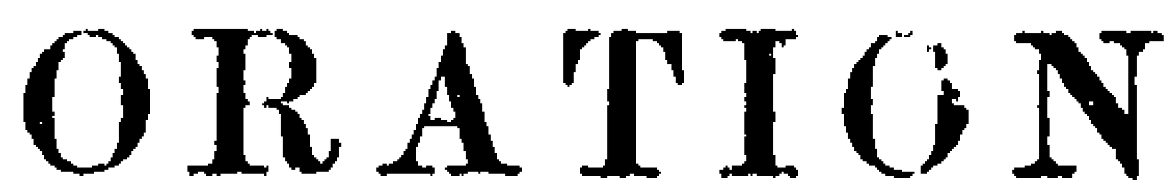

ORATION

Delivered in Newburyport on the Fourth of July, 1851, at the request of the Municipal Authorities,

BY

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, Jr., of Charlestown.

It is well to gather on the return of this great anniversary and pay a tribute of gratitude to the honored sages of the revolution. It is well to recall the self-sacrifice and devotion, in the discharge of perilous public duty, that made the beauty of their lives and the beauty of their deaths. A theme like this has perennial freshness for the patriot ear; and whoever dwells on it, may feel that he utters no unwelcome sentiment, although he may not, like old mortality in the romance, widen or deepen lines of heroism and virtues already inscribed on the tablets of every truly American heart.

On this seventy-fifth anniversary it may not only be profitable but peculiarly appropriate to pass the hour in dwelling on the FEELINGS and PRINCIPLES of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

And under what happy auspices does divine providence lift up this glorious morning. The sun to-day does not shine on a more favored land. Every where, over our borders, the springs of prosperity are in full and constant flow. Every where the local communities that make up the Union, entwined together by admirable political ties, are moving on in harmony and peace,—grandly illustrating the working of republican institutions. In view of such results, what American need hesitate to confess that he feels proud of his country.

A happy illustration of all this is afforded in the community at whose invitation we are assembled. Here is tested the value of municipal institutions —meeting every local want and protecting all in the exercise of their rights. Here the beautiful operation of the voluntary principle in religion is seen in churches shedding around beneficent influences,—in fraternal associations of devoted woman and true-hearted men, doing the heaven-born work of charity. Here, in the quiet of security, are thousands of happy homes, where preside the virtues that dignify and adorn humanity. Here national tradition is felt in memories of past townsmen whose wisdom or valor contributed more than a fair share of labor to make our country what it is, and in a local history that affords evidence of fidelity to the cause of freedom when this cause needed the fidelity of all its friends. Such are some of the traits your young city presents, as, in the very dawn of its official life, it coms forth arrayed in so much beauty, to welcome the return of the GREAT JUBILEE.

But this community is part of another organization, the commonwealth, which has a political action well defined by a constitution, and all over which are similar scenes of prosperity. It has varied educational and charitable institutions, a varied enterprise, a character of its own. It poured out blood and treasure freely for independence. It has a solid history that speaks its own eulogy. It has so much of sovereignty as to hold at its disposal the life, the liberty and the property of every man; but who, thus far, save for crime, has been deprived of life or liberty; and society moves on almost unconscious that such powers exist.

Again: this community is part of a still wider political circle and can claim a share in a still larger glory. It belongs to a family of commonwealths, each enjoying its cherished local institutions, each taking pride in its achievements, each animated by a vigorous enterprise, each glowing with a fresh enthusiasm, but all united by the compact of a constitution in the sacred ties of country. This is the nation. Look over it where we may and it is seen careering on with rapid and grand strides in all that constitutes national prosperity and national glory. Its gigantic enterprise, its wonderful progress, its brilliant achievements in peace or war, challenge the notice and admiration of the world. The expanding quality of its government makes it admirably adapted to an ever onward march, and equal to whatever of splendid future there is in store for American institutions and the American name; while its expanding power is a garranty that its flag, so long as it is an untorn banner, shall never cease to afford, over the land and over the sea, to those that may choose to gather beneath its folds, the most ample protection and security.

This is American liberty as regulated by American law. Here, in triumphant experiment, is a political system, the most difficult of all political systems to adjust and establish, such as the old European world is now longing for, struggling for, but has got seas of blood to go through ere it can obtain. Now how was it that this plan ripened so soon in this new western world? How was it that local institutions, such as the town and the state, composed of people of different race, of variant, sharply defined lines as to religion, of discordant opinions as to politics, of conflicting interests as to business, of local institutions as antagonistical as freedom and slavery, became united by the ties of

common brotherhood, with one constitution over them, and with one destiny before them?

Now the foundation of this new system was laid in the colonial age. But it would be following a beaten track to go back to the progress of republican principles in the old world, to trace them standing out in the great English revolution, and to follow them here as they were embodied faithfully, that is, according to the light of the times, in local political institutions. It is remarkable how boldly and radically they were here applied, under the respective charters and forms of government granted by the crown to the colonies. It is remarkable, for instance, how there was established here in New England the town governments, so unlike anything, so unwarranted by anything, there was at that time in England, and also the higher sphere, the colonial representative law-making power, with its two branches, also as unintended, and even unwarranted. These worked as harmoniously, a century ago, almost as freely, as the same do to-day; and were all so satisfactory to the people that they were wont to say, they were the happiest people the world ever saw. They were wont to speak of themselves as living under a new social system, with new elements of character, new ideas of life, new opinions of politics, new impulses for exertion. They were wont, long before the declaration of independence, to ascribe all this to their comparatively few, simple, unexacting laws, which protected them without fleecing them, either for prince, or hierarchy, or lord. It is well for jubilant oratory, so accustomed to describe liberty as descending from heaven when American independence was declared on earth, to think of this, to look into the political sentiment and action of our fathers, and see whether they ever considered they were slaves, or acted as slaves.

Thus it was that the colonies, in fact, became so many quasi-independent communities, each enjoying the substantial blessing of self-government. They engaged in wars, formed leagues with each other, established schools, colleges, and churches, in a word carried on the varied work of society. Labor among them was honored and honorable. They prospered in their industry and their commerce. Their numbers multiplied, their political importance increased, until, when they seriously attracted the notice, they at the same time excited the jealously of the mother country.

But though the colonists thus prospered, they consisted, in a great degree, of isolated communities, having no political compact with each other, nor indeed with any strong sympathy for each other. It is true, that besides the national love for their native land, where their families and kindred dwelt, there was a sentiment of common country among them, a love of a fatherland. This was Great Britain, the homes of their ancestors, their home, their mother country, which they loved in spite of her cruelty, which they took pride in serving in spite of her injustice. They spoke the language her people spoke, and claimed a share in all her glories.

And in some of the colonies, as among the cavaliers of the south, this attachment may have run into a genuine loyalty, such as exists to-day in Europe on the part of a faithful subject towards his sovereign—a feeling, a sentiment, which an American can hardly understand, much less describe. This sort of loyalty, however, was, probably, never very extensive, nor very devoted. But all the colonies were constantly pouring forth expressions of devotion to the mother country; and undoubtedly they felt bound, by every consideration of duty and honor, to serve her. This is what those phrases that are met with mean, such as loyalty to the king, allegiance to the crown, and attachment to the sovereign, as the loving father of a whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith and blood. They were no more than patriotic expressions signifying fidelity to a common country. Still this sentiment did not foster a union sentiment among the colonies—an American sentiment—national ideas. The almost sole symbol that looked to such a sentiment was the old New England flag; and the fact that there ever was one is got from old books forgotten by all but the antiquary rather than from the living reality meeting us at every turn.

Indeed, so far from a common attachment for each other, there existed, almost up to the commencement of hostilities, strong antipathies, growing jealousies, open contempt of each other. The cavaliers of the south had no great love for the republicans of the north. Puritanism at the north had no affection for or affinity with Episcopalianism of the south. New England laws and policy were based on the principle of liberty and equality, while southern laws and policy were pervaded with an aristocratic spirit and principle. In South Carolina it was common to distrust Massachusetts, and to remark, even in 1773, that Massachusetts Bay "could talk, vote and resolve, but their doings were not correspondent." Much jealousy was felt lest the grasping ambition of Boston and the north should rule the other colonies. Business interests also were dissimilar, and thought to be antagonistical, and the manners and customs, the internal life of the colonies, were unlike each other. All this, and more, was seen and often remarked upon in the mother country. The British newspapers, down to the revolution, are full of it, and in many an essay it was demonstrated that "the natural jealousy and dislike of each other," "the strong enmity that existed toward each other," their different interests and rivalry, would be sure to be a formidable bar to any union among them; and even if they ever inclined to a separation, this state of things would prevent it ever taking place.

Such, in some of its political aspects, was the colonial age at the period of the revolution. This great event brought with it union, political independence, commercial freedom, and American nationality. But these great ideas, these great facts, all know, were not from the first aimed at, were not at first struggled for, were not what filled all hearts, what made the political sentiment of any prior period. Far otherwise. The idea was that of preservation. The free institutions, under the inspiring influence of which so much material prosperity had been achieved, and so much educational advancement had been made, were attacked, and the great object of the colonists was to defend them. This conservative idea is seen all through the fifteen years of noble rebuke and eloquent appeal that preceded the commencement of hostilities. The political longing of the patriots, their political ideal, after controversy began, was not for something before them, for a new condition, but for something behind them, for their old condition. It was for a work of restora-

tion, for reconciliation with the mother land. But down below all this, however, was working, all unconsciously, the great American idea of liberty, an intelligent appreciation of natural right, a strong tendency to independence, which had been fostered by their old institutions. And they loved these—their municipal forms—their ancient laws—their town meetings—because they gave this idea of liberty full play.

On the other hand, Great Britain, when she thought her children worth looking after, appeared in the character of a reformer, an innovator, to carry out certain projects as to revenue, to apply certain theories as to government, which her lawyers had for a century maintained were necessary to keep the colonies dependent. She regarded as dangerous heresy this commonwealth polity,—these town meetings, this independent legislation, the general inattention of the colonists to her navigation laws and revenue laws, the denial of the right of the imperial parliament to legislate for them in all cases whatsoever; and as a remedy she determined to reform them, to bring them to the feet of the British throne; and her grand panacea of government was the breaking up of these local independencies, and the substitution of centralized power. This policy of consolidation was the favorite means proposed to check republicanism, and the idea, absurd as it was, prevailed, that by bringing the colonial governments into one, bringing them as an old phrase has it, under one viceroy, with but one assembly, they might be controlled.

Now when this reform process as to internal taxation and to government was attempted to be carried out, two ideas became arrayed against each other,—the idea of quasi-political independence, a living truth, on the one hand, and absolute parliamentary supremacy, a dead letter, on the other. In the struggle that ensued the old feeling of allegiance to the mother country passed away, and in its place there sprung up the sentiment of union—the great fact of American nationality.

This change is counted a new era in our history and even in the world's history. What was the immediate cause of this change? In what way was the right of revolution asserted? How was the feeling of loyalty supplanted by a sentiment of union? How was independence declared, and on what condition was it declared? How did the national sentiment become embodied in a general constitution? These are questions involving important considerations.

I. What was the cause of the commencement of hostilities?

There may be various answers given to this question. It may be said that it was certain from the time the principles of liberty were planted at Plymouth, or from the time that Massachusetts so boldly determined to be a sort of indepencent government, instead of another East India company; or that it was owing to the incompatibility of the claim of the colonists as to commercial freedom with that of the mother country as to commercial monopoly; and all this may be correct. To be more specific, it may be said that this change was caused by a series of aggressive acts commencing with the stamp act and ending with the last irritating, impotent, expiring British edicts of 1776. And this too may be correct. But in most, if not in all, great political movements, there has been a point, a special occasion, around which the accumulating train of complaint gathered, and beyond which it refused to pass. Thus the attempted suppression of the reform banquets by the French ministry of 1848, became the immediate occasion of the last French revolution, while it was preceded by a train of exasperating measures. Now in the case of our revolution, was there such a point, was there any one law, forcible resistance to which brought on hostilities?

To be still more specific take the last cause named, the aggressive acts, and which of them was it that got the colonists to fighting? Not the stamp act, for this was repealed; not the sugar and molasses act, for this was met by non-importation agreements; not the act quartering troops, for this was but partially enforced; not the duty on tea, for no attempt was made by arms to collect this duty; not the Boston port bill, for the course adopted was patient submission, and the counteracting measure proposed was entire non-intercourse. Against these acts, and others, there went forth the eloquent denunciation in all its shapes, which served to form public opinion and array it against the crown. But no armies on the one side took the field to enforce these acts—no organized force on the other side was authorized by any regular authority to resist them. What act then was it that arrayed these opposing forces in conflict? What was the match that lighted the revolutionary fires? How was that match applied?

To answer this question, it is necessary to leave the general colonies, and look to the position of a single one, and that one the Massachusetts colony, during the summer of 1774, and the following winter. And no son of hers need to blush at the position she then occupied—neither at the principles she avowed, nor at the manner in which those principles were carried out.

Massachusetts had at this time a charter government which, in the wide latitude assumed under it as to town matters and colonial affairs, left the people in virtual independence. In your local affairs to-day there is not, perhaps, more freedom of action than there was nearly a hundred years ago. The town meeting, that glory of New England, is not so free as it was in the early colonial age, for then any inhabitant, or even foreigner, though not having a right to vote, yet had a right to make any motion or complaint. So as to other matters. And the choice of councillors, the drawing of jurors, trial by jury, representation, came directly or indirectly from the people. But it is unnecessary to go into detail further. The people were attached to this government. It was in substance a representative government. Under it they ever claimed that they were entitled to the whole code, and it was no narrow code, of what was termed British liberties. Under it they had prospered in their basket and their store, in outward material things, and as to inward, spiritual things.

But in 1774, the British parliament, besides the Boston port bill, passed two acts designed to alter, or rather to subvert, to annul, this old charter of Massachusetts. According to their provisions, the councillors, corresponding to our senate, were to be nominated by the crown, instead of being nominated by the representatives; executive officers, such as judges, sheriffs, justices, were all to receive power from the same source; the sheriffs were

authorized to select the jurors; town meetings, except for the choice of officers, were prohibited. The political offender, instead of having a jury of the vicinage, might be carried to other places for trial. But it is not necessary to go further in a description of these laws. The system they authorized was thorough in its working. Its tyranny was microscopic. It run into the minutiæ of life. It not only filled the trunk, but it permeated down among the roots and fibres of the political tree. Such was the code that General Gage, acting for the crown, was instructed to enforce by means of armies and fleets; and so imperative were his orders, that he was instructed by the ministry that not only the dignity and honor of the British empire, but even the existence of the empire, was involved in the issue, depended on producing complete obedience to it here in Massachusetts.

Now such a code of law met a public opinion here in Massachusetts that had become fixed in the direction of constitutional liberty. It was formed for a people who hated slavery in all its phases; who looked upon freedom as an angel form sent from on high to beautify and vivify society; and who for fifteen long, laborious, glorious years had been reading, talking, resolving, acting, singing, preaching, praying about their natural and charter rights, their British liberties, and in this way had disciplined their minds to the work of maintaining them. Thus far this assertion of right had been done mostly, within the pale of established authority; that is, on commercial principles, by voluntary agreements not to kill lambs, not to drink the cursed tea, not to buy of tory importers, nor to wear certain cloth, nor to consume certain articles. But such action, it was seen, would not answer to meet this new aggression. This was not a revenue question where the principle of submitting to taxation without representation could be avoided by voluntary abstinence from certain meats and drinks, but was something that met them at every turn in life. How was such a public opinion and such a people to meet such a code of law?

Now the Massachusetts people contended that this code was unconstitutional; that it broke the compact between them and the crown; that officers attempting to exercise authority under it ought to be looked upon as no officers; and the question was whether it should be submitted to, whether this new government should be allowed to go into effect. They decided this question in the negative. They resolved that every consideration of self-preservation required them to resist this code, in part and in the whole, as it would in fact annihilate their charter rights, and make them slaves. This then was the time that forcible resistance to established authority was determined upon. This was the point beyond which it was decided that accumulated aggressions should not pass. This was the occasion on which Massachusetts resolved, as there was no other way for her to do, to resort to the right of revolution. And it was this determination to resist these two acts at all hazards, come what might, help who would, that was the immediate cause of the commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country.

II. How did our fathers proceed in applying the right of revolution?

Up to this time, notwithstanding all that had been done, about the stamps and the tea, it was considered that there had been no organized revolutionary action; nothing beyond what to-day would be termed party action; nothing more than what England was then familiar with and has been more familiar with since. "We have only asserted our right to freedom,"—an essay dated May 18, 1774, reads. "This has produced in some places a few trifling commotions, but these were conducted only by mobs, which are always the first-born offspring of oppression, and which are not unknown even in Britain, and particularly remembered there for having insulted one king a few years ago at his palace gates." But from this time different action was recommended; while mob action, every thing that looked like it, every thing that tended to it, was decidedly denounced and attempted to be guarded against.

The earliest general organized movement relative to the two acts was that made by the committees of correspondence. They constituted what may be termed the executive of the patriots. They were chosen in regular town meetings duly warned in his majesty's name; and at this stage of the cause, their duties were to consult together, correspond together, and communicate by handbills important political action. A sort of congress of these committees, consisting of delegations from the several town committees of the counties of Worcester, Essex, Middlesex and Suffolk, met at Faneuil Hall August 26, 1774, and in a two days session matured a plan of resistance that was carried out to the letter. They decided that these laws ought to be resisted, and recommended that the courts held under them should be opposed, that county conventions should be held, that the militia should be organized, and that there should be a provincial congress. This was the first general action.

In accordance with this arrangement, legal meetings were called in the towns to elect delegates, both to the county conventions and to the expected provincial congress. These occasions were seized on to express political sentiment. As a specimen of the action of the towns, take the voice of Newburyport, expressed in instructions to Jonathan Greenleaf, the representative in relation to the two acts. They stated that they were calculated to alarm not only Massachusetts, "but all the British American colonies:" they express "utter abhorrence at the principles on which they had been constructed;" that they were designed to deprive them of privileges founded on "the principles of natural right and justice;" and after stating that they could not be trusted to conviction to enforce them, but required "armed ships and armed men," they say:—

"The more than implicit language that these utter, is, that we must submit or die. But God grant that neither of these may be our unhappy fate. We design not merely to brave our own destruction, and we do not thirst for the blood of others, but reason and religion demand of us that we guard our invaluable rights at the risk of both. We would, therefore, now direct and instruct you to do nothing that shall in the least degree imply a submission to these acts."

Take next the action by counties. All through Massachusetts, in August and September, there were large meetings of delegates, chosen at town meetings, of the several counties. They were

'nable representations when the intelligence, the character, the wealth, the patriotism of Massachusetts, pledged all on the hazard of the die of resistance. All spoke the same sentiment, breathed the same spirit, were animated by the same purpose, and they declared a determination never to submit to the laws subverting the Massachusetts charter. But they all, however, deferred to the expected provincial congress. Every thing here looked to organized action. Attacks on private property were denounced "as being subversive of all order and government," and even in case a sudden invasion should require forcible defence, it was agreed that some one of the committee of correspondence should notify the other committees by "written messages,"—so careful was it provided that the action should be authoritative, regular, organized action. The unalterable determination of resistance was expressed in the most solemn manner. Take the closing words of the Middlesex convention, of which WILLIAM PRESCOTT, of Bunker Hill memory, was a member, which was also quoted and endorsed by the Essex resolutions:—"No danger shall affright, no difficulties intimidate us; and if in support of our rights, we are called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too soon who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country."

Take next the action of the provincial congress—the successor of the legislature. The members of this were chosen at legal town meetings, and in fact consisted of the representatives. This body, of course, represented the political sentiment of Massachusetts; it expressed the will of Massachusetts; it spoke the voice of Massachusetts; and those who acted by its authority acted by the authority of Massachusetts. It is not the place to go over the remarkable action of this body from October, when it convened, until the commencement of the war. But, as to political sentiment, it endorsed that of the towns and counties. In addresses it urged that resistance to that code, these two acts, was the "christian and social duty of each individual," and it provided the way in which this resistance should be made, that is by an organization of the minute men. It created an executive power, the committee of safety, and it clothed this body with ample authority to call out this force of minute men, whenever it should be required, to resist these two acts. It appointed general officers, and authorized them to take charge of the militia whenever it should be called out by the committee of safety; and when called out their instructions authorized them to "effectually oppose and resist such attempt or attempts as shall be made for carrying into execution these two acts." Here, as in the first consultation at Faneuil Hall, in the towns, in the county conventions, the two acts which were to be resisted are specifically named and forcible resistance to any attempt to enforce them was regularly authorized.

Thus the action proposed was in its character ever regular. Every step in the process, when the crisis of falling back on the right of revolution came, was a carefully authorized step; that is, it was taken by the authority of a majority, an immense majority of the people, conveyed through such legal usages and forms as remained to them. Hence it was always organized action. Hence it bore ever the sacred impress of the collected sovereign will.

Indeed, the sentiment of public resolutions, of the letters of committees of correspondence, and of private letters, show, conclusively, how great a feature this made in their plan; and how little they meant any thing they should do should be tortured into a justification of disobedience to regular law—law which had their own sanction given through the agency of representatives of their choice. In their resolutions, for instance, side by side of the most determined refusal never to submit to the outrageous acts relating to their charter, there will be found as determined a condemnation of a spirit of disorder and anarchy. In their minds then there was a wide berth between their action and mob action In their minds there was a sharp, well drawn line, between the principles which they stood upon and the principles that would justify an individual in carrying on individual rebellion; between such action as they proposed and the action, for instance, of a single town that would take its position, draw out its military force, and let off its minute musketry against the British empire.

It was in this way that Massachusetts determined to exercise the right of revolution. There was nothing passionate, nothing disorganizing, in her action; it was deliberate, solemn, regular. It ran through a period of six months. The landing of regiment after regiment on her soil—the prospect of blood being shed—did not move her: but she took her stand calmly, religiously, devotedly—in the language of the time, in behalf of the rights of human nature, of the freedom of man, of the liberties of all America.

And if Massachusetts was now in her greatest glory, she was also in her greatest peril. History has seldom a more interesting spectacle than that which she then presented to the world; and the memory of that scene the world will not willingly let die. It was that period of intense anxiety extending from the time that forcible resistance was thus resolved upon, until the hour when the words of her town debates, of her county parliaments, of her provincial assembly, were made good on her immortal battle grounds. It was the awful pause between the resolution and the act.

And she stood not in the attitude of anarchy, but with the restraints of the sentiment of law and order ever about her. With the old feeling of liberty to animate her—with the old sentiment of religion to sustain her, she cast herself on her natural rights, and declared that she would not submit to the old authority. She was then pronounced, by this authority, to be in a state of rebellion; and hence her patriots, whether acting in town councils, or in the halls of congress—whether in the pulpit or the press—were acting as subject to the pains and penalties of treason. But still the work of preparation for the last extremity went steadily, solemnly on, and there was no backward step. In the local communities there were patriotic bands who signed pledges to form military companies and meet for military drill, and agreed, at a minute's warning, to take the field, and, under their superior general officers, to resist the unconstitutional code. And so they gathered in the village churches, planted amid the sweet homes they had vowed to protect, where, with his flock around him, the village pastor prayed for

firmness from on high in the day of trial, and the village Hampden exhorted them to fight to the last for their ancient liberties.

And all through the community the common business of life was in a great measure suspended, and ordinary pursuits of pleasure, or of ambition, or of wealth, gave way to the engrossing subject that filled all minds and stirred all hearts. But it was in social life, among those who gathered around the same family altar, that the anxiety was keenest. If there was seen patriotic encouragement, there were also felt alarm and suffering; for every thing betokened the approach of that most awful of calamities, civil war, when the happy family might divide, and brother be arrayed against brother. The fathers expressed it in the heavy thought that weighed on their brows—the mothers felt it as they yearned with more than mothers' tenderness for the fate of those they loved.

And in that hour, when the future was all a matter of uncertainty, the great, the momentous question was, what would civil war bring in its train? Will our towns, as is threatened, really be burned? Will our borders be actually overrun by the veteran victors of Minden? Will our mother country really mark us with desolating footsteps? And if it should come to this, shall we be left alone? Who will aid us? Will a brotherhood of colonies make our cause a common cause? Will a country thus form, and array itself around us, and share our peril, and be subject to our fate? Will a common flag, the emblem of power, ever wave over us, giving us joyful assurance of sympathy, of fraternity, of protection?

III. How was the feeling of loyalty supplanted by a sentiment of union?

An off-hand answer may be given to this question. It may be replied that a kindly regard sprung up among the colonists, when they fought together against the Indians or the French, as at Braddock's defeat and at Wolfe's victory; that various schemes of union had been proposed, as that of the four New England colonies in 1643, that of Daniel Coxe in 1741, the Albany plan of 1754; that hence the idea was of gradual development. But political institutions have their basis and vitality in public opinion. Now where is there any evidence that back of these theories there was at that time a general union sentiment, a union public opinion? Few traces of such a sentiment can be found previous to the great year of 1774. Indeed, no occasion, no crisis, had occurred to call forth a general sympathy. Take the stamp act times, and the political sentiment then was rather intense hatred of stamped paper and stamp officers than intense affection on the part of the colonies for each other. And if the tendency of the subsequent measures be closely scanned it will be found to have been, rather to foment jealousy, to create suspicions, to chafe and irritate, than to create a union sentiment. There were continual charges that this locality or that locality had violated its compact of non-importation, and sometimes a whole colony was read out of the political church because, in this matter it allowed interest to get the upper hand of principle.

But in the memorable year 1774, when the British administration levelled its blows on Boston and Massachusetts, there was a new power developed which the old money question of taxation had never been able to evoke. The American heart was stirred to its very depths, and there welled up streams of sympathy, political waters of life-giving power which before were unfelt, unknown, and which astonished alike the friends and the foes of American liberty.

That which excited this sentiment was the spectacle of first Boston and then of all Massachusetts suffering and in danger, on account of American liberty. Take the port bill. This wanton act struck down at a blow the business, the prosperity, all but the mental life and the patriotism of Boston; and gloom pervaded its streets and anguish filled its dwellings. A long winter was before it, and how was life to be supported by those struck down because they had been first and foremost in opposing despotic law? If Boston should be allowed to fall would New York and Philadelphia and Charleston be allowed to stand? Who does not know how the day that this bill went into operation was kept all through the colony as a day of mourning. It was the signal for the expression of wide, deep and active sympathy, overriding all interest and all jealousy. Who does not know how this sympathy manifested itself in the streams of patriotic donations that poured into Boston, from the snows of Canada, from the savannahs of Georgia, from the far west of Virginia, from every patriotic town at home? and along with them came soul-cheering letters in which union, and ever union, was the sentiment. It was like deep answering unto deep. One fact is significant, for sentiment will have its symbols. These donations were often brought into Boston by delegations and in processions, and then there waved among them a Union flag. Then it is that the documents and journals of the time begin to glow with union enthusiasm. A whole people rejoiced as the development of a new power went on. The essay reads: "A union of the colonies, like an electric rod, will render harmless the storms of British vengeance and tyranny." The song runs—

"Ye sons of freedom smile,
America unites!"

This then became the rally cry—a union of all for the relief of Boston—for the cause of Boston—for the support of Boston. It was rung through all the changes. "The policy of the ministry is to divide, and weaken and destroy; our policy is to unite and strengthen and save." The same spirit of liberty had long animated the colonies: they all had the spirit of equality as to each other; and now there was added the sentiment of fraternity. Thus it was in a season of danger, of suffering, and generous sympathy, that three sister principles joined holy hands, let us hope and believe for all occasions, for all time; then was begun that splendid march, still going on, against old abuses, against monarchies hoary with ages of oppression—the march of the grand American trio of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

While this union cry was rising higher and higher, the acts came altering the Massachusetts charter, and the news spread of the Spartan firmness of her people in resisting these acts. The journals daily told how no officer, from the governor to a constable, could act under the new laws; how finely the minute men of this town or that town went through their drill exercise; how resolute and united the Massachusetts men were; how parliament, before a gun had been fired, had

voted them to be in rebellion; how the king declared that the whole force of the empire should be used to put the rebellion down and make the new laws respected. Here then was not only Boston in suffering, but all Massachusetts was in danger. If Massachusetts was crushed, how much would the charter rights of the other colonies be worth?

Who does not know the effect this spectacle produced in the glorious old thirteen colonies? Then it was that the cause of Massachusetts was made the common cause, even to last dreadful resort of civil war. It was then that South Carolina, which had felt no oppression, which, up to the hour when she heard the sound of war from the plains of Lexington, looked only to commercial opposition, forgot her antipathies and joined hands with Massachusetts. It was then that an essay, written by Joseph Hawley, commencing "We must fight," was read by John Adams to Patrick Henry, who solemnly responded, "I am of that man's mind!" It was the patriot heart of old Virginia responding to the patriot heart of Massachusetts. It was then that the colonies sunk their points of division into a common cause. Then it was that the sentiment of union, of fraternity, found expression in united political action.

Things soon came to a crisis. Massachusetts was assured by the continental congress by a special vote in reference to her opposition, and by numerous public meetings, that in case the acts altering her government were attempted to be enforced by arms, and she opposed this attempt, all America ought to support her, and would support her, in her opposition. The result was soon seen. The British general began operations by attempting to disarm her, and he with his councillors judged it to be the best policy in order to prevent civil war, to destroy the military stores that the patriots had collected for their defence. This, to his utter dismay, brought on the contest. It produced the day of the nineteenth of April, when the colonists first asserted their rights on the battle field, and made reconciliation impossible. Then followed the great day of Bunker Hill, when independence was made certain; for more precious blood had been shed, a town had burned, and the colonies were linked in the same cause. In due time, after still more blood had been shed, and more towns had been burned, and the sword of all the colonies drawn, came the Fourth of July, when the great fact of Independence was proclaimed and justified to the world of mankind.

IV. What was the condition on which independence was declared.

The great act, which is so often declared to have introduced a new political era—the most important political measure ever passed upon on this continent, was done most deliberately. Who would pluck a leaf from the laurel of the noble Virginian who moved the declaration on the floor of congress, from the immortal author of it, from the Massachusetts collossus who defended it in debate, or from those who signed it. This was in very deed perilous public duty. But let justice be done. Those who look only within the walls of this great congress,—to the debates and the votes of the patriots there—will see but the finishing stroke as to this measure. This great step was not taken until the people, or the representatives of the people, had sanctioned it; and the great patriots were but agents—noble, faithful, true agents—but only agents to carry into effect the will of the people of their several colonies.

And here allusion is not merely to a belief entertained that there was a growing public opinion as to the measure: to the strong indications that began to appear in favor of it after patriot blood had flowed, and patriot towns had been wantonly burned: to the fact that the army was all alive with the glorious idea: to the enthusiasm with which Paine's Common Sense was received; but to the authoritative form in which this public opinion had clothed itself all through the colonies months before the fourth of July, 1776. In every quarter the people,—and as a general thing they were bolder than their leaders—in their various local organizations had debated the great measure, and by immense majorities had pledged their lives and their fortunes in support of it.

And the result of these deliberations had been conveyed to their delegates, or representatives in congress, in the shape of formal instruction as to what their action should be on this one great specific measure, and as to the condition on which they would consent to it. Passing at present the condition, take the instructions. Some of the colonies were more dillatory than others, and so cautious was congress—so justly careful were they to be backed by their constituents, that when Viginia moved the declaration, the further consideration of it was postponed three weeks in order to get the voice of the colonies that had not acted.

It would be far too historical to give the circumstances of the action of each colony, but take the case of Massachusetts to show how subdivided this action was. Its representatives (May 10, 1776,) sent out a resolve asking the opinion of the towns as to whether the people would support independence if it were declared. Look next into the town records, and there will be found the action of town meetings, legally warned, in the name of the people, resolving to support the measure, in longer or shorter instructions, as their fancy dictated, but all agreeing to do it with their estates and their lives. And Massachusetts was nearly unanimous. James Warren, president of the Massachusetts house, (June 12, 1776,) writes to Elbridge Gerry in congress—"The sentiments of our colony are more united on this question than they ever were on any other: perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred would engage to support congress in the measure. You seem to intend to avoid too great a shock; there is little left to do but the form and the ceremony, but even that is important."

And the same subdivided action is seen in Virginia all through the same month. There is hardly a clearer state paper than the instructions given by Buckingham county (May, 1776,) to its two delegates in the Virginia convention, charging them, so far as they could, "to cause a total and final separation from Great Britain to take place as soon as possible." And the instructions of the Virginia convention (May 15, 1776,) of one hundred and twelve members were unanimously adopted. It charged its delegates to propose in the general congress "to declare the united colonies free and independent states." And this action was welcomed the next day—so says the Virginia Gazette—with military parade, with illumination of houses, and with the continental Union flag flying from the capitol.

And thus it is an important truth that the real history, the life, the vitality of this measure, was in the debates of the people. The delegates in congress were carrying out their will, speaking their views, acting their action, and that the great fact was first done by them. This should never be lost sight of. This view may not precisely square with the immense importance that biographers attach to this patriot's action or to that patriot's action, or with even the octogenarian recollections of illustrious patriots themselves. But no matter. Those town memorials, those contemporary documents, those life speaking letters, that newspaper mirror, stand as of record, and there they will stand for ever. They cannot be superceded by after recollections and statements. And these show conclusively, that the great political fact of America, its declaration of independence, was the deliberate, solemn act of a whole people, first expressed in authoritative form in their primary meetings, where as colonies, or as parts of colonies, they first pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor in its support.

But there is, unless I greatly mistake, a still more remarkable fact connected with the declaration; and that is the condition on which the colonies consented to make it. And in reflecting on it, let us remember, that we are talking about the feelings and the principles, that gave birth to our nation, on fidelity to which, in their letter and their spirit, will depend the continuance of the nation. The fact alluded to is, that these colonies, these local governments, consented to agree to a declaration of independence only on the express condition that this power of framing their local form of government—this right of making their local laws—this self-government out and out, civil and religious—should be reserved to them in the strongest and most perfect manner.

That this is not too strongly put, the proceedings of the several colonial governments—those that acted on the question of the declaration of independence—will testify. Their instructions to their delegates are still extant. Take New Hampshire. It instructed its delegates in congress to join with the other colonies in declaring them independent, "provided the regulation of our internal police be under the direction of our own assembly": the proviso of Connecticut was "saving that the administration of government and the power of forming governments for, and the regulation of the internal concerns and police of each colony, ought to be left and remain to the respective colonial legislatures": that of Rhode Island to its delegates was, to take "the greatest care to secure to this colony, in the strongest and most perfect manner, its present established form, and all the powers of government, so far as it relates to its internal police and conduct of our own affairs, civil and religious": that of Maryland was, "provided the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police of that colony be reserved to the people thereof": that of North Carolina was, "reserving to this colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and of appointing delegates to meet the delegates of the colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out"; that of Virginia was, "provided, that the power of forming government for, and the regulations of the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the colonial legislatures": that of Pennsylvania was, "provided the forming the government, and the regulation of the internal police of the colony, be always reserved to the people of the said colony."

Here then, when the framework of society, its bright spots and its dark spots, was the same as it is to-day, is the basis upon which the first covenant of colony with colony, was made—here is the basis on which even the first step in our national existence was predicated. At that time there were wise men, good men, religious men, conscientious men, great men, who deplored that along with the local free institutions that had grown up there also was the local institution of slavery; and their language was, in view of all its bearings, "We tremble when we reflect that God is just, and that his justice will not sleep forever;" and they looked forward to a time when the principle and the glory of freedom should not be bounded by race or by color. But they left this matter for the local management of each colony—to the working of sound principles, the evil to be done away with in God's own time—making the declaration broad enough to cover even the slave—and confident that the principle of freedom would ultimately eat up the principle of slavery. This is the great lesson of all this history—that these states, once colonies, entered into the first solemn covenant of country, on the principle of equality. That in the most positive and solemn manner, in all the form of compact, they provided against interference from without as to their internal police. Here then is a principle, older than the constitution—older than the confederation—older than even independence—and which, as the language shows, the immortal declaration, and the confederation and the constitution, acknowledged and accepted. Such in its depth was the local sentiment, now that of state, and such is the origin of the state rights principle.

V. How did the national sentiment become embodied in a general constitution?

The common toil, the common treasure, the kindred blood, of that long, eventful, soul-trying seven years struggle to maintain independence, could not fail of making an indelible mark on the American mind. This era was not without its underto of jealousies, of intrigues, of interested service, of personal rivalries, of a sprinkling of the baser elements that are supposed to be kept down in seasons of danger, and to do their mean work only in seasons of prosperity. But who but those whose natural instinct it is to revel on the dark side of human nature cares to drag these frailties from their dark abode of oblivion. High above them all, on as noble a table land as God ever spread for man, and over which the American will ever delight to wander, stand in collossal grandeur the characters, the whole men, that make up our hero age. Their united wisdom was in every council—their bones together lie scattered on every battle-ground—their fame is common inheritance. The whole constitutes a life sustaining influence that has real being in their works, and that will have real being in all time. The mark it made was of a national stamp. This joint action, this common suffering, and sacrifice and glory, made the magic there is in the name of American. It originated national sentiment. It made dear the idea and the name of Union.

But when the enemy left these shores it was felt that the work had been but half done. The states

were free from foreign control, they had mostly adapted their old local forms to their several wants—that is, had established in the place of their charters granted by the crown something new in the world, constitutions ordained by the people—and they had become thirteen state nations. Now this met and fulfilled the ancient love of the local governments, and thus this public opinion had its proper embodiment. But there was still a vacuum. The old sentiment, that of loyalty to the mother country, had been annulled, and in its place was the union sentiment—the national idea. But where did this find embodiment? what worthy object had this to be loyal to? The articles of confederation had answered, barely answered, for a time of danger, of war; but when peace came, the show of their inherent weakness also came. This form, for the sole purpose for which it was wanted, was valueless, powerless; for it could not fire a gun nor could it command a dollar. But why consume time in portraying deficiencies, the imbecility of this confederation? It had no virtue to inspire respect at home, nor to command respect abroad.

And here allow me to advert to these two sentiments—the local sentiment of state, and the union sentiment of country, somewhat more in detail. They constitute, all admit, the pillars on which our political fabric rests.

So great was the value each colony set upon the degree of local independence it enjoyed under the crown—so great was the pride each felt in its local institutions—that when this sentiment was outraged, insulted, trampled upon, in the case of Massachusetts, when British power attempted to dragoon her into submission in order to constitute an opening wedge for centralization and consolidation, all united for the defence of it, and there was open war. The other colonies saw that if the local freedom of Massachusetts could be subverted their freedom was but short lived, was but a name.

Now this local pride and attachment were immensely increased by the civil events of the revolution. Most of the colonies, or states, had upon the recommendation of congress, established forms of government, some of them, as Virginia and South Carolina, even before the formal declaration of independence: and done this too in the phrase of the day, "under the authority of the people." So much has been said about the people being the source of all political power, about government being founded on the consent of the people, and the phrases have become so stereotyped, that we can hardly appreciate the feelings that were excited, when this principle, for the first time in this country, on so large a scale as state organizations, was applied to the executive branches as well as to the representative; when it went so far that the whole frame-work of society was constructed by the agency of the people. Let contemporary history tell how profoundly the worth of this principle was appreciated, and with what transports of joy its first fruits were received.

As an illustration of the manner in which this was first announced, take the Pennsylvania call for a convention to frame a government. Its conference, corresponding to our provincial congress, say in their address, (June 22, 1776,) "Divine Providence is about to grant you a favor which few people have ever enjoyed before—the privilege of choosing deputies to form a government under which you are to live." The same solemnity is seen in other proceedings. While the constitutions that were formed during the stormy period of the war—the splendid constitutional arguments that were issued like the celebrated Essex Result from one of your great townsmen—attest how worthy the colonists were to exercise the great right.

And with what joy did the people welcome the advent of these new constitutions—the workmanship of their own hands—their grand object the common good, the general welfare—so framed that if they did not work well, if the people did not like them they could, by a peaceable process, alter them, amend them, change them, at their own sovereign will and pleasure, without asking the permission of any potentate or power that wore the bauble of a kingly crown. And then, too, the new executive officers, were men clothed with authority derived from them, which they, and not a power thousands of miles away, had set up, and which they could put down! As an illustration of this, take what transpired in South Carolina when its new government went into operation. But I prefer to give this in the language of the time. John Adams, then in congress, writes May 17, 1776: "Two young gentlemen from South Carolina when their new constitution was promulgated, and when their new governor, and council, and assembly, walked out in procession, attended by the guards, company of cadets, light horse, &c., told me that they were beheld by the people with transports and tears of joy. The people gazed at them with a kind of rapture. They both told me, that the reflection that these were gentlemen whom they all loved, esteemed and revered; gentlemen of their own choice, whom they could trust, and whom they could displace if any of them should behave amiss, affected them so that they could not he p crying."

Here, then, in the introduction of this organic principle, was a new and priceless element of value added to the local governments. Far-seeing men rightly, at the time, estimated its magic power, and they reasoned, before the fourth day of July, too, that the colonies, the states, the people, that had established these new governments, would never give them up—they would fight for them to the last. In such increased intensity did the war leave this former local attachment to colony, now transferred to the state.

But the union sentiment—the national sentiment—was none the less strong. Does a patriot love his country, as a whole, any the less because of the special love he bears to parts of it—to his native state, to the community that first gave him the life of culture, to the spot where his boyhood rambled? Far, far from it. The love of home is the foundation of the love of country. And this strong local attachment only made more intense, more perfect the more general attachment that had been sealed with so much of precious blood. It stretched out into the broader love of country—love of the American name, of the idea of an American nation. Our fathers leapt for joy that this new birth was among them. And so this sentiment of nationality is seen increasing in depth, growing in strength, even from the suffering hour when it welled forth so generously and spontaneously from the American heart. All along is seen evidence of this in the attempts to give it a political form. No sooner are there ideas of indepen-

dence than there are recommendations and plans for union, for a government, for a constitution. Thus Connecticut, when she instructed her delegates to go for independence, instructed them also to go for a close union. So it was with other colonies; and Virginia asked (May, 1776) for a government, "the most free, happy, and permanent, that human wisdom can contrive, and the perfection of man maintain."

But it is unnecessary to enlarge on the way in which, through the war, this sentiment found expression. And after the war there is everywhere seen evidence of strong attachment to the union of the old thirteen which had effected the work of deliverance. It was keenly felt that the sentiment was not expressed in a form, should not have constituted a power, that should be adequate to repel the taunts, the insults to our flag and our commerce abroad. Then the enemies of American freedom in the old world enjoyed a short carnival. They saw in the states only so many petty nations, picking at each other, each passing its own revenue laws and ship duties, while there was in some of them open insurrection, and among others bitter quarrels.

And now this demand for a national power was made by all, ultra state rights men jealous of delegated power, as well as by ultra unionists, disposed even to abolish the state governments. This is seen in memorials, proceedings of public meetings, all the ways public opinion takes to express itself. Take a New York memorial of 1785. "A happy but severe experience past, and we apprehend a future experience less happy and more severe will evince that our union is the basis of our grandeur and power. That foundation once removed, the superstructure of national felicity must crumble into dust." And for years, every where the demand was that this union sentiment, these national ideas, should be met and fulfilled, in a general form of government Look at every, yes every call from every state, for a convention to arrange such a government, and the same idea will be found expressed. Here then was the solid foundation in public opinion, for a constitution that in its power should go far enough to do justice to this national sentiment, while it should not go too far to do violence to the local attachment to the state. And in addition to this, the patriotic argument, there was the argument urged by the commercial, the mechanical, the manufacturing interests, the whole making up a powerful train of reasoning in favor of a new constitution.

It was to meet this great demand that the memorable convention of 1783 met and framed the great master work of government that made a more perfect union. It is not too much to call it the noblest political fabric of that age or of any age. It was the first time that thorough representative government was embodied in a general, a national system, capable of independent action, and yet not necessarily encroaching on the equally independent action of the other powers it left behind it, and to which it owed its being. Chateaubriand calls this the grand discovery of modern times. It was the time when it was demonstrated how a federal union could go on happily, harmoniously, in peace or war, and protect a vast and varied enterprise, although composed of elements of discordant sentiment. But this is not the time nor the place to discuss the character or to describe the action of this government. This is the constitution, which makes the compact of the American Union, and rounds off so nobly the political service of the men of the revolution.

I have thus endeavored to present recollections of the FEELINGS and PRINCIPLES of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. And could the venerable forms of the honored sages of that era arise and walk among us, what would be their charge to this generation, in view of what is passing over the length and breadth of the land, but to act the part of good citizens, liberal patriots, fast friends of their country; to maintain, improve, and thus perpetuate the institutions they toiled and died to establish; and as the way to do this, to maintain the supremacy of law, to be faithful to the compacts of the constitution, and to be loyal to the American Union.

THE SUPREMACY OF LAW! How can this principle be magnified too highly? Respect for law—obedience to law—is the great duty of the citizen. That liberty protected by law was the principle of the fathers of the revolution has got to be a maxim But the means they used to accomplish their great end—the exercise itself of the right of revolution, is also as worthy of remembrance. Their example gives no countenance to disorganization, to anarchy, to mob law. And this, notwithstanding all that may be said about the stamp act riots—and other occasional violations of the peace that occurred. The whole of this was discountenanced by the wise and the good—the friends of law and order. Let the private letters yet to see the light—let the documents already published—say how severely such action was condemned. The charge made against them by the tories was, that they were promoting anarchy—a charge they repelled with every mark of indignation and scorn. Listen to the way in which they repelled the charge. An address, May 1776, says—

"It is not rebellion; it is not in violation of the spirit of the law; or contempt of the constitution; it is not in the rage of anarchy, or wildness of ambition, that we arise and join with such amazing unanimity. No; ye illustrious shades of our pious ancestors, and ye martyrs of whatever age or clime, who have shed your tears and your blood for dying freedom! Ye cloud of witnesses, with which we are compassed about! We declare, as in your presence, and we declare to this whole earth, that such is not our aim; that our public measures result from a dreadful necessity; that America hath resisted purely on the footing of self-preservation."

On the contrary, every step in the exercise of the rights of revolution had the sanction of the will of the people, expressed through such forms of law as they could act under. There was no building of barricades—there were no scenes of official massacre—then was no higher law than obedience to the decisions of majorities of the people. The maxim then rather was—and properly understood, it is a true one—the voice of the people is the voice of God. The two laws were rather joined together. Ethan Allen, when he startled the astounded British commander with his sharp, stern, rough summons to surrender, told him it was done under the authority of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress. And the authority, all through, was exercised by those acting by virtue of commissions from organized power—from the men who commanded on the day of Lexington downwards. The forms of law might be incom-

plete, but they were sufficient to embody the sovereign will. And hence, because this revolutionary action had this consent of the people, it was held to be constitutional; while the codes they forcibly opposed, those that never had their consent, were held to be, to them, no law, but disorder, anarchy and despotism. Here is a lesson that ought never to be overlooked by a people resolved to exercise this momentous right of revolution.

FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION! This great work—the constitution—was the rounding off of American valor with American statesmanship. Nothing was there like it in the leaf of all history. That is, there was no league, confederation or federative form of government to copy from, with powers delegated solely for general and national purposes, of a self-sustaining nature, and yet leaving behind them other powers, such as local governments, also self sustaining in their nature and having well defined spheres of action. Hence this constitution is its own precedent. Hence it has nothing but its own mark to justify it.

But what mark more luminous would work of human hands desire to justify it than its pathway thus far? Who will say that it has not benefitted all—protected all—done its work well, in peace and war? Its broad shield is over all, fostering a national sentiment and yet respecting state pride, the bond of the American Union, the preserver of American order.

And what an argument in its favor is a comparison of the last sixty years of the order of America with the last sixty years of the disorder of Europe! Where, where is there such a spectacle of progress and of liberty? The wisest of Europe's sons see this argument in its favor and acknowledge it. And the democratic principle at the bottom of American institutions is working there, too, with all the terrible certainty of fate; and this great practical result of self government in America—this constitution—is the daily encouragement and daily appeal of the advocates of freedom there. This democratic principle has now got to be a public opinion, an accumulative power in the old world. It was this that made the late movement there. It was this that gave Kossuth his might, and made Hungary for a time victorious, and made once potent Austria a poor bankrupt beggar for life at the feet of the northern autocrat. Hence it is, because of the working of this under-current of public opinion, that the agitations of society there are not like mere ripples on the surface of waters, that are to come and gently die away, and to leave always the prior smoothness—but are like the ground swell of an ocean tide, that, in its awful returns, sweeps away, at length, whatever barriers may be set to resist it. In this movement America is looked to more intensely every day, and her constitution is appealed to with more confidence every day; and hence every patriot not only owes it to the cause of freedom in his own country, but to freedom's cause in foreign lands, to be faithful, in word and deed, to its compact.

LOYALTY TO THE UNION! Who is equal to the task of setting forth the memories and the glories that cluster about the Union? In its mighty strength America has gone onward, from feebleness that could not repel an insult, to a power that all Europe in arms cannot overrun; and in its strength the country is still going on in giant strides; and the gaze of her guardian eagle is ever towards the sun.

And how rapid has been national progress! Imagination can hardly realize that there are those who lived when an enemy revelled in our noble metropolis, and the white tents of America's earliest citizen soldiery were scattered among the hills of her unrivalled environs, and who yet live to see to day's smile of prosperity; that there are those who then and there saw the father of his country first unfurl the Union banner of the thirteen stripes, and who yet live to see the golden star of California shining in its folds. And yet so it is. Such is the broad sweep which the parent states have made as they gathered about them a noble band of sisters, differing from each other in degrees of progress, as one star differs from another star in glory, but all sharing the common blessings of peace, and liberty, and security.

And what an illustration of this progress is the last great addition—the Pacific coast. It is but yesterday that the great poet wrote of it as the land

> "Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound,
> Save his own dashings."

But it is true no longer, that "the dead are only there." The living are there! All the sounds of advancing civilization are there. The sound of the woodman's axe is heard heralding the approach of the indomitable industry that conquered America's primeval forests. The sound of the church bell is heard in her rising cities, proclaiming that the institutions of religion are there. The sounds of children just let loose from school are there showing that education is doing its noble work. The mighty power is there that is spreading the fame of Fulton. Commercial enterprise is there, whether turning up the golden treasures from the earth, or whether, unsatisfied, ever stretching on, boldly accepting the challenge to compete with the world's great commercial power for the prize of the trade of the country where is the wealth of Ormus and the Inde. And, to crown all, a state is there, and the principles of freedom, as planted on Plymouth Rock, have been worked into its constitution, securing to all life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And the Union that unites all—that shields all—what is it? What is its nature, what constitutes its strength, wherein is its vitality? What was it in the first? A generous sympathy, a beating of heart for heart, a feeling of fraternity running through all, a common affection, a united public opinion. This was what it was, and there was no union until there was this opinion. And what cemented this union was joint effort, kindred action, blood shed in the common cause. It is this united feeling which has kept the Union. It was by such means that a power from above joined together Yorktown and Bunker Hill, and so strongly that, as yet, no power from below has been able to separate them. But in modern times there have sprung up points of division, that bode no good even to the cause of local freedom. Now let these points of division go on multiplying, let churches go on dividing, let the idea of commercial retaliation go on spreading, let real or fancied wrongs gird up a state to the point of secession, let the sword be drawn to compel submission, let the hatred and revenge that this will kindle

take the place of the old affection and fraternity, and the real Union will be no more. Nothing will be left but the dry bones of the letter—soul will be wanting there. And if this Union should be broken up, old world legitimatists will hold a jubilee, a carnival; for American glory, grandeur and power, will have departed.

But this jubilee will never be held. There is an American sentiment that never, in a crisis, will be appealed to in vain! There is one voice to which this nation will always listen! It is that of the Father Patriot, whose fame is common inheritance, who will stand in all time first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen! He bore the dear and venerable name, which mothers love to whisper to their children in their cradles, and the purity and brightness of whose glory gild the paths of the aged to their tombs. WASHINGTON, as much as it was allotted to mortal man, was the father of the Union. Let his Farewell Address say how dear it was to his heart. From this he yet speaks, with his whole weight of character behind his speech, and his injunction is,—maintain the SUPREMACY OF LAW—be faithful to the COMPACTS OF THE CONSTITUTION—be loyal to the AMERICAN UNION.

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