart, and one tongue, and one government, the greatest, the purest, the noblest that ever the earth saw?

This address was followed by one from the Hon. JOSHUA F. BELL, marked by his signal ability and winning eloquence. The Committee regret that press of business with other reasons prevented him from writing it out for publication, as he was requested urgently to do. It was listened to with great pleasure by as large an audience as could gather within the sound of his voice.

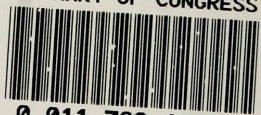
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