

based? I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln and his party will dissolve the Union if it succeeds. They are trying to array all the northern States in one body against the South, to excite a sectional war between the free States and the slave States, in order that the one or the other may be driven to the wall.

## ALLEN G. THURMAN



ALLEN GRANBERY THURMAN, an American Senator and jurist, the son of a Methodist clergyman, was born at Lynchburg, Va., Nov. 13, 1813, and died at Columbus, O., Dec. 12, 1895. At an early age he removed with his parents to Chillicothe, O., where he lived until 1853, after which he made his home in Columbus, O. His early education was obtained at the Chillicothe Academy, and after some slight experience in surveying he took up the study of the law and was admitted to the Bar in 1835. His abilities soon secured him a considerable practice, and in 1845 he entered Congress as a Democrat. Declining a renomination, after the expiration of his term, he continued his practice until 1851, when he was elected to the Ohio supreme bench, and for the last year of his term was chief-justice of the State. In 1867, he was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Ohio, and in 1869 was elected to the United States Senate, of which he remained a member until 1881. During this period he was for a number of years chairman of the committee on the judiciary. He originated the "Thurman Act," which compelled Pacific railroad corporations to keep their obligations to the government, and endeavored to secure favorable reconstruction legislation for the States that had seceded. Several times he was brought forward as a Presidential candidate, and in 1888 was also Democratic candidate for Vice-president on the unsuccessful Cleveland ticket of that year. Thurman was a fair-minded, logical debater, who always retained the high regard of his political opponents, as well as the respect and attachment of his own party friends.

### ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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THE theme upon which I propose to offer some observations to-night is the future of our country, or, rather, the dangers likely to menace the existence of the republic and the means of averting them.

In the outset I assume, what I believe to be true, that, whatever differences of opinion have existed or may yet exist as to the advantages or disadvantages of preserving the Union, every American citizen now wishes it to be preserved if at the same time liberty can be secured and the rights and interests of every section promoted.

The proposition that freedom has no safe dwelling-place save in small communities is an old idea, and, whether true or false, I have no quarrel with him who sincerely believes it. Nay, more, were the sad alternative forced upon us to choose between a splendid despotism ruling over a vast territory and an oppressed people on the one hand, and, on the other, freedom in a small state and an humble community, no true man should hesitate to choose the latter.

For freedom is of such transcendent value that it far outweighs all the distinction, pomp, and power that the most successful despotism can ever achieve. But the experiment has to be made whether a vast republic may not co-exist with freedom and with advantage to all its parts; and every one of us, I am sure, whatever may be his forebodings, is anxious to give the experiment a fair trial.

Therefore it is that I speak upon this theme to-night. I know of none more appropriate for an address to an assemblage of American youth. The mature men of to-day will ere long be gone. Whatever, of good or of evil, government may confer or inflict, will soon cease to trouble them. Their mantles will fall upon your shoulders and the shoulders of those who, like you, are just entering upon manhood, and upon you and your fellows will rest the grave responsibility of contributing to the happiness or the misery, not of one only, but perhaps of many generations. Wisely to prepare for that responsibility is a task than which none can be nobler, none more elevating, none that better deserves to engage the understanding or warm the heart.

The first danger to the duration of the republic of which I shall speak is that likely to result from its magnitude. It is a trite observation that nations, like men, have their infancy, youth, manhood, old age, decay, and dissolution.

Whether this analogy be fanciful or not, the history of the world gives no small support to the idea that nature has set a limit to the growth and duration of empire. The fate of Babylon, Nineveh, Assyria, Media, Egypt, of the empires of Alexander, the Cæsars, Genghis, Tamerlane, the Caliphs, Charlemagne, and Charles V, cannot, while it strikes our imagination, fail to arrest our attention. We pause and ask: "Is it ever thus to be?"

But let us not be too hasty in our conclusions. True, those great monarchies have been rent into pieces; true, the seats of some of them are now given up to desolation; but it does not follow that a similar fate awaits us. They were, for the most part, the product of conquest, and over their wide domains despotism held unlimited sway. Their fate teaches how insecure is the empire whose sole foundation is violence, and how powerless is tyranny to perpetuate its rule over an unwilling people.

But it does not teach — at least it does not prove — that a homogeneous people, under free institutions, may not attain and preserve a greatness that none of those States ever knew. To our country it was reserved to make this mighty experiment, than which nothing grander has ever engaged the sympathies or the efforts of man. Let us not, with despondent souls, rashly predict its failure — but rather, with hopeful hearts and patriotic zeal, let us manfully strive for its successful accomplishment. That our republic, if it hold together, will attain an unexampled and perilous greatness is certainly true.

Only fifty years hence our population will probably exceed 160,000,000, or four times the present population of France. At the end of a century, in 1972, if it increase in the same ratio that has hitherto marked its growth, the United States

will contain more than twice as many people as now inhabit the continent of Europe.

If it be inadmissible to suppose that this ratio of increase will continue, it is not irrational to affirm that within the lifetime of a child now born our population will equal that of the five great Powers of Europe combined. Such an aggregation of mankind, for the most part homogeneous, belonging to the most intellectual and energetic portion of the human race, speaking the same language, all more or less educated, occupying one of the fairest and most fruitful portions of the earth in that North Temperate Zone that seems to be the chosen habitation of civilization and progress, united under one government, and that a government of free institutions, will present a phenomenon such as never yet has been seen in the world.

History exhibits nothing like it, nothing that bears any close analogy to it. It strikes the imagination like the dawn of a millennium, and even the most sanguine and hopeful can scarcely regard it as more than a dream. But who is there wise enough to foresee that it will not be reality? Who is there bold enough to say that the Providence that creates will not preserve? Who is there authorized to condemn as blind and unreasoning optimism the hope that the experiment may be crowned with success?

It is true that a contrariety of interests is incident to so great and varied a territory. With but one interruption the republic extends from beyond the Arctic Circle in Alaska to the confines of the Torrid Zone, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the Pacific on the west. In square miles its area nearly equals that of all Europe. It contains every variety of soil, from the most fertile plains to barren mountains and desert wastes. It holds in its bosom every earth

and mineral useful to mankind. Its water boundary, with the indentations, exceeds 14,000 miles. It thus presents a field for every industry known to man. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, mining,— every pursuit, in short, that serves to sustain or enrich a people,— are here seen in a state of unwonted and growing activity.

That there must be some clashing of interests between the different sections of such a country is obviously true. That each section, in maintaining the Union, must make some sacrifice of its peculiar interests, is almost as obvious. But the question to be answered is, not whether such sacrifices are made, but whether they are not compensated by the advantages resulting from the Union.

In my judgment they are far more than compensated. A particular section may be oppressed for a time by unjust laws — as some have been, and I think yet are; but in the long run justice is pretty sure to prevail. In the meantime the incalculable benefits of the Union — free trade between all its parts, unrestricted communication, highways that penetrate the most remote recesses, exemption from foreign aggression, and peace at home — amply repay all the local sacrifices that occur. It is no answer to this to say that peace has not always prevailed, that we have just emerged from the most fearful civil war the world ever saw.

True it is so, but for seventy-three years domestic peace did prevail. For seventy-three years no man lost his life in civil commotion, no man was executed for a political offence. The history of no other nation records a similar experience. Not one! No, not one! "To ensure domestic tranquillity" is declared in the preamble to the constitution to be one of the objects for which it is ordained. It did ensure it for nearly three quarters of a century, and if, at last, we fell

upon evil times, the exception only illustrates the generality of the rule.

The diversity of races and languages among us is considered by some to be fraught with danger to the duration of the republic. American, Goth, Celt, Anglo-Saxon, Teuton, Latin, African, all contribute to form our population. But I apprehend that the danger supposed to arise from this diversity is greatly exaggerated. Of the 38,500,000 of our people in 1870 but 5,500,000 were foreign-born, and they were scattered throughout every State and Territory of the Union. And for the most part they are intelligent, industrious, thriving, and sincerely attached to free institutions. With the increase of population the proportion of foreign-born to native citizens will decrease each year. The various elements of white population will become more and more blended until a homogeneous whole will be the result.

The American of a century hence may differ from the American of the past or the present century, but yet, whatever his origin, he will be an American. What people are more homogeneous than the French? And yet in their veins runs the blood of Celt, Roman, Goth, Teuton, to say nothing of lesser subdivisions of the human race. What more composite in his origin than an Englishman, to whose blood the Celt, the Roman, the Dane, the Angle, the Saxon, the Norman, all contributed? Yet what unification more complete than that of the English people of to-day?

We have nothing, then, to fear, as it seems to me, from the diversity of race among our white population. They will, before many generations shall have passed away, be merged into one common type, the American of the future, with the same language, the same literature, the same sentiments, and substantially the same characteristics.

The African presents a more difficult problem. By some it is supposed that, following an instinct of his nature, the negro will eventually drift into a more congenial clime for him,—the tropics. But a century—nay, many centuries—may elapse before this will occur, should it ever occur. The climate of the southern States is not unfriendly to the African, as his rapid increase there for nearly two hundred years attests. His exodus, unless precipitated by a war of races, which humanity and the interest of both white and black forbid, must necessarily be slow. Practically, then, it may be assumed that he is to remain a citizen of the republic. And the question is: Will his continued existence among us endanger its duration? As long as he was a slave he was a bone of contention between the Abolitionist, seeking to set him free at whatever cost, and the Southerner, insisting upon the guarantees of the constitution.

Then, indeed, he did endanger the republic. But, though he is to some extent a bone of contention yet, I do not see that he is longer a source of peril. His race now constitutes less than thirteen per cent of our population. With each returning census, although the absolute number of the race may be greater, the proportion will be found to be less. Its numerical strength may increase, but its relative strength will constantly diminish. As a cause of strife among the whites, as a facile instrument in the hands of designing and unscrupulous men, the negro is certainly a disturbing element, but, great as are his evils, they are not beyond the rectifying power of time, prudence, and patience.

Another cause of anxiety is found in the proneness of mankind to war and their love of military glory. It was a celebrated English philosopher who said that war is the natural condition of the human race. It is to be hoped for

the credit of the race that the saying is untrue. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that two or three hundred or more millions of people — the future population of the United States if they hold together — have never yet maintained perpetual peace. So inclined are men to war, so intoxicating is military glory, so great are the honors and emoluments awarded to successful chieftains, that peace, perpetual peace, over a continent, seems more like the dream of a visionary than the well-founded hope of common sense.

In the four hundred and fifty-odd years of the Roman republic the Temple of Janus was shut but once. In no year since history was written has peace prevailed over the entire globe. Even in this nineteenth century, which we are accustomed to call enlightened, there is scarcely a great Power in Europe that has for twenty consecutive years been exempt from war. In view of these facts it may well be asked where, if the republic be perpetuated, will be the outlet for the warlike spirit of as warlike a people as ever existed? Will it find occupation in war upon our neighbors? Where are the neighbors who could long resist? Will it make battle with the Powers of Asia or of Europe? The soldier would gather few laurels in a war necessarily waged upon the deep. Where, then, but in civil strife could the warlike temper be displayed and military honors be won? And could the republic long bear the strain of such strife? I can only answer that nations have survived the most dreadful and sanguinary civil wars. Not to multiply instances, witness France, Austria, England, Spain. It may be unwise to expect that we shall escape the calamities that have befallen other peoples, but it is not, I trust, unreasonable to believe, or at least to hope, that we may be able to survive them.

It is not uncommon to hear the remark that the passions

and prejudices excited by the late Civil War will long endure and cannot fail to imperil the Union. This is not the time or the place to discuss that war. Indeed many years must elapse before impartial and philosophic history will do exact justice to the actors in that mighty scene. But this much may now be safely affirmed, that if the North believed, as it did, that right was on its side in suppressing what it regarded as rebellion, the South had equal confidence in the justice of her cause. For four long and weary years, against the most fearful odds and in the midst of privation and suffering that might have appalled the stoutest heart, her people upheld that cause with a heroism and fortitude never surpassed.

To doubt their sincerity in the face of this fact is simply to shut one's eyes to the truth; to heap unmerited reproaches upon them is to disregard the plainest maxims of wisdom, charity, and justice. It is doubtless true that the great features of the struggle will never be forgotten. The influence of a contest that placed America in the front rank of the warlike nations of the earth; that developed characters whose names can never pass into oblivion; that made many a battle-field heroic ground to be reverentially trodden by the feet of pilgrims from age to age,— cannot be effaced in a day.

But, unless all history teaches a lesson that is false, the bitterness of feeling engendered by the strife will pass away and cease to shape the conduct of men. What nation has ever suffered more from civil wars than France, but what Frenchman now speaks of them save as of events of history? What Englishman inquires, unless from the instinct of a harmless curiosity, whether his neighbor's ancestors wore the red rose of Lancaster or the white rose of York, or whether

at a later day they were Roundheads under Cromwell or Cavaliers under Charles? When were the passions of men ever more excited than in the civil wars of Rome, that followed the passage of the Rubicon and ended only when the victory at Actium placed the imperial diadem upon the brow of Octavius? Yet more than three centuries elapsed before the empire was divided, and it was not until nearly eleven centuries more had rolled around that Mahomet II placed the Crescent above the Cross on the dome of St. Sophia and put an end forever to the Empire of the East.

But why dwell upon particulars when every nation that exists or has ever existed presents an example of the forgiveness or forgetfulness of injuries given and received. A wise Providence has ordained that hate shall not reign "eternal in the human breast." The violent passions of our nature may dominate for a time, but the strain is too great to last, and in the end the better and gentler emotions prevail. Every revolving year, though it may not blot out the memories of the past, will soften their asperities, and the time may come, more speedily than the most sanguine now hope, when a fraternal feeling will animate the breasts of all who find shelter and protection under the ægis of the republic.

## SENATOR CHANDLER



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, American Senator, was born at Bedford, N. H., Dec. 10, 1813, and died at Chicago, Ill., whither he had gone to deliver a political speech, Nov. 1, 1879. He obtained his education in the common schools and at a seminary. Removing in 1833 to Detroit, Mich., he there became a wealthy merchant, and in 1851 was mayor of that city. From 1857 to 1875 he was United States Senator from Michigan. In Congress he was noted for his opposition to slavery and the extension of slave territory, and at the opening of the Civil War was outspoken in his advocacy of a vigorous prosecution of the war. In 1875, he was defeated in a senatorial election, but was appointed Secretary of the Interior, retiring from office in 1877. He was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1868 and again in 1876, and in February, 1879, he returned to the Senate, where in the following month he trenchantly denounced Jefferson Davis.

### CAMPAIGN SPEECH

[The following is a portion of Mr. Chandler's last speech, delivered at McCormick Hall, Chicago, on the evening of Oct. 31, 1879:]

WE have a matter under consideration to-night of vastly more importance than all the financial questions that can be presented to you, and that is, Are you, or are you not a nation? We had supposed for generations that we were a nation. In 1857 treason raised its head upon the floors of Congress. They said, "Do this, or we will destroy your government. Fail to do that, and we will destroy your government." One of them repeated this threat to old Ben Wade, and he straightened himself up and said, "Don't delay it on my account."

Careful preparations were made to carry out this treason. Arms were sent to the South. Ammunition and accoutrements followed; the navy was scattered; the credit of the government, whose six per cent bonds in 1857 sold for 122, was so utterly prostrated and debased that in February, 1862