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EXITUS ACTA PROBAT."



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-: REVOLUTION, WASHINGTON :-
AND THE
CONSTITUTION:

A HISTORICAL LECTURE, BY

REV. ABRAHAM SYLVESTER GARDINER, A. M.,

PASTOR OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

MILFORD, PIKE CO., PA.

DELIVERED ON THE 22 OF FEBRUARY. IN VARIOUS PLACES
THROUGH SUCCESSIVE YEARS.



"Where may the wearied eye repose
When gazing on the Great—
Where neither costly glory glows,
Nor despicable state?
Yes—one—the first—the last—the best—
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate,
Bequeathed the name of Washington
To make men blush there was but one!"—BYRON.

1886.



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DEDICATION.



TO THE MEMORY OF OUR BELOVED DAUGHTER,

JULIA EVANGELINE GARDINER,

Who, with lamp trimmed and burning, heard the midnight cry, "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!" and, being ready, "went in with Him to the marriage," Sabbath morning, August 26th, 1882, at the early age of twenty-two years and ten months: a student at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, in 1877-8, and one of the two first Degree-Graduates of Rockford Female College, Rockford, Illinois, in 1882: at whose instance this Lecture was delivered, February 22nd, of the same year, before the Senior Class, at that time engaged in the study of the

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Of which class she was a member.—and whose name I wish to be associated with my own so long as any act of my life, and any utterances of my tongue or pen, shall be held in friendly remembrance—

THIS LECTURE IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY HER BEREAVED FATHER.

"Go, Gentle Spirit, to thy destined rest:
While I,—reversed our Nature's kindlier doom,—
Pour forth a Father's sorrow on thy tomb."

ALSO

TO THE YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN OF AMERICA,

To whom has been bequeathed the noble heritage of

A FREE REPUBLIC:

Who will be eager to learn its history, and to examine the solid foundations on which it rests; and who, estimating its value by what it cost, will be inspired to transmit it unimpaired to their posterity,

THIS LECTURE IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

by their fellow-countryman,

ABRAHAM S. GARDINER.

MILFORD, PA., FEB. 22nd, 1886.

W. S. Gardner, Feb. 22, 1886.
Rockford, E. A. Gardner, Jan. 6/11

LECTURE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I propose to speak to you to-night upon the Revolution, Washington, and the Constitution. The day we celebrate suggests the theme. This is the Anniversary of Washington's birth. These topics are so closely associated that they can scarcely be severed. Yet neither together, nor singly, can they be fully considered within the limits of a lecture. While it would be eminently proper to retrace the remarkable events which distinguished the career of Washington, and to reproduce the life that rendered his country and age illustrious, and while it would not be less appropriate to recount the marches, privations, and battles of the Revolution, we shall call your attention chiefly to the great result which has come to us in the Constitution of the United States. The monument to the memory of Washington, just completed and dedicated in the city which bears his name, the capitol of the Republic, towers above St. Peter's at Rome, above the pyramids of Egypt, and above every structure hitherto erected by human hands. In like manner does the Constitution, suggested by Washington, drawn up in the Convention of which he was President and transmitted by him with his signature to the Continental Congress, accompanied by an earnest letter commending it for adoption by the Confederate States, rise above all the forms of government that have hitherto appeared in the annals of history.

In the review which is to be taken by us this evening we shall see that the work of Washington and his associates could scarcely have been accomplished at an earlier period. The way had to be prepared. Innumerable agencies, operating through long periods and in many lands, must precede so desirable a consummation.

In nothing is this more perceptible than, in that climax of political wisdom to which we have just referred, and which, in its

historical relations, and in honor of the day we celebrate, we now proceed to consider.

As already intimated, a complete study of the Constitution of the United States demands the consideration of times, persons and influences which are quite distinct and indeed remote from those immediately connected with its formation. Its origin cannot be found in any one mind, language, country, or period. It is the fruit of a tree whose roots penetrate the recesses of the past. It is the result of a series of events whose bearings and importance were not fully known, even to those by whom they were successively achieved. These men, with all their devotion and hopes, built more wisely than they knew. The "Republic" of Plato, the glowing speculations of Cicero, among the ancients; the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas Moore; the "Arcadia" of Sidney, the political disquisitions of Milton and of Locke, in modern times; disclose rather what these writers wished than what they expected. But their influence has survived them in these imperishable works, and has been a powerful factor in the progress of men on the line of intellectual, moral and political development. They saw through a glass darkly what we behold face to face.

The historical sources and accompaniments of the National Constitution, and not the Constitution itself, now claim our attention. Not to go further back into the past, we may say, that the period extending from the year 1300 to the year 1550, was of the first importance to invention, to maritime enterprise, and to the achievement of civil and religious freedom. The leading events of this period, were the introduction into general use of the Mariner's Compass, the invention of gun-powder and guns and of the art of Printing, the Discovery of America, and the Reformation.

The reports which came from the New World, at the close of the 15th century, stimulated to the last degree the spirit of adventure. The Spaniards were transported with glowing hopes, kindled by the adventures of De Soto, and the reports made by Sir Walter Raleigh to his countrymen in England, aroused amongst them a corresponding enthusiasm. With respect to an expedition led by De Soto, the distinguished companion of Pizzaro, it is said, that "as soon as the news of its design was published in Spain the wildest hopes were indulged. Adventurers assembled as volunteers, many of them people of good estates and noble birth. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive trees, were sold, as in the times of the Crusades,

to obtain the means of military equipment. The port whence the expedition was to set sail was crowded with people anxious to join in the enterprise." *

Those who in England had taken part in the expedition under Raleigh, were captivated by the scenes which they visited. Sailing leisurely along the shores of North Carolina, they imagined themselves within the precincts of another Eden. "The sea was tranquil ; the skies were clear ; no storms were gathering ; the air was agitated by none but the gentlest breezes, and all were in raptures with the beauty of the ocean seen in the magnificence of repose. Islands gemmed its surface, and it extended in the clearest transparency from cape to cape. The vegetation of that southern latitude struck the beholders with admiration. The trees were without their equals in the world. The luxuriant vines as they clambered up the loftiest cedars formed graceful festoons. Grapes were so plenty on every little shrub, that the waves of the ocean, as it lazily rolled in upon the shore with the quiet winds of summer, dashed its spray upon the clusters, and natural arbors formed an impervious shade which not a ray of the suns of July could penetrate. As they drew near to land, the fragrance was as if they had been in the midst of a most delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." †

With such impressions, and such reports, widely diffused, it is not wonderful that emigration from the shores of Europe was prompt and rapid. Nor need it hardly be said that the settlement of the New World by Europeans was attended by the characteristics of European civilization. At this period that civilization had assumed a definite outline. The emigration of Goth, Vandal, Hun, Frank and Burgundian, had ceased, and the intruders had become incorporated with the nations of Western Europe which they had invaded.

The feudal system had begun to yield to the claims of the age which called loudly for a recognition of the rights of the common people. The mutual efforts of the state and church to uphold each other's authority, were at this period met with a wider and sterner resistance than had marked the history of Europe for a thousand years.

This, too, was the era of the Reformation. The church in Great Britain was revolutionized. Henry VIII. assumed supreme authority in both church and state. Interrupted in the reign of

* Bancroft's Hist. U. S.

† Idem.

Mary, it was resumed in that of Elizabeth. The development of events in the direction of civil freedom now became rapid, constituted in the language of the time a New Departure. But the struggle was great and protracted. Elizabeth and her successor, James I., were bent upon uniformity in worship among all their subjects. Non-conformists incurred the royal displeasure. Among these noble assertors and defenders of human rights were the "Pilgrim Fathers." Driven by persecution in the reign of James I., they sought a transient refuge in Holland, and afterwards resuming the march of their exile, turned their faces towards the New World, and on the 22nd December, 1620, two hundred and sixty-five years ago, planted their feet upon Plymouth Rock. Amid ice and snow they knelt upon the shore, and with prayers and tears, consecrated the land before them to the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom.

While this scene was being enacted upon the coast of New England, another, of scarcely less importance, was opening upon the banks of James River, in the Colony of Virginia. In the year 1619 the *first Colonial Assembly* that ever met upon this continent was convened at Jamestown. It was composed of a Governor, a newly appointed Council, and two Representatives of the eleven burroughs of the colony. Two years after the convention of this assembly, a memorable ordinance of the London Company gave to Virginia a *written constitution*, by which a system of representative government and trial by jury was established as an acknowledged right. In this memorable document, as in that drawn up in the cabin of the Mayflower, we discover the germs of the Constitution of the United States.

From the year 1625 to 1674, the colonies under their respective governments, whether *Provincial*, as was the form under which were included the colonies of New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, or *Proprietary*, as was that of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware, or *Charter*, the government of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, enjoyed greater liberty and tranquility than their countrymen in England.

During this period which extended from the accession of Charles I., to near the close of the reign of Charles II., England was in a state of continual agitation. The bigoted views of James I., and of his son were not congenial to the spirit of the British Constitution and the rising spirit of the British nation. When therefore Charles attempted a positive invasion of the

rights of his subjects, he met with unexpected and determined resistance. The intelligence and power of the Third Estate, as the people were sometimes called, were far greater then than at any previous period of English history.

The House of Commons, once so impotent and unpopular, had become the right arm of the state. The power to originate money bills to meet the expenses of the government, was lodged exclusively with this branch of Parliament. The exercise of arbitrary power attempted by the King was stoutly resisted by these representatives of the people. The King would accept nothing the Commons were willing to grant. Thus we are introduced to perhaps the most interesting period in British annals; to one of the epochs of modern history.

Peaceful measures having failed, the King grasped the sword. This act was promptly and resolutely answered by the Commons and people. In the ensuing conflict the power of the King, once deemed invulnerable, was broken. The scaffold and block, so often reddened with blood spilt in the cause of liberty, now blushed with the blood of a martyr to tyranny.

The reign of Charles I. was followed by the energetic and generally benignant protectorate of Cromwell, and this was succeeded by the restoration of the Stewarts in the person of Charles II.

We are now brought to a period of special significance to ourselves. It was during the reign of Charles II. that the British Parliament took the first step which on the part of the mother country injuriously affected the American colonies.

At this period an act of Parliament was passed prefaced by the following preamble: "*Whereas*, it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in America for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same." The act then proceeds to lay a duty on clayed-sugar, indigo, coffee, silk, molasses, calicoes, &c., being the produce of a colony, not under the dominion of his Majesty. To this exercise of power on the part of Parliament the colonists submitted, but not without complaint and remonstrance. The subject of taxing the American colonies had indeed been agitated before this time. But this was the first actual attempt to enforce that policy.

Referring to this action on the part of Parliament and the colonies, Charles Fox, the celebrated British orator and statesman, says: "There is something curious in discovering that even at this early period (1685) a question relative to North American liberty,

and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly or adverse to arbitrary power at home. But the truth is, that among the several controversies which have arisen, there is no other where the natural rights of man on the one hand and the authority of artificial institutions on the other, as applied respectively by the Whigs and Tories to the English constitution, are so fairly put in issue, nor by which the line of separation between the two parties, is so strongly and distinctly marked."

Charles II. was succeeded by his brother James II. Blind or indifferent to the intelligence and spirit of the English people, James by still more arbitrary acts increased their exasperation. "He suspended the exercise of the Protestant religion, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, and allowed the Jesuits again to establish themselves in the kingdom."

The thoughts of his subjects at this moment were similar to those expressed by Archibald Rowan at his celebrated trial in Ireland in 1794. "I did imagine," said he on that stirring occasion, "that the British Constitution was a representative legislature; that the people were represented by the House of Commons; that the Lords represented the territory, the property; and that the King represented the state; the power of the whole placed in his hands for the benefit of the whole. As a person, as a man, I know nothing of the King. I can know nothing of him except as wielding the force of the nation, and if ever that force should be misapplied or abused, it then remains for the people to decide in what hands it ought to be placed."

Such were the views of the English people more than a century before. And these views were urged with such vigor that James II. was forced to abdicate his throne. This abdication and the accession of William of Orange, with Mary, elder daughter and heiress of James, accomplished the Revolution of 1688. As an expression of the mind of the people and of the new rulers whom they had chosen, a Bill of Rights was adopted, containing the following provisions:

1. The pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority without the consent of Parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Com-

missioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretense of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in all other manner than the same is and shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subject to petition the King, and that all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects, who are Protestants, may have arms for their defense, suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That elections of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached in any court or place out of Parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required; nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That Jurors ought to be duly impannelled and returned; and that Jurors who pass upon persons in trials, for high treason, ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.

13. And that for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of laws, Parliament ought to be frequently held.

Such was the Bill of Rights of the Revolution of 1688. You will readily perceive its importance. It gave the unwritten laws of England a definite form and character. The rights of King, Parliament, and people, were brought out from the dim obscurity and uncertainty of the common law, which was comprised of customs, prescriptions, reports, statutes and traditions.

While, however, the Revolution of 1688 achieved much, it fell short of securing to British subjects the full measure of national freedom. "The Great Charter of King John and the Bill of Rights," says Dr. Parley, "were wise and strenuous efforts to obtain security against certain abuses of regal power by which the subject had been formerly aggrieved; but these

were, either of them, much too partial modifications of the constitution to give it a new original."

The progress of liberty was not to stop with this triumph. Its advance, however, was promoted by means at that time little anticipated. While far away over the Atlantic the Colonies watched with interest the revolutionary movements in England, and were animated with an intelligent love of the more liberal features of the British Constitution, which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had developed; they found *themselves* called upon to defend the political principles thus established, and to give them a wider application than either the King, or Parliament, or the British people had suspected.

In the year 1765 an attempt was made by the home government, "practically to exert over the colonies the power of internal legislation and taxation."

This assumption of legislative power was promptly resisted. The grounds of resistance were the same in all the colonies. Notwithstanding the differences in their original and actual political organization, "whether charter, provincial, or proprietary," the Colonies, at the time of the American Revolution, enjoyed, in most respects, the same general rights and privileges. In all of them there existed a governor, a council and a representative assembly, composed of delegates chosen by the people, by whom the legislative and executive functions were exercised according to the particular organization of the Colony. In all of them express provision was made that all subjects and their children, inhabiting in the Colonies, should be deemed *natural born subjects*, and should enjoy all the privileges and immunities conferred by the British Constitution upon the most favored citizens of the mother country. In all the Colonies, the common law of England, so far as it was applicable to their situation, was made the basis of their jurisprudence, and that law was asserted at all times by them to be their birth-right and inheritance. Again, "it was insisted that the sole claim of England to the American Continent being founded in the mere title of discovery, the Colonies brought with them, all the laws of the parent country which were applicable to their situation."

That the Colonies were bound to resist the violation of the laws of the realm, and the spirit of the Great Charter and the Bill of Rights, is a truth which lies embedded in the very structure of government. "If public expediency be the foundation, it is also the measure of civil obedience; the obligation of

subjects and sovereigns is reciprocal, and the duty of allegiance, whether it be founded in utility or compact, is neither unlimited nor unconditional. Peace may be purchased too dearly. Patience becomes pusillanimity when it serves to increase the weight of our burden, or to bind it the faster. The submission which surrenders the liberty of a nation, and entails slavery upon future generations, is enjoined by no law of national morality. Each one should compare the peril and expense of the enterprise with the effects it is expected to produce and to make choice of the alternative by which not his own present relief or profit, but the whole and permanent interest of the state, is likely to be promoted." *

We will now examine those acts of the King and Parliament which the Colonists considered infractions of their Constitutional rights, and which called forth their prompt and determined opposition.

In the year 1765 Parliament imposed a duty on stamps. That this was a serious and questionable step, may be inferred from words spoken by the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Several years before, when a similar scheme for taxing the colonies was proposed, he said: "I will leave that for some one of my successors who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am."

Soon after the passage of the "Stamp Act" a colonial Congress of twenty-eight members met at New York. This assembly remonstrated against the act of Parliament and made a declaration of the rights of the colonies, declaring that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that Parliament had no right to take their money without their consent.

That the stand taken by this assembly was correct is clear from the language of Dr. Paley, at that day one of the leading writers in England, on the British Constitution.

"The Constitution," he says, "provides that every district of the Empire shall enjoy the privilege of choosing representatives informed of the interests and circumstances and desires of their constituents, and entitled by their situation to communicate that information to the National Council. The meanest subject has some one whom he can call upon to bring forward his complaints and requests to the public attention." And on this subject of taxation he says: "Every law which by the remotest construction may be deemed to levy money upon the property of the sub-

* Paley.

ject, must originate, that is, must first be proposed and assented to in the House of Commons. By this regulation the levying of taxes is almost exclusively reserved to the popular part of the Constitution, and the House of Commons, it is presumed, will not tax themselves nor their fellow subjects, without being first convinced of the necessity of the aids which they grant."

We thus perceive that the British Constitution guaranteed the full representation of all British subjects.

In keeping with these sentiments of Dr. Paley, was the opinion of Lord Chatham pronounced in Parliament just after the news of colonial resistance reached England:

"You have no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow subjects so lost to every sense of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

The obnoxious "Stamp Act" was at length repealed. But strange to say, this was followed by other acts still more obnoxious. One imposed a duty upon painters' colors, glass, paper and tea. Another established at Boston a Board of Commissioners to manage the revenue arising from the duties. Another to compel the colonists to provide for British troops, and to support them at their own expense.

These several acts awakened among the colonists increased excitement and resistance. Yet all this, instead of producing moderation in parliamentary proceedings, had a contrary effect. "A bill was speedily passed by which the port of Boston was precluded the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping wares and merchandise."

Another bill was passed essentially altering the charter of the province of Massachusetts, making the appointment of the Council, justices, judges, sheriffs, or other officers, dependent on the Crown, or its immediate agent.

Another act directed the Governor to send to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial, any person indicted for murder or any other capital offence.

The news of these proceedings went through the land as on the wings of the wind.

The time for action had now arrived. The people resolved to assemble for consultation. Eleven of the colonies appointed deputies for this purpose. On the 4th of September, 1774, these deputies met at Philadelphia, and there organized under the name of "The Continental Congress."

The proceedings of this celebrated assembly were attended with the most mature deliberation. The responsibility they assumed was of the gravest character.

To meet the legislation of Parliament, "a non-importation and non-consumption agreement" was made. An address was issued to the inhabitants of British America, and another to the people of Great Britain. They also drew up and unanimously adopted a Declaration of Rights substantially as follows :

1. That we are entitled to life, liberty and property, and have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either without our consent.

2. That our ancestors who first settled these colonies were at the time of their emigration from the mother country entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England.

3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered or lost any of their rights ; but they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

4. That the foundation of English liberty and of all free government is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council. And as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial Legislatures, where the right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their Sovereign in such manner as has heretofore been used and accustomed. But from the necessity of the case and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as are, in good faith, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefit of its respective members ; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by the peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

7. That these his Majesty's colonies are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured to them by their several codes of provincial law.

8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations and commitments for the same, are illegal.

9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies in times of peace without the consent of the Legislature of the Colony in which such an army is kept, is against law.

10. It is indispensibly necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the constituent branches of the Legislature be independent of each other; that therefore the exercise of legislative powers in several colonies by a council appointed during the pleasure of the Crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American Legislation.

Such was the Declaration of Rights made by the Congress of 1774.

The addresses which were issued to the people of Great Britain, and to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec were marked with the same moderation and decision.

In the address to the people of Great Britain, after setting forth the distinctions in legislation made by Parliament between the colonies and the mother country, they add:

“Reason looks with indignation upon such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the Popes can divest Kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.”

In the address to the people of Quebec, after recounting the rights guaranteed by the British Constitution, they say: "these are the rights without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which these Colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights which the Ministry are now striving by force of arms to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives."

Lord Chatham said, January 20th, 1775, in Parliament: "Had the early situation of the people of Boston been attended to, things would not have come to this, but the infant complaints of Boston were literally treated like the capricious squalls of a *child*, who, it was said, did not know whether it was aggrieved or not. But full well I knew, at that time, that this *child*, if not redressed, would soon assume the courage and voice of a *man*. Full well I knew, that the sons of ancestors, born under the same free constitution, and once breathing the same liberal air as Englishmen, ancestors who even quitted this land of liberty, the moment it became a land of oppression, and, in resistance to bigoted councils and oppressive measures, tore themselves from their dearest connections; I say, full well I knew, that the offspring of such ancestors would resist upon the same principles and on the same occasions. * * * *

"I have crawled, my Lords, to this house to-day to tell you so. I think it my duty to give the whole of my experience and council to my country at all times, but more particularly when she is so much in need of it; and having thus entered upon the threshold of this business, I will knock at your gates for justice, and never stop, except infirmities should nail me to my bed, until I have at least tried everything in my power to heal those unhappy divisions.

"There is no time to be lost—every hour is big with danger—perhaps, whilst I am now speaking, the decisive blow is struck, which may involve millions in the consequence; and, believe me, the very first drop of blood that is spilled will not be from a wound easily skinned over, it will be *irritabile vulnus*; a wound of that rancorous and festering kind, that, in all probability, will mortify the whole body.

"Who then, in the name of heaven, could advise this measure? Or who can continue to give this strange and unconstitutional advice? If his Majesty continues to hear such counsellors, he will not only be badly advised, but undone. He may wear his

crown, it is true, but it will not be worth wearing; robbed of so principal a jewel as America, it will lose its lustre and no longer beam that effulgence which should irradiate the brow of Majesty." *

"When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that, in all my reading and observation, and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master statesmen of the world, that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of different circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."

These addresses respectful and well founded as they were, produced only an exasperating effect upon the Ministry. Other acts of Parliament followed not less objectionable than those which had already been passed.

The issue toward which all previous discussions and acts had tended was now reached. In the legislature of Virginia, Patrick Henry gave expression to the general feeling: "An appeal to arms and the God of battles," he exclaimed, "is all that is left us. It is in vain to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry 'Peace! Peace!' but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle! What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

On May 10th, 1775, Congress met again at Philadelphia. On the 15th of the following June, they unanimously elected George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the forces raised, and to be raised, for the defense of the Colonies. Washington proceeded to Cambridge and on the 3d of July assumed command. Under an old elm, which is still standing, and under which the Indians had held many a council, was created the first real army of the American Revolution. The hundredth anniversary of its creation was celebrated at Cambridge, July 3d, 1875. I had the

* Though we believe Lord Chatham used this expression as an orator, and not as a commentator on past events, yet it is worth remarking, that the principal jewel of the Crown actually dropped out at the Coronation of the reigning King George III.

honor to be present on the occasion and to participate in a banquet given in Memorial Hall by the city of Cambridge in commemoration of that interesting event.

The battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, had already been fought. The prediction of Patrick Henry had been fulfilled.

On June 7th, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, made a motion in Congress in favor of declaring the Colonies free and independent. In support of this motion John Adams spoke with even more than his wonted vehemence :

“The war,” said he, “must go on. We must fight it through. And if the war must go on, why put off longer the Declaration of Independence? Every Colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the Declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British King, set before them the glorious object of entire Independence and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life.

“Read this Declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered to maintain it or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it who heard the first roar of the enemy’s cannon; let them see it who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

“Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly, through this day’s business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time when this Declaration shall be made good. We may die; die Colonists; die slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may. But whatever be our fate, be assured, be assured, that this Declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood, but it will stand and richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present I see the brightness of the future as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day.

When we are in our graves our children will honor it. They will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires and illuminations.

“Sir, before God, I believe the hour is come. My judgment approves this measure and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, I am now ready here to stake upon it. And I leave off as I began, that live or die, survive or perish, I am for the Declaration. It is my living sentiment, and by the grace of God, it shall be my dying sentiment: INDEPENDENCE NOW AND INDEPENDENCE FOREVER.”

On the 4th of July, 1776, the thirteen Colonies were declared Free and Independent. The title assumed was, The United States of America.

The Declaration of Independence contained a concise recital of Colonial grievances. On its adoption the bell of the Old State House of Philadelphia rang out the news to the thousands assembled in Independence Square, and to the homes of the Colonists in the neighborhood of the city. The news was received everywhere with the highest exultation. The ennobling prospect of a separate national existence animated the people with new courage and resolution to repel the invader.

The war of the Revolution followed. With it came suffering and gloom. Truthfully did the poet Campbell sing the rise of American liberty :

“ Dark was the hour by stern oppression driven,
When trans-Atlantic Liberty arose ;
Not in the sunshine and the smile of heaven,
But wrapped in whirlwinds and begirt with woes !”

The climax of suffering on the part of the army seemed to be reached when on the 17th December, 1777, they made their dreary encampment at Valley Forge. The winter had set in with unusual severity. Hungry and cold were the poor fellows who had so long been keeping the field. Provisions were scant, clothing worn out, and so badly off were they for shoes, that the footsteps of many might be tracked in blood. It has been eloquently said that “there, in the midst of frost and snow, disease and destitution, Liberty erected her altar. In all the world’s history we have no record of purer devotion, holier sincerity, or more heroic self sacrifice, than was exhibited in this camp of Washington. If there is a spot on the face of our broad land whereon patriotism should delight to pile its highest and most venerated monument, it should be in the bosom of that

little vale on the banks of the Schuylkill, amid the 'templed hills,' consecrated by the presence and suffering of those who achieved our Independence."

"The land is holy where they fought,
 And holy where they fell ;
 For by their blood that land was bought,
 The land they loved so well.
 Then glory to that valiant band
 The honored saviors of the land !

O, few and weak their numbers were—
 A handful of brave men ;
 But to their God they gave their prayer,
 And rushed to battle then.
 The God of battles heard their cry,
 And sent to them the victory.

They left the plowshare in the mould,
 Their flocks and herds without a fold,
 The sickle in the unshorn grain,
 The corn, half garnered, on the plain,
 And mustered in their simple dress
 For wrongs to seek a stern redress,
 To right those wrongs, come weal, come woe,
 To perish or o'ercome their foe.

And where are ye, oh, fearless men?
 And where are ye to-day ?
 I call :—the hills reply again,
 That ye have passed away ;
 That on old Bunker's lonely height,
 In Trenton and on Monmouth ground,
 The grass grows green, the harvest light,
 Above each soldier's mound.

The bugle's mild and warlike blast
 Shall muster them no more ;
 An army now might thunder past,
 And they heed not its roar.
 The starry flag 'neath which they fought
 In many a bloody day,
 From their old graves shall rouse them not,
 For they have passed away."

The Government during the Revolution was composed of one delegate from each Colony, appointed from time to time, who conducted the national affairs till near the close of the war. While the Colonies were holding a belligerent attitude toward the mother country, a common regard for public safety held them firmly together. But the Continental Congress plainly saw that

when the external pressure should be removed, the Colonies would fall apart into separate and independent States. The consequences of such an event were as clearly foreseen and as fully understood. In order to provide against such dangers, they prepared and passed the memorable Articles of Confederation. This step was carefully taken and was in the right direction. But so keenly jealous was each State of its own rights, and so fearful of a consolidated government, that these Articles, though passed by Congress in November, 1777, were not finally adopted until March, 1781. Whatever hopes may have been awakened by the adoption of these Articles, and however great the efforts to do that which would prove most for the public good, it was soon discovered that the Confederation, even under the Articles as finally adopted, was utterly powerless. "By this political compact," said one, "the Continental Congress have exclusive power for the following purposes without being able to execute one of them: They may make and conclude treaties, but can only recommend the observance of them; they may appoint Ambassadors, but they cannot defray even the expenses of their tables; they may borrow money, on their own names on the faith of the Union, but they cannot pay a dollar; they may coin money, but they may not import an ounce of bullion; they may make war, and determine what number of troops is necessary, but they cannot raise a single soldier; in short, they may declare everything, but they can do nothing." "It became evident, therefore, that the Confederation, being without resources, and without powers, must soon expire of its own debility. It had not only lost all vigor but it had ceased even to be respected. It had approached the last stages of its decline and the only question which remained was, whether it should be left to a silent dissolution or an attempt be made to form a more efficient Government before the great interests of the Union were buried beneath its ruins."

A serious crisis had now arrived. The war was indeed over. Peace had been proclaimed—liberty and independence had been achieved—but the object for which the Nation's treasure and blood had been expended was still exposed to defeat. The public mind was greatly agitated by the dangers which pointed toward either anarchy or despotism. The voices of those who had never favored the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, and especially of those who had no faith in popular Government, were heard on every hand, boasting of their own wisdom, and

predicting disastrous results from the policy and patriotism of their countrymen.

“The signers of the Declaration of Independence themselves were the persons who had fallen into the error of believing that a Confederacy of independent States would serve as a substitute for the repudiated Government of Great Britain. Experience had demonstrated their mistake, and the condition of the country was a shriek of terror at its awful magnitude. They did retrace their steps, not to extinguish the federative feature on which their Union had been formed. Nothing could be wider from their intention; but to restore,” as we shall see, “the order of things conformably to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and as they had been arranged in the first plans for a confederation. To make the people of the Union the constituent body, and the reservation of the rights of the State subordinate to the Constitution, instead of recognizing the assumed sovereignty of each separate State as the source of all authority.” An exigency had arisen which could no longer be averted nor postponed.

At Mt. Vernon, the residence of Washington, this was well understood, and there in March, 1785, the first idea of the Constitution was started on a proposal to revise the Articles of Confederation by an organization of means differing from that of a compact between the State Legislatures and their own delegates in Congress. An incipient step was thus taken toward the formation of the present Constitution of the United States. In that year Commissioners were appointed by the Legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, to form a compact relative to the navigation of the rivers Potomac and Roanoke, and the Chesapeake Bay. The Commissioners met accordingly at Alexandria, near Mt. Vernon, in Virginia; but feeling the want of adequate powers, they recommended proceedings of a more enlarged nature. The Legislature of Virginia, therefore, in January, 1786, proposed a convention of Commissioners from all the States for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of trade, and the propriety of a uniform system of commercial relations for their permanent harmony and common interest. Pursuant to this proposal, Commissioners were appointed by five States, who met at Annapolis in September, 1786. They framed a report to be laid before the Continental Congress, advising the latter to call a convention of Commissioners from all the States, to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787, *for a more effectual revision*

of the *Articles of Confederation*. Congress adopted the recommendation of the Report, and in February, 1787, passed a resolution for assembling a Convention. All the States except Rhode Island, appointed delegates. The delegates met at Philadelphia. General Washington, a delegate from Virginia, was called to preside. After very protracted deliberation, extending through exactly four months, and amid great diversities of opinion, their wise, patient, patriotic labors were concluded. *The present Constitution of the United States* was the result.

The Preamble of the Constitution reads as follows: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." On September 17th, 1787, this Constitution was laid by the Convention, before Congress, with the recommendation that it be laid by Congress before the several States, to be by them considered and ratified in conventions of the representatives of the people to be called for that purpose."

The resolutions of the Convention, passed at the close of its labors, together with a copy of the proposed Constitution, were transmitted by Washington to Congress, accompanied with a letter to the President from Washington, which concludes with the following language: "In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our Union—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

"That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State, is not, perhaps, to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interest been alone considered, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote

the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect we have the honor to be, sir, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servants.

By unanimous order of the Convention.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President."

To His Excellency,

the President of Congress.

The Continental Congress promptly carried out the recommendation of the Convention. In compliance with the action of Congress, Conventions were called in all the States except Rhode Island, and after many warm discussions, all the States with the exception of Rhode Island and North Carolina ratified the Constitution. Thus from the convulsions of the Revolutionary period, and from the not less serious apprehensions of civil discord under the Articles of Confederation, emerged the Constitution whose history and associations we are now considering.

The assent of nine States only being required to put the Constitution into operation, measures were taken by Congress for this purpose in September, 1788, at which time the requisite ratifications had been ascertained.

Accordingly elections were held in the several States, *when Electors for President and Vice-President were chosen*. The Electors subsequently assembled and gave their votes. The necessary election of Senators and Representatives having been made, the first Congress under the Constitution assembled at New York, then the seat of Government, on Wednesday, March the 4th, 1789. A quorum, however, of both Houses for the transaction of general business did not assemble until the sixth of April. At that time the votes of the Electors were counted. The result showed that GEORGE WASHINGTON had been *unanimously* elected President, and John Adams Vice-President of the United States. On the 30th of April President Washington was sworn into office, and the Government went immediately into full operation.

Only eleven States were at first represented, but North Carolina afterward, in a Convention held in November, 1789, adopted the Constitution, and Rhode Island also, by a Convention held in May, 1790. So that all the Thirteen States, by authority

preceded him" said Mr. Adams, "as a guard of ornament and of glory. At his passage over the Schuylkill bridge, a crown of unfading laurel was, unconsciously to himself, dropped by a blooming boy, from a thickly laurelled arch, upon his head. At Trenton he was welcomed by a band of aged matrons commemorating his noble defense of them, thirteen years before on that spot, at the turning tide of the War of Independence—while their virgin daughters strewed the path before him with flowers, and, chanting a song like that of Miriam, hailed him as their protector, who had been the defender of their mothers. A Committee of Congress met him on his approach to the Point, where a richly ornamented barge of thirteen oars, manned by branch pilots of New York, was in waiting to receive him. In this barge he embarked. But the bosom of the waters around her, as she swept along, was as populous as had been the shores. The garish streamers floated upon the gale—songs of enchantment resounded from boat to boat, intermingled with the clashing of cymbals, with the echoing of horns, with the warbling of the flute, and the mellowing tones of the clarionet, weakened, but softened as if by distance, by the murmur of the breeze and the measured dashing of the waters from the oars, till on reaching New York—but let his own diary given by Chief Justice Marshall, his biographer, disclose the emotions of his soul amid this entrancing scene: 'The display of boats which attended and joined on this occasion, some with vocal, and others with instrumental music on board, the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people, which rent the sky, as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful (contemplating the reverse of this scene which may be the case after all my labors to do good) as they were pleasing.'

"How delightful it is, on this commemoration of Washington's birth," and nearly the hundredth year since those scenes transpired, to reflect that all the fairest visions of hope were to be more "than realized, and all the apprehensions of wary prudence and self-distrusting wisdom more than dissipated and dispelled."

Washington opened his Inaugural Address, which was given in New York, April 30, 1789, with the following words: "Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: Among the vicissitudes of life no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 4th day of the present month.

On the one hand I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predeliction, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the assylum of my declining years ; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health by the gradual waste committed on it by time ; on the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondency one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be particularly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity, as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated."

In the conclusion he says :

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave, but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of Government for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness, so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend."

During the eight years of the Revolutionary War Washington received no compensation, satisfied if Congress would meet the expenses necessarily incurred by him in the public service. Of

these he kept the most exact account. When he undertook the duties of the chief magistracy of the country, he gave a further evidence of his unselfishness and exalted patriotism. Towards the conclusion of his speech to the First Congress, April 30th, 1789, he says: "When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary consideration. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impression which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensibly included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require."

Having thus been led by the course of events to the inauguration of Washington and the complete establishment under the Constitution of the Government of the United States, let us turn for a while to the contemplation of Washington himself, and consider as we proceed, some of the elements of his character.

And in doing this I observe that Washington was possessed of great tenderness of heart. This trait is revealed in numerous incidents related by his biographers, and in not a few of his writings, especially in his appeals to Congress and to the Governors of the States in behalf of his suffering soldiers. It was conspicuous in his addresses to the soldiers themselves. Indeed, so great is the pathos of many portions of his public discourses and of his private correspondence, that for my own part I can rarely read them without being moved to tears. No wonder that he was beloved by his officers and army! No wonder that he was almost idolized by his countrymen! Through his sympathies he held the hearts of his fellow men as with hooks of steel.

He had no love for war as such. The news of the cessation of hostilities between the King of Great Britain and the United States (which was received by Washington at his headquarters at Newburgh, N. Y., April 18th, 1783), filled his heart with the most pleasing emotions. General orders were immediately issued announcing the fact, and directing the proclamation prohibiting hostilities to be read at the head of every regiment and corps of

the army. "After which," adds Washington, "the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to the Almighty God for all His mercies, particularly for His overruling the wrath of man to His own glory and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.

"Although the proclamation above alluded to," he continues, "extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and, like another morning star, promises the approach of a brighter day than hath hitherto illuminated the western hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice; it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity."

Washington had ambition. But it was not the ambition of Alexander, who, hearing Anaxarchus, the philosopher, speak concerning the multiplicity of worlds, wept to think that he had not yet become master of one. Nor was it the ambition of Attila, the Hun, whose footsteps were marked with desolation, and who proudly called himself "The Scourge of God." Washington was ambitious to secure the liberty of his country, to enjoy the favor of heaven, and to find a permanent lodgment in the esteem and affections of his race. And this ambition never left him. Hence the wonderful spectacle, wonderful because unprecedented, which he presented to an observing and admiring world when he sheathed his sword and returned his commission to the American Congress. He might have imitated the example of Julius Cæsar and converted his popularity into an instrument for his own aggrandizement. He might have taken the path which Napoleon subsequently pursued, and by his sword carved his way to a throne. That he was urged to pursue this course is matter of record. But never did virtue shrink with more instinctive abhorrence from vice, than did Washington from the suspicion of being guilty of such a design. With all the honesty of a patriot, with all the promptness of a lover of peace, he resigned the sword which he had reluctantly taken.

Repairing to Annapolis, where the Congress was at that time sitting, Washington signified to that venerable body his desire to surrender the commission which he had received from them as

Commander-in-Chief of the American army. On the 23d of December, 1782, the impressive ceremony took place in the presence of a numerous auditory. The members of Congress remained seated and covered. The spectators stood uncovered. Washington, on his entrance, was conducted by the Secretary to a chair, when after a brief pause the President, General Mifflin, informed him that "the United States in Congress assembled were prepared to receive his communications." A hush ran through the assembly as Washington, with calm dignity, stepped forward to perform the last, the most sublime act of his whole military life. I cannot forbear quoting the introduction and the close of his remarks: "Mr. President," said he, "the great events on which my resignation depended, having taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country." And in conclusion, he adds, "I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of it to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

I need hardly say that this address of Washington was heard with emotions too deep for utterance, and that he withdrew with the benedictions of Congress, of the country, of heaven, and of mankind. Upon the surrender of his military commission he withdrew, he hoped forever, from all the scenes of public life. His love for retirement was singularly strong, but at the call of his country to serve as her chief magistrate he again sacrificed, as we have seen, his personal predilections, and repaired once more to the post of duty, ready to serve in a civil, as he had done in a military capacity. The period which he devoted to each was by a singular coincidence the same. At the close of his Presidential career, he prepared that wonderful paper, his Farewell Address, as the last token of his solicitude for the welfare of his country. After pointing out the dangers to which a popular Government will ever be exposed and suggesting the best methods

for averting them, after indicating the duties which the different portions of the country would owe to one another, and the whole country to foreign nations, he brings his address to a conclusion by a modest and affecting reference to himself. "Though in reviewing," says he, "the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the fruits of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest."

Hon. Mr. Gladstone, Prime Minister of the British Government, pays, in the *North American Review*, for September, 1878, discriminating and glowing tribute to the British Constitution, and follows it with a tribute, if possible, still more glowing to the Constitution of the United States.

Speaking of the British Constitution he says: "The Cabinet and all the present relations of the Constitutional powers in this country have grown into their present dimensions, and settled into their present places, not as the fruit of a philosophy, not in the effort to give effect to an abstract principle; but by the silent action of forces, invisible and insensible, the structure has come up into the view of all the world.

"As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from the womb and the long gestation of progressive history, so the American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man. It has had a century of trial, under the pressure of exigencies caused by an expansion unexampled in point of rapidity and range: and its exemption from formal change, though not entire, has constantly proved the sagacity of the constructors and the stubborn strength of the fabric."

And here I cannot but observe that it will ever be a wonder how a man so esteemed and so applauded could have maintained the equanimity for which Washington was always distinguished. The praise which is now universally accorded to him was not altogether withheld in his life time. Nor did the expressions of warm regard emanate solely from his own countrymen. His

character and career had attracted the attention and met the approbation of the great and good in other lands.

In the year 1794, Charles Fox, one of the greatest statesman of his own and, perhaps, of any age, in the course of a speech upon the attempt of France to embroil the United States in her difficulties with Great Britain, pronounced in Parliament an eulogium upon Washington. Regardless of the fact that scarce twenty years before, the subject of his eloquence had been pronounced within those very walls, a rebel, he thus breaks forth: "Illustrious man! deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind; before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance and all the Princes and potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own 'royal' family) become little and contemptible!" "I cannot indeed help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this great man; not that by the phrase *fortune* I mean in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot, which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity and have passed through such a variety of scenes, without stain and without reproach. It must indeed create astonishment, that placed in circumstances so critical and filling for a series of time, a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence or of mean submission, in his transactions with foreign nations. It has been reserved for him to run that race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career. The breath of censure has not dared to impeach the purity of his conduct, nor the eye of envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of his virtues. Such has been the transcendent merit and the unparalleled fate of this illustrious man!"

When the news of the death of Washington reached France, his great contemporary, Napoleon, announced the melancholy event in an appropriate proclamation to the Government, to his army, and to the people, and in token of respect, he ordered black crape to be suspended from all the flags and standards in the French service, the Chamber of Deputies was dressed in mourning, and other marks of public sorrow were exhibited.

Thus the representative men of the two leading nations of the earth paid their homage to the character and memory of Washington.

Nor since that day have the respect and affection of the world diminished. On the contrary, with the lapse of time, the virtues of Washington shine forth with a brighter lustre. There is no land accessible to enlightened enterprise whither his fame has not extended. The monument just completed at the national metropolis, speaks trumpet-tongued in this behalf, for its imposing shaft goes up not merely by the additions made from the States of the Union which he so largely helped to create, but by the marble or granite sent from Switzerland, and Italy, and Greece, and from the Islands of the sea. Nor is it an uninteresting fact, that towards the close of the year 1860 the heir apparent to the British crown, in company with some of England's illustrious nobles, visited the tomb of Washington. By this act they signified their appreciation of the virtues of the dead, and, may I not add, set the seal of their approbation to the cause which he so successfully defended.

But while we speak of Washington in deserved eulogium let us not forget that Almighty Being who raised him up, like another Joshua, to lead the hosts of our American Israel. Nothing short of the divine interposition could have saved our country from the perils to which she was exposed. And Joseph, and Moses, and Joshua, and David, and Cyrus, were not more certainly ordained of heaven to the age and work with which in history they stand associated, than was Washington to the stupendous enterprise to which he was summoned; stupendous, I say, for it involved a two-fold labor of the greatest difficulty and deepest significance,—the achievement of Independence from a nation possessed of the greatest military and naval power, and the creation and establishment of a Popular Government upon the foundation of a written Constitution. And God graciously endowed Washington with just those qualities of body, mind and spirit, which the exigency of the times demanded. And as He raised him up so He kindly protected him against the savages of the wilderness, against traitors in his own camp, and against the ten thousand dangers incident to a bitter and protracted war. God was with him in the Cabinet. Nothing less than wisdom imparted from above could have guided him in the multiplied, new, and perplexing questions which confronted him at every turn during the entire period of his civil as well as military life. The difficulties which were

encountered by him as President may be inferred from the work accomplished.

“For during the eight years of a turbulent and tempestuous administration, Washington settled upon firm foundations the practical execution of the Constitution of the United States. In the midst of the most appalling obstacles, through the bitterest internal dissensions and the most formidable combinations of foreign antipathies and cabals, he had subdued all opposition to the Constitution itself; had averted all dangers of a European war; had redeemed American captives in Algiers; had reduced by chastisement and conciliated by kindness, the hostile of the Indian tribes; had restored the credit of the nation; had provided for the total extinguishment of the public debt; had settled the Union upon the unmovable foundation of principle, and had drawn around his head for the admiration and emulation of after times, a brighter blaze of glory than had ever encircled the brows of hero or statesman, patriot or sage.”*

Washington was a Christian. He was not ostentatious in his piety, but his principles in this regard were fixed. He felt his dependence upon God for the accomplishment of the purposes he formed, and frequently in the retirement of the forest, as at Valley Forge, was he seen by the passing soldier, in earnest prayer, on bended knee, invoking the guidance of Heaven in his military plans, the pity of Heaven upon his suffering soldiers, and its blessing upon his country then in the throes of revolution, struggling to be free.

“The Revolution itself was a work of thirteen years—and had never been completed until the adoption of the Constitution. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are parts of one consistent whole, founded upon one and the same theory of government.”

By the Declaration national independence was proclaimed; by the War it was established; and by the Constitution it was embodied or consolidated into a distinct nationality.

“The great measures by which the Revolution was commenced, conducted, and concluded, were devised and prosecuted by a very few leading minds, animated by one pervading, predominating spirit. The object of the Revolution was the transformation of thirteen dependent and oppressed English Colonies into one nation of thirteen confederated states. It was an undertaking,” said

* J. Q. Adams.

Mr. Madison, "to do that which had always before been believed impossible. In the progress to its accomplishment, obstacles almost numberless, and difficulties apparently unsurmountable, obstructed every step of the way. That on the dissolution and re-institution of the social compact, by men marching over an untrodden earth to the very fountains of human Government, great and dangerous errors should have been committed, is but an acknowledgement that the builders of the new edifice were fallible men. But at the head of the Convention was George Washington, the leader of the Armies of the Revolution—amongst its prominent members were Benjamin Franklin and Roger Sherman, two of the members of that memorable committee who had reported the Declaration of Independence—and its other members, without exception, were statesmen who had served in the council of the Union throughout the Revolutionary struggle, or warriors who had contended with the enemy upon the field."

The framers of the Constitution never claimed for it perfection. They left it for time to disclose its defects and to furnish a remedy. Accordingly, since its adoption fifteen articles of amendment have been passed and become incorporated with it. Twelve of these amendments were proposed by the first Congress itself in 1789. The remaining three grew out of the recent war for the Union. These latter abolish and forever prohibit human slavery, and also declare that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied nor abridged by the United States nor by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. So that by authority of the people of the United States, and the favor of God, the Constitution framed by our fathers, now stands complete. By it the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is guaranteed to every citizen of the Republic.

The monument, dedicated to Washington, did not reach its completion till all this had been accomplished. Nay, more. It was not finished until the war for the Union had vindicated the truth blazoned on our national escutcheon, "E Pluribus Unum," and shown that the Constitution makes the States a Nation,

"Distinct like the billows,
Yet one like the sea."

Had the result been otherwise, the monument had well remained incomplete. Had the result been otherwise, well had the monument paused midway to its intended height, and stood

forever and forevermore, pointing with sarcasm and unutterable disappointment to the folly which had made shipwreck of a matchless Government, blighted the prospects of posterity, and hurled back expectant millions, into hopeless servitude all round the world.

The year 1881 completed a century since the Declaration of Independence was made good in the close of the military operations of the Revolution. Two years hence will complete a century since the Constitution was adopted, and three years, a century since, in the city of New York, Washington was inaugurated President of the United States. We are living in the centennial of great events. To the City and State of New York will therefore be accorded the honor of leading in 1889 the celebration of the Centennial of Peace, of the Adoption of the Constitution, and of the Inauguration of Washington. *

Thus it belonged to our fathers a century ago to set in motion influences whose power for good has continually intensified, and whose sweep has widened with every successive year. In their devotion to the highest interest of their country and race, they combined zeal with wisdom. In the cabinet and in the field alike, they wrought with only one object in view. They contended for that which belonged to them as Englishmen, and which had been with difficulty obtained by the sacrifices of many generations. Magna Charta was theirs. The Bill of Rights, secured at the accession of William and Mary, was theirs. The traditions of the past, bearing testimony to England's love of Liberty, were theirs. And theirs they resolved they should continue to be; and not only theirs, but also their children's, and their children's children's. With England they would gladly continue to enjoy these privileges if they could; without her, if they must. Fidelity to their high and sacred trust demanded separation. Separation came. But true to the spirit and motive which impelled them to this course, they embodied in written form the great principles of human justice and freedom for which they contended, and by common consent and common sacrifice, established as the organic law of the Republic, the Constitution under which we live; a Constitution which secures to every citizen in the United States

* As this Lecture is about to go to press the following appears in the New York Tribune of April 7th, 1886 :

NEW YORK WOULD HAVE THE HONOR.

WASHINGTON, April 7.—Representative Phelps, of New Jersey, has received a telegraphic request from the New York Chamber of Commerce to offer as an amendment to the resolution introduced by Mr. Butterworth for the appointment of a committee to consider the subject of a celebration in 1889, at Washington, of the centennial anniversary of the formation of the Government under the Constitution, "that the celebration shall be held in New York, where the event occurred."

alike, civil and religious privileges such as render our country at this hour the freest and most favored nation upon earth.

“Thus was achieved,” says Judge Story, “another and still more glorious triumph in the cause of national liberty than even that which separated us from the mother country. By it,” he adds, “we fondly trust that our Republican institutions will grow up and be nurtured into more strength and vigor; our independence be secured against foreign usurpation and aggression; our domestic blessings be widely and generally felt; and our Union, as a people, be perpetuated as our truest glory and support, and as a proud example of a wise and beneficent government, entitled to the respect, if not the admiration of mankind.”

If what Curran, the great Irish orator, said of Britain was true of her in his day, nearly a hundred years ago, then we may assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that the same language is doubly applicable to America in ours. And I now claim for America under her matchless CONSTITUTION, what Curran proudly and justly claimed for Britain: “I speak,” said he, “in the spirit of British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from the British soil—which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of Universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains which burst from around him, and he stands forth redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of Universal Emancipation.”

We are told that “the Arab of the desert talks of Washington in his tent, and that his name is familiar to the wandering Scythian.” And shall it be that we or our children admiring his character, shall ever forget that the cause in which he became illustrious, was the cause of American Liberty? Shall we, receiving at his hands the boon of civil and religious freedom, neglect the admonitions which fell from his lips, and refuse to employ the means by which alone that freedom can be preserved? The her-

culean labors, the immense sacrifices, which this great national fabric cost, should constrain us to say, that in our day at least, that fabric shall not fall. Should such a calamity occur at all, it would produce universal regret. But should it occur by the act or the neglect of American citizens, the maledictions of a world would descend upon us. And especially should it take place now that the terrible ordeal of civil strife, and war for the Union and the Constitution, through which the Republic has triumphantly passed are over, then justly and surely should we be denounced by the friends of freedom everywhere as having desecrated the altars of human liberty, and plucked down the fairest temple ever dedicated to her honor by human hands. In such an event, curses, thicker than the hailstones, and keener than the lightning which desolated the land of Egypt, would descend upon us, and we should almost anticipate the day of final doom, and call upon the rocks and the mountains to cover us, that we might disappear forever from the withering glance of a disappointed world.

I speak strongly indeed, but not more strongly than I feel. I love my country; and it is in her behalf I speak. I love my children, and as I look upon them I cannot endure the thought that the blessings of the Union, and of free institutions, shall not be theirs to inherit. I love my race. With Chremes in Terrence, I may say: "*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

Hence as I look over both hemispheres and survey the teeming millions that now inhabit them, and especially when I reflect upon the incalculable numbers of coming generations, I cannot consent that the experiment of Constitutional Liberty made under such unparalleled advantages should ever prove a failure, and tyrants thus be furnished with a sarcastic, an irresistible argument to wield against the friends of freedom through all future time, whenever and wherever they shall presume to lift up their voices in the advocacy, and their hands in the defense of human rights.

In the words of Daniel Webster spoken at a public dinner in honor of Washington, and in the City of Washington, Feb. 22d, 1832, we may with increased emphasis say: "Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future

harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered with the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty with state rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them, than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw--the edifice of constitutional American liberty."

If there was one thing which more than another Washington considered as essential under God to the preservation of the national liberty, it was the *Union of the States*. Accordingly in his farewell address to his countrymen he says: "The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in the political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in *any event* be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

It will be in harmony with the design of this discourse to speak

of Washington's personal appearance. In the Scripture narrative respecting Saul chosen to be the ruler of Israel, it is said that "there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was taller than any of the people." "Of Washington's personal appearance," says one who evidently drew the picture from life, "little further need be remarked than that it comported entirely with the solid grandeur of his character. In respect to *physique*, no man could have been better formed for command—a stature somewhat exceeding six feet, a full but admirably proportioned frame, calculated to sustain fatigue without that heaviness which generally attends great muscular strength and abates active exertion, displayed bodily power of no mean standard. A light and full gray eye, firm forehead, a Roman nose; his mouth was peculiar of its class—the lips firm, and the under jaw seeming to grasp the upper with force, as if its muscles were in full action when he sat still. It was Washington's habit to fasten his eyes calmly and steadily upon those who were ushered into his presence, whether friend or foe, nor was it a slight ordeal to thus meet his penetrating gaze. His limbs were long, large and sinewy, and his frame was of equal breadth from the shoulders to the hips; his joints were large, as were also his feet, and the great size of his hand never failed to attract attention. His gait and tread was that of a practiced soldier; his deportment invariably grave and reserved; his speech sparing and deliberate. At home he wore the usual dress of a citizen; on state occasions he dressed in a full suit of the richest black velvet, with diamond knee buckles, and square silver buckles set upon shoes japanned with the most scrupulous neatness, black silk stockings, his shirt ruffled at the breast and wrists, a light dress sword, his hair profusely powdered, fully dressed so as to project at the sides and gathered behind in a silk bag ornamented with a large rose of black ribbon. In the prime of life Washington stood six feet two inches, and weighed nearly two hundred and twenty pounds; he measured precisely six feet when attired for the grave."

The death of Washington was in keeping with his life. It did not find him unprepared. Just before the fatal attack he had been making arrangements at Mt. Vernon for an improved family tomb. "This change," he said to a relative, "I shall make the first of all, for I may require it before the rest. I am of a short-lived family and cannot expect to remain long upon the earth." What was thus spoken of as possible, turned in a

short time into a sad reality. On the 12th of December, 1799, he rode out to his farms, and during his absence encountered a cold wind, accompanied with rain, hail and snow. This exposure was followed with serious indisposition, which, in the end, proved fatal. During his illness he could speak but little. To the respectful and affectionate inquiries of an old family servant, who, as she smoothed down his pillow, asked how he felt, he answered, "I am very ill." Penetrated with gratitude for attentions, he often said: "I am afraid I shall fatigue you too much." And on one occasion added, "Well, it is a debt we must pay to each other, and I hope, when you want aid of this kind, you will find it." Toward the close of the day on which he expired the physician came into the room, and, upon going to the bedside, the General said to him: "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long." The doctor pressed his hand but could not utter a word. He retired from the bedside and sat by the fire absorbed in grief.

"Between five and six o'clock," says one who was present, "Dr. Dick and Dr. Brown came into the room and with Dr. Craik went to the bed when Dr. Craik asked the General if he could sit up in bed. He held out his hand and I raised him up. He then said to the physicians, 'I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long.' After several ineffectual attempts to speak, he at length said, 'I am just going. Have me decently buried; and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead.' I bowed assent, for I could not speak. He then looked at me again and said, 'Do you understand me?' 'Yes' I replied. 'T IS WELL,' said he; the last words he ever uttered on earth. With surprising self-possession he prepared to die—composing his form at full length, and folding his arms on his bosom. About ten minutes before he expired (which was between ten and eleven o'clock on Saturday evening) his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine, and felt of his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hand over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh, December 14th, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year

of his age, after an illness of twenty-four hours. While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked in a firm and collected voice, 'Is he gone?' I could not speak, but held up my hands as a signal that he was no more. 'T is well,' said she in the same voice, 'All is over now; I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through.' "

The burial took place on Wednesday, December eighteenth. The ashes of Washington now rest in a beautiful inclosure, which, in his later years, was selected by himself for a tomb.

The news of the sudden death of the illustrious patriot soon spread throughout his own country and also across the sea, and filled every heart with surprise and lamentation. Men of every class and clime joined in expressions of lofty, generous, unstinted eulogy.

A truly great man is not envious of the fame of another. "I felt on his death," wrote Jefferson of Washington, "that 'verily a great man hath fallen this day in Israel.'"

While Mr. Jefferson was riding, one starry night, with a member of his family, the conversation fell upon Washington. Pointing to the stars, he exclaimed:

"Washington's fame will go on increasing until the brightest constellation in yonder heavens shall be called by his name!"

A bust of Washington stood in the hall at Monticello many years after Jefferson's retirement from public life. Some warm admirer of his, living in France, sent a wreath of immortelles to a member of his family, with the request that it might, on his birthday, be placed around Mr. Jefferson's brow. The day came, and the relative, informing the venerable man of the request, attempted to crown him with the wreath.

"Place it on Washington's bust," he said, raising his hand to prevent the intended honor. It was placed on the bust and rested there for many years.

Said Napoleon: "The measure of Washington's fame is full. Posterity will talk of him as the founder of a great empire, when my name shall be lost in the vortex of revolutions."

"I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men," wrote Lord Erskine to Washington from London; "but you are the only human being for whom I have ever felt an awful reverence."

Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, in the year 1780, presented General Washington with a picture of his majesty taken

from life. Underneath it were inscribed the words : "From the oldest General in Europe, to the greatest General on earth."

In the funeral oration delivered February, 1800, by the direction of Napoleon in his own presence and in that of the great dignitaries of the realm, the orator, M. DeFontanes, declared the illustrious deceased to be "a character worthy the best days of antiquity."

To speak of the grief and praises awakened among his own countrymen would be vain. A mere catalogue of the demonstrations, public and private, would consume more time in its perusal than has been devoted to this entire discourse.

Suffice it to say, as a summary of the whole, WASHINGTON, the patriot, soldier, statesman, sage, was "FIRST IN WAR, FIRST IN PEACE, AND FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN."

Having thus presented the utterances and deeds of some of the leading actors in the great drama of the American Revolution, having held up the character and work of Washington, the illustrious representative of his scarcely less illustrious compatriots, I come now to a reluctant conclusion, and complete the design proposed in this discourse by presenting once more to your view the result of their combined labors, the matchless CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. And, as I have all along preferred to give to you in place of my own, the living words of men both at home and abroad who were conspicuous in that great epoch of human history and since, so now I introduce as a most appropriate peroration, the glowing language of Judge Story, language with which he closes his masterly Commentary upon the American Constitution: "If what I have said shall but inspire any here with a more ardent love of their country, an unquenchable thirst for liberty, a profound love for the Constitution and the Union, and a fervent gratitude to God, the source of our triumphs and prosperity, then it will have accomplished all that it ought to desire.

"Let Americans, and especially American youth, into whose hands the power of the country must soon fall, go back to the close of the Revolutionary period, and contemplate the feebleness and incompetency of the Confederation of States then existing, and trace the steps by which the intelligence and patriotism of the great men of that day led the country to the adoption of the existing Constitution; let them never forget that they possess a noble inheritance bought by the toils, the sufferings, the blood of their ancestors, and capable, if wisely improved and

faithfully guarded, of transmitting to their latest posterity all the substantial blessings of life, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty, of religion, and of independence.

“ The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity; its foundations are solid; its compartments are beautiful as well as useful; its arrangements are full of wisdom and order, and its defences are impregnable from without. It has been reared for immortality, if the work of man may justly aspire to such a title. It may nevertheless perish in an hour by the folly or corruption, or the negligence of its only keepers—the PEOPLE. Republics are created by the virtue, public spirit and intelligence of the citizens. They fall when the wise are banished from the public councils because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded because they flatter the people in order to betray them.”

“ Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State !
 Sail on, O UNION, strong and great !
 Humanity, with all her fears,
 With all the hopes of future years
 Is hanging breathless on thy fate !
 We know what Master laid thy keel,
 What Workmen wrought thy ribs of steel ;
 Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
 What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
 In what a forge, and what a heat
 Were shaped the anchors of thy hope !
 Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
 ' T is of the wave and not the rock ;
 ' T is but the flapping of the sail,
 ' T is but a rent made by the gale !
 In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
 In spite of false lights on the shore,
 Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea !
 Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee ;
 Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
 Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
 Are all with thee—are all with thee !”



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