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The Nation's Capital.

Original Manuscript
of
The Nation's Capital
Address

delivered by Gen. O. O. Howard
at the 1st Congregational Church

Feb. 22 1872

Interlined in Genl Howard's

hand-writing

~~A~~ idea for The Nation's Capital.

[1] the site

The National Observatory ~~stands~~ ^{is built} upon

a small hill or knoll jutting out

into the Potomac. Upon this hill, ~~one~~ ^{see the picture}

~~was~~ ^{one picture} ~~was~~ ^{who} then in early manhood, ~~who~~ ^{who} knew

not as yet what was before himself or the

nation for which he was soon to draw his

sword to carve a place among other nations

~~where he is said~~ ^{it is said to have} ~~is said to have~~ frequently encamped: He

^{then} used ~~these~~ to remark upon the wonderful

natural advantages of the vicinity for the

location of a great city. He was a
Surveyor; he was a military man. He
seized upon the present site of the National
Capital as by an intuition. Within that
grand amphitheatre, encircled by wooded
hills embraced between the Eastern
Branch and the broad Potomac the
eye of his young imagination had al-
ready planned, and planted a mag-
nificent city to take the place

A plea for the Nation's Capitol

When George Washington was in early manhood, and knew not, as yet, what was before himself or the nation for which his sword was to carve a place among the other nations of the earth, he is said to have frequently encamped on a small hill jutting out into the Potomac. This is now the site of the National Observatory.

He then remarked the wonderful natural advantages of the vicinity for the location of a great city. He was a surveyor; he was a military man. He seized upon the ^{present} site of the National Capitol as by an intuition. Within that grand amphitheatre, encircled by wooded hills, embraced between the Eastern Branch and the broad Potomac the eye of his young imagination had already planned and planted a magnificent city to take the place

2

of the unthinned forests that lay
beneath him.

The youthful
dreams of such a man often become
solid realities; they seem to be
the foreshadowings of the plan of
God. When the Revolutionary
struggle was over and the young
land-surveyor emerged from the
smoke of the British cannon, the
most commanding figure in his coun-
try's history, Providence, and

the gratitude of a redeemed nation
gave to him the actual founding of
the very city seen by his youthful
eye, to be the Nation's Capital, and
to publish to the whole world and
to all posterity his own immortal
name; to stand as a memorial of
himself. It was a fitting termina-
tion of his career.

By whom Rome was founded, ~~no~~ ^{no}
one really knows. Its early history

is enshrouded in the mists and
hazy glory of Mythology. Its
stories ^{of} Faustulus and the she-wolf
that suckled Romulus and Remus
may do to amuse boyhood; may
serve to engage the student's atten-
tion and draw him into the rich
labyrinth of Mythology, ~~that~~
~~open to him, in pursuing the~~
~~Latin language;~~ but for purposes
of history they are valueless.

5
It is now ~~admitted~~ ^{supposed} that Romulus
stands for the Roman people. American
history has been, throughout, in
the sunlight. There are no dim
figures of imaginary heroes, ~~useless~~
~~it be the shape taken by the pas-~~
~~thous fame of John Brown~~ ^{and}
~~marching on.~~ There are no myths
of God-descended men. It is bare-
ly eighty years since the present
site of the National Capital was
selected, and one reason why the

City of Philadelphia where the Supreme legislative body of the nation had held its sessions was abandoned, should never be forgotten.

It was thought eminently desirable that legislative deliberations should be unbiassed, uninterrupted by ~~local~~ by local influences, local combinations. The fixing upon Washington as the Capital was the result, in part, of the conduct of a Company of Pennsylvania recruits who left

Leicester, marched to Philadelphia, where they were joined by two hundred more from the Barracks and proceeded with martial music to the State House, the 2nd of June 1783, demanding the redress of their supposed grievances. They were not veteran soldiers of the Revolution. - The men who had fought the nation's battles, having driven the invader back had gone home quietly to the ranks of peace loving citizens, as yet unpaid for their heroic

services. These raw recruits who has
 done nothing, and suffered nothing,
 but who fancied they were not to be
 treated with proper consideration
 by the State Legislature then delib-
 erating in the same building with
 the National Congress, thus appeared
 before the doors blockading them for
 hours. It was an indignity that
 Congress would not brook. It would
 not deliberate in the presence of
 bayonets; and apprehensive that the

State authorities might be unable to furnish proper protection, the body, ^{at once} adjourned to Princeton, until General Washington could afford them relief.

The great men of that period were very jealous of any infringement upon their public rights and prerogatives. They reasoned like this: A National Capital is the Seat of National Legislation. What-
Ever may, upon occasion, interfere

with the purity of this legisla-
tion, local interests, local powers,
local authorities, must be kept a-
loop. Circumstances involving
no special foresight or provision,
had determined other Capitals;
they would select, they would
name, they would lay out their
own. It was ^{measurably} an original ^{plan} ~~idea~~,
like that of the very government
itself. It was a part of the

forethought peculiar to the character of those men. Who that

has read French History, and seen how the populace of Paris,

rising up in a moment, have ^{obstructed and}

defied and demolished the government, making and unmaking

Republics and Empires, until

the French ^{nation} ~~character~~ has become

the synonym for instability

~~and disregard of law,~~ can

doubt the wisdom of their decision? Or is it at all certain what had been the fate of our government, if, during the Rebellion, it had held its sittings in New York City, the business metropolis of the country! Who that recalls the bloody riots by which the disloyal attempted to resist the draft, can doubt that similar attempts would have been made

to over-awe the legislative Bodies
of the nation? It was a happy
py thing: that the seat of the
National Government was so far
from other centers of interest and
power; that it was within the
limits of the Border States; thus
making its defence keep the
war mainly in the Enemy's Coun-
try; in short, that it was planted
where a military Eye had selected

its position:— at the junction of
two rivers, with an environment
of hills, which were, in themselves
natural fortifications.

———— (2. Its name)
It is indeed a high honor, if not
the highest that these United
States can have, that this is the
country of Washington. If the
whole country could have borne
his name, as America, though
wrongly, bears the name of Amer=

icus Vespuceius; as Bolivia rightly bears that of Bolivar, it would have been a fitting tribute to the man of the purest patriotism and the noblest civic virtues.

It would have been only a feeble recognition of the debt the country owed him. Next to the high honor of giving the country its name was that of giving a name to its capital. The name of the

"Father of his Country" is thenceforth attached to all public documents, to all State papers, to all official acts of the Executive to the end of the government's life.

The government at Washington is ^{now} synonymous all over the world with that of the United States.

There is a historic fitness in this fact which the whole world recognizes. ^(i.e. its stability) Had the late rebellion

been successful in seizing the
Capital, (the danger of it appeared
imminent at least three times du-
ring the struggle) and had it
succeeded in issuing its legislation
from the halls of Congress, in
the eyes of other nations it had
been a staggering blow to the
unity of the Republic. And it
gave to a government even as e-
phemeral as ^{the confederate} ~~their own~~, an un-

stable and peripatetic character,
 that during its short and uncertain
 life it was transferred from Mont-
 gomery to Richmond. This re-
 moval was a premonition of the
 time when its Chief Executive
 should flit southward bearing its
 archives in his pocket and cover-
 ing his sacred person with a lady's
 water-proof.

(H. How Patriotism ^{from it.} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{is})
 Patriotism is a sensi-

time plant; and no nation,
least of all a nation that has few
life-long public men; that has
no titled dignitaries, can afford
to trifles with it. The fact that
Washington, the Capital City,
founded by the man whose name
it bears, and whose sacred dust
is deposited so near it, was in dan-
ger of seizure and perhaps of de-
vastation, was the frequent rally =

^{Certainly}
~~Some~~ of us found it ^{then} better than ever before
ing cry of the late war; ~~and~~ when
the soldier~~s~~ marched over the Long-
Bridge to the uncertainties of the
Battlefield, and turned to catch
a parting look at the magnif-
icent dome, that still went up
under the hand of the workman,
(notwithstanding the dimensions
of the civil struggle,) it stood to
sine for the nation itself.

Washington was then the heart of;

the nation. At the other end of

the Avenue in the Presidential Man-

~~the Executive head, the people's friend the people's hope~~

sion, was the pensive, patient Lin-

coln, ~~the nation's Executive Head.~~

~~Now~~ Go with me to Arlington Heights;

Stand among the fifteen thousand

men, privates and officers, from
every

loyal state in the Union; stand

where you can take in the col-

umns of headboards that mark

the resting places of these soldiers

who are the eternal witnesses against
the crime of rebellion, and, by God's
principle of Compensation, sleeping
in the soil of the man who
abandoned it that he might lead
a host against his nation's life.
Interrogate them where they lie
beneath those old oaks, or in
yonder tomb of indistinguishable
dust, why they flocked from the
East and west and from the

North, around the nation's Stan-
 dard? ^{They find silence, pass down the answer} It was to protect the
 heart and head of the nation;
 the government of the nation; the
 nation ^{expressly imaged forth} embodied in its Capital -
Washington. And it is indeed
 fitting that they should lie here,
 within sight of the proud struc-
 tures that are the symbols of
 national life. In their silent
 Pivots which know no earthly

2nd
waking, they still guard that for
which they surrendered life, even
as they once guarded it with their
bristling bayonets. ^(our sacred memories.) So long as
the memories of the recent strug-
gle remain fresh in men's minds,
there can be no other Capital
to this nation than Washington.

Sherman said: "While our heroes
"live the Capital will not be re-
"moved." May we not extend the

Sentiment?: While our patriotism
 lives, out of which heroism springs
^{Washington's gift & Lincoln's Museum}
~~the Capital shall not be changed.~~ ^{remain here!}

But the National Capital has
 civic memories, as well as military,
 and are they not interlocked, the
 one with the other? ^{Here} ~~There~~ met
 the great Titans in debate: Benton,
 Calhoun, Clay; and Webster, Easily
 prince among his peers; Easily tower-
 ing above them all. ^{Here} ~~There~~ the

Hydra Secession was scotched,
not killed. ~~There~~ ^{in words} were fought, the
battles for and against human
freedom, afterwards fought with
cannon. ~~There~~ ^{Here} legislation, pacific,
compromising, put off, from time to
time, the evil day it could not a-
vert. ~~There~~ ^{Here} rang the battle axe of
the Anti-Slavery heroes, who dare
speak an unpopular truth, from
to the present ^{fearless & persistent} defender of human rights, Charles Sumner
Solon Quincy Adams ~~there~~. ~~There~~

^{was}
 our Presidents and Senators and
 Judges pronounced the oath recor-
 ded in Heaven, that they would be
 faithful to the Constitution and
 laws of the land; and over that
 threshold they stepped ^{for the} who had
 treason in their hearts and on their
 tongues, ^{doubtless} leaving with the expecta-
 tion of soon returning in triumph.

"They went out from us, but they were
 not of us; for if they had been of us,"

"They would, no doubt, have continued
"with us." They went out self-Exiled
from their country's future. They
went out to the infamy of stinging
the bosom that nourished them.

Some men say: "It would be a good
"thing if all these events could be
"forgotten; if the sacred acres at
"Arlington and the other National
"Cemeteries could be converted into
"wheatfields; if the heirs of ~~the~~"

"of the Confederates could have
 "the old estates again; if Washing-
 itself,
 "town, and all the associations that
 "cluster around it: memories of the
 "the inflexible Stanton and the
 "great hearted Lincoln; of victory
 "and defeat; if Washington and
 "all these recollections could be
 "obliterated". Never! It would
 be the greatest calamity that could
 happen. ^{by a} Just as a tree feeds upon

~~xxxxx~~ soil upon which it has
 showered its many harvests of
 leaves and fruit, so every nation
 lives upon its memories. A na-
 tion without patriotic memories
 is not half a nation; it is like
 a child without human parentage,
 an orphan among the nations of
 the earth.

(C. Webster's appreciation of Washington)

Never perhaps had any man a
 keener eye to detect, a more po-

etic mind to enjoy, or greater
 command of language to de-
 scribe landscape beauties, advan-
 tages of situation, than Daniel
 Webster. Standing at the East
 front of the Capitol, near the
 very place where the great Wash-
 ington had stood a half century
 before; about to witness the laying
 of the corner stone of the extension
 of that Edifice of which Washington

had laid the original corner
stone; on the 4th day of July, 1851,
he spoke as follows:

"Who does not feel that when Presi-

dent Washington laid his hand

"upon the foundation of the first

"capital he performed a great

"work of perpetuation for the

"union and the Constitution?"

"Who does not feel that this seat of

"the general government, healthful"

"in its situation, central in its posi-
"tion, near the mountains whence
"gush Springs of wonderful virtue,
"steeming with Nature's richest prod-
"ucts, and yet not far from the
"bays and great Estuaries of the sea;
"Easily accessible and generally a-
"greeable in climate and associa-
"tion, does give strength to the u-
"nion of these States? That this city
"bearing an immortal name, with its"

"Broad streets and avenues; its pub-
 "lic squares and magnificent Edi-
 "fices ^{most in design} [of the general government],
 "erected for the purpose of carrying
 "on within them the important busi-
 "ness of the several departments;
 "for the reception of wonderful and
 "Curious inventions; for the preser-
 "vation of the records of American
 "learning and genius; of extensive
 "collections of the products of nature"

"and art, brought hither, for study
"and comparison, from all the parts
"of the world; adorned with numer-
"ous churches, and sprinkled over,
"an supply to say, with public schools,
"where all the children of the city,
"without distinction, have the means
"of obtaining an Education, and with
"academies and colleges, pro-
"fessional schools and public libra-
"ries, should continue to receive, as"

"it has heretofore received, the fostering care of Congress, and should be regarded as the permanent seat of the National Government?"

"Here too a Citizen of the great republic of letters, a republic which knows not the metes and bounds of political geography, has prophetically indicated his conviction that America is to exercise a wide and powerful influence in the intellec-

"true world, by founding in this city,
"as a commanding position in the
"field of science and literature, and
"placing under the guardianship of
"the government, an institution for the
"increase and diffusion of knowl=
"edge among men. With each suc=
"ceeding year new interest is added
"to the spot; it becomes connected with
"all the historical appreciations of our
"Country; with our Statesmen and"

"New orators, and alas! its come-
"tery is annually enriched by the
"ashes of her chosen sons. Before us
"is the broad and beautiful river,
"separating two of the original thir-
"teen states, which a late President,
"a man of determined purpose and
"inflexible will, but patriotic heart,
"designed to span with arches of
"ever enduring Granite, symbolical
"of the firmly cemented union of the"

"North and South. That President
"was General Jackson.

"On its banks repose the ashes of the
"Father of his Country, and at our side
"by a singular felicity of position
"overlooking the city which he design-
"ed, and which bears his name, rises
"to his memory the marble column,
"Sublime in its simple grandeur,
"and fitly intended to reach a loftier
"height than any similar structure on"

"the face of the whole Earth."

(y. the nation's life passed)

So spoke the great Webster twenty years ago, and three years before he was carried to his long repose at Marshfield.

But while the sea has been chanting there, its eternal monotone, what changes have passed upon the nation; upon the nation's Capital?

That parrieidal blow at the govern-
 which he so much dreaded, and
 which he prayed might be averted

in his time, has been struck, and
 has failed. By his side sleeps a son
 of his who laid down his life for the
 Country, almost in sight of that spot
 where the great orator then stood,

Even as that patriotic father had expressed

substantially, as follows:

ed it: which expressions ^{substantially, as follows:} has become that
 son's
 worthiest Epitaph = "In the changes &

convulsions that come to all nations and
 that may come to our own, if ever a
 sacrilegious hand shall be raised against
 this government God grant that some
 one ~~that~~ in whose veins ~~is~~ flowing
 my blood may be ready to parry the
 blow & if need be, to lay down his life in

its defence^s

The sky above our heads is the same as before, our territorial limits are not diminished; not one star, however temporarily dimmed has been blotted from the nation's galaxy. The nation has been redeemed from a great curse; the curse that made even the tongue of Webster ^{at times} to falter and to speak but

partial truth. The curse and the burden are gone and the nation has received a new lease of life; and the National Capital, held back so long by old traditions which were averse to human rights and modern improvements, has been especially benefitted. The incubus of the old civilization has been lifted from it. From having a population of 51,687 (including Dist.) in 1851, when Mr. Webster spoke, it has gone forward until it has a popula-

44

thirty one

x 700

tion of one hundred and ~~ten~~ thousand,

From having a property valuation of

\$ 14,000,000. (14,018,874) ^{accurate not including U.S. buildings & grounds} it has gone

forward until it reaches. Per. Prop. \$11,256,177.30

^{Estate} Realty about \$95,000,000. Total;

\$ 106,256,177.30.

(4. The Capital Extension
= views from the dome)

The extension of

the Capitol, interrupted by the exis-

tence of an armed rebellion of greater
magnitude than was ever before sup-

pressed, has been completed. It stands

there in its white splendor the cynosure

of all eyes; the centre from which de-

part the great avenues, like so many radii, to the surrounding hills that are its circumference. Climbing nearly four hundred feet till you stand upon the summit of the dome and looking West and South the Potomac lies at your feet. Just beyond it, upon a high bank and with prominent pillars and projecting from the green foliage, stands Arlington, the spot from which General Robert E. Lee may be supposed

to have bidden farewell to his country,
 and from which he looked down the
 broad intervals, then cultivated by his
 bondmen. A half mile below stretches
 the Long Bridge, across which so many
 "unreturning braves" marched into Virginia.

The broad thoroughfare which runs West,
 bearing northward to the Treasury build-
 ing and the President's house is the prin-
 cipal avenue of the city, and bears the
 name of Pennsylvania - from that sturdy

~~47~~

old state that has now given to history
its Gettysburg to complete the record
of its ^{glorious} honorable history. You have now
an uninterrupted view of it to the
Treasury. Here and there, on either hand,
are introduced the magnificent architec-
tural structures for the use of the va-
rious departments, any one of which
would be deemed remarkable in a single
city - ~~[and we do not forget the New~~
~~York public buildings whose summary~~

~~furnishing has cost so many millions.~~

The Patent Office, a ^{perfect type} model in architecture, with its vast storehouse of models of the products of American genius. The Post Office, the center of that system of transmitting social and newspaper intelligence to all parts of the world; bringing letters from the most distant lands and lodging them in the township or the dwelling of the citizen everywhere.

The Treasury, whence the sinews

of peace, as well as war, are issued And

Mr Boulton

Amiens

where that wonderful Yankee commo-

nist sits embolling the money mar-

kets of the world, and relentlessly

reducing the National debt. To your

left - that structure of red sand stone

with towers and turrets - the Smithsonian

a kind of Super-University. It is in

the midst of a generous park, with

walks and drives, as quiet and free

from dust, ^{in summer} as if in the midst of the
 country, while the ~~thronged~~ and
 crowded avenue is scarcely an eighth
 of a mile away. Within are galleries
 of natural curiosities - beasts, birds
 and fishes - gathered from every
 clime; models of the dress and the
 dwellings of the Esquimaux and
 Hattentot, samples of their imple-
 ments of peace and of war; busts of
 Eminent men, and other things of ^{interest} in-

51
numerable. Just beyond the Smithsonian, toward the ^{West}, is the Agricultural Department, the center of surpassing interest to the farmer and the fruit grower. The grounds are laid out with great beauty and skill: In front bloom and blend the choicest, sweetest flowers of the passing season. Within are collections of seeds and fruit; samples of the grain and grass which will grow best in the

various sections of the country; specimens of birds noxious and innocuous, of barn fowls from the cackling goose to the bumpet-voiced Chantrelleer.

If you look northward there is the Old Soldiers Home - two miles distant on an eminence, where ^{is the grave of all} the veterans while away the hours beneath pleasant shades fighting their battles over ^{again} _{and} in the grounds of which of a spring or Summer Evening you may meet the

Carriages of public dignitaries and
 private citizens taking the fresh air
 and securing one of the most command-
 ing landscape views that mortal eyes
 ever saw! On a ridge a half mile below
 it rise, sharply, ^{new} structures which more
 than anything else indicate the pres-
 ence and power of the new regime
 that has succeeded the war. These
^{not excluding others}
 colored students, receive every education-
 al advantage that can be furnished.

It is the proud distinction of this University - for it is now fairly organized in all its departments - that it has had within it, ^{already} at one and the same time, pupils of five different nationalities, and that its trustees and faculties are constituted without reference to nationality or religious denomination.

Twenty years ago, though Mr. Webster speaks of schools where all people without distinction have the means

of obtaining an education, such an institution would have been impossible; five years ago a prominent Educator of youth declared the then rising walls "an outrage that the people of the Capital would never tolerate." And even now, since the war; since the emancipation and elevation of the slaves; since their assured citizenship, this institution and the Bureau that aided it into existence have been hounded

as were the slaves when making
observations of the North Star, and
^{strangely} attempting to violate the fugitive
Slave law. Calumnies have been
heaped upon it, and its friends;
wicked prosecutions have been en-
tered upon and conducted after the
fashion of the old slave spirit,
out of hostility to the race which
it especially benefits. It stands
there, however, visible far down the

Potomac, and overlooking the very
grove where Washington sleeps, the
first attempt to realize his fond dream
of a National University at the Capitol,
for the founding of which he left pro-
vision in his will, but which provis-
ion was wholly unfulfilled by his ex-
ecutors; it stands there a necessary
fruit of the war, and of the citizen-
ship of the bondmen; an indication
that what the colored man has, he will

be taught to understand and pro-
sect; that he will shew to be false
all prognostications respecting his
failure to become a man among men,
and to meet his responsibilities as an
integral part of the republic. If the
Eye sweep around still further to the
right it falls upon a group of substan-
tial brick structures erected by the
government for the education of the
deaf mutes of the nation. Here young

men and women, denied the power of articulate utterance, with the sense of hearing sealed up, may receive collegiate training, even as though they were favored like the rest of us. Upon the high ground South of the Eastern Branch is the Government Hospital for the ^{insane} ^{of them} ^{now largely peopled by Soldiers & those who have been employed by the Govt.} And here lying between the Navy Yard and the Washington Arsenal are the Providence and Marine Hospitals - where our government has year-

ly made provision for the sick ^{and}
maimed. One day would not suf-
fice to visit and inspect the public
buildings, and their contents, in plain
view, which I have not named; build-
ings where the growing needs of a great
civilized people are being met: as
the old Ford's Theatre, where Lincoln
fell, converted into one of the most
extensive and curious medical muse-
ums in the world. ^{Cameron's Art building} The Georgetown

Colleges; the Columbian College,
crowning different heights, ambitious
of University privileges. Asylums for
aged women, others for orphan chil-
dren. The extensive wards where
the aged and invalid ~~and~~ negroes
are cared for. The War and Navy
Departments, and the grand bank
building erected by the Freedmen's sa-
vings since the war: the upper part
rented to the Signal Corps; the Central

floor to the Department of Justice, and lower occupied by the central office of the Savings Company, whose many branches extend from New York to New Orleans.

(g. disloyalty to the ^{U.S.} Capital) - disloyalty
 As an argument in favor of a ~~change~~
~~of locality of the capital,~~ it is often
 said that: Washington is a very immoral and corrupt city. ~~I have re-~~ ^{having}
~~sided there~~ ^{here} ~~xxx~~ since the war, I
 have been associated with a large

number of your public men - with
 many of them very intimately; and
 not a few of them I know to be men of
 the greatest simplicity of character
 and purity of life; and ^{it is a fact beyond question} ~~assure you~~
^{large} ~~that a much greater proportion~~ ^{certainly a decided majority} of your
 Senators and Representatives are up-
~~to date~~ ^{too often charged.}
 right men. ~~there is generally supposed.~~
^{The drinking dissoluteness has largely diminished in 45 yrs.}
 Many become better at Washington than
 they were ~~at home~~ ^{at home} in the antecedent
 years. I will give you two exam-

pleas to shew you how little we
may rely upon current gossip.

(in some parts of the country it is believed)
A certain Senator is represented to
be corrupt in all his dealings - glut-
ting himself with public plunder -
licentious and drunken in his pri-
vate life; altogether worldly and
wicked. These charges are not
confined to a partisan opposition
press. A political friend follows
him for hundreds of miles for a false

Story, and deliberately adds to it
and gives it abundant circulation.

Now this ^{Senator} man lives quietly with a
charming family to which he is true.

He never tasted strong drink in his
life. He is not only not corrupt, but
among the foremost to expose villainy
and robbery - even that vilest and
meanest of all theft: the filching
of one's good name. He is large hearted
and benevolent, active in all Christian

His summation ⁶⁶ is, a Christian gentleman
work, and, of course, in spite of
the scum and froth of falsehood, his
story will so record him. The octet is
the case of a Senator, whom, in 1861,
I heard cursing with a ~~low-mouthed~~
roughness that startled me when I
was told his name. He is now trans-
formed under God's hand, and has
been for years a model of Christian
living and Christian statesmanship.
But ^{it is said} the ~~ascribed~~ corruption belongs to

more permanent

the denizens of Washington. Yes, there
 is wickedness enough. There are our
 "Five Points," not confined to one lo-
 cality where several ways meet - There
 are grog-shops on many corners, and
 some houses devoted to gambling, con-
 terfeiting and other villainess; but let
 the city that is without these sins, from
 the careful purity of New England to the
 careless roughness of the Western border,
 cast the first stone at Washington.

perhaps
The ^{perhaps} permanent citizens have little to
do with the follies, frivolities and vices
which always, more or less, follow the
Seat of Government. A majority of
them are unambitious, retired, industri-
ous citizens; to be found at their places
of business during the week and at their
various churches on the Lord's day. And
as for Christian activity - in not a
few of them, I have never seen it ex-
celled, from the last four years, for ex-

judging of observation.

I speak of this simply because I am more familiar with the facts
and not because it is in advance of others in the things stated.)

ample: The church to which I belong

this church

whose edifice was erected, in part, by
Christians all over the country; a church

only about five years old, and whose we

aspire to be neither white nor black,

but of one complexion in the Lord our

Savior, made the following report for

last year: Enrolled in Sabbath school

pupils 1,116, including missions, instructed by

87 teachers, mostly of its members. It has 3

preaching stations; at these, prayer meetings

held weekly. 3 new churches being formed
Raised for itself ^{for current expenses} \$6,400; for benevolent pur-
poses \$1244.83* Paid upwards of \$20,000 ^{on church debt}, and assumed
pledges for upwards \$15,000 more. Not a single rich man
on the church roll. Membership about 330.

(W. Young men Christian Association)

Besides this, together with other

equally active

Christian churches, it affords most

efficient help to the Y.M.C.A.; an As-

sociation ^{in which our able Governor has been most deeply interested & has} ^{again & again materially aided, on Association} ^{which he} in our city Especially needed

and remarkably zealous and efficient,

lifting up the Christian standard

against every wrong; sending its members

wherever are the fallen or neglected; to

* Y.M.C.S. \$324.51. A.M.A. \$288.24. W.M. B.S. \$81.88. W.M.S. \$80. W.M.C. \$470.20

reform - schools, jails, workhouses, barracks and street corners - Indeed out of this organization has sprung a kindred one for women. Going to the very gateway of perdition to hold prayer meetings and plucking up penitent souls as brands from the burning in answer to their cry for help, we followed the necessities by founding a Women's Christian Association, a home, a refuge, a place where employment can be furnished

to those that need it. In one word,
I hesitate not to say that the resi-
dents of Washington are, as a class,
distinguished above any single commu-
nity, where my lot has ever been cast,
for intelligence, for culture, for benev-
olence, for christian zeal and activity;
for freedom from sectarian jealous-
ies and littlenesses, and, on the part
of christians, for a prayerful deter-
mination to meet and resist, by sep-

arate and combined effort, the tides
 of corruption that come and go, ^{at any seat of government} which
 must always leave more or less ^{of its} miasma.
~~from scum and filth.~~ ^(17. Evidence of poverty, of newness) It is true that
 buildings of the poor are still very near
 the beautiful Capitol; it is true, as is
 often charged, that everything in Wash-
 ington looks crude and new and unfin-
 ished. The Capital might say: "The
 "crime of being young I will neither at-
 tempt to palliate ^{will} nor deny." It is

the

Capital of a young nation. Our

fathers planned largely; ^{they planned} against

a compact business center, in fa-

vor of numerous broad avenues and

broader streets than other cities, and

of great extent; so that the fil-

ling up, the grading, the paving,

parking and beautifying are slow.

7 (B. The new birth)

Then let us remember that the pul-

sations of its true life, since its

new birth, it has only just begun

to feel: It has but just awakened
 from the distempered dreams of its
 past. Coming to it from the cen-
 tury-lived capitals of the old world,
 from London or Paris, or even from
 Boston or New York in our own

Every one notices ^{the} contrast.

country. There are vast spaces of
 projected streets; here the marbled
 pillars mingle with the wood, but or
 the plastered shanty, and until late-
 ly few streets were paved at all, and

those that were, seemed to be villanous contrivances for breaking the legs of horses and the axletrees of carriages; indeed the trades of the carriage-maker and blacksmith were among the most profitable of the handicrafts practised here. ^{# (Effects of self government)} Washington in the past had little fostering and is only just coming to self government. It has necessarily been essentially a southern city, without

the advantage of Southern capital in all that related to public institutions and enterprise. Every visitor remarks its wonderful natural advantages, but they never had been developed. It was like a splendid structure half erected, with staging still around its walls, brick, timber, piles of sand and all the evidences of incompleteness thrust upon the attention. This was
and painful
especially apparent, to a man ed-

located in the north. But now this
is all changed. ~~HP~~ (15. Particular of Change)
The hogs that used
to roam at large, with the freedom
of the city, as a sort of walking
scavenger, have been sent to their
appropriate tenements. The univer-
sal practice of superficial drainage
is giving way to a complete, ^{underground} system.
The old canal, with its ancient re-
nown, a standing reproach to the
city, is fast filling up, and no

longer breeds miasmas along its ir-

regular course. The whole area of

the city and the outleading highways

men in the face & wide the again & the spring
~~seem~~ full of workmen with pick-axe^{ES}

spades and carts. The granite piers

that Andrew Jackson meant to have

across the Potomac

laid, are now nearly completed, and a

handsome railroad structure rises

upon them, to replace the old rickety

Long Bridge. The Eastern Branch

has just been bridged for a new

railroad to Baltimore. Long rows of
beautiful tenement houses of magnif-
icent proportions are going up all
through the city. From present pros-
pects, before the first century shall
have elapsed from the Declaration
of Independence, so vast are the
present projects for her improvement,
so large the outlay contemplated by
the Board of Public Works under our
our new Territorial Government, ^{and}
voted by the people, Washington

will have made a rapid stride towards being what her great founder anticipated. ^{# (b) # (16) (further nervous for despatch to Washington)} But it is said: Washington is no longer the center of the nation; the nation instead of being confined to a narrow strip along the Atlantic slope, stretches ^{far away} to the Pacific. To this it may be replied, that you can reach the extremities of this nation, far from the capital as they are, more rapidly

and more readily than when it was
here located, limited as the territory
of the republic then was. Besides,
communication by telegraph makes
it possible for a man to be thous-
ands of miles from his home, and yet
hold hourly communication with it.
I did hear that a prominent repre-
sentative joined the church at home
by ^a telegram. San Francisco is,
practically, as near Washington

in 1871, as Boston was in 1790;
and a Legislator may spend six
hours in Congress in his public du-
ties and yet devote the rest of the
day to attention to his business on
the extreme Pacific coasts. [Every
~~invention that has accelerated loco-~~
~~motion, or the communication of~~
~~thought is an argument against a~~
~~change in the location of the National~~
~~Capital]. The conception that a na-~~

tion's Capital needs to be in its territorial center, seems to my mind almost puerile. Perhaps it had some force when the Capital was first located. Then locomotion was slow and tedious, and the transmission of papers and letters equally so; but now it is miraculously true that time may be made by crossing a continent, and a man's message may reach its destination

even before the hour when it was started. "But the Capital ought to be where the seat of Empire is, and that must be in the great Mississippi valley." Admit ~~that~~, so far as as material interests are concerned, ^{that} this valley may claim the center; what then? Are these the only, or, even, the most important, interests of a people? New York might claim the Capital, as belonging to the great

commercial center. As I have travelled through the West I find hundreds of cities and villages with their banks connected with the banks of New York by lines of deposit and constant communication and exchange, hence, ^{N.Y. is also} the great financial center. New England, while unproductive in soil, boasts of schools, colleges and churches - She will claim a centre of moral and

with his eyes upon the heads of the Unions
intellectual power, and, perhaps, vote
the capital upon Boston Common.

Surely, to speak soberly, the moral
and intellectual interests of a people
do outweigh all others a hundredfold.

The ideas of the East have been largely
instrumental in making the nation
what it is. Its young men have em-
igrated to the West to make such
states as Illinois, Iowa and Kansas
like extensive gardens, as they are;

It is true
"They do now grow men off whom we are proud but

they ^{will} turn back to the older states

to the mechanical skill of the
older states ^{for much that is indispensable to their progress} for their agricultural

implements; for their mammoth
plows and grain cradles and mowers.

How unwise, how unmindful of origin
and past aid, and possibly like Chi-

cago and northern Michigan in
distress, of present and future help
^{would be} ~~are~~ these material interests, created
and developed by the central think-

ing power of the nation, to claim to
be the nation, and ^{to} demand the Cap-
ital! But grant the West its ambition,
let it select the place, in its own vast
limits, where the capital shall be lo-
cated. Where shall it be? Chicago
rising from her ashes, in which live
her wonted fires, answers: "Not in Cin-
cinnati or Saint Louis!" Open the
question and it shall take fifty years
of controversy and log-rolling to de-

terminate the place. What shall it

be named? Which one of the agita-

tors shall christen it with his own
immortal

name? ~~Shall it be Pope or Reavis?~~

~~Shall it be Bent or Barrett or Bain?~~

Having robbed the "Father of his

Country" of the honor so worthily be-

stowed upon his name, who shall

be the worthy competitor and go

down to posterity bearing the weight

(18, the people loyal to Washington's memory
at home & abroad)

of it? Place it where you will, the

people will name it Washington.

They will not suffer the change of
 name or
 place ~~or name~~. It would be an in-
^{whose birth day we now commemorate}
 dignity to his memory. It would be
 an indignity to the estimate [which
 the whole world has justly formed
 of his surpassing purity and noble-
 ness. In "Lectures on Modern His-
 tory," delivered by Prof. Wm Smith,
 University of Cambridge, England,
 occurs this tribute to Washington's mem-

ory:

"To the historian there are few
"characters that appear so little to have
"shared the common frailties and im-
"perfections of human nature; there are
"but few particulars that can be men-
"tioned to his disadvantage. It is under-
"stood, for instance, that he was going
"commit an important mistake, as a
"general in the field; but he had at
"least the great merit of listening to Lee,"

"(a man whom he could not like, and
"who was ever his rival) and of not com-
"mitting the mistake. Instances may
"be found where, perhaps it may be thought,
"he was decisive to a degree that partook
of
"Severity, and harshness and even more;
"but how innumerable were the decisions
"he had to make; how difficult and how
"important through the eventful scenes
"of twenty years of command in the Cab-
"inet and in the field! Let it be con-

"sidered what it is to have the man=
"agement of a revolution, and afterwards
"the maintenance of order. There is
"the man that in the history of our
"race has ever succeeded in attempting
"successively the one and the other. Not
"on ~~in~~ a small scale, a petty state in
"Italy, or among a horde of barbarians,
"but in an enlightened age when it
"is not easy for one man to rise supe=
"rior to another, and in the eyes of "

"mankind:—

A Kingdom for a Stage

'And monarchs to behold the swelling scene.'

"The plaudits of his Country were con-

"tinually sounding in his ears, and neither

"the judgement nor the virtues of the

"man were ever disturbed. Armies

"were led to the field with all the

"enterprises of the Hero, and then dismiss-

"sed with all the equanimity of a

"philosopher. Power was accepted, was

"exercised, was resigned precisely at
"the moment, and in the way that duty
"and patriotism directed. Whatever
"was the difficulty, the trial, the tempt-
"ation or the danger; there stood the
"soldier and citizen, eternally the same,
"without fear and without reproach,
"and there was the man, who was not
"only, at all times, virtuous, but at all
"times wise. His merit by no means
"closes with his campaigns; it becomes"

"after the peace of 1783, more striking
"than before, for the same man who,
"for the sake of liberty, was ardent
"enough to resist the power of Great
"Britain and hazard every thing on this
"side the grave, at a later period had
"to be temperate enough to resist the same
"spirit of liberty when it was mistaking
"its proper objects, and transgressing
"its appointed limits. He might have
"been pardoned though he had failed."

"amid the enthusiasm of those a-
 "round him; but the foundations of
 "the moral world were shaken, and
 "not the understanding of Washing-
 "ton." Such is the testimony from abroad..

(The consequences of disloyalty
 to our Capital)

Of now, merely to gratify the rep-
 resentatives of the material growth of
 this great republic, ~~of the broad a-
 ces of the Mississippi Valley,~~ the
 nation should ~~transport~~ ^{become disloyal to the} the Capital
 designed and founded by this great

99

become willing to

man, to ~~some other locality~~, thus sac-
rificing so much that is sacred to his
memory; ~~so much that is a memorial~~
~~of his services~~, the voice of the whole civ-
ilized world would be uplifted against
it; and his degenerate countrymen would
be pronounced unworthy of such a he-
roic and noble character.

should

(19. Keep good faith with all)

There are minor considerations which
are, nevertheless, part of the stability
and credit of a nation. What pap-

relation the District of Columbia
 has gathered; what property has
 been invested here by its citizens,
 has been with the understanding that
 it was to be the permanent seat of
 the government. The large amount
~~of~~ expenditures amounting to more
 than \$25,000,000, which the govern-
 ment itself has made, have implied
 this. The gift on the part of Mary-
 land and Virginia of the territory

1881

of the District was made with this understanding. Take away the seat of government from Washington, and there is not one of the one hundred thousand citizens of the Territory, who would not be defrauded of what he has been encouraged to invest there by government itself; by the act of the several states in fixing Govern-
^{ment} ~~there~~ ^{here}. For a nation to create such a city for its own convenience

is to make a moral contract that it shall be permanent. During the first uncertainties of the war, prosperity in Washington sank to its lowest ebb. It was because it was feared that the city would be destroyed or be no longer the nations capital. Every foundation stone that has been laid ~~there~~ since the capital was established; every brick that has been put into walls; every stick of timber

has been mortgaged, has been with the implied obligation that the Capital should be as permanent as the existence of the nation itself. ^(The citizens cry!) ^(Of course) The citizens of Washington do not expect the nation ^{will ever be} ~~to be~~ untrue to this obligation.

They believe that, should the time ever ^(and I believe it never will) come for the people to express themselves on this subject, they will say with emphasis:

"Let the Capital remain where the young Washington first saw its site;"

"let the Capitol-structure stand
"upon the foundations he laid with his
"own skilful hands; let his far-reach-
"ing plans be fully and triumphantly
"carried out. Let his own Potomac,
"whose seaward flow, sweeps past his
"resting place at Mount Vernon, still
"pass its streets and hear the tale of
"its
"its growth and glory to his ears.
"Let the dome of the Capitol crown
"since freedom with the symbol of that"

"American liberty, which with the
"valor of his own right arm, and the
"purity and integrity of his own true
"heart, God raised him up to win for
"the nation and the world, still mir-
"ror itself in its waves! Let the rep-
"resentatives of other nations, who
"come here from the old monarchies,
"averse from their age, and to whom
"our civilization is, as yet, like an
"unsolved problem, see that without"

"a throne or titled families the
in the heart

"filial instinct of this great people is

"true to the Father of his Country;

"true to the institutions of his pro-

"curement; will not suffer the ^{ever keep the} ~~na-~~

"~~tion's~~ Capital to be removed from

"~~proximity~~ ^{near} to the sacred spot where

"he lived, died and lies buried; that

"the people whose armies he led to vic-

"tory in the midst of great privation

"and suffering; the people who ^{afterwards} rose ~~in~~"

"in their might to preserve the inheri-

"tence he left us, in all its symmetry

"and integrity, have determined that
material

"the foundations which he, and our

"fathers with him, laid, shall be

permanent ^{inasmuch as God is willing to}

"as permanent, as the political ones."

(The fruits of a true devotion to our country)

of our nation

True loyalty loves the Capital, works

and prays for it. Jesus mourned over

(Luke XIII. XXXIV)

Jerusalem; let us mourn over any vi-

our Capital,

ces that come into it, and by our

active Christianity purify it, till it

shall be indeed a Christian Cap-
 ital City, fit representative of a
 great people, ^{who are} loyal to truth and
 righteousness. Let us not turn away
 from it
 as from a place God-forsaken & hopeless;
 but let clouds of blessing, in answer to
 the petition of this great Christian people always
 hang over it; until growing with the
 growth of the nation the improvements
 projected by its great founder, year by year
 carried out; his far-reaching plans perfected;

him shall be unalloyed intellectual, moral
& religious growth & improvement until it
shall stand, at last among the other
capitals of the world, like the character
of him whose name it bears, among lesser
great men & statesmen; until it shall
be worthy of him who founded it; & also
of him, who as the people's great representative,
gave it the baptism of his own life's blood:
a holy & glorious fulfillment of the motto
of Webster - "Let Capitalism Judge;
Let women in ultimas oras."

a Capital dependent not merely with the
beauty & glory of splendid architecture

or flashing with patriotic arms, ready

for its defence, but shining with the

light of Christian virtue, ^{shining} with the light of

God: and making ^{its} name a synonym

for Christian patriotism, for Republican unity,

for fidelity to the truths of the gospel the

word over! Thus interpreted let us repeat it

prayer.

as our: "Stat Capitulum fulgens;"

late nouer in ullinas

extendat oras."

