

has been printed by the Truth Seeker, of New York. I would like to take for granted that it has been or will be, read by you, for it is quite necessary to enable you to understand well the reasons why the birthday of Paine should be made the Republican Festival of the United States and of the world — PROVIDED always, that we are to have the Republican as our form and model of government.

Finding ourselves thus free for this evening to grapple with the question of the nature and continuance of the Republic, let us pause and realize where we are by listening to the voices of those who have made it possible for us to be what and where we are. Yes, let us for a few moments turn back to the past and hearken to its admonitions as though from the "opened heavens." Would not its voice be like that which came to the retreating Saint of old: "Quo Vadis?"—"Whither goest thou?" Do you remember how those words are said to have come to Saint Peter? Why, from 'the heavens' when he was about to leave the Rome of Nero to escape persecution unto death? They came when he was about to deny his Lord again, and admonished him that he must go back like a true soldier of the cross and bear witness and suffer, for if not the cause of the great redemption would fail, and the Lord would have to return and be again crucified, or the human race could never be saved. An old myth, you may well say. Yes, but our QUO VADIS? to us is a real, an awful challenge of history and evolution. For if the Republic is the true polity and salvation of mankind, and we, after being called to save it, allow it to be sacrificed, again must the race decline, and again must Humanity, "the Christ that is to be", be sacrificed by ever longer revolutions and wars before the Era of Liberty, Peace and Progress can return to permanently bless our race.

The latter part of the last century made of our civilized nations a Golgotha of sacrifice to achieve the certainty of a better era. Were they mistaken? Shall we flee from the obligation and sacrifice of following up their victories, or make common cause with their enemies, and forget the thousands—nay, millions who perished that a real Democratic Republic might become possible and never again "perish from off the face of the earth". When the revolutions of the last century were achieved the revolutionists were thinking as much of their posterity as of themselves. How strange it would have seemed to them if they could have fore-heard the utterances of today? How different their efforts would have been, could they have known the little labor and shame it would have been for us to repudiate their Bills of Rights, the Immortal Declaration, and the great Constitution, and its main and ever avowed objects and purposes?

We can add to their voice in these fundamental documents a few confirmations and even these condensed:—

Thomas Paine asks: "What is the Republic?" and replies:

"The best form of government for conducting the 'res-publica', or the public business of a nation, after it becomes too extensive and populous for the simple, democratic form." The Federal Republic, he shows at length, is its natural form, in which the people sustain the imperishable States and their divisions for their domestic affairs, and the indestructible Nation for the general, common, internal and international purposes. He shows that,

IN A REPUBLIC,

(1) Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights.

(2) Government is instituted to preserve these rights, viz.: Liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.

(3) All government and authority is derived only from the people governed.

Again he says:—

"I am the avowed, open, and intrepid enemy of what is called Monarchy; and I am such by principles which nothing can either alter or corrupt — by my attachment to Humanity; by the anxiety which I feel within myself for the dignity and the honor of the human race; by the disgust which I experience when I observe men directed by children, and governed by brutes; and by those sentiments which make me shudder at the calamities, the exactions, the wars, and the massacres with which Monarchy has crushed mankind; in short, it is against all the hell of Monarchy that I have declared war."

And again:—

"It is no longer the paltry cause of kings, or of this or that individual, that calls France and her armies into action. It is the great cause of ALL. It is the establishment of a NEW ERA, that shall blot despotism from the earth, and fix on lasting principles of peace and citizenship the great REPUBLIC OF MAN."

And again he says:

"Let it then be heard, and let man learn to feel that the true greatness of a nation is founded on principles of HUMANITY. . . I defend the cause of the poor, of the manufacturer, of the tradesman, of the farmer, and of all those on whom the real burden of taxes falls—but above all I defend the CAUSE OF HUMANITY."

Again Paine says:

"I speak an open and disinterested language dictated by no passion but that of Humanity. Independence is my happiness, and must be that of the people. I view things as they are, without regard to place or person. My COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, TO DO GOOD IS MY RELIGION."

The above and similar expressions of Paine, culminating in his expression in the Seventh Crisis, "The Religion of Humanity," were the real foundation of our Republic and of all modern Republicanism. Change the word "Monarchy" to Imperialism, and you have his verdict upon THE issue of our day.

JEFFERSON reaffirms the Preamble to the Declaration. What a volume could be collected from his works sustaining it, and closing with the ever memorable words:

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

WASHINGTON, though conservative and constructive in administration, like Jefferson, was as sturdy a Republican. He says:

"The preservation of the sacred fire of Liberty, and the perpetuation of the REPUBLICAN MODEL of government, were considered by its founders as finally staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Again, while Washington, like Paine, did not approve of the unconstitutional and anti-republican parts of the French Revolution, he retained to the last his devotion to Republicanism. In his reply of thanks to Paine for fifty copies of his "Rights of Man," Washington, to whom that work was dedicated, says, May 6, 1792, when he, too, was very busy with a "Congress on his hands":—

"I rejoice in the information of your personal prosperity, and as no one can feel a greater interest in the happiness of mankind than I do, that it is the first wish of my heart that the enlightened policy of the present age may diffuse to all men those blessings to which they are entitled, and lay the FOUNDATION of happiness for future generations.

Washington had in similar terms replied to Paine's letter sending to him the key of the Bastille, August 10, 1790. (Conway's Life of Paine, Vol. I., 300-303.)

There is no time, and there certainly should be no need to repeat further the declarations of the generation which endorsed the Declaration of Independence UNANIMOUSLY, as the most important political and human document ever issued by Man.

DANIEL WEBSTER brought to a focus and transmitted to us the voice of that generation and its century when he sent to us this splendid invocation, admonition and entreaty:—

"This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are OURS! Ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to TRANSMIT. Generations past and generations to come hold us responsible for the sacred trust. OUR FATHERS from behind admonish us with their anxious, paternal voices, POSTERITY calls out to us from the bosom of the future, THE WORLD turns hither its solicitous

eyes;—All, all conjure us to act wisely and faithfully in the relations which we sustain to them."

Following these glorious voices of the "Spirits" and the "Masters" in the past, and their hopes for the future, we went through a bloody civil—a fratricidal war; we buried our very souls in debt and obligations that we have not yet, after more than a quarter of a century, been able to REALLY lessen; and now we are met at the close of the century with the avowal that all of this blood, toil, debt and sacrifice has been a foolish experiment to determine "What is all this worth?" And are we to answer, as far as our Republic is concerned, NOTHING! That our great Revolution was in fact, and in the long run, a mistake; that our government is not only to sympathize with the British armies in serving others as they did us; but that we are to imitate their example, and rival and, if possible, excel them in bearing the "white man's burden," of placing upon them a colonial Empire, instead of the Federal Republic which would sustain Democratic home governments as the nurseries of the new brotherhood of Mankind.

Now we are laughed at if we cherish the hope of Thomas Paine, of Washington, and of the "Fathers," that the "Starry Banner is to be the Constellation of human rights," and those rights the basis of the independence, liberty, growth welfare and happiness of every people, as it was, and was ever to be to us. Where are we? Whither are we drifting? If there is any possible doubt about it, the testing inquiry should begin at once in the head and heart of every American; for as to this FOUNDATION of everything, "truth can never be confirmed enough though doubt did ever sleep."

And of whom must we inquire? When the sailor is in doubt as to his course of whom does he make inquiry? Why of SCIENCE, of course, the verified and classified knowledge of Mathematics, Astronomy and Navigation. He would be considered as not only "unsafe," but practically insane if he should fail to make this inquiry and follow its results.

And now as to our SHIP OF STATE, the same duty of taking the Scientific bearings of our course, and of following them faithfully when taken, is the most binding and solemn duty that rests upon the conscience of every citizen. What those physical Sciences above named are to the ship at sea, the Historical and Social Sciences, summed up in the term SOCIOLOGY, are to the Ship of State. The evolution of History reveals the steady course of Progress of which that Science is the outcome and exponent. It is said that it differs from the physical Sciences, because its results are not precise and certain as in them.