

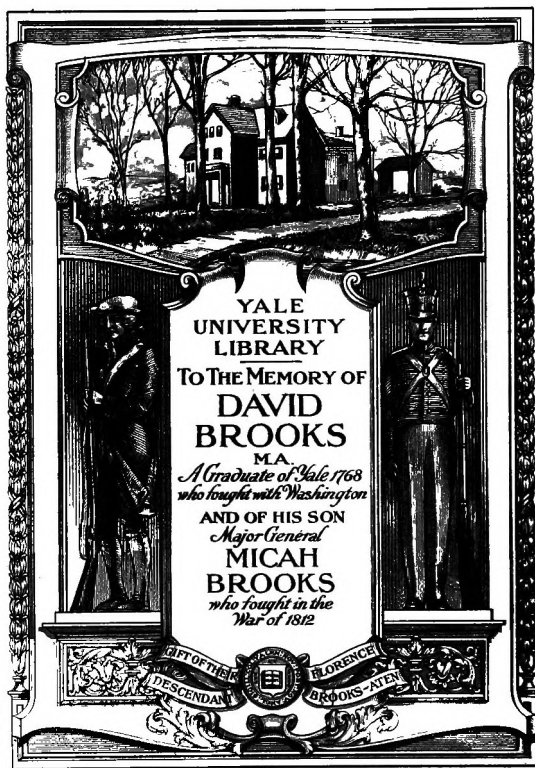
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ORATION,

PRONOUNCED,

At the Request of the Committee of Arrangements, appointed by the Norfolk Volunteers,

IN THE NEW EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

In the Borough of Norfolk,

ON THE 4TH OF JULY, 1861,

BY

HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, Esq.

WITH A STATEMENT OF THE PROCESSION, & C. & C.

NORFOLK, VA.

PUBLISHED BY C. HALL.

SHIELDS & ASHBURN, PRINTERS, BEACON OFFICE.

ORATION,

PRONOUNCED,

At the Request of the Committee of Arrangements, appointed by the Norfolk Volunteers,

IN THE NEW EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

In the Borough of Norfolk,

ON THE 4TH OF JULY, 1831,

BY

HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, Esq.

WITH A STATEMENT OF THE PROCESSION, &C. &C.

NORFOLK, VA.

PUBLISHED BY C. HALL.

SHIELDS & ASHBURN, PRINTERS, BEACON OFFICE.

PREFACE.

IT was the desire of our fellow citizens that some memorial of the extraordinary celebration of the late anniversary, more apt to be retained, and susceptible of a more easy reference, than the files of a News-paper, should be preserved. It was also due to those who originated the idea of a *Procession*, as well as to those of our fellow citizens, who so zealously contributed their aid in imparting to it a brilliancy unsurpassed by any similar exhibition in this section of the country. The statement of the *Procession* has been selected from the News-papers of the day, and is believed to convey as correct an outline as can easily be obtained. A request was made to Mr. Grigsby for a copy of his Oration for publication, to which he has consented. As an undertaking like the present could not be made *without considerable expense*, the publisher confides in the liberality of the public for a fair remuneration.

THE PUBLISHER.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

FIRST DIVISION.

The Chief Marshal—WALTER F. JONES, Esq.

The Military—The Norfolk Independent Volunteers, Capt. Capron;

Light Artillery Blues, Capt. King;

The Juniors, Lieut. Com'dt Newton.

SECOND DIVISION.

The various branches of the MECHANIC ARTS, in the following order :

1. TAILORS—with a rich and splendid Banner, representing on either side the *Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil*, with Adam and Eve shaded by its foliage, the latter receiving from the serpent the forbidden fruit—the inscription on one side "*I was naked and ye clothed me ;*" on the reverse "*We are united.*" The members wore a badge of blue riband, with the same device and inscription as the banner.

2. BLACKSMITHS—on a Car, 9 feet by 10, bearing a portable *Forge*, Anvil and other essential tools—and surmounted by a *Banner* of white, with an athletic arm, poising a hand hammer—an anvil, pair of tongs, and an anchor, with the inscription "*Strike while the iron is hot.*" The forge in full operation, making hooks, thimbles, spikes, nails, horse shoes, &c. as it moved along, enveloped in a cloud of black smoke. The car was followed by Master Smiths and Journeymen of Norfolk and the Navy Yard.

3. CARPENTERS—A Car 22 feet long, the bed of it about 5 feet—work benches the whole length, extending over about 22 inches on each side, a two story small house in the centre with a portico extending the whole length, with an open Piazza on the top, and a steeple rising from the centre of the roof terminating with a Banner bearing the inscriptions '76,' "*In the wilderness we found friends, and by faith and perseverance we gained our independence.*" The Car was covered with Cedar, Pine and other boughs, representing a forest. The Mechanical operations were

going on during the procession with 8 workmen—4 Axemen and a pair of Sawyers, following the Car. The whole was got up at the sole expense of Mr. *Lovett Fentress*.

4. **STONE CUTTERS, MASONS, BRICKLAYERS, PLASTERERS and SLATERS**, formed in one body. They had a handsome Car, the panels of which were finished imitations of brick and stone masonry, representing the base of a building, with scaffold poles around it, and a number of persons employed within in slating and laying bricks. They turned a beautiful arch on their way, with a key stone of marble, on which was cut, "JULY 4th, 1831." The decorations were a large and elegant gilt eagle in an elevated position, with a wreath of laurel, interwoven with flowers, in the beak, and a banner representing a superb mansion house on one side, and the implements of the trade on the other.

5. **THE PAINTERS AND GLAZIERS** had a highly decorated car, with canopy and drapery, drawn by two beautifully variegated horses. It was an exact imitation of the interior of a paint shop, in which men were employed in the different operations of painting, grinding, and mixing colors, &c. while an artist sat very composedly at his easel, painting a portrait. Aloft waved the "star spangled banner," and in the rear a less brilliant but very pretty one was carried.

6. **TANNERS, CURRIERS and MOROCCO DRESSERS**. These had a beautiful Car, in which were persons engaged in the occupation of currying and finishing Morocco skins, which were commenced in their rough state, carried through the whole process of currying, dying, drying and dressing, and when completed were sold from the car and the *cash* received before the procession was dismissed. Their banner presented on both sides the coat of arms of their trade, with the mottos, "*May love and unity support our trade,*" and "*God is our trust.*"

7. **CORDWAINERS**—These added much to the strength and attraction of the procession. Their *Banner* represented a workman in his seat; the Boss (or master) on his right, with one hand pointing to the workman, and with the other to the *Presidential Chair* on a distant eminence, with the inscription "*'Twas here I began my career and there may it end.*"—On the reverse side,

the Goddess of Liberty giving support to the Bald Eagle, with the inscription "*American genius envied by the Old World—A Pattern.*" The members wore a white apron, trimmed with Blue Riband, on the front of which three *Goat Heads*, forming a triangle; and a square emblematical of their profession.

8. **HATTERS**—This was one of the most attractive and interesting objects in the whole line of procession. A beautiful large Car with a canopy (16 feet by 8) drawn by 4 sorrel horses, with fur skins of every description hanging from the rail; the interior representing a *complete Factory* in full operation, where the whole process of *making a Hat*, from bowing the fur to the finishing touch, was distinctly seen in all its details—the fur flying from the bow somewhat resembled flakes of snow, and created much merriment, as it covered the procession in the rear, for a considerable distance. The *Banner* of white trimmed with red, which was surmounted by a large Hat, with the inscription "*We cover all,*" presented at the top a *Beaver*, with the motto "*With the industry of the Beaver we support our rights.*" Two Hatter's Bows crossed, with a Hat and Bonnet on the right and left—and at the foot a Chapeau de Bras with the motto "*We assist each other in time of need.*"

9. **COPPERSMITHS, BRASS FOUNDERS and TIN PLATE WORKERS**—These carried a splendid Silk *Banner* with a Heraldic emblem of their professions, on each side, and numerous devices embossed in gold—the inscription on one side "*God is the only Founder,*" and on the reverse, "*Brass Founders, Copper Smiths and Tin Plate Workers.*" The members wore a white apron with a *Still* painted on the front, and trimmed with blue riband. Most of the members carried *Brass Rods* ornamented with blue riband.

10. **THE PRINTERS** followed next, with appropriate badges, and bearing a banner, on which appeared in bold relief, **THE PRESS**, scattering its light abroad and dissipating the clouds of superstition and ignorance;—motto, "*Vox Populi—Custos Reipublicæ:*"—on the reverse side, a winged messenger proclaiming "**INDEPENDENCE**" to the nations of the earth—with the date of its declaration inscribed on the trumpet. The junior part of

the train plied their vocation on the way, and circulated among the throng on either side, copies of the *Inmortal Manifesto*, in neatly printed sheets to be preserved as memorials of the celebration.

11. **GUNSMITHS**—These carried a very handsome and appropriate *Banner* with Guns crossed, Pistols, &c.—and the staff surmounted with a pair of Pistols, the inscription on the *Banner*—“*In peace prepare for war.*”

12. **WATCHMAKERS, JEWELLERS, SILVER SMITHS and ENGRAVERS.** *Watchmaker's side*—Time seated on a hill with his Hour Glass behind him, tumbling over—his Scythe in his right hand—his left hand pointing to an old Stockholm Clock—The motto over his head, “*A time for every purpose.*”—The Clock hands stand at a quarter to 12—at the feet of Time the motto “*I was from the beginning.*” *Silversmiths' side*—The Chair of State elevated, with an Eagle in the round of the back, his claws on the cross-bar, with one claw holding the chain of a watch which lays on the seat of the chair—in the other claw he holds the “Papspoon”—the motto “*Protection to all*”—opposite to the Chair of State, a Silversmith at his block striking up a spoon—the motto “*We strike up for all*”—Designed and painted by Mr. L. R. Pollard.

13. **ROPEMAKERS**—These carried a *Banner* representing on one side a *Rope Walk* in full operation, and on the other, *Queen Elizabeth*, the early patron of their art. Following the *Banner* were a number of Hemp Spinners, with their bodies begirt with this valuable material.

THIRD DIVISION.

1. **MARINE SOCIETY**—*Banner* of white, trimmed with blue, with the devices—A fowl Anchor, Hogshead of Tobacco and Bales of Cotton.—Inscription “*Norfolk Marine Society.*”

2. **SEAMEN**—A number of Seamen brought up the rear of the Marine Society, bearing on their shoulders a small neatly rigged ship, which they carried through the Procession with perfect order, producing too, a very pleasing effect.

3. **TEACHERS and PUPILS**—The attendance was not as general as was anticipated: Mr. *Campbell*, Mr. *Davis*, and Mr. *Butt*,

attended with their pupils, uniformly and neatly dressed, forming a most interesting group of (let us hope) the future great men of our land. The pupils of Mr. *Davis* and Mr. *Butt* bore very handsome and appropriate banners, while those of Mr. *Campbell* carried handsome specimens of *Drawing*, *Painting* and *Geometry*.

The Procession was formed at the Court House at 10 o'clock; from which place it took up its line of march by the following route:—Down Main street to Granby street; up Granby to Freemason street; along Freemason street to the residence of Dr. N. C. Whitehead, where the Orator of the Day and the Reader of the Declaration of Independence were received into the line. It then moved to the new Episcopal Church, when the respective bodies composing the Procession were escorted to the seats reserved for them on the first floor; while the galleries were already occupied by a numerous concourse of the fair daughters of our land.

The services of the Church were opened by a deeply eloquent prayer from the Rev. Doct. Ducachet, in which the fervid feelings of the Patriot and the Christian were beautifully blended.—The Declaration of Independence was read by the Hon. George Loyall, and the Oration delivered by H. B. Grigsby, Esq.

At the conclusion of the Oration, the Independents' Band played a splendid piece of music composed by Rossini, and selected from the opera of *Cinerendola*.

The Procession again formed, and proceeded down Catharine to Main street; up Main to Church street; up Church to Holt street; thence through Fen Church into Main street again, and along Main street to Market Square, when the Volunteers halted, formed line, and saluted the Procession as it passed on, when they again formed column, and having resumed their station, the Procession was dismissed; and the Volunteers marched to the foot of Market Square, where they fired a salute and were also dismissed.

ORATION.

I REJOICE to behold the proud spectacle before me. I rejoice to behold the people of the land, with gladsome hearts and streaming banners, come up, on this eventful anniversary, to pay at the shrine of patriotism the homage of grateful spirits. We bid you welcome. Welcome, forever welcome be the dawn of this glorious morning. Welcome, in all time, be those vivid emotions, that now linger about every bosom, and beam from every eye.

Let us be alive to the solemnity of the occasion. We come not here to give play to sounding phrases, or to indulge in the pomp of idle declamation. Our purpose, we trust, is loftier. We have met to commemorate the deeds of our fathers. We have met in a time of profound peace, in the midst of general happiness, in our own, our favored land, to contemplate their hardy struggles, their gloomy reverses, their brilliant triumphs; to trace, as far as the occasion will allow, the principles that governed their actions, and to meditate upon those schemes of government, which their wisdom devised. Above all, we have met to lay our passions and our prejudices on the altar of our common country, and to avow, before God, our deep, devoted fidelity to the institutions of our fathers.

It is fruitful thus to dwell upon the past. It is a theme which may well create the highest and purest emotions in the breasts of our countrymen. And it is only by a just contemplation of the past, that we may rightly estimate the present; and as we consider the past and the present, such is the rapid succession of events transpiring around us, that we find ourselves imperceptibly in the midst of posterity.

Our theme is the AMERICAN REVOLUTION; and in order to give our thoughts, at least, the semblance of connexion, we propose to discuss it in two main points of view—the *peculiar character of the Revolution itself; and its influence on the destinies of mankind.*

In exhibiting the peculiar character of the Revolution, it will be expected from us, on an occasion like the present, to touch cursorily on the habits and manners of those who achieved it; the principles which it presumed to support; and the spirit with which it was maintained.

We experience feelings of honest exultation in reviewing the character of our fathers. It is a topic on which we would wish to dwell. It is natural for man to examine the history of those from whom he sprang, and to whose impress he owes whatever of good or evil his institutions may possess. This subject happily presents no mystery to the eye of an American. The origin of our country is so recent, that we may be almost said to behold the first landing of our fathers with the distinctness of passing life. We mark their assiduous toil, and are eager to cheer them with our sympathies. We can present to our minds, almost without the aid of imagination, the arrival of the first vessel of the colonists. We can behold the eye of the patriarch as he leaned against the shrouds of his sea-tost vessel, intently gazing on the land of promise, and mark in the distance the wary native shrinking with fearful emotions at the unearthly spectacle. We can still point to the spot on which they landed, and we can still behold the ruins of the temple which they erected, within whose enclosures they buried their first dead, and at whose altar they knelt to breathe out to the God who guided them over the waters, the tribute of deep-felt gratitude and praise. They have now landed their little all, and the forest and the foes of the New World await them. With what mingled sensations of hope and fear, must they have watched the setting of the first sun, the gathering of the shades of the first night, above them in the wilderness; how often, how anxiously, during that first, long, sleepless, rayless night, did they strive to distinguish the faint streak of earliest dawn; and how joyfully did they hail the brightness of the coming of the New Morn. What, too, must have been their feelings, as they saw their bark, lighted of its living freight, gliding past them, on the bosom of the James, in its progress to their island home;—as they saw the last link severed that bound them to the scene of their affections, what thrilling emotions must have pervaded them!—Honest, worthy men! Could a single glance at futurity have been given them; could they have thought, amid their toils and struggles, while wrestling with the terrific forms of disease, or beset with the wiles of the treacherous Indian; could they have indulged the hope that themselves—that their posterity would reap such a rich harvest, how it would have sweetened their rigid

fell; how disease would have been shorn of half its power; how the war-whoop that sunk along the heart of the mother and roused the infant in his cradle, would have lost its terrors, and would have been almost regarded as the harbinger of coming joy; if they could have thought that that child or that their children's children would live to behold such a reward as was reserved for their labors. But, in the all-wise Providence of God, such a prospect never opened to their eyes.*

Thus a key to the character of our fathers will be found, *in the peculiar circumstances of their condition*. Having secured their rights by a charter, in which they were fully and accurately defined, they found it not only easy to refer to them, but often absolutely necessary, in order to prevent imposition from without, and confusion within. They were thus habituated to discern with accuracy the nature and extent of the privileges which they shared, and to estimate them at their proper value.

The habits of industry and alertness, which necessity and interest conspired alike to create and establish, gave them an ability and readiness for action, which it would have been difficult to have acquired in a mode of life more congenial to repose. Hence their ingenuity in detecting the slightest movement prejudicial to their rights. Hence the wonderful alacrity and manly boldness with which they resisted every attempt to injure them.

We are not surprised, therefore, when our historians tell us, that frequent collisions took place between the colonies and the mother country. Causes of controversy would naturally spring up from the relation which the Colonists bore to the parent State. It possessed not only a revisory power over every local regulation which the Colonists might enact, but might also revoke the charters themselves. This power, too delicate to be lodged in the hands of a distant nation, must sometimes be exercised; and when its exercise was felt, it was calculated to create warm feelings of jealousy in the bosoms of men, characterised, in a far less degree, than the Colonists were, for a knowledge of their just rights, and incessant vigilance and activity in guarding and maintaining them.

We have not time to dwell on the character of the various con-

*See Note A.

troversies that arose between them, prior to the revolution; although an examination of them would tend in an eminent degree to develop the character of our ancestors. A distinguished Colonial writer informs us, (I quote his own words,) "Our freedom has been the object of envy, and to make void the charter of our liberties, has been the work of an undiminished race of misguided men. One cabal having failed of success, new conspirators have arisen, and what the first would 'make void,' the next 'humbly desired to revoke.' So great has been the credulity of the British Court from the beginning, or such has been the activity of false brethren, that no tale, however inimical to the colonies, however false and absurd, but what hath found credit with the administration, and operated to the prejudice of the country. Thus it was told and believed in England that we were not in earnest in the expedition against Canada, at the beginning of this century, and that the country did all in its power to defeat the success of it; and the misfortune of that attempt ought to be attributed to the Colonies alone; while nothing could be more obvious than that our country exhausted her youngest blood, and all her treasure, in the undertaking." So says this writer.*

Dissentions did surely exist between the two countries; and as is often the case with disputants, it is probable that both may have occasionally erred. It must not be suspected, however, that the Colonists faltered, for a single moment, in their affection for the parent state. It was true they had differences; but these seldom extended farther than the immediate point of controversy; and to every thing that affected the honor and glory of England, they were feelingly alive. It will be recollected, with what generous indignation the eloquent writer just quoted, repels the charge of backwardness in defending the reputation of England in the Canadian expedition; and with what animation he declares that his country "exhausted her youngest blood, and all her treasures in the undertaking." In all the English wars on our Continent, from the distant Quebec—with her solemn ramparts and immortal heights; to the Southern Havanna—with her hurricanes in her hand, and disease feeding on her pallid brow—the colonists bore

* Quiney.

an active part, and incurred great expense. But we have, fellow citizens, the proud consolation of reflecting, that in these schools our fathers were gradually acquiring that skill and confidence which were, in the process of time, to be employed in accomplishing the greatest event of the era in which they lived. Intelligent to discern their rights and privileges, and alert to defend them; distinguished for their activity and adroitness that sprang up from their condition, and for that sense of independence which agriculture, their main employment, is so well calculated to inspire; skilled in the practical affairs of life from their commerce as well as their frequent controversies with the parent State; and not unaccustomed to the dangers of actual war;—such was the character of our ancestors when that series of aggressions commenced, which ended in the American Revolution.

Having arrived at this point, we will rapidly sketch *the principles on which it was founded*. In order to estimate with accuracy the principles on which the revolution was founded, it is indispensably necessary that the peculiar relation existing between the Colonies and the parent State should be in some degree understood. What then was the relation between them? It was contended generally among our statesmen, that while the Colonists possessed the right of framing their internal regulations, subject to the revisal of the king, the Parliament possessed the right of regulating their commerce. On the other hand Mr. Jefferson thought differently. Let him speak for himself. “In this (alluding to a draught of instructions,) I took the ground that from the beginning I had thought the only one orthodox or tenable, which was, that the relation between Great Britain and these Colonies, was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland, after the accession of James and until the union, and the same as her present relations with Hanover, having the same Executive Chief, and no other political connexion: and that our emigration gave her no more rights over us than the emigration of the Danes and Saxons gave to the present authorities of the mother country over England. In this doctrine, however, I have never been able to get any one to agree with me but Mr. Wythe. He concurred in it from the first dawn of the question, what was the political relation between

us and England. Our other patriots, Randolph, the Lees, Nicholas, Pendleton, stopped at the half-way house of John Dickinson, who admitted that England had a right to regulate our commerce, and to lay duties on it for the purposes of regulation, but not of raising revenue. But for this ground there was no foundation in compact, in any acknowledged principles of colonization, nor in reason; expatriation being a natural right, and acted on as such by all nations.* So thought Mr. Jefferson, and whether his doctrine be true or false, all must admire the moral boldness of its conception. Against this doctrine, however, it may be urged, that the alleged similarity between the Danes and Saxons colonizing England, and England colonizing America, does not exist; inasmuch as the former held no charters from the mother country, and the English did; an important distinction, decisive of the question; that these charters contained the rights, territorial and otherwise, of the Colonists duly defined; were granted in the name of the King and holden of him, and liable to be amended or revoked entirely at his pleasure: and farther, if Mr. Jefferson's conception of the relation be just, then it follows that all laws heretofore passed by the Parliament touching the Colonies, were not laws, strictly speaking, but endured by sufferance. On the other hand the relation as generally defined by the statesmen of the Revolution, is undoubtedly liable to the strong objections urged by Mr. Jefferson. They contend that while the Colonists possessed the right of framing their internal regulations, subject to the revial of the King, the parliament possessed the right of regulating their commerce. Mr. Jefferson denies this right and inquires whence do they derive it? It is founded in no charter, in no acknowledged principles of colonization; how is it ascertained? and if not deducible from those legitimate sources, it must flow, if it exist at all, from that dark and unfathomable gulf, on whose waters he was unwilling that the bark of his country's safety should be endangered,—the supremacy of Parliament; † We have not time to enter into the reasoning with which these several opinions may be upheld; yet viewing them at this distance, the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, open as it undoubtedly is, to several

*Jefferson's Works, vol. 1, page 6.

†See Note B.

strong objections, seems nobly calculated to sustain the Colonists in the position which they were afterwards compelled to assume.— Indeed it will be seen that Congress by a sidewind seems to countenance it in the Declaration of Independence, which repeats with marked severity the acts of the king, but does not mention Parliament throughout, which would seem to be any thing else than a matter of course with those who differed from Mr. Jefferson.— It may be said, that Mr. Jefferson drew the declaration, and would model it to meet his own views ; but it may be conclusively replied, that the declaration was the act, not of Mr. Jefferson alone, but of the Congress itself, who would not have adopted, on such an important occasion, any opinion that did not command their entire approval. Whatever may have been the opinions concerning the precise relation existing between the two countries, the questions, that grew out of it, were discussed with an ability that called forth the praises of Chatham, who declared that the state papers issued by the Colonists, surpassed any composition, fond as he was of history, that ever met his eye. Whoever will examine them, at the present day, will find that they have not lost their lustre ; that they are glorious masterpieces of thought, rich in diction, and glowing with that hallowed fire that lighted the meditations of a Locke, and burned in the bosom of a Sidney.*

Such was the relation deemed to exist between the two countries, when the right to regulate commerce, which up to that time was understood in no other sense than port charges,† was construed into a right of raising revenue for the British Government. On this subject there did not exist the slightest difference of opinion among the friends of America. They regarded it as a palpable violation of one of their dearest rights—the birthright of every Briton—that right, the guardian of all their other rights, and a loss of which was despotism ;—the right of having a voice in the assessment of all taxes whatsoever ; a right conceded by some of the ablest statesmen of England to belong to the Colonists, and which the Earl of Chatham deemed of such extent, so far as the inhabitants of England were concerned, as to declare that the Commons, i. e. the representatives of the people, alone possessed the right of laying taxes ; and that the assent of the Lords and the

*See Note C.

†See Burke, Jefferson, Franklin, Dickinson, and colonial writers, generally.

King to a money bill was merely necessary to close in with the forms of a law.*

The violation of this principle appeared in the most odious light to our ancestors. They saw in the violation of this principle a violation of all their rights, and their contest became, accordingly, a contest in defence of all their rights; and assumed the deepest hue. They opposed, therefore, all acts recognising an opposite principle, whenever and wherever they were attempted to be enforced, with an ardor and unity of action throughout the Continent, which their posterity, drilled as they all have been in Presidential elections, can scarcely believe to be possible; and from the passage of the stamp act in 1765 to the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the first and last chapters in the book of Colonial oppression, this sympathy of support and singleness of purpose universally prevailed. An interesting spectacle was then presented to the world. A collection of thirteen small Colonies, descended from different nations, separated, in a great measure, by extensive wildernesses, and having little or no previous connexion with each other; now bound together in an indissoluble league, and contending with the greatest earnestness *for mere abstract principles*; for their ability to bear the taxes imposed by Parliament, so far from having been hinted at by the Colonists, was so evident, that their opponents argued the justice of their taxes from their manifest ability to bear them; and farther, as yet the idea of independence had not entered the mind of a single human being.

We have presented before you the great leading principle, on which the revolution was founded, and the incidental ones that immediately grew out of it; as for the various other acts of aggression, in which this great principle was not directly involved; acts, undoubtedly, of sheer injustice and perverse misrule; but which would not, of themselves, have produced, in all probability, such decisive results; they are detailed, as well as the grounds on which they are opposed, with such minuteness in the Declaration of Independence, which will presently be read, as to require no farther observation.

Such were the principles which governed our fathers; principles so just, so honorable, that grateful as we are for the happy

*See Note D.

government they have left us, our gratitude, if I may so speak, is heightened by the noble mode in which they acquired it.

But we must glance at the *spirit with which they were maintained*. Man impelled by violent emotions, and kindled by the contagion of a crowd, will quickly accomplish whatever his nature is capable of accomplishing, and will soon gain titles to the admiration of the world. But all violent emotions are from the economy of our nature, of short duration; and unless a single effort is sufficient to gain the end in view, he is apt to be overpowered, if once foiled, and defeated on the first failure. Our ancestors were no such men. They saw the wrongs which they endured, and they resolved to have them redressed; but their's was an *intellectual struggle*. They saw their way clearly before them, and they were determined to prove to the world the justice of their cause. The calmness, ability and dignity, with which they performed their duty, will ever reflect on them the highest honor.—Cool and self poised in the onset, but catching warmth from those fires that were lighted to consume them, they displayed in their addresses a severity and splendor that corresponded with the occasion, and which increased as the crisis drew near. That crisis was now at hand. England had ceased to listen to the voice of supplication, and had resolved to command obedience. The sword had been unsheathed on the plains of Lexington, and Bunker Hill was yet moist with the blood of Warren. The hope of reconciliation was now dispelled, and our fathers resolved to abjure all political communion with the power whose arm was now upraised to shed their blood.

We feel a deep interest, as Americans, in tracing the progress of our fathers throughout this interesting procedure. We will find them displaying the same intellectual vigor and mild dignity, which had hitherto marked their actions. Let it not be forgotten, however, that although their armies had been in the field for more than a year, no brilliant successes had yet crowned their arms. A British detachment, more than a twelvemonth previous to this period, had severely suffered in retreating from Concord; and Samuel Adams, rapt in vision, had exclaimed, 'What a glorious morning is this.' More than a year had also elapsed since

the battle of Bunker Hill; and the joy, with which the glory of that struggle had animated the American people, was chastened by the lapse of time, and the increasing difficulties of their situation. And as if to place the character of our fathers in a yet bolder relief, every wind from the ocean brought on its wings an accession of fresh forces to their enemies. They were then not impelled to a declaration of independence by the promptings of vanity, or by the suggestions of a wild ambition. Nor, on the other hand, were they intimidated from doing so, by the fearful odds which every moment was arraying against them. Prosperity could not lift them above, nor danger depress them below, the level which a just philosophy and a lofty patriotism had prescribed. We love to contemplate the character of such men; and we confess our admiration, that such men, so wise in council, so deliberate in action, should have had the singular sagacity, or good fortune, to select an individual who would seem to have been raised up for the special occasion; who led their armies with a glory and success that gained the applause of the world; and who gave to the age in which he lived, his own, his honored name. But let us trace the history of the declaration.

It was accordingly moved in Congress on the 7th day of June, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, "that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." This resolution was, doubtless, deeply considered. Though offered on the 7th day of June, it was not definitively acted upon until the 1st day of July, when it received the assent of Congress; and then the Colonial connection was sundered forever. The breach was now made, irrevocably made by this act; nothing could make it wider. If these great and good men, after the adoption of this resolution, had left it to find its way abroad by the press and busy rumor; deeply engaged as they must have been in warding off that war which had been raging for more than a twelve month, and which was now about to gather up its darkest clouds and roll its loudest thunders; had they suffered this resolution to make its way merely as other resolutions had done, who would have breathed the slightest censure upon them? Who would not have said that it was just, it was prudent, it was wise, to act as they did? But

they did not think so. So far as England was concerned, they cared not how soon or late it might reach the ears of the British King. They acknowledged the supervision of another and a loftier power—the opinions of the wise and good of every clime; and impelled by such feelings, they resolved to make a declaration of the fact, and of the causes which impelled them to the separation. Accordingly on the second day of July, the Declaration was presented, discussed on that and the following days, when it was unanimously adopted, and officially signed on the day of which this is the anniversary. It is said that when the Declaration was read, a solemn stillness pervaded the assembly. What an assembly was there! How worthy to be the fathers of the Republic! There was he against whom Britain had hurled her loudest anathemas—the rebel HANCOCK, presiding over their deliberations. There was SAMUEL ADAMS, the inflexible SAMUEL ADAMS, another outlaw from English mercy. There sat the eloquent RUTLEDGE, the patriotic RODNEY; the philosophic FRANKLIN. The classic LEE—the venerable WYTHE—the young RUSH, on whose forehead fame had already set her seal, were there.—There was ROGER SHERMAN in all his Roman simplicity; and there—first among the first—were seen the mild but firm and undaunted JEFFERSON, and the open, bold, uncompromising JOHN ADAMS. Silence, solemn, painful, profound, ensued; and well it might. For on their deliberations rested the honor of their posterity; on their decisions hung the destinies of empire.*

It is well known with what effect at this delicate crisis, John Adams addressed the assembly. Mr. Jefferson tells us, “John Adams was our Colossus on the floor. Not graceful, not eloquent, not always fluent in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power, both of thought and expression, that moved us from our seats.” Beautiful tribute of the author of the Declaration of Independence to its eloquent supporter; first, they assuredly were, in the great cause of Independence—and sacred they will ever be in the recollections of posterity.

The Declaration was adopted, unanimously adopted by the Congress. With what dignity they declared their wrongs; with what calmness they vindicated their rights; and with what solemnity

*See Note E.

they appealed to nature's God, you will learn from that instrument which they hallowed by their devotion and consecrated by their blood.

[The Declaration of Independence was here read by the Hon. Geo. Loyall, who prefaced the reading with a few brief but eloquent remarks. When the Declaration was read, Mr. G. resumed his address.]

That Declaration was nobly sustained—that pledge proudly redeemed. We may not, at this time, trace, step by step, the spirit of the people during the entire war. But we know that they bore themselves in a becoming manner. There were no doubt occasional despondencies that came over the minds of our fathers. They might wish to look beyond the present prospect, and to catch a glimpse, however faint, of the future. Natural sympathy could not cease. The mother wailed her son who fell in the deadly strife. The widow lifted her voice in prayer to her God, to vouchsafe HIS promise unto her fatherless children ; and she, the recollection of whom nerved the arm of the young warrior to strike more manfully for his country—she may have shrunk from the sound of hostile artillery heard from afar ; for she knew he was there—in the midst—daring death ; and when the war cloud rolled away, she may have wept as she threw the votive cypress on his fresh turf.—These things have been and must be. When the altar and the fireside are invaded by the foe—the father, the son, the lover must fall. But they fall not in vain. Their country weeps above them. History will record their names for future generations. Poetry, in the holiest tones of the lyre, will sound their requiem ; and gratitude will embalm them forever. But in such a contest others soon sprang up in their places with vigorous arms and united purposes. Indeed it astonished Europe to behold a people, amongst whom it was supposed that every element of depopulation was in full play, rapidly increasing in numbers, and becoming stronger and more formidable as the contest advanced. Our victories, both in the field and on the wave, speak loudly the spirit of the people, even at the gloomiest period. The battle was indeed long. Year after year passed away, and the steel still glittered in the hand of the soldier. But the day of tri-

umph was near. Her soldiers vanquished, her honor tarnished, and her empire severed, England finally yielded her opposition, and acknowledged our Independence. Many an eye, that wept not during that hardy struggle, was then suffused with joy. Many a voice that had swelled the battle-cry, gave forth the jocund shout. Many a smile met the warrior as he touched his home. And all—the young and the old—the beautiful and the brave—so long accustomed to the darkness of war, smiled with joy as they saw spanning the whole sky the radiant bow of Triumph, Peace, Independence.*

Such was the American Revolution achieved by our fathers.—How eloquent in the cause of human nature! What a deep, deep lesson it reads to mankind! May their posterity, in God's good providence, read it aright. We have seen the Colonists able, firm, zealous; sincerely devoted to the glory of England; yet oppressed by a reckless administration, whose rapacity knew no limits. We have seen the Colonists petition, remonstrate, protest; but their petitions, remonstrances and protests passed by unheeded and despised. We have seen the British Ministry forgetful of moderation, pursue to an unwise extent principles which our fathers deemed violative of their rights; and on which just men might well hesitate to have acted. We have seen them driven to open resistance, and to the last solemn appeal to the God of nations.—But mark the result. That wicked administration was scattered to the winds; the British empire was rent in twain; and America—the young and virtuous America won the brightest Jewel that can adorn a nation's brow.

As we have finished our hasty view of the Revolution, we propose to exhibit its influence on the destinies of mankind. And great as the American Revolution undoubtedly is, and brightly as it shines out upon us amid the mercenary strifes and vassal conquests of the old world; yet it appears in itself almost inconsiderable, when we consider its great, increasing, illimitable influence on the destinies of mankind.

We will point out its actual influence in our own country **IN IMPROVING THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT, AND IN ENLARGING THE SPHERE OF INTELLECTUAL EXERTION.**

*See Note F.

It has improved the science of government, *not only by the establishment of principles hitherto obscured, and by the introduction of novel and important schemes, but by a judicious selection of those means most likely to ensure to a political system strength and perpetuity.*

And here we cannot refrain from expressing our admiration at the moral prospect of a people, struggling against the strongest power in the world, in the midst of that struggle, calmly framing systems of government, marking their several checks, weighing their several balances, and setting accurate limits to their operations with such judgment and skill; as if no hostile clarion had been sounded in the land, and no enemy set foot upon their shores.

The first and most important principle established—I say *established* in government, is that on which all others are dependent; **THAT ALL POWER RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE.** This principle which we now regard as the merest truism, was not admitted or acted upon in any government then existing. Man, collective man did not possess that rank to which he was justly entitled. Instead of regarding government as the structure of his own hands, reared for his own convenience, he seemed to regard it as an engine which oppressed him, or by the use of which he might oppress his neighbor. In looking over the history of nations then existing, the eye does not rest on a single empire in which man was placed in his proper sphere and filled it with propriety. England was the only government in which man may be said to have had some share in framing the laws that bound him. Even in England, towards whom, by the way, so far from cherishing ill will, we are ever ready to acknowledge our gratitude for many excellent principles, which our fathers selected from her system, and transplanted into our own; but of her institutions, we will speak with the freedom of history—even in England, this principle cannot be said to be either admitted or acted upon. We know that it was the assertion of this principle that covered Milton with disgrace, drove Locke into exile, and placed Sidney on the scaffold. Or if this principle would occasionally appear to be admitted, it was nevertheless regarded as an abstraction gathered from the writings of philosophers, particularly Locke, whose principles Blackstone so

frequently derides ; and it is manifest that whenever doctrines justly flowing from it are acted upon, the able commentator on the laws of England speaks with ominous caution. For instance, if it be true, that the people are the source of all power, it is a fair inference that they may entrust that power into whatever hands they may think proper. Yet when the revolution of 1688 took place, and another sovereign was placed on the British throne, Blackstone passes it over with a forced although florid justification, and cautiously intimates to us that instead of regarding this revolution as justifying any other that may hereafter be deemed necessary, the peculiar circumstances of the contemplated case must correspond with this precedent. We know not whether it was gravely proposed to our fathers, before they resisted the British government, to examine precedents of justification in English history; but we can say, that if they had acted accordingly, whoever would have filled this house, this day would never have been singled out from the lists of common days ; we would never have met in the spirit of grateful commemoration ; and the names of Washington, Jefferson and Franklin would not have been found on the lips of praise.

What rich conquests this principle is destined to achieve ! How in all time when the lofty marble our hands might raise, will have crumbled with age, this principle will stand firm, unshaken, immoveable. Eloquence will dwell upon it, and admiration linger about it. Even philosophy, cold as she is, will kindle as she contemplates it, and will mark it in her own book for the solace of her chosen ones. And on the tongues of eloquence, in the triumphs of philosophy, and in the admiration of mankind will be found the fame of those illustrious men who first established it, and brought it out in successful operation.

The next important improvement in the science of Government was the establishment of REPRESENTATIVE REPUBLICS. The elemental principle having been established, that all power resides in the people, it followed that they must exercise that power for self preservation ; and the question immediately presented itself, in what manner shall it be administered ? In settling this question, if our fathers had favoured a pure democracy, they could not

have accomplished it. The scattered population absolutely forbade it ; and the only other mode in which this power could be administered was by representation. It is not to be presumed, however, that our fathers would not, under all possible circumstances, have adopted a representative republic. The lamentable history of pure democracies, as well as the severe responsibilities with which they guarded the agents of the people, prove this beyond a doubt. History spoke in a tone not to be mistaken on the subject. Greece, in whose history there are many passages on which the eye of the orator, philosopher and poet may delight to dwell, was composed of pure democracies ; but from the radical error of their system, passion, not reason, prevailed. There was no fixed and permanent rule of action. Justice was often imputed a crime, and merit often met no other approbation than exile. Their republic seemed a shoreless sea, perpetually agitated by discordant winds.— While history therefore, gave no instance of the successful operation of pure democracies, even on the smallest scale, they saw the beneficial influence of the representative principle in the British Parliament, as well as in our own Colonial assemblies ; they therefore adopted it. Let me not be misunderstood. We do not contend that they originated the representative principle ; far from it ; it was visible, as we have before said, obscured indeed, but still visible, in the British Constitution, and it was also in force in our own Colonial systems. I merely state that our fathers, guided alike by the lights of history, and the peculiar circumstances of our condition, adopted the representative principle, for the first time, *in a republic* ; and it is unquestionably their claim of having first exhibited to the world the model of a Representative Republic.

Our fathers had now done much ; but something yet remained to be done. They had established the principle that all power resides in the people, and had pointed out the mode in which it was to be administered ; but it was of vital importance to ascertain *how much* power they intended to confer on their agents, and *what portion* they reserved for themselves. And this object was sought to be obtained by means of WRITTEN CONSTITUTIONS ; another improvement in the science of government to which our fathers may lay claim. Whatever benefit may flow from the noble

scheme of embodying the rights of the whole society, so far as human government is concerned, in an instrument framed by the whole people in their conventional capacity; to be regarded as the source of law and paramount to all law; a scheme by the happy operation of which the minority is shielded from the momentary whim and caprice of the majority; from the neglect of which caution all other republics have mainly fallen; a scheme that would reflect honor on any age or nation;—whatever benefit may flow from this source, to them all the credit is due. The term constitution is indeed as old as the English language, and has been applied to governments time immemorial. We read of the Roman constitution, the Greek constitution, and who has not heard of the British constitution? And as constitutions to be known must be recorded, wherein consists the merit of our ancestors?

To shew this, let us glance at the British constitution. The English themselves admit a distinction between ordinary legislative enactments and the constitution. The exact line has not been drawn, and the term constitution is frequently applied to their entire civil polity. They consider it a part of the constitution, that the legislative power should consist of a King, Lords and Commons; yet no charter, no law prescribes them; they exist and have force simply because they have existed, and have had force in times gone by. Indeed at this day, instead of the English yeoman being able to tell you how long he has possessed the privilege of a House of Commons, the learned antiquary would be confounded at the question. The late debate in the House of Lords on the Reform question, particularly between Lord Brougham and the Duke of Wellington, is instructive on this subject. For it is a matter of history that this identical question has engaged the attention of the English for *more* than two hundred years; in a portion only of which time the American continent has been settled, American rights acquired, and, as if to take due warning from the example of England, and to forestal the remote possibility of the existence of this vexed question, American rights have been defined with a simplicity that will not foil even the way faring man. But it is universally admitted, that so far as the power of Parliament is concerned, there is no distinction between one law

or custom and another, constitutional or otherwise. Its power is supreme ; and every privilege however valuable, every right however sacred, will cease to exist, when the discretion of Parliament shall so determine. It is to provide against deficiencies like these that our fathers devised the scheme of a written constitution.— They were not fond of uncertainties. They desired that the fundamental laws of the land should be accurately defined, and generally known ; not to be gathered by obscure tradition ; and above all they desired that the legislature should be bound by restraints equally severe with the other departments of government ; and with this view, they defined the form of government in such a way as to be easily understood, and in such a shape as to be universally accessible.

May we not hope that a further improvement in this respect is yet reserved for us ; and that as we have our fundamental law of the land clearly defined, so it will happen, that the other laws of the land, scattered throughout a thousand volumes, and written, I had almost said, in a foreign tongue, will be gathered together in closer communion ; and that the period will arrive, when every citizen may read not only the constitution of his country, but those other and deeply important laws, on which eminently depend his life, his fortune, and his fame.

There is one now living, within the confines of our own Commonwealth, who has only to breathe on the dark chaos of the law the breath of his genius, and the law will start forth with new life.— Her ancient forms, the relics of a barbarous age, will have been cast off ; but her sparkling gems, polished by many a master intellect, will beam with a more dazzling lustre. She would walk abroad in all her native majesty, and assume her proper station beside her elder sister, the constitution. Could a scheme like this engage his great mind, he would add another and a greener laurel to the wreath that adorns his brow, and found another and a loftier claim to the gratitude of his country.

There is yet another and the last improvement in the science of government by new political schemes, that we will mention. The people had assumed their sovereignty, and had entrusted its administration to agents under the limitations prescribed in the fundamental law. All provision was hereby made for legislation

on every subject connected with human affairs. Such was the condition of each State, a pure and separate sovereignty. Now, as man is a social being, he would be soon disposed to form engagements, not only with his immediate neighbors, but with foreign nations; and he must adopt the ordinary mode of obtaining the privileges of intercourse. The question would, therefore, soon arise, shall these privileges be acquired by each State acting solely on its own sovereignty, or by a league formed by all the States for this purpose? I of course here allude to the period intervening between the close of the Revolutionary war and the adoption of the Federal constitution, when the old articles of Confederation were considered almost a nullity; and when such questions as the one supposed, were freely put and fearlessly met.

Thus a federal compact was formed for purposes mainly foreign, by pure and distinct sovereignties, each exercising in its own limits all the functions of empire. Thus far there was nothing novel.— Nations from the foundation of the world to that moment, had formed alliances, the objects of which were mainly foreign, and were duly expressed in an ordinary treaty, or so plain as to be understood and acted upon without such formality. Nor did the fact of their being Republics alter the case; as we have frequent examples of such alliances among Republics. I need only mention the Amphyctionic, the Achaian, and the Lycian confederacies.— The claim of our fathers does not rest on these grounds. Where is it exhibited? I answer, *in the peculiar character of the compact so formed*. It is first evident in the successful introduction of *popular representation*. Not the slightest glimmering of the exercise of this principle in a league, either monarchical or republican, in ancient or modern times, could be found. Yet in spite of the old maxim of the law, they may be said not only to have originated this principle, but at the same time to have brought it to the degree of perfection of which it is capable. It will occur to all that the Amphyctionic and the Achaian confederacies knew not the popular representative principle, nor did the individual States composing them, as we have before observed, understand it at home. In more modern times, the Germanic body, the Cantons of Switzerland and the United Netherlands, were the most impor-

tant confederacies; in none of which did the popular representative principle exist. The Germanic body was composed of princes, who have been seldom known, at home or abroad, to represent the people. The Cantons of Switzerland can be scarcely said to have had any standing league, but merely assented to mutual treaties to protect them from existing emergencies; while the United Netherlands maintained aristocratic governments at home. Our fathers then first introduced the great principle of popular representation in a federal compact. They also carried it out with such judgment, that at this day, however much some may denounce the equality of the States, great and small, in the Senate; and talk mysteriously about the introduction of the mixed principle in the House of Representatives, it would be impossible even for the present generation to settle these vexed questions in a more favorable mode than the one which our fathers devised.

The only other original feature in our federal compact, to which I shall at present allude, is that which gives it the appearance of a perfect government, possessing every attribute of sovereignty; I mean, the concentration, within itself, of the three great departments of government—Legislative, Judicial and Executive. Thus our fathers presented to the world the model of a confederacy, which, although justly obnoxious to the charge of not being visible in the original work of Wolfius, or in its luminous abridgment by Vattel, is notwithstanding well qualified, if honestly administered, to fulfil the purposes of its creation.

Such are some of the important improvements made by our fathers in the science of government, by the establishment of principles hitherto obscured, and by the introduction of novel and important schemes. They command our admiration, our enthusiasm, our devotion. Yet we are far from being impelled by such a feeling of propagandism or detraction, as would urge us to demolish every government different from our own, or to believe that all other institutions except our own, must be, in the nature of things, inimical to freedom. We are not mainly solicitous about forms of human government. We all know and feel what a plastic effect physical and moral causes, beyond the control of man, exert on them. Our first, our last, our perpetual desire is, that the PEOPLE of the earth may be FREE, UNITED and HAPPY.

Nor do we believe that our fathers exhausted the subject of political science. We are no believers in the perfectability of man, but we do believe in the perfectability of science. We believe that we hail the rising sun only; and that it is reserved, if not for us, for no remote posterity, to behold something of his meridian splendor. Our fathers laid the deep, imperishable foundations of a free structure; and we trust that hand on hand, and age after age, will raise upon them, until the grandeur and sublimity of the edifice will command the admiration of the world.

In establishing a system of popular government, duly limited and clearly defined, our fathers performed their responsible duty with fidelity and skill; but it now became necessary to adopt those measures most likely to ensure to their system a full, fair, and lasting operation. They carefully scanned the causes that obstructed other systems, and resolved to avoid them. They saw wherever ignorance, superstition and immoderate wealth had sway over mankind, human rights gained nothing from their influence; and they were determined to counteract it. Hence on a foundation not to be assailed with impunity, they established freedom of the press and freedom of religion, and abolished the laws of entails and primogeniture.

The Press! with that single word, what recollections crowd upon the mind! From earliest infancy to drivelling age, how great our dependence upon it. Of the past, without its assistance, we can know almost nothing; of the present, how small a portion of human affairs pass under our own immediate observation; for the rest, we are indebted to the Press; and in the wonderful rapidity of its course, it outruns time itself, and futurity, with its dooms and destinies, its rising empires, its broken sceptres, its deserts reclaiming the ancient city, and its cities adorning the solitude of desolation; futurity itself is before us. To its capacity for good or evil, no mind can set limits; and in the cause of either it is equally powerful. Wielded by man, it may be ruled by interest; and enlisted in the cause of ambition, how formidable to the rights of man. What guards can be stationed about it to ensure its proper exercise? What remedy against its misuse?—Strange to say, the Press is the only guardian of the Press. Its

safety is alone found in its freedom. Its influence is indeed predicated upon a certain degree of pre-existing intelligence; for to produce the desired effect, its productions must be read. But it nobly repays this debt, and intelligence soon becomes its debtor. Wherever intelligence exists, it will expand itself; its scattered sparks will soon concentrate their light and heat; and every breath will diffuse the blaze. Experience tells us, wherever intelligence exists, it will speak with a thousand tongues to human bosoms of justice, humanity, devotion. And thus it is that this mighty power, however free, fearful, untrammelled, is perpetually erecting by its own exercise a barrier that controls itself; a limit, in its wildest excesses, and most convulsive throes it may not overleap, *the moral and intellectual influence that springs from itself.*

The freedom of the Press seems naturally to draw after it at least, in a republic, freedom of religion. For as a republic prescribes equal rights to all, it is fair to suppose that any inequality would be quickly seen, and readily denounced; and as an established religion must necessarily be exclusive, it would soon share the fate of all monopolies. This was not exactly the result.—Some exertion was still necessary to attain it; and it was not until '86, ten years after the declaration of Independence, that the Act of Religious Freedom was adopted in our own State. Let us not be unjust to those good men who opposed the act of Religious Freedom. Among them were many who had shed their blood, and poured out their treasures in their country's cause. They were but men, though great and good men; yet liable to the passions of humanity. And if one passion is more apt than another to fasten itself about the heart of man, it is an affection for religious rites. We naturally love to worship at the same altar at which our fathers worshipped before us, and adopt the same rites which they hallowed by their devotion. From this feeling the transition is easy to an eager support of the Church itself in its just and lawful privileges; especially when it would seem, as it did to our fathers, that no example of a separation had hitherto appeared to guide them in safety. They hesitated to make the breach, but it was made; and the union, to our eyes unnatural union, between Church and State was sundered, we trust, forever. And could

those good men look out from their abodes on the scenes of their earthly affections ; could they behold the religious concord that pervades the land ; the wide and increasing diffusion of pure and undefiled religion ; and if we could suppose that natural affections still lingered in their bosoms, could they see the then small flock with which they were wont to assemble on earth, now large and swelling in numbers ; firm in the faith of their fathers ; gathering in its folds the great and the good and the beautiful of the land ; and resting its claims to the affections of men, not on the infidel arm of the secular power, but on the deep, generous, everlasting influences of piety and love ; could they gaze on a scene like this, would a single sigh of regret escape them ? Could they desire a brighter or a lovelier prospect ?

Indeed it is delightful to every one who is not dead to a sense of religious feeling, to contemplate the beauty of religion, as it exists in our land. Alike in the humble cabin just emerging from the forest, and in the awful temple, whose turrets pierce the air, piety collects her votaries, and devotion breathes her prayer. The genial sabbath, with its solemn bells, its kindling anthems, and the voices of the eloquent, invites the wayward to a thousand sanctuaries of the living God. And as we meet to worship HIM at our own altars, and with the rites of our fathers, shall not gratitude whisper of those who wrought out the happy privilege, and piety catch a holier impulse from the recollection ?

The abolition of the laws of entails and primogeniture, acts about which at this day there exists but one opinion, were not effected without a struggle. Some of the statesmen of the Revolution thought that in establishing a republican form of government, they had gone sufficiently far, at least for the present, and were willing to rest awhile from their labors ; while others seemed enveloped in a temporary mist, and were unable to discriminate between wild innovation and salutary reform. We blame them not. They had struggled hard for their liberty, and were fearful of a sudden and radical change. Others appeared in perfect day.—No confusion beset them. There was one, who, from the earliest dawn of the contest, stood out in the broad sunlight of Freedom. With fearless hand, he smote Freedom's rock, and forth issued

streams of living waters. He saw, or thought he saw, in an established Church and in the laws of entails and primogeniture, a subservient priesthood, and a monied aristocracy. With the aid of these, it does not require much skill, at the present hour, to divine what power would have predominated in the government; they must fall, and who regrets their downfall? The healthful operation of the statute of descents and distributions is every where seen and felt. The greatest mass of wealth a single individual may accumulate, the just reward of honest industry, would have but a trivial influence, if improperly employed, in undermining our liberties; and at the remove of a single generation, by the excellent operation of this statute, it is probable that the mass will be so divided and reduced, that an individual without portion or patrimony, may aspire without much presumption, not only to equal, but infinitely to surpass it. Thus the sons of the rich and the poor stand on the same ground. They enter the same lists and join in the same generous struggle for the alluring rewards of honor, wealth and fame. These were the sentinels our fathers stationed on the outer works of the constitution; freedom of the Press, freedom of Religion, and security from immense hereditary wealth. They did not underrate their influence. Unless they have full and legitimate scope, you may, indeed, unfold the scroll on which your constitution is recorded; you may exhibit the weighty check, the ingenious balance, the exact partition, and the precise limits of power; you may retain the form, but you will have lost the substance of freedom. If these have a partial operation only, the government will, accordingly, be, more or less, practically free; and if they could prevail in all their largest and most salutary power throughout Christendom; then might the brilliant scheme of Henry the Fourth, embellished by the genius of Rousseau, be realized; then it would be scarcely other than the dictate of sober truth, unaided by imagination, to declare, that all civilized nations, so ripe would they soon become in intelligence and freedom, might unite with the dearest ties, and in the strictest bonds of social communion.

We here conclude our view of the actual influence of the Revolution, in our own land, in improving the science of government,

not only by the establishment of principles hitherto obscured, and by the introduction of novel and important schemes, but by a judicious selection of those means most likely to ensure to a political system strength and perpetuity. And in examining the wisdom displayed in the institutions which our fathers have left us, we are almost overwhelmed in the contemplation. And when we reflect that our fathers had been educated in English schools, and grown old under English institutions; that removing the film of prejudice from their eyes, they carefully selected what was good, and avoided what was evil; and finally, produced such a wise system; may we not believe, that the same God who guided them over the waters, and crowned their struggles with victory, still led them onward to this glorious consummation?

We will briefly touch on the influence of the Revolution, in *enlarging the sphere of intellectual exertion.*

What has the Revolution done for the human mind? or rather, let me ask, what has the Revolution not done for the human mind? Did it not shield the limbs of man from the fetters with which tyranny would have bound him? Has it not chased superstition from the land, and chained her in a dungeon she may never break? Has it not torn away every trammel with which a false policy would have cinctured the press? Look out upon the land—its verdant valleys smiling with fertility; its lofty mountains rich with inexhaustible minerals; its streams stretching their long arms over vast regions, inviting enterprise; look at the extensive limits of our country. In the East, the Atlantic, with its waste of waters, bounds it, and the Pacific limits it in the West. A people, more than twelve millions in number; intelligent—among whom the seeds of knowledge are more extensively diffused than in any other nation on earth; active—whose enterprise visits every sea, and collects the treasures of every clime; a population doubling itself in a single generation; spreading itself in the far West, breaking the slumbers of the wilderness with such effect, that the forest, whose verdure but yesterday felt nought of human power save the tread of the noiseless moccasin, or which rung only with the shrill death-sound of the rifle, is now filled with strange voices, and alive with the animating bustle of civilization;

a country so extensive, yet from its rivers and lakes subjected by the genius of Fulton, so compact, that the centre is only a few days' distance from the extremities ; so linked by a common interest and, what is greatly important in our present view, by a common language ; a language more extensively spoken, if we include England and her possessions, than any other living tongue ; a country so linked as to be found acting on all great occasions with one head and one heart. Now can the imagination conceive a nobler field for the exertion of the faculties of man ? Has any human event, fabulous or well founded, ever opened a more splendid arena for intellectual exertion, or displayed a bolder scope for the range of mind ?*

While our country displays a splendid field for the cultivation of those powers of the mind, that are called out in active life ; while it has produced the ingenious mechanic, whose skill has introduced a new æra in science ; the fearless navigator, who unfurls the glorious ensign of our republic in every sea ; the enlightened merchant, who reads the map of nations almost with the skill of prophecy ; the laurelled victor, the learned physician, the eloquent divine, the able lawyer, and the wise statesman ; while it has produced these, and will, we trust, continue to produce them, it would be well worthy of our attention to consider how far it presents a field for literary productions not bearing directly upon the business of life, but of a purely intellectual character. This subject would present an interesting field of discussion, but we have not leisure to explore it.

We have thus endeavored to point out the actual influence of the Revolution in our own land, in improving the science of government, and in enlarging the sphere of intellectual exertion.— We have not time to consider its probable influence on foreign nations. This topic would itself form a theme sufficiently expansive for a single oration. The establishment of American Independence, doubtless, produced a deep sensation in Europe.— Catharine of Russia, catching the glow of the moment, and inspired with a Quixotic passion for Republics, thought that the period was now at hand for the completion of a scheme that had

*See Note G.

engaged the attention of the royal house of Russia for nearly two hundred years; and leagued with the Emperor of Germany, both alike forgetful of the tenures by which they held their own power, was resolved to light up the Ionian sea with flourishing Republics. Even Catharine, who first devised, and with Prussia and Austria carried into execution, the iniquitous scheme for the partition of Poland. A striking commentary on the Republican consistency of crowned heads.

France soon caught the flame, and every American bosom bounded with the kindest emotions, as its genial lustre diffused itself around. But it is the vice, the damning vice of despotism, that it first enslaves, and then unfits for freedom; thus painfully verifying that sentiment of the Greek poet, which is on the lips of every scholar,

“Let but the iron despot rule a day,
And virtue’s fairy frostwork melts away.”*

And when the fetter is felt, and the victim rends his bonds asunder, he is, indeed, free; no arm is upon him to bind him anew, and to rivet the iron afresh on his limbs; but despotism has brooded above him, and he has felt its withering power. He is free; but light is not before him; he is, at best, but the strong man in the terrific darkness of night. His unnatural strength is soon exhausted, and despotism, in a new form, and in an alluring shape, resumes its victim. We hailed regenerated France; but our admiration was turned into other and deeper emotions, when we beheld its sad transit from the Republic to the Empire. Blood gushed in torrents; and not Europe alone, but every civilised nation felt, in some degree, the excesses of the period. The world then saw, in the emphatic language of Mr. Jefferson, the agonizing spasms of infuriated man. Yet it must be confessed, that occasional scenes of excessive splendor adorned this dark drama; just as we see, in an angry sky, some truant sun-beam gilding with brightness and beauty the rolling grandeur of the thunder-cloud.† But at this distance of time, with our present lights, we may ask, did not this fearful suffering work out a weight of good? It assuredly did. Through its instrumentality a feeling of liberty

*This complot is a loose and inaccurate translation of a single hexameter line,—
Hemisu gar V'aretas, &c. &c.

†See Note H.

was diffused ; and though a Bourbon again filled the throne, the Revolution may be said still to have held its sway, and with greater influence, than when it covered fields with the slain, and gathered the spoils of war. We beheld the establishment of a Representative government, and as Americans, we can fully estimate its influence. We saw established the trial by jury, that immortal bulwark of popular freedom ; we saw, a few years since, the signal defeat of the French ministry in their endeavors to re-establish the right of primogeniture. We marked again and again the triumphs of a free spirit in resisting the measures that were designed to limit the operations of the press. These were triumphs, obtained in peace, gained by intellectual power, and impossible to be won back. Their influence was great and growing. And the people calmly awaited the hour of final action. It arrived. But yesterday, we gave back their shout of triumph.— We celebrated with every demonstration of joy their glorious three-day struggle. We hailed the presence of him, who, in our own land, had bared his noble bosom for us, and who breasted with our fathers the shock of battle ; who beheld, on his own shores, the fair form of liberty, her garments trailed in blood, and her arms pinioned at her side, kneeling at the altar of despotism ; and for whom this sight was reserved to gladden his aged eyes, ere they looked for the last time on the light of day. Every American heart still beats high with the kindling impulses of the occasion, and the tongue of every American still pronounces freedom to the French ; for in their triumphs he can never forget that he wins a trophy ; and in their freedom, he sees an unquestioned emanation of his own.

It is beyond the power of man to divine the ultimate result of the late Revolution in France. It would appear, unless ill omens deceive us, that it is an episode only in the great Epic of the French Revolution begun, in the last century, but whose consummation the future only can determine. The way of the French is now open to freedom. There are lights, brilliant and fixed lights, in the political firmament, to guide them. Their destiny is within their own controul. But if the King should prove false to himself ; if the right of suffrage be not enlarged to such an extent, as to enable the people

to exercise something more than a mere nominal influence in the government; if knowledge be not diffused, and education provided for; blood must yet be shed. The sceptre may yet pass from its present possessor; and, perhaps, be broken. But we know, that when a people have resolved to be free, they will finally prevail. The tyrant and his tribe of sophists may, for a season, delude them. The banners of a venal soldiery may float on every breeze; and legions, moving with the pomp of war, may mock them. The tempest may gather above them and its lightnings play around them; and their summer friends may flee from them; but they will conquer. The world is with them. The brave will rise up to fight their battles. The pious will beseech Heaven in their behalf. The very elements will war with those who oppose them. They will gain, soon or late, a sure and lasting triumph.

In England we have seen a progressive improvement in the opinions of the people, who have resolved to breathe the spirit of the age. What the immortal eloquence of Fox, failed, forty years since, to accomplish, we have seen attained, in our day, almost without a struggle, and the timorous of the English statesmen will learn that the glory of England, instead of being darkened, will borrow fresh brightness from the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts. It may be, while we are now speaking, that the propitious winds are wafting to our shores the tidings of one of the greatest political victories of the age, the final triumph of English Reform. Thus will the king of England have recorded his name on a Magna Charta on which it will shine with unfading splendor forever; and England, by yielding to the people a fair representation atone, in some degree, for the blood of her martyred sons here and at home; and thus will she have learned a bright lesson from the example of her offspring. The mere scheme of equalizing representation in Scotland has filled that ancient land with acclamations of joy; and if success should finally attend it, she will share henceforth more of that liberty for which she has so often fruitlessly poured out her blood. And Ireland—the land of eloquence and song—we feel for Ireland on her own account; and we feel for her as the island home of many of those brave and generous spirits who achieved our own

revolution. We wish Ireland well. The spirit of Independence is abroad in her land. We are ready to hail that day, that happy and we trust not distant day, when the spirit of a Grattan, a Flood, and a Curran, will re-ignite the flame of independence in her ancient Senate house, and Ireland's self shall rule the destinies of her own children. Our own continent is alive in the great struggle. From the magnificent St. Lawrence to Cape Horn, not a single foot of earth confesses a foreign proprietor. The song of Liberty has been sounded. The Mississippi has caught the strain, and borne it to the seas of Mexico. The Andes will repeat the sound, and will reverberate it amid a thousand cliffs and vales.—All America will join the solemn chorus, and chaunt the triumph of Liberty. It has been already wafted over the Atlantic. The Moslem is cowering beneath it, and the Sultan is trembling on his throne. Its echoes are visiting Greece. It is rearing the dome of thought—it is kindling the spirit of song. I see the long desecrated temple again rising from its ruins. I see the Parthenon once more ascending in all its beautiful proportions, and I catch sounding along its walls the glowing hallelujahs of that language which burned on the lips of a Demosthenes and a Homer, and which fell from the son of God as he stood confessed in humanity.

Let us not forget, fellow-citizens, the solemn responsibility that is resting upon us. Our fathers have retired from the sphere of active life. The grave has already closed above almost all the founders of the republic. To us are committed the honors and responsibilities of our country. Through us, the institutions of our fathers must pass to future ages, brightened by our virtues, or sullied by our disgrace. As Americans, we cannot but feel a thousand emotions that kindle our gratitude, our affections, our patriotism. These are ties that may never be sundered. Recollections, rich and precious recollections of the past, animate us; bright visions of the future cheer us. But we must perform our proper task. Let us promote the diffusion of knowledge; let us watch with unceasing vigilance those who administer our affairs; and let us maintain, at the hazard of life, of fame and of fortune, the purity of our Constitutions. If we shall fail in our duty to our fathers and ourselves; if the blood of the

Revolution shall have been spilt for us in vain ; if we lose or sell our birth-right, then we will have committed a sin of the deepest dye ; then we will fall without a single claim to the sympathies of mankind ; but we may not tarnish the glory of our fathers. If such a fate shall attend us, we might wish that their memory were blotted from the breasts of men, lest the eye that looked on the characters of the fathers, might rest on their descendants, and our infamy form an awful contrast to their renown. But such a consolation, meagre as it is, would not be left us. Their glory cannot fade ; it will shine forth forever. Their names are recorded where every eye in future time shall read them, and every tongue pronounce them. And let us hope that the love of liberty is so deeply felt, that our free institutions are so firmly fixed, that no human power can weaken the one or impair the other. We cannot, indeed, win that dazzling glory which encircles those venerable men who have left us. They had the singular glory of laying the broad foundations of our free institutions ; and it is our duty only to preserve them. There is yet a large field for the exercise of all our faculties, and for the gratification of the noblest desires. Let us prove to the world that man is capable of self-government ; let us display the beauty of our republican system, diffusing its mild radiance, like the sun in the heavens, with equal glory over all ; let us shew to mankind, that on our shores, in our own, our dearly beloved country, truth, justice and humanity, that have so often wept tears of blood in other lands, are enthroned in our midst, and their sceptres are the only sceptres that we revere and obey. We will thus emulate the glory of our fathers, and reflect its image abroad. Already we have seen nations directing their eyes to our land. Already we have read the name of liberty on the banners of Europe, and the name of WASHINGTON, on both continents, thrills the bosoms of the brave. Survey the ample map of civilized man ; and it is impossible to deny that human feelings, within the last half century, have taken a new direction, and are impelling men onward in the cause of free principles. Every day develops new light, and every hour confirms our experience.— And where the voice of Liberty is heard among the nations, it will speak the praises of our fathers. They were freedom's firmest

patriarchs. They first led the way. Their example is before the world. It is eloquent to guide. And in God's name, it will guide man in the ways of freedom, till time shall be no more.

NOTE A.—PAGE 11.

The words "children's children" are of course, used figuratively; but they may have been used in a *literal sense* without violating the bounds of possibility. There is a female now living, or was alive last fall, Mrs. Experience Clapp, in Marshfield, Mass. who was intimate with and attended the funeral of a daughter of *Peregrine White*, who was born in 1620, immediately after the arrival of the Colonists at Plymouth. *Peregrine White* was *the first born in the new world*. This lady, Mrs. Clapp, was also related to *Peregrine*. Now we have only to suppose that the intimacy, which did actually exist, between the daughter of *Peregrine*, and *this lady now living*, was existing 55 years ago, which may have been the case; and then it will appear that a child of the child in his cradle, while the Colonists were constructing their first habitations, may have read the *Declaration of Independence*.

I learned the fact of the existence of Mrs. Clapp, from the able discourse of the Hon. Mr. Sullivan, at the Plymouth commemoration of 1830.

NOTE B.—PAGE 14.

It will be perceived that the relation, as defined by John Dickinson, concedes the principle of taxation without representation to a certain extent, viz: *the regulation of Port duties*; and the limit to the exercise of this right is to be found in the *discretion* of Parliament only. From this objection, Mr. Jefferson's definition is free.

I trust that an apology for the superficial views taken of the various topics introduced in the Oration, will appear from a consideration of the character of the occasion.

NOTE C.—PAGE 15.

I allude to the encomium pronounced by the Earl of Chatham, on the 20th of Jan. 1775, in his speech "for requiring the immediate removal of the British troops from Boston"; it should be inscribed on the heart of every American.

"When your lordships have perused the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom, with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favorite study; and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my lords, I must declare and avow, that, in the master-states of the world, I know not the people, nor the Senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America, assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude on such men, must be vain, must be futile."

The text was written, in the country, at a distance from my library ; and I relied on my memory for the substance of the above extract. The critical eye will perceive that it was not as faithful as it might have been ; and I thought, therefore, it would be well to quote the passage at large. I discovered the error, if it be so called, too late to amend the text.

NOTE D.—PAGE 16.

In his speech on American Taxation in 1765, Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, spoke to the following effect :

“ Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country, the Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned ; but the concurrency of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone.”

Were not such speeches as this and the foregoing one, worth a battle to our fathers ?

NOTE E.—PAGE 19.

I believe that it has been ascertained that Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, was not present on the 4th day of July, 1776 ; but affixed his name to the instrument as was the case with several others at a subsequent period. I felt curious to know what was done by the Congress immediately after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.—Were they absorbed in the contemplation of the important measure which they had just adopted ; and fearful lest something might disturb their musings, did they adjourn forthwith ? Or, rather, impelled by that wise discretion, which had so signally marked their course, did they proceed directly to adopt means likely to *sustain the Declaration* ? If we may judge from the number of orders and resolutions adopted, which, by the way, is not by any means an unerring criterion, they must have spent a busy time.—I perceive that three of the ‘ Declaration Committee,’ Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, were appointed to prepare a device for a Seal of the United States. Of the resolutions passed previous to adjournment, four of them had reference to those invaluable agents in political emergencies, FLINTS and GUNPOWDER.

NOTE F.—PAGE 21.

While John Adams was one of our Plenipotentiaries abroad, the following among a great variety of queries about American affairs, was addressed to him by Doct. Calkoen, an eminent civilian of Amsterdam :

‘ Whether America, in and of itself, by means of purchasing or exchanging the productions of the several provinces, would be able to continue the war for six, eight, or ten

years, even if they were entirely deprived of the trade with Europe ; or their allies, exhausted by the war, and forced to make a separate peace, were to leave them ?”

When he had demonstrated the affirmative of this question, he thus writes : “ I can inform you that I have heard the common farmers in America reasoning upon this subject some years ago ; I have heard them say, if Great Britain could build a wall of brass, a thousand feet high, all along the sea coast, at low water mark, we can live and be happy. America is most undoubtedly capable of being the most independent country on earth.” &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Adams says, in another letter, when he heard that troops were leaving England for America : “ Let them go, let them go ; they will be all *Burgoyned* ;” in playful allusion to the victory achieved by the American General Gates, over the British General Burgoyne.

These letters, in which the numerous inquiries of Dr. Calkoen are answered, are twenty-six in number, and present some able views of the character, prospects, and statistics of America, during the Revolutionary struggle. It is somewhat surprising that these letters, which bear such a strong resemblance to Mr. Jefferson’s ‘ Notes on Virginia,’ and which might aptly be termed “ Notes on America ;” both of them also written at the request of distinguished foreigners, while their authors were filling responsible public stations ; it is wonderful that they were not alluded to, during the late mania for hunting out coincidences in the lives of these two distinguished men, as exhibiting another coincidence in their history. The reason may probably be found in the fact that these letters, although written in 1780, were published for the first time in ’99, a period of great political excitement, when they may have been eagerly caught up, and distributed for political effect, and they have not been reprinted since. The original and only edition was printed by Fenno in New-York, on dark paper. They richly deserve a place in every American Library.

NOTE G.—PAGE 34.

The forest whose verdure but yesterday, &c.—It is difficult to realise the astonishing rapidity, with which the tide of emigration is rolling to the West. I have seen the St. Lawrence literally covered with boats filled with emigrants of both sexes and of all ages. To convey an accurate idea of the scene, imagine the city of Montreal to be visited by an awful conflagration, and its inhabitants were laying hold of every boat and vessel to escape from its ravages. At the port of Quebec alone 29,000 emigrants arrived, in the course of the last summer, a large portion of whom journey on the St. Lawrence to Prescott ; thence across Lake Ontario to Queenston, thence to Buffalo, where they embark in the capacious steam-boats of Lake Erie for Ohio, but principally for Michigan. The Newspapers inform us, that the steam-boats from Buffalo to Detroit have been crowded very early in the present summer.

About 30 miles South of the extreme Southern part of Lake Erie, I passed last summer a spot, where the American soldiers, during the late war, oppressed by disease, and unable to endure fatigue, were compelled to bury a large portion of their baggage, stores, &c. The spot was then a wilderness, in which not a human habitation could be found. The surrounding country has now the appearance of what a western man would pronounce to be 'a pretty considerable old country.'

Dr. Webster, in the preface of his large Dictionary, calculates that the population of the confederacy will be THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS, *two hundred years hence*; "a period, that may be measured, be it remembered, by the life of the first born in the new world; the life of his immediate descendant; and the years of one, *yet living*, to whom that descendant was known."

NOTE H.—PAGE 35.

There is one act so strongly characteristic of the French, and so beautiful in itself, as to justify an allusion to it. It was the abolition of the old and unmeaning names of the months, and the substitution of appropriate ones in their stead. They had their months of buds, flowers and meadows; of harvest, heat and fruit; of vintage, fog and sleet; of snow, rain and wind.

