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epacanic elements. They are fitted for peace and competent to war. They are not easily inflamed, and, when justly incensed, not easily extinguished. They are patient in adversity, endure cheerfully painful burdens, are inexorable for real wants more royal than any prince would dare to tax his people. They pour forth without stint relief for the sufferings of war, and raise obaroly out of the realm of a dole into a magnificent duty of beneficence.

The habit of industry among freemen prepares them to meet the exhaustion of war with increase of productiveness commensurate with the need that exists. Their habits of skill enable them at once to supply such articles as only freedom can muster, with arms and munitions such as only free industry can create. Free society is terrible in war, and afterward repairs the mischief of war with celerity almost as great as that with which the ocean heals the seams gashed in it by the cold blast of plowing ships.

Free society is fruitful of military genius. It comes when called; when no longer needed it falls back as waves do to the level of the common sea, that no wave may be greater than the undivided water. With proof of strength so great, yet in its infancy, we stand up among the nations of the world, asking no privileges, asserting no rights, but quietly assuming our place, and determined to be second to none in the race of civilization and religion.

Of all nations, we are the most dangerous and the least to be feared. We need not expose the perils that wait upon enemies that assault us. They are sufficiently understood. But we are not a dangerous people because we are warlike. All the arrogant attitudes of this nation, so offensive to foreign governments, were inspired by slavery, and under the administration of its misuses. Our castles, our habits, our interests, and our principles, incline us to the arts of peace. This nation was founded by the common people for the common people. We are seeking to embody in public economy more liberty, with higher justice and virtue, than have been organized before. By the necessity of our institutions, we are put in sympathy with the masses of men in all nations. It is not our business to subdue nations, but to agitate the powers of the common people. The vulgar ambition of mere domination, as it belongs to universal human nature, may tempt us; but it is withheld by the whole force of our principles, our habits, our precedents, and our legends.

We acknowledge the objection which our better political principles lay upon us, to set an example more temperate, humane, and just, than monarchical governments can. We will not suffer wrong, and still less will we inflict it upon other nations. Nor are we concerned that so many ignorant of our conduct, for the present, misconceive the reasons of our inevitable military "sufficiency." "Why should we fight for a little territory that you do not need?" Because it is ours! Because it is the interest of every citizen to save it from becoming a fortress and refuge of iniquity. This nation is our house, and our fathers' house, and we are not the men who will not defend it to the uttermost. More territory we need? England that is large enough to be our pocket, may think that it is more than we need, because it is more than it needs; but we are better judges of what we need than others are.

Shall a philanthropist say to a banker, who defends himself against a robber, "Why do you need so much money?" But we will not reason with such questioners. When any foreign nation will divide its territory and give it cheerfully away, we will answer the question why we are fighting for territory.

At present, for I pass to the consideration of benefits that accrue to the South in distinction from the rest of the nation—the South reaps only suffering; but good seed has been sown under the furrows of war, that peace will bring to harvest.

1. Deadly doctrines have been purged away in blood. The subtle poison of secession was a perpetual threat of revolution. The sword has ended that danger. That which reason had offered as a fact, Theory pronounced, "There can be no permanent government where each integral particle has liberty to fly off." "Who would venture upon a voyage on a ship, each plank and timber of which might withdraw at its pleasure? But the people have reasoned by the logic of the sword and of the bullet, and they have declared that states are inseparable parts of national government. They are not sovereign. State rights remain; but sovereignty is a right higher than all others; and that has been made into a common stock for the benefit of all. All further agitation is ended. This element must be cast out of political problems. Henceforth that poison will not re-venomate the blood.

2. Another thing has been learned—the rights and duties of minorities. The people of the whole nation are of more authority than the people of any section. These United States are supreme over Northern, Western and Southern States. It ought not to have required the awful chastisement of this war to teach that a minority must submit the control of the nation's government to a majority. The army and navy have been good political schoolmasters. The lesson is learned. Not for many generations will it require further illustration.

3. No other lesson will be more fruitful of peace than the dispersion of those conceits of vanity, which, on either side, have clouded the reason of the many congresses of all Americans. If it be a sign of madness to be able to fight, then Americans are men. The North, certainly, is no doubt whatever of the soldierly qualities of Southern men—

Southern soldiers have learned that all armies breed courage on this continent. Courage is a passport to respect. The people of all the regions of this nation are likely hereafter to cherish a generous admiration of each other's prowess. The war has bred respect, and respect will breed affection, and affection peace and unity.

4. No other event of the war can fill an intelligent Southern man, of candid nature, with more surprise than the revelation of the capacity, moral and military, of the black race. It is a revelation indeed. No people were ever less understood by those most familiar with them. They are said to be lazy, lying, impudent, and cowardly wretches, driven by the whip along to the tasks assigned to their own support and the functions of civilization. They were said to be dangerous, bloodthirsty, liable to insurrection; but four years of tumultuous distress and war have railed across the area inhabited by them, and I have yet to hear of one authentic instance of the misconduct of a colored man. They have been patient, and gentle, and docile, and full of faith and hope and pity; and, when summoned to freedom, they have emerged with all the signs and tokens of freedom will be to them what it was to us—the swiftness with which they have taken to citizenship. And after the Government, honoring them as men, summoned them to the field when once they were disciplined, and had learned the arts of war, they have proved themselves to be not second to their white brethren in arms. And when the roll of men that have shed their blood is called in the other land, many and many a dusky face will rise, dark no more than the light of eternal glory, shall shine upon it from the throne of God!

5. The industry of the Southern States is regenerated, and now rises upon a basis that never fails to bring prosperity. Its new industry is organized, and it is more than ever vital yet. It will spring like moss from the rocks that need, but that, and best, and true, to bring them forth. Through in many districts not a generation will see various stages of self-cultivated war, and our institutions may cease to be a source of weakness; yet, in our life-time we shall see states, as a whole, raised to a prosperity, vigor, wholesomeness, and immortality.

6. The destruction of base interests, working with a religion which tends toward true democracy, in proportion to it is pure and free, will create a new era of prosperity for the common laboring people of the South. Upon them have come the labor, the toil, and the loss of the war. They have fought bravely and they have fought for a cause that sought their degradation, while they were made to believe that it was for their own homes and altars. Their leaders meant a reciprocity which would work hard labor for them. Their political life, now in process, is to be a better one than before. The freed men have been taught to work for themselves, and to have a stake in the commonwealth. It has brought them out with a new sense of self-respect, and new ideas are to bud and blossom, and there will be more with different ambition and varied policy.

7. Misshapen the South, no longer a land of plantations, but of farms no longer tenured by slaves but by freeholders, will find no hindrance to the spread of education. Schools will multiply, books and papers will spread. Education will bless every hamlet. There is good yet coming for the South through darkness and tears, and blood, but his harvest it. It has been an unprosperous one. But in that harvest it will be a good one. It is his own. His insurance before were mostly slaves. She has had a war, but she has a greater harvest yet to reap. The more slaves she has had, the more slaves she has had. Every year of delay but made the harvest more precious. Now, by an earthquake, the soil is shaken down. And out on the horizon, in a land that shall weep, that from the day she was set out of the cancer she began to heal her health.

What, then, shall be the rebuilding of this republic? The evil spirit is cast out; why should not the nation cease to wander among tombs, eating dead? What should it not come, united and in its right mind, to sit at the feet of Jesus? Is it feared that the government will oppress the conquered states? What possible under the Government, which would narrow the base of that pyramid on which its own permanence depends?

Is it feared that the rights of the states will be withheld? The South is not more jealous of state rights than the North. State rights from the explicit and implied terms of the Constitution, particularly Northern, and not Southern states, were the guard of state rights as we were forming the Constitution. But, once united, the loyal states gave up for ever that which had been delegated to the National Government. And now, in the hour of victory, the loyal states do not wish to trench upon Southern state rights. They will not do it, or suffer it to be done. There is not to be one rule for high latitudes, and another for low. We take nothing from southern States that has not already been taken from the Northern. The South shall have just these rights that every Eastern, Middle, every western State has—no more and less.

We are not seeking our own aggrandizement by impoverishing the South. Its prosperity is an indispensable element of our. We have exhorted by all that we have suffered in war, how great is our estimate of the Southern States of this Union; and we will measure that estimate, now in peace, by still greater exertions for their rebuilding.

Will reflecting men not perceive, they, the wisdom of accepting established facts, and with alacrity of enterprise, begin to retrieve the past?

Slavery cannot come back

It is the interest, therefore, of every man to hasten toward. Do you want more war? Are you not yet weary of it? Will you gather up the unexploded fragments of this prodigious magazine of all mankind, and heap them up for continual explosion? Does not the South need peace? And, since free labor is inevitable, will you have it in its worst form, or its best? Shall it be ignorant, impudent, independent, or shall it be educated, self-respecting, moral, and self-supporting? Will you have men as drudges, or will you have them as citizens? Since they have vindicated the Government, and emancipated its foundation stones, with their blood, may they not offer the tribute of their support to maintain its laws and its rights? It is the interest of every man, therefore, to hasten toward peace. It is the interest of every man, therefore, to hasten toward peace.

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