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Williamsburg, Virginia

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EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL, PH. D.,
NEW YORK CITY

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ADDRESS BY EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL AT WIL-
LIAM AND MARY COLLEGE JUNE 10, 1909.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is an old saying that history repeats itself. It is recorded that at your first commencement, 209 years ago, there were present, besides Virginians, two other classes of visitors—Indians and New Yorkers. I do not know whether or not you have invited any descendants of Powhatan or Opekankano or Wochincopunk to be present to-day; but if, for reasons beyond your control, there happens to be here no representative of that once flourishing aboriginal village of Werowocomoco or Orapak or Kecoughtan, I esteem it a great privilege that you have selected me as the representative of that other flourishing village of New York to be here to-day and thus to perpetuate at least one part of the ancient traditions of William and Mary commencements.

There are many reasons why New York should esteem it a privilege to be represented here to-day—reasons of filial affection which bind her in love to the Mother Colony of Virginia, reasons of historical tradition which have made New York, like every other State in our Union, the eternal debtor of Virginia for all the courageous statesmanship that she has

given to the nation, reasons of admiration for the great educational work of this first-planned though second-established college in America.

Do we not remember that when all America, like all Gaul, as described in that memorable opening sentence of "Caesar" was "divided into three parts—New Spain on the south, New France on the north, and Virginia between—New York was once a part of that imperial central region which extended from the 34th to the 45th parallels of latitude and from the shining sands of Atlantic's strand to the Pacific's wave washed shores?

Can we ever forget that it was on this very peninsula, of which Williamsburgh is almost the geographical center, that Anglo-Saxon civilization, of which these United States are the most perfect flower, was first permanently planted in the new world?

As a man, no matter how old he may grow, or how far soever he may wander from his birthplace, or to whatever estate of fortune, good or ill, he may attain, always looks back with peculiar affection to the cradle-place of his infancy—so our nation, no matter how many centuries it may live, or how wide soever it may expand, or to whatever pinnacle of power it may attain among the nations of the world, will always turn with affection to Virginia, sanctified above all other States, as the Virgin mother of our national sisterhood.

This year, in particular, New Yorkers are reminded of their obligations to Virginia. We are preparing to commemorate next September in New York City, along the Hudson River and throughout the State, the 300th anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson River by Henry Hudson. The State has appropriated \$475,000 and the city of New York \$250,000, and many thousands more will be raised by private subscriptions. We are not going to have an exposition like the great Jamestown Exposition. We are going to have two weeks of celebration which will be different, in its entirety, from anything else ever held in this country. It will be largely educational and a very large part of it will be the exercises held

by all the universities, colleges, public schools and learned societies throughout the State. And in the study of the reasons which led Henry Hudson, when baffled by the ice-bound shores of Nova Zembla in his effort to find a north-east passage to China, to turn his prow westward and find our great river, our people will learn, if they did not know it before, that it was due to maps and suggestions sent to him by Capt. John Smith from Virginia and born of his experience here, that Hudson sought an entrance in the latitude of our harbor. The greatness of New York State is due to the Hudson River more than to any other natural factor. And for the exploration of that river and the making known of its wonderful resources to the world, we are indebted, through Hudson, to that pioneer Virginian without whose wonderful courage, skill and sagacity, I believe that even Jamestown in the days of its perilous infancy would have perished.

If New York is indebted to Virginia for what she has done, and to William and Mary for the great men she has graduated, I might, if time permitted, find some items on the other side of the ledger. I might recall how Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, after gaining considerable hard earned experience in trying to govern the colonists of New York at the time when William and Mary ascended the throne, came down here and, as Deputy Governor, cordially helped the Rev. Mr. Blair to establish this college; and I might mention events in intermediate years down to the recent practical interest of your good friend and my good friend, Dr. George Clinton Batcheller. But it ill becomes us to speak of what little we have done for you compared with what you have done for us. The debt is against us. I only venture to hope that other New Yorkers, by the imitation of Dr. Batcheller's generous example, may go still farther in reducing their debt of obligation to this dear old mother State of Virginia.

As I come to-day to you, in whose minds are still fresh the memories of the 300th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown by the English, from a State which is preparing to celebrate the tercentenary of its founding by the Dutch, there

is to me a peculiar significance in the union of the names of William of Orange and Mary of York in the title of this College.

How much there is in a name! I cannot agree with Shakespeare's gentle Capulet who pleaded with her Montagu lover to doff his name because names signified nothing. Rather, may we not ask with Campbell,

"Who hath not owned, with rapture-smitten frame,
The power of grace, the magic of a name!"

William and Mary! Holland and England! How much they have done for the world's civilization! What brave fights they have made and what triumphs they have won for human liberties!

What is there, in the annals of mankind, more superb on the one hand, than the Dutch resistance at Harlem, or Leiden or Nieuport in their battle for independence; or on the other than the triumph for English liberties at Runnemedede, or Marston Moor or Naseby? Coming nearer to our own history, it was to the co-operation of these two peoples—one of which detained the Duke of Parma's army in the Netherlands, while the other sailed forth under command of Howard and Drake and Hawkins, and other famous sea-kings, that Spain's so-called Invincible Armada was defeated in 1588, the Spanish sea-power broken, and the way opened for the planting of Anglo-Saxon civilization at Jamestown in 1607. The people of the Netherlands are more closely allied to the Angles and the Saxons, out of whose stock our race is formed, than any other ethnological stock extant, and to the thinking person, there can, perhaps, be no more suggestive combination of words than "William and Mary," as used in the title of this college, unless it be the very words "Anglo-Saxon" themselves.

Now I trust that after your year's hard study it is not overtaxing your indulgence if my address to-day shows too plainly the tincture of the historian. If it does, you must blame President Tyler, for he knew my predelections before he very kindly invited me to come down.

When an Italian artist paints a Madonna, you know, he gives her an Italian cast of countenance; and when a German artist paints her he makes her look like a German fraulein. Recently I found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art a Japanese portrait and a Chinese portrait of Washington. Both represented him with almond-shaped eyes, and the Chinese portrait gave him a queue! So it is that a lawyer, or a doctor, or a politician or an historian gives form and color to his discourse according to his point of view.

For this reason, the name of this College, the place of its location, and the occasion of this assembly suggest to me three fundamental principles of history which I think you are peculiarly situated to appreciate and which I shall venture to make the basis of a few words of advice to both the graduating class and those who will continue their studies here in following years.

In the first place, you have doubtless realized more or less definitely the continuity of human history. I mean by this that human events are an endless chain of cause and effect. Everything that happens is the product of things that have happened before, and in turn, it is the seed of things to happen in the future.

Many persons are apt to think that the great and apparently formative occurrences in history were individual events, particular dispensations at a particular time, a sort of spontaneous generation as it were. For instance, it is commonly said that the American Revolution began with the signing of that immortal declaration which was drafted by an illustrious alumnus of this College. Others will say that it began earlier with the battle of Lexington. But we can keep on going back and say that it began with the resistance to the stamp act in New York City in 1765; or with the action of the legislature at Jamestown in 1624, when it forbade the Governor to lay any taxes not authorized by it. Nor can we stop with Virginia, the first garden of some of our most precious American traditions. What was it that made Virginia possible? The crushing of the Spanish Armada. And

where was born the courage that made that phenomenal victory possible? It came down through generations from those who wrested Magna Charta from King John. And so you can trace the beginning of the American Revolution back *ad infinitum*. As a matter of fact, it began when manhood began—when the first spark of freedom began to illuminate the soul of the human race. You cannot put your finger on any event in past history and say that it was the beginning of the American Revolution; and in like manner, you cannot turn to the future and predict where its influence will end. It had no beginning and it will have no end.

You may say the same thing of William and Mary College. You say it was founded in 1693; but that was not its beginning. It began just as truly when it was first projected amid the trials and privations of the infant colony seventy-one years before by men who realized that there was a hunger of the mind to be satisfied as well as the cravings of the stomach in starving time.

But that hunger for knowledge which led to the projection of William and Mary was not new with the struggling pioneers of Jamestown. When, 119 years before William and Mary was actually founded, your Dutch cousins had made their splendid resistance to the Spaniards in the siege of Leiden,—when, in their superb courage they had refused to surrender, though they had to eat dogs, and cats, and mice, and old saddles, and shoes and the very grass that grew in the streets to keep alive,—when they had cut the dikes and let in the ocean and made the Spaniards flee lest they be swallowed up like Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea—when at length they had won the victory and William of Orange gave them as a reward for their bravery their choice between a remission of taxes or the erection of a university, and they chose the university—an institution which has given so many great men to the world—there already existed that hunger for knowledge, that vital germ from which all human progress has sprung, which has been the source of all our educational institutions. And so you can go back to venerable Cambridge

University, founded 652 years ago, and to the oldest of all universities, Oxford, supposed to have been founded by King Alfred over a thousand years ago, and you still find manifestations of that instinctive desire of mankind, which is the beginning of all colleges, and which is the key-note of all progress in civilization.

Thus every fact in human history, great or small, from the birth of nations down to your individual careers here in this college, is the resultant of forces which began, you might almost say, with the beginning of creation.

My first admonition to you, then, is to realize your debt to the past. You have been born in a generation which has inherited every permanent benefit that all the past ages have brought forth. Generations upon generations have struggled and labored and martyrs have died to produce what we enjoy to-day without lifting a finger. One of these beneficent products is the American system of education of which this historic college of William and Mary is an integral part. You who have attended this College have had a very great privilege in having a college education—a privilege above the great mass of your fellow beings. If you do not realize it now you will eventually. But take my advice if you can and wake up to the value of this privilege. Don't wait until you are forty-five or fifty years old when you may look back with vain regret over a quarter of a century of unimproved advantages. Take your education as the most precious gift that the ages can place in your hands. Accept it with a sense of your inextinguishable debt to the past, and of your responsibility to use it for the benefit of your fellow man. To you much has been given; from you, much will be expected. And at the end of your lives, you will not have acquitted yourselves honorably as men in the face of the world, if it cannot be said of you that you have done as much as you could for the generation which comes after you, to discharge the debt which you owe to those which have preceded you.

When Napoleon stood with his army in the presence of the pyramids of Egypt, he sought to inspire the zeal of his

soldiers by telling them that thirty centuries of time looked down upon them. But Napoleon sought inspiration from the monuments of selfish pride, erected by vain-glorious kings to become their tombs when they died.

To you of William and Mary College it may be said that over two centuries of this living and life-giving institution look down upon you to give you inspiration from its glorious traditions. To-day the spirits of Blair, of Jefferson, of Harrison, of Braxton, of Monroe, and Tyler look down upon you and ask you what you are going to do with the education which your Alma Mater has given you. Gentlemen, what is your answer going to be? Make up your minds now to be worthy of your proud birthright.

My second piece of advice is this: Do not, like the unprofitable steward in the Bible, be content to drift through the world and leave it just as you found it. Do something to better it. I have spoken of the chain of cause and effect in human history, but I do not want you to think that you are altogether powerless to shape events.

When I was a student we used to have in our class in physics an interesting but very simple apparatus to illustrate the transmission of force. It consisted of a dozen ivory balls, about the size of billiard balls, each one suspended from a cord about two feet long and hung in a straight line in contact with each other. If you pulled one of the balls away from its neighbor like a pendulum and let it swing back, when it hit the next ball it would transmit its force through them all and the ball at the other end would be driven off to a distance as great as the first ball swung—less loss by friction. The first ball, in swinging, imparted its force to the second, and the second to the third; and so on until the last one was reached, when it, having nothing beyond it, swung out into space.

Now that illustrates one kind of cause and effect; and by letting the different balls represent different generations of human beings it might serve to illustrate just what I have been saying about the continuity of history; but it is defective in this important respect:

The last ball flew out no further than the first ball fell. In fact, it did not go quite so far; for part of the force of the first ball was lost in transmission.

Now if each generation of human beings imparted to the next generation no greater impulse than it received from its predecessor, there would never have been any progress in civilization. But there *has* been progress in civilization, and that is a truth of tremendous importance to every one of us and is particularly fraught with significance and inspiration and encouragement for you young men who are at the beginning of your careers.

Let me make this principle of progressive human culture a little plainer by a few illustrations:

In the study of human progress, the science of ethnology recognizes two general stages of culture lower than civilization, namely, savagery and barbarism; and in each of those two general divisions are recognized three sub-divisions.

Away back in prehistoric times, when primitive man lived simply on nuts and fruits, he was in the first or lowest status of savagery.

By and by he learned to spear fish and use fire. Then he reached the middle status of savagery. There are such people still living in Australia, who have advanced no further.

Then, in the course of time, he invented the bow and arrow. This gave him not only greater military power, but it vastly increased his food supply. This invention raised him to the third or upper status of savagery. Some of our American Indians in the State of Washington and in other parts of North America have not advanced beyond the use of the bow and arrow.

In the course of generations, we do not know how many, men learned to manufacture pottery. This discovery or invention raised him out of the state of savagery into the lower status of barbarism. Then he cooked his food better and then he began elementary village life.

Then he learned to cultivate the soil, build adobe houses and domesticate animals, and he ascended to the middle status

of barbarism. He had reached this status when Europeans first settled in Virginia; for here he had outgrown his dependence on nuts and fruit; he knew how to catch fish and use fire; he knew how to use the bow and arrow, as the settlers of Jamestown had too much reason to know; he made pottery; and he raised corn, tobacco, beans, pumpkins, and other agricultural products.

Beyond this middle stage of barbarism the aboriginal inhabitants of America had not progressed. But the old world people who came here had attained their culture by rising during unnumbered years, not only through the three degrees of savagery and the two of barbarism, which I have just mentioned, but also through the third degree of barbarism, which is characterized by the ability to smelt iron. The Greeks of the Homeric poems were of that age.

Then, with the invention of the phonetic alphabet, man entered what is properly called civilization; and from the A. B. C.'s, of that primary department, he has risen through various grades of culture to the civilization of to-day. How vast that advance has been, in the lessening frequency of war, in the establishment of humane government, in the protection of human liberties, in inventions for the saving of labor and the amelioration of conditions of life, it is almost impossible for us to comprehend.

Within the lives of persons living *to-day*, civilization has been advanced beyond any computation by the invention of the steam locomotive, the steamship, the electric telegraph, the telephone, and the infinite number of applications of electric dynamics, until now, without wires, human intelligence is sent through the invisible air as if by magic. I shall never forget the sensation which I experienced one day when as I was sitting in the library of a great ocean steamship in mid ocean, a steward walked up to me and handed me a telegram just received from a member of my family. There is something actually awe-inspiring in these triumphs of human mind over space and matter.

Take another department of science—surgery and medicine. The discovery of anaesthesia, by which surgical operations can be performed without pain; the discoveries in anti-septic surgery, by means of which the most marvellous operations, from the removal of the appendix to surgery of the heart, can be performed without fatal results; the use of anti-toxins in destroying the deadly germs of smallpox, diphtheria, rabies, etc.; the discovery of the antidote for spinal meningitis, by means of which an infinitely small injection of serum into the spinal cord will relieve a person from horrible agony in five minutes; the discovery of the virtue of a serum of the thyroid gland in restoring dulled intellects and promoting arrested bodily growth—these and other marvels of human achievement seem to approach almost the very source of life itself.

Now what does all this mass of evidence of progressive civilization mean? It means that we are not the absolute slaves of heredity and environment. We are not the puppets of predestination. We are not simply the product of forces over which we have no control. If I read the story of civilization aright it means that man besides being subject to the powerful influence of heredity and environment has the glorious prerogative of free will by which he is able to improve himself, and to raise himself in the scale of well-being. Reading from the past to the future, what triumphs are there not ahead of us? Guizot, in his wonderful series of lectures on European civilization, has said that when he contemplated the power of the human mind, he believed that the race was yet in the very infancy of civilization.

To whom should we look for the leaders of future progress if not to our college-bred men? I do not say that a college education is essential to leadership or greatness, for history has proved the contrary by too many examples of native genius; but I venture to say that if you will pick out the great men of history who have lacked educational advantages, you will find either that they lived in comparatively simple times, when untrained native force was more effective than now, or

that by personal delving they had given themselves the equivalent of a college education in the specialty in which they excelled.

But our modern times are more exacting than those of our forefathers. Civilization is constantly growing more complex. Intellectual competition is growing stronger. And to-day the man with the trained mind is the man who in reason must be expected to excel. This applies to every calling of life, whether it be agriculture, merchandise, manufacturing, finance, law, medicine, politics, or any other occupation.

I see this truth magnified, as if through a lens, in the life of the great Metropolis in which I live. There, in a population of 4,500,000 persons, where the struggle and competition of life are intense beyond description, it is only the keenest minds, and the hardest workers, the men who have the ability to concentrate their minds on a given object and the diligence to pursue it, who get to the front. And the same rule applies, less conspicuously perhaps but none the less truly, to smaller communities.

With your superior advantages, you should be leaders, not followers in the years that are ahead of you. Go out then with some definite object in view. Make up your mind what your life calling is going to be if you haven't done so already; then work to be a leader in that calling. The whole history of mankind tells you that you have in you the power to mould your circumstances and better yourselves and your generation. Catch now the inspiration to use this God-given power to make *your* contribution to the advancement of civilization.

Now I come to my third proposition. It is this: If you *are* going to be a leader, you must expect to encounter opposition; and if you expect to overcome it, you must have the courage of your conviction and you must be prepared to make sacrifices.

The word "progress" means to go forward. To progress necessarily means to leave something behind. Human progress, therefore, implies the outgrowth of old institutions and the establishment of new and better ones.

Now, as I have just shown you that all great events in history have their beginnings long before, so no great reform is accomplished suddenly. No people raises itself *en masse* from a lower to a higher status. It is always led by one or a few great men who have thought ahead of the mass—or, as we say, are ahead of their times. But no man ever became a leader of his fellows simply because he had a grand inspiration. There are two other essentials: He must first be able to demonstrate that his idea will benefit mankind; and secondly he must have the moral courage to stand by his convictions until they triumph. The very fact that an idea is new implies that for the time being, the majority of people think the other way; and it requires tremendous courage, and patience, and labor to withstand the hostile criticism and to overcome the backward drag of a lagging public opinion.

From the foundation of Christianity—not to go back further—down to the sacrifices of the present year in Turkey, the pages of history, not only foreign but American, have been red with the blood of martyrs who have died on the cross, the guillotine, the block, at the stake, or on the field of battle for their religious or political convictions; and what countless hosts of others, who have not died the martyr's death, have lived the martyr's life of suffering and loss and deprivation for conscience sake!

While this has been particularly true in the history of political and religious institutions, it has also been true to a lesser degree in the departments of invention, medicine, education, and other callings.

In invention, we may cite as an illustration the persecution of Jacquard, the inventor of the Jacquard loom, because his ingenious device would save labor and throw people out of work, it was supposed.

In medicine, the persecution of Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination, may be cited as an illustration of the reluctance of the people to accept a beneficent discovery.

Had Dr. Blair, the founder of William and Mary, been a man of weak stuff, he would have succumbed to the obstacles

which were thrown in the way of establishing this College. When he proposed it to Sir Edward Seymour, English Treasury Commissioner, Seymour told him that there wasn't any money for setting up colleges in the colonies; that England needed every penny for her war against Louis XIV. "But," said Dr. Blair, "you must not forget that the people of Virginia have souls to save as well as the people in England." "Souls!" exclaimed Seymour. "Confound your souls! Grow tobacco!"

In spite of this coarse rebuff, Blair stuck to his task and secured the founding of the College; but even then, he had to combat the bitter enmity of Governor Andros, who tried to drag the college down by predicting that it would be sure to result in a terrible increase of taxes; endeavored to dissuade subscribers from paying their subscriptions; sought to arouse prejudice against Dr. Blair as a Scotchman; and did everything else that he could think of to annoy the president.

Blair, like many another great man, must have realized the force of Lord Byron's lines:

"He who ascends to mountain tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind
Must look down on the hate of those below."

Now the question naturally arises in the mind of anyone who wants to lead his fellowmen, "How can I tell that my idea, which differs from so many others, is right? How do I know that my idea as a leader is worth making sacrifices for? or how can I judge that somebody else's idea is worth following and making sacrifices for?" Does the history of the past give us any help?

I am not prepared to say that in every great struggle between opposing principles or opposing institutions one side was necessarily right and the other wrong *at the time*. The words "right" and "wrong" are words of terrible significance as we are taught to believe them. Right, like truth, we believe is eternal. We believe that what we call truth has been truth from everlasting and will be truth for everlasting. But how,

when a new issue arises in the progress of civilization, can a man, who lacks omniscience, know which is right and which is wrong? I shall presently give you a test of human conduct which will be a safe guide, but before doing so, I wish to propound an idea which I have long entertained but which I have never expressed in public. I advise you therefore not to accept it without further consideration. It is this: That when in the progress of human culture, a new idea or institution rises up and contends for recognition and acceptance, men are not justified, *while the issue is pending*, in declaring that one side is eternally right and the other side eternally wrong. I believe that our language is deficient and that it lacks the proper words to characterize the opposite phase of a question at issue. If the word right, like the word truth, carries by implication the idea of perpetual righteousness, how can a thing be right in one generation and wrong in another? For nearly 170 years, from the settlement of Jamestown down to the Declaration of Independence, which was dictated by a mind and written by a hand trained in this very College, the monarchical system of Great Britain was accepted in its general features by the American colonists as right. Then the colonists, outraged by the idea of taxation without representation, rose in arms, secured their independence, and established a democracy. And for the past 133 years we have believed democracy to be right. Now how can a monarchy be right at one time and wrong at another unless truth has a variable standard and the criteria of right and wrong change as civilization progresses?

I cannot believe that before the everlasting tribunal of Truth, the supporters of any long established institution among mankind will be set down as wrongdoers because, in the course of time, a better institution triumphed over it. Otherwise, as generation succeeded generation, and civilization progressed, mankind would perpetually be passing from the category of the righteous into the category of the unrighteous.

But happily out of this dilemma we have a way, a way which gives us a standard of judgment of the past and a standard of leadership and following for the future; and to me it has been a source of much comfort, for it has enabled me to reconcile my mind to many occurrences in history.

The principle of democracy—of which Jefferson was the most conspicuous exponent in our modern times—is based on the idea of the greatest good to the greatest number. We, today, do not know of any loftier principle of human society. Accepting this as a test, it brings us to this conclusion: That which at any given time was best or the greatest number was, with respect to that period, “right” (for want of a better word); those who contended for it against a new order were justified; and the righteousness of the triumphant party was not established until the triumphant issue was proved by the experience of time to be for the greatest good of the greatest number.

With this guide, I can look back to people who have conscientiously struggled for what they believed to be best and say that they were “right,” even though they lost, and though the lapse of years may prove that after all the new order is best for the greatest number, yet we should never affix the stigma of wrong doing to them because they were beaten.

I often think that if men would look at events more frequently in this light, it would reconcile them to much which otherwise seems irreconcilable; it would enable them, when an issue is past, to forget the bitterness engendered in the clash of ideas; and to recognize the true nobility and heroism of those who differed from them. Thus would brotherhood be promoted and the happiness of mankind be increased.

As a matter of fact, I believe that consciously or unconsciously, men *are* coming to look at historical events in this way, and I find proof of it in the manner in which the War for American Independence and the War between our own States is coming to be regarded by broad-minded men.

Not long ago, while making some researches in England into the origin of American history, I investigated the subject

of Washington's ancestry; and by means which I have not time on this occasion to describe, I traced his family back to the vicinity of the old Cathedral City of Durham. There, by the kind co-operation of the Lord Bishop of Durham and the personal aid of Dean Kitchin, I discovered that the first person to bear the family name of Washington was a Norman knight named William, who owned the village of Hertburne; and that about the year 1183 he exchanged the village of Hertburne for the village of Wassyngton, and thereafter was known as William de Wassyngton. In the course of several weeks engaged in this research, in close touch with many prominent Englishmen, I perceived that they took very great pride in Washington as well as in the American people generally, and at the conclusion of my relations with Dean Kitchin, he referred to "the Washington of England and the States" in terms which showed that Englishmen to-day are desirous of sharing the glory of the great Virginian's name.

As another illustration, I may mention an incident which occurred just before the departure from London of the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, our late ambassador to the Court of St. James. King Edward greatly admired Mr. Choate, and asked the ambassador what he could do for him to express his admiration. Mr. Choate said that more than anything else he would like to be made a "Bencher" of the Middle Temple—the great law school of England for over 500 years past. The King, himself being a Bencher, arranged to have Mr. Choate admitted to the English bar and the brilliant ceremony took place in the Middle Temple at a dinner at which the King presided. In the course of the ceremony, Mr. Choate was led to the table, made by Queen Elizabeth's order from one of the ships of the great Armada, to write his name in the ancient book of the Temple. After he had signed the immortal roll, the King turned back several pages to a place where a marker had been inserted, and showed him the names of five men from our Southern States who had been law students of the Middle Temple who subsequently signed our Declaration of Independence. Mr. Choate, who told me of this incident, said

that he and the King had a good laugh—all of which goes to show that even the King of Great Britain can now look back with equanimity to the issue of the War for Independence.

With respect to our own Civil War, our broad-minded people, regardless of geographical location, are coming, I thank God, to recognize the true nobility and the heroism of the parties to both sides of that conflict, because they were both inspired by noble heroic motives, and because they contended for the right, as God gave them to see the right.

My third and concluding admonition then is this:

Do not seek power for the sake of power, nor contend simply for the sake of victory. First test your motives and see if you are aiming for the betterment of your fellowmen. If you are, then have the courage of your convictions and fight the good fight. If you lose, content yourself with the conviction that you did what seemed right to your conscience. If you win, be magnanimous to your adversary and recognize the heroism that was in him. In a word—be unselfish.

When I was in London, the theatre of a thousand years' struggles of civilization, the two things that impressed me the most were the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey. In one of the towers of the former I saw a royal crown containing nearly 3,000 diamonds and precious stones! I saw a scepter of solid gold a yard long; I saw trappings of royalty valued at \$15,000,000; but I did not covet them when I remembered that it was the wearers of such baubles as these who beheaded Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard and Lady Jane Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh, and scores of persons whose dismembered bodies lie in the blood-soaked soil of the Tower Green or elsewhere.

In Westminster, I saw the superb tombs of a long line of Kings, now turned to dust. And when I thought of the selfishness, the persecution, the oppressor, and untold misery which they represented, I did not wish I were a King.

But later I came to the tombs of the great men of science, the scholars, the poets, the musicians, the philanthropists, the men who had lived to make other men better and happier, to

make life more worth living, and then the tears came unbidden to my eyes and streamed down my cheeks, and I knew that I stood among the spirits of true Princes of the earth, the sons of the true and everlasting King.

I feel very much the same way when I come to William and Mary College, with its inspiring traditions of the great men who have studied here as you have studied and have gone out into the world to better it. And as the examples of these men have affected your lives and those of innumerable others, so it is in your power to affect for good the lives of your own and future generation, for everything good that you do will last forever. Tacitus stated a profound truth in his apostrophe to Agricola, when he uttered the words with which I close:

“I would not forbid the likenesses which are fashioned in marble or brass; but the faces of men, as well as the images of the face, are weak and perishable things. You cannot hold and express it in a foreign material by the means of art; but you can in your own lives. *Whatever we admired, abides, and will abide, in the hearts of men, in the fame of noble deeds, throughout the eternity of the ages.*”

ADDRESS BY PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, NORFOLK, VA., JUNE 11, 1909, UPON RECEIVING THE DIPLOMA OF LL. D.

Mr. Rector, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is impossible for me to express fully the gratification which I feel in receiving this diploma from William and Mary College. My appreciation of the honor has been greatly heightened by the kind and flattering words which have been used in conferring it—words which I value the more as coming from a scholar and advocate so distinguished and so much respected by us all.

Of all the colleges in the United States, William and Mary is pre-eminently the one whose honorary degrees have the peculiar distinction which an ancient foundation alone can bestow regardless of wealthy endowment or numerous students. There is a sentiment attached to her degrees, which, to the same extent, is not attached to the degrees of any of our other colleges. It is not simply that she counts on the shining head-roll of her sons men of the first order of celebrity throughout the world. It is not simply that she has transmitted from generation to generation of her students the most inspiring influences, and the loftiest examples of academic life. It is not simply that she has staunchly weathered every storm of our national existence. It is not simply that she is more vigorous and useful in the twentieth century than she was even in the eighteenth, when this was the foremost college in America. It is not alone these facts, most honorable to her as they are, which give a splendid meaning to her degrees. To one, who, like myself, has, for many years, been engaged in researches into the remote Virginian past, the most powerful appeal made by this diploma springs from the fact that her history reaches back to the first century of our existence as a

people on this continent. It is this almost unexampled antiquity among American seats of learning which stamps the noblest imprimatur on the degrees. The unbroken chords of memory and tradition which simultaneously bind her to the age of Nicholson and Blair, to the age of Jefferson and Monroe, to the age of Tyler and Scott, throws around her that romantic charm which hovers about the turreted halls, the decorated chapels, and the gray quadrangles of the universities of the old world. Well may some of our new colleges, which overload the ground with their fresh bricks, and offer bursars' accounts as voluminous as the treasury reports of some of our States, envy this long descended heritage of scholastic associations which broods in the very atmosphere of William and Mary, and haunts every nook and corner within its stoned precincts. The multi-millionaire can erect lecture halls, laboratories, libraries, and dormitories by the stroke of his pen, but he cannot create those noble inspirations which a wealth of scholastic memories, bridging the generations and the centuries, spreads about us here on every side.

It is not, however, two hundred years of existence alone which has conferred on William and Mary the special distinction which comes to a seat of learning from age. The extraordinary vicissitudes through which she has passed in the course of those two hundred years have imparted to her a greater semblance of antiquity than that length of time would by itself appear to justify. The two centuries of her history are really equal to four centuries in the history of her great proto-type Oxford, if we measure time, not by the hour glass and the sundial, but by the tread, heel upon heel, of mighty events. Since the accession of Elizabeth Oxford has seen but one Revolution which in its permanent influence, could be compared with the two great Revolutions which William and Mary has seen—the Revolution of 1776 and the Revolution of 1865—vast upheavals which made an enduring impression upon the whole trend of her destiny.

It has always seemed to me to be a detraction from Mr. Jefferson's fame, and a reflection on his capacity for historical

sentiment that he preferred to establish the State University at Charlottesville, instead of building it up here on this ancient and still firm foundation. Had he been a citizen of James City county instead of Albemarle, it is possible that he could easily have convinced himself of his ability to carry out all his beneficent plans for popular education as freely and as fully here as he did in the vicinity of Monticello.

There is another aspect in which this College appeals to all persons interested in the past. I do not mean to detract from our indebtedness to the labors of other institutions when I say that William and Mary has become more fruitfully identified with a scientific investigation of the sources of information about our Virginia history than any other college in our midst. Up to a recent date, the Virginians were constantly the target of the reproach that they could make history, but could not properly record it, after they had made it. The fugitive discursive, and superficial character of most of the work done before the war proved that this reproach was deserved. It looked as if our people were lacking in the industry necessary to investigation, and also in the literary art which can marshal the results of research so as to win the respectful attention of the world. This reproach can no longer, certainly to the same extent, be laid at our door.

I am not one of those who regret that the South has, for so many years, been withdrawn from the forum of national politics. It is really due to this involuntary diversion, that, unlike what prevailed before the war, the talents of our most capable men have been exclusively enjoyed in a variety of other fields more promotive of our general welfare. I believe that a solid South, up to the present date, has been a great public blessing, not only because it has enabled us to preserve the entire framework of our local institutions, unimpaired, as we inherited them from our fathers, but, above all, because, by narrowing the scope of our attention, it has led us to attach a just importance to interests which we formerly grossly neglected. Among these has been the investigation and

preservation of the true facts of our history as a people. The spirit of historical research is now abroad throughout the South. There is no danger whatever that the varied achievements of the Southern States in every department of activity, whether political or industrial, whether broadly national or narrowly local, will not, some day, be fully and sympathetically set forth. Commonwealths and independent scholars alike are engaged in collecting the original materials for our complete history; and it is but a question of time when these materials will all be assorted and digested into a literary form which will make them accessible to the historical students, and the general readers of the entire world.

In the broad field of historical research here in Virginia, the honored president of William and Mary, in my opinion, deserves the chief encomium, not only for what he himself has accomplished in this field, but for that zealous and indefatigable spirit of investigation which his conspicuous and fruitful example has inspired in others. There is not one of us engaged in that branch of work, who, when chilled by popular indifference or ignorance has not turned and warmed his heart again in Dr. Tyler's glowing enthusiasm for our Virginian history. He is essentially the pioneer of our new Virginian school of historical research—that school which is not satisfied unless all the sources of information, however remote, or obscure, or apparently trivial, have been examined; and which will not be content until all this information has been drawn from its original recesses, and permanently preserved in print. It has always appeared to me to be only in harmony with the fitness of things that this new school should have found its warmest welcome on this classic threshold; and that its most conspicuous exponent to-day should be the distinguished presiding officer of this College.

I believe that what has already been accomplished in historical research in the shadow of this venerable institution is but a forecast of what is still to be achieved here. From among the earnest and cultured students, who, year after year, shall

pass through those halls into active life—as wave follows wave through an inlet into the broad ocean beyond—I venture to predict there will rise up writers who will combine in themselves a greater capacity for discriminating research, a finer literary art, and a deeper philosophical insight than that possessed by any investigator of the present day. I anticipate this because these young men will be more thoroughly educated for their particular work than our generation has been, and they will be encouraged and stimulated by the sympathy of a larger and more interested public.

For the special training of the students who have a taste for historical investigation, there should be in all our colleges in Virginia a chair of Virginian History, and also a chair of American History. And these chairs should be filled by men who will instruct their classes in the broadest spirit of both local and national patriotism, thus using all the enlightening influences of the new methods of historical research to strengthen the ties that bind us to our common country, as well as those that unite us to our native communities. In taking the lead in encouraging the new historical spirit, William and Mary is really inculcating to a degree almost unexampled even in her own illustrious past, love of our native State, and love of our native land. And in doing this she could not pursue an end more in harmony with the whole course of her own venerable history. I echo the universal sentiment when I earnestly invoke upon her future career, not only all the blessings of a still more bountiful material prosperity, but all the laurels of even greater achievements in every department of modern scholarship.

