

ORATION

46

c #

DELIVERED AT

PORTLAND

BY

MATTHEW P. ^{U.S.}DEADY, LL.D.,
U. S. DISTRICT JUDGE,
OREGON.

JULY 4, 1885.

PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

PORTLAND:
A. G. WALLING, PRINTER.
1885.

5
US
964
DEA

Tx
D2782

Rec. June 20, 1904

ORATION.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

Forty and two years ago, the prophetic eye of a young American adventurer, William Overton of Tennessee, saw here, as he paddled his canoe along the placid Wallamet, the promise of a future commercial emporium.

Moved by this vision, he stepped ashore and took possession of the place where now stands the city of Portland, busy with the varied trade and commerce of the surrounding country, far and near.

Then, this grand and beautiful panorama of hill and vale, mountain and river, forest and prairie, that greets and charms the eye from every point of view, was practically unknown and unoccupied save by the squalid Indian, living in grovelling ignorance and superstition, with no higher aim or purpose than to satisfy the animal wants and appetites that were common to him and the beasts of the field.

Look now abroad—another race has filled

These populous borders—wide the woods recede,
And towns shoot up and fertile realms are tilled;
The land is full of harvests and green meads.

Here, where only a third of a century since, a few enterprising young men were gathered on the bank of the river in log huts and board houses, doing the limited business of the monthly San Francisco steamer with the summer ox wagon and winter steamboat of the Wallamet valley, the compact and well built metropolis of the North Pacific has arisen and covered the long slope between the shore and the summit of the encircling hills, with elegant and comfortable residences, churches, courts, hospitals, schools, libraries, stores, workshops, factories and all the exterior evidences of a cultivated and prosperous community.

Here, where within twenty-five years, there was only a weekly mail via California, and seldom if ever a foreign sail, is the terminus of two transcontinental and other railways and a port frequented by the vessels of all nations, to and from which come and go, continually, lines of commodious and elegant river and ocean steamers.

And now, the flood-tide of immigration is coming in, and these once distant shores begin to feel—

The first low wash of waves, where soon
Shall roll a human sea.

The causes which led to the settlement of the

original thirteen colonies and their declaration of independence of Great Britain, which we commemorate here to-day, have their origin far back in the history of Europe.

By the thirteenth century, Europe was awakened from the long sleep or rather incubation of the middle ages—the seed time of the modern world; and the next four centuries were among the most eventful in the world's history.

The discovery of gunpowder in the fourteenth century, was itself enough to have revolutionized the world. By this means the mode of warfare was changed from the sword and lance of the mailed knight to the firelock of the common soldier; and the battle was no longer to the strong but to the many.

The discovery of printing in the fifteenth century unlocked the learning of the few and made it common knowledge. Then followed the revival of learning and the reformation. Thought was made comparatively free and communicable; and the people learned to sit in judgment on the past, question its dogmas and teachings, and think and act for themselves.

And now, as the controversies, persecutions and wars which this conflict of ideas and opinions engendered, began to shake the foundations of society, the new world was providentially discovered, where the weaker party found a refuge and liberty of thought and action, and the enthusiast and adventurer a field for his philanthropy and Utopia.

During the one hundred and fifty years, immediately prior to the declaration of independence, this European fermentation overflowed the country occupied by the Old Thirteen colonies, and filled their borders with Cavaliers, Churchmen, Catholics, Puritans, Baptists, Quakers and Methodists from England, the Scotch Covenanter and Jacobite, the Irish Presbyterian, the German Moravian, the Dutch Lutheran, the French Huguenot and others that defy classification, all anxious to escape from the restraints and limitations of the society of the old world, and begin anew.

Some of these people settled to themselves, and founded colonies, where their ideas of civil and religious polity had free play, and made a lasting mark on the succeeding state. Others, less numerous, formed neighborhoods or localities in the same colony, where the conflict and attrition necessarily resulting from the management of their common affairs, did much to abate and rub off their peculiarities and produce similarity if not assimilation.

During the two hundred and fifty years that have elapsed, since the wave of immigration from Europe first broke on the eastern coast of the continent, the progress of population has steadily followed the course of the sun, across the Alleghanies, up the Mississippi, over the Rocky mountains and down to the shore of the Pacific. Here this European wave seems to have spent its force and reached its limit, to be confronted

with a counter wave from Asia, with what result we can only surmise.

The progress of immigration upon and across this continent has not been caused by the mere enlargement or growth of an original settlement, so as to constitute a solid and continuous empire from ocean to ocean, but rather by the successive formation and growth of distinct, though kindred communities, the younger being an outgrowth of the elder. Substantially these communities, spoke the English language and governed themselves as best they could after the parliamentary method of the mother country—by a deliberative body representing the whole people—and according to the traditions of the common law. Among the last additions to this aggregation of communities and union of states, is the pioneer of the Pacific—the great state of Oregon. It was originally formed by the voluntary and independent immigration of families and individuals from the older communities on the Atlantic slope, while yet the territory was in the occupation of, and claimed by Great Britain.

May we not proudly say—

Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Notwithstanding the separate and independent existence of the earlier of these American communities there was from the beginning a tendency to federation and unity. The origin of this tendency,

which with favoring circumstances afterwards produced the national constitution and government, was the common origin, speech, law, polity and tradition of the far greater number of the colonists, together with a certain degree of proximity, convenience and similarity of interest. Still in those days, when time and space were not yet annihilated by steam and electricity, when a journey from New York to Charleston or Boston occupied much more time and was attended with far greater hardships and inconveniences, than one between New York and Portland to-day, it is not probable that the colonies would have *voluntarily* consented to the establishment of any central authority among them. There were also points of difference and discord among them, growing out of differences in locality and interest, besides those which, as Cavaliers, Puritans, Catholics, Jacobites and Huguenots, they inherited from the strifes and contentions of the old world. If, under these circumstances, they had been left to grow up and mature without any recognized bond of union, or central authority, it is probable that they would have become distinct and rival states, incapable of any political union, or becoming component parts of a common and superior government.

Fortunately, as it now appears, an external pressure came, sufficient to produce a degree of coalition while yet the respective peculiarities and idiosyncracies of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas and New England were in the gristle of youth and before

they had hardened into the bone of maturity. This pressure was the attempt of the British parliament, in which the colonies were not directly represented, to tax them. Undoubtedly there were already some adventurous and dissenting spirits in favor of independence, and all such eagerly clutched at this cause of contention, in the hope of provoking a strife which should end in a total separation between the mother country and the colonies. But the great majority of the people were still true to the political traditions and principles which they had brought with them from Great Britain. They admitted that they owed allegiance to the King, but they stoutly denied the right of parliament to tax them—or in other words, to bind them by legislation. Opposition to this claim of parliament, which affected all the colonies alike, led to consultation between these separate communities. Soon, the common idea of the right of the matter was formulated in the expression—“No taxation without representation”—which thenceforth, until the declaration of independence, became the watchword and battle cry of the controversy on this side of the water. As the claim of the parliament was insisted upon and steps taken for its enforcement, the necessity for united action upon the part of the colonies became more and more apparent. In 1773 the house of burgesses of Virginia approved a plan for the formation of committees of correspondence by the colonial legislatures.

This led to a convention of delegates from the col-

onies—afterward called the continental congress—which first met at Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774. These delegates had no legislative power, but they were charged with the duty of consulting together and making common cause with one another, to procure a redress of grievances and an acknowledgment of their rights under the British constitution.

And now the idea of union and federation had found form and expression! The delegates from the hitherto isolated colonies had met in convention by authority of the “good people” thereof. Then was laid the foundation of that national government which has since preserved and extended the union from Maine to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and carried the yet unborn flag of the American republic in triumph around the globe.

The congress of 1774, though confining its action to remonstrance and recommendation, nevertheless, styled itself “the guardian of the rights and liberties of the people of the colonies.” Still, it was without any defined governmental functions. At most, it was a mere advisory body in which the colonies—each having one vote without regard to size, wealth or numbers—deliberated and expostulated with a view of restoring harmony between the mother country and themselves. Another congress was appointed in 1775 which from the necessity of the case soon became a revolutionary government. This body was a continuous one—vacancies therein being filled as they

occurred by the local legislatures—and lasted until March 4, 1789—the meeting of the first congress under the present constitution of the United States. War, which was to last seven years and drench the land in fraternal blood, was—without any formal declaration thereof and while the colonies were professedly seeking only a redress of grievances—already commenced by the unpremeditated and casual affairs of Lexington and Bunker Hill and the formal siege of Boston.

But as the controversy waxed warmer, the coming conflict of arms became more and more apparent.

The boom of guns was on the air;
 The strong Colonial heart was stirred:
 From north to south,
 From east to west,
 From mouth to mouth,
 From breast to breast,
 Was passed the inexorable word
 That spake a people's last despair
 Of England's justice. Everywhere
 Brave souls grew braver ;—“ Let us free
 This land for which we crossed the sea,
 And make it ours. Revolt may be
 The tyrant's name for Liberty.”

Compelled by the necessities of the case, the congress assumed the powers of government and proceeded to create a continental currency and army.

On June 15, 1775, it appointed Colonel GEORGE WASHINGTON, one of the delegates in congress from Virginia, commander-in-chief of the Continental forces of "The United Colonies," for the defense of the "liberties of America." Events, all tending to produce a formal separation or subjugation of the colonies followed fast. The petition of congress to the king was refused a hearing in parliament, as coming from an illegal assembly in arms against their sovereign. An act of parliament prohibited trade and commerce with the colonies and subjected American vessels with their cargoes to capture and condemnation. Open preparations were made to reduce the refractory colonies to submission, with the odious aid of foreign mercenaries. On the other hand congress declared that the exercise of authority in the colonies under the British crown ought to be suppressed; and recommended to the people of the several colonies the establishment of local governments, independent thereof.

At last, that separation and independence to which all that had gone before was only the prelude, was actually declared. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved in congress, "That these United Colonies are, and of right out to be free and independent states; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally suppressed." On July Second, the resolution received the assent of all the colonies save Pennsylvania and Delaware; and on July Fourth, just

one century and nine years ago, to-day, the continental congress by the vote of every colony, adopted and published to the world that declaration of independence which has just been read in your hearing; and which has annually, ever since, been re-proclaimed to the uttermost bounds of the republic and wherever the stars and stripes have floated.

The closing scene—the signing of the declaration which severed the political bands that united the mother country and the colonies, is thus graphically described by Simpson, Oregon's most melodious poet, in his centennial ode:

* * In Congress Hall

The patriot chiefs are gathered all,
 This day a hundred years ago ;
 And bold John Hancock, rising up,
 Like one who waives a wassail cup,
 Lifts o'er his head where all can see,
 The ringing ritual of the free,
 And with his pen just freshly dipt,
 Points to his own gigantic script,
 That e'en our lisping children know;
 'The King can read that name,' he said,
 'And set his price upon my head!'
 Honor to him, and let his name
 Shine forth as fair in deathless fame!
 Honor to him, and God bless all
 Who sat that day in Congress Hall,
 And pledged their lives and honor bright
 To stand for freedom and the right.

On this occasion the colonies were first designated as "the United *States* of America;" and from that day

the several communities that had only lately assumed to call themselves "United Colonies" of Great Britain, have been known at home and abroad by the significant title which they then assumed, "The United States of America." Long may they bear it and deserve it!

During the century that has just elapsed there has been a more or less active tendency to disintegration and separation. This tendency has proceeded from causes that are inherent in all nations and federations which extend over large areas, and include many and conflicting local interests. But the strong tendency to unity and the great utility of federation have hitherto prevailed to keep intact this political fabric of *the United States*—even at the cost of a gigantic war and the sacrifice of many, many lives.

But the continental congress having now assumed the right to levy war, make treaties and exercise all other powers belonging to a national government, there arose an urgent and logical necessity for some defined *government* of the United States, rather than a mere convention of delegates exercising such powers as they felt justified from time to time in assuming. To this end, congress commenced at once to deliberate upon a scheme of government. But such was the difficulty in agreeing upon any plan, that the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the

States," as the scheme was called, were not settled and submitted to the states for ratification until November 15, 1777. In July of the following year the ratification was signed by the delegates from eight states, but the remaining five did not all give their adhesion until March, 1781—nearly five years after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. On the next day congress convened under the articles of confederation; and from that day to this, there has been no government of the United States except in pursuance of a written constitution made by the states or the people thereof, defining and prescribing its powers and duties.

But the government established by the articles of confederation was only one in name. In fact, it was a mere league or compact, between independent political communities. It had no power over individuals and the execution of its measures depended upon the several states, whose action could not be constrained except by a resort to arms, and that would have been civil war. But nevertheless, the confederacy was a long step in the direction of an adequate national government and a more perfect Union. It was established under great pressure, as a necessary means of accomplishing the independence of the states. But it proved the fact, and familiarized the people of the states with the idea, that in some form and for some purpose, a union of the states was both possible and desirable. It also furnished a larger field for statesmanship, by creating larger interests that at-

tracted and developed a higher order of men, capable of rising above mere local concerns and sectional prejudices, and of including within the scope of their vision, the happiness and welfare of a continent. In the language of another, "It introduced to men's minds the great ideas of national power and national sovereignty, as the agencies that were to work out the difficult results, which no local power could accomplish; and although these ideas were at first vague and indefinite, and made but a slow and difficult progress against influences and prejudices of a narrower kind, they were planted in the thoughts of men, to ripen into maturity and strength in the progress of future years. When on June 20, 1782, the eagle grasped in his talons the united shafts of power, and unfurled the scroll"—*E pluribus unum*—"which taught that one people could be formed out of many communities, the destiny of America was ascertained."

But with the peace of 1783, the external pressure of the war for independence, that had hitherto held the confederacy together, was removed, and that weak fabric commenced to give way and decline. During the war a debt of forty-two millions had been incurred by the Union, but it had not the power to raise a cent by taxation. The congress had dwindled down to a junta of about twenty indifferent persons, who, unable to agree upon a seat of government, were exercising the powers of the confederacy, here and there, as they might find shelter and countenance from the local authorities. In this condition it lingered along until

by the sheer force of outside pressure and opinion it authorized the convention which met at Philadelphia, on May 14, 1787, to form a constitution for the United States, and on September 28, 1787, it submitted the work of the convention to the people of the several states for their approval or rejection.

This convention was a new spectacle in the history of the world. States and kingdoms had before this entered into leagues and compacts in their *corporate* capacities, for some specific purpose. But this was the first time that the representatives of the people of independent communities ever met together and deliberately formed a national government for the whole.

By March 4, 1789, the new constitution was duly ratified by the states, and the government formed under it, successfully launched upon the ocean of experiment. Then the worn out confederacy, born of the early enthusiasm for independence and the throes and the necessities of the war for its attainment, was no more. But it had borne fruit. As the apostle to the Gentiles said of the Law, it was our schoolmaster to bring us into the constitution. The feeble and inefficient confederacy gave place to "a more perfect Union," maintained by a national government, supreme within its sphere, over both states and people, and armed with all the powers necessary to uphold and enforce its lawful authority.

At the head of the new government was **GEORGE WASHINGTON**—the one man whom both contemporaries and posterity have united in pronouncing, “First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.” And still his is—

* * * the high aspiring name
Whose glory all the world has rung—
Till every virtue 'neath the sun
Is named in naming **WASHINGTON**.

To his ability, wisdom and valor, the country was largely indebted for the successful issue of the war for independence. By his force of character, sound judgment and admitted patriotism, the new government, in spite of the doubts and croakings of half-hearted friends and the bitter opposition of open and concealed enemies, was inaugurated, upheld and firmly established. It is easy to believe, that God in his overruling providence, had specially endowed and raised up **WASHINGTON** to command the armies preside over the deliberations and guide the councils of this country in its long struggle for independence and constitutional government. Wanting, it may be, in some of the poetical elements, which so easily captivate the multitude, he was, in the language of his best biographer, “singularly well balanced and eminently distinguished for prudence, firmness, sagacity, moderation and overruling judgment, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered,

patience that never wearied, truth that disdained all artifice and magnanimity without alloy."

And the defender of the constitution has well and truly said of him:

"His principle, it was to act right and to trust the people for support; his principle, it was not to follow the lead of sinister and selfish ends and to rely on the little arts of party delusion to obtain public sanction for such a course. Born for his country and the world, he did not give up to party what was meant for mankind. The consequence is that his fame is as durable as his principles, as lasting as truth and virtue themselves. While the hundreds whom party excitement and temporary circumstances and casual combinations have raised into transient notoriety, have sunk again, like thin bubbles, bursting and dissolving into the great ocean, WASHINGTON'S fame is like the rock that bounds that ocean, and at whose feet its billows are destined to break harmlessly forever."

In the inauguration and administration of the new government, by the side of WASHINGTON stood his most tried and trusted friend, ALEXANDER HAMILTON. His comprehensive and active mind took in the whole fabric of civil society. The whole period of the revolution and the formation and establishment of the constitution "is marked by his

wisdom and filled with his power." From the first he perceived the necessity of a national government for the colonies. So early as the year 1780 he sketched the outline of such a government which strongly resembled the one long afterwards established. In the congress of the confederacy his admirable exposition of the revenue system, the commercial power and the ratio of contribution, are justly thought to have saved the incipient Union from dissolution. He was the leading spirit in bringing about the convention of the states that formed the constitution. In the language of another. "He did more than any other public man of the time to lessen the force of state attachments, to create a national feeling, and to lead the public mind to a comprehension of the necessity of an efficient national government."

While the constitution was before the people of the states for ratification, he wrote: "A nation without a national government is an awful spectacle. The establishment of a constitution in a time of profound peace by the voluntary consent of the whole people, is a prodigy, to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety."

As secretary of the treasury he was specially charged with the management of the finances, commerce and navigation of the country. These subjects and everything pertaining to them were simply without form and void. The country was deeply in debt, without revenue or credit at home or abroad. How

HAMILTON, in spite of personal jealousy, conflicting interests and selfish ignorance, both in and out of congress, brought order and solvency out of this chaos and bankruptcy, has passed into history. In the language of another, "He touched the dead corpse of the public credit and it sprang to its feet. He smote the rock of national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth."

The record of his labors and achievements will ever remain a monument of his comprehensive patriotism, his freedom from sectional prejudices and his matchless ability as a statesman and jurist. No celebration of this day—no commemoration of these events—is just or complete without the grateful mention and remembrance of these two names—WASHINGTON and HAMILTON—the two men who, more than any others, not only achieved the independence of the colonies, but saved them from subsequent anarchy and discord—gave them a constitutional and free government, equal to the exigencies of peace or war—and made them in fact as well as name—the United States of America, one and indivisible, let us hope, now and forever!

But between this day and the auspicious hour when the father of his country first vowed to "preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States," great changes have occurred. The

king, lords and commons—Hancock and his patriot compeers of the continental congress—the sturdy British soldier and his heavy Hessian comrade—the brave continental army and its gallant French allies—together with all the actors in this important and far-reaching drama, have long since been numbered with the dead. During the century, of which time is now marking the last days, the untried and almost unknown United States, has become the great republic, under the broad ægis of whose constitution the people of all nations have been gathered, until the original sisterhood of states has been trebled and the population four times quadrupled. The now

Gigantic daughter of the West,

has long since disputed the supremacy of the seas with her otherwise invincible mother, and taken her place, in war and peace, in the front rank of the family of nations. To-day, within her far-reaching borders, fifty millions of people keep joyfully the anniversary of her independence, while in hamlet, town and city, throughout the civilized world, sympathizing and admiring friends join in the loud acclaim—Hail Columbia, happy land!

When the bell at Philadelphia rang out the Declaration of Independence in tones befitting the sacred injunction engraved upon its surface—“Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof”—the colonies were yet comparatively poor and obscure, and their industries and pro-

ductions of the fewest and simplest kind; but on the first centennial of that declaration the representatives of all nations, and the elite of the world were thronging into the same city, to witness and participate in an exhibition of the products of science and art in honor of this memorable event, such as the world has never seen.

To such a rich heritage of country and institutions have we of this generation succeeded. How different from the condition of those who ventured upon the experiment of independence and self-government a hundred and more years ago. And yet who will say we are not upon the very threshold of our national existence. Imagine, if you can, what will be the result of the continuous existence of the American Union upon this continent for the next thousand years, and you have an idea of the wonderful possibilities of the future of this country. To-day, England is in the ninth century of her existence since the Norman conquest. During all this time she has maintained substantially the same form of government—the changes therein, however numerous, being gradual and consisting mostly in the application of established forms and recognized principles to new conditions and circumstances of society. So, the independence of American colonies and the establishment of representative governments, state and national, therein, was only the result of an adaptation of the fundamental principles of the English law and constitution by a people of that lineage, to the changed circumstances of their existence in the new world.

Shall we not, then, show ourselves worthy of our lot by preserving and improving this heritage for those who come after us, to be by them transmitted to their successors to the last syllable of recorded time? How shall we best do this, is the question of the day. The answer is, by promoting and encouraging that individual integrity and intelligence, without which civic virtue is impossible, and preserving, according to the circumstances of the times, the proper balance, proportion and harmony between the national government and those of the states—the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the Union.

Any form of government in which the people have any considerable voice or power imperatively requires a corresponding amount of individual integrity and intelligence. The decay and downfall of popular governments has always arisen from and always will be the result of a lack of public virtue—a failure on the part of the majority of the people entrusted with power and influence, to exercise the same for the highest public good.

The nursery and seed plot of the civic virtues is the home government—the government of the neighborhood—the State. Here the mass—the people—participate with a large degree of directness in the management of public affairs, and by actual experience and observation acquire political insight and

wisdom. In the selection of their immediate rulers and representatives they are able to act upon a considerable observation and knowledge concerning the merits and fitness of the respective candidates. Then, out of these circumstances of contact and acquaintance, grow up a relation between officers and people of personal trust and confidence, that is a surer guarantee against official negligence or misconduct than any pecuniary bond or pledge. Patriotism—that love of country which puts the common-weal before self, the people before the individual—that lofty and disinterested sentiment which led Curtius and Decius to devote themselves to certain death for the safety of Rome; that moved—

The patriot Tell ; the Bruce of Bannockburn ;

And that impelled Arnold Winkelried to impale his body upon the hostile spears of the Austrian invaders and thus “make way for liberty,” is generally the growth of a limited and well defined locality—one having a marked natural boundary and identity or long established separate existence. When the city of Rome made itself mistress of the civilized world and extended the boasted privilege of Roman citizenship to all the nations of the earth, the identity and individuality of the city was proportionally destroyed. The sentiment of patriotism diffused over so large and ill-defined a surface as the empire, became too attenuated and indistinct, to be of any avail as a motive power or incentive to noble and disinterested

action. So, however powerful and extended this American Union may yet become—and with a people sufficiently honest and intelligent, it might well embrace the whole of North America—its beneficent duration must primarily rest on and depend on the character of the local communities and governments out of which it is constituted, and upon which its arch, however expanded, can only safely rest. Whatever danger there may be or has been of the triumph of anarchy and disunion because of the comparative weakness of the central power—the national government—still it must never be forgotten, that this Union—the republic of the United States—is not and never was intended to be a Roman empire. No, it is not, and may it never become, a single, solid government, to which all political action and opinion must bow and conform. Let it rather remain an aggregation of local communities with a certain amount of autonomy or self-government, but still bound together and held in place by a central government, which, though supreme within its sphere, is itself subordinate to their combined wills and direction. Within these communities and governments, the great bulk of local interests and affairs, concerning which the general government is usually neither directly concerned nor well advised, may be best promoted and administered. Among them will also be found more or less shelter, freedom and opportunity for those, who for conscience or other sake are excluded from the councils, honors or emoluments of the Union. This itself is a great

safety valve for what might otherwise develop into sedition and rebellion. Besides, the very existence of these distinct communities or states, within the Union, provokes and promotes a healthy rivalry and emulation in the conduct of whatever pertains to their domestic or social affairs, which, though often attended by disappointment and failure, gradually increases the general stock of political knowledge and thereby improves the condition of the whole.

But were this vast country once subject to one great central government, without political division other than departments for the convenient administration of the laws and rescripts of the empire, instead of this local activity and emulation, producing self-respect, independence and patriotism in the citizen and educating him to a right understanding of his duties and privileges, we should have a dead level of political monotony over which the arbitrary breath of imperialism might sweep uninformed and uncontrolled by the light of local opinion or the force of local authority. The empire being the only source of power and fountain of honor, its capital or court would become to the rest of the country what Paris is to France. Thither the enterprise, ambition, wealth and culture of the departments would continually flow, in search of place, power and enjoyment, leaving the country at large—particularly the remoter and less opulent portions of it—with only the more ignorant and poorer sort to constitute its people and conduct its business and affairs.

Without the *state* the *Union* of states is impossible. Abolish the State or allow it to fall into contempt or become imbecile and you supplant the Union built upon autonomous states, with the empire, divided into administrative departments and ruled by a prefect or brigadier, responsible only to the central authority. It is absolutely necessary, then, to the preservation of the harmony and proportion of our admirable system of government, that the pillars of the Union—the states—be maintained in the position which the constitution has prescribed for them and long experience has proven necessary. For if they are ever destroyed or thrown out of line, the superincumbent arch of this glorious Union must become a ruin incapable of reconstruction.

But the maintenance of the state in all its integrity and usefulness depends upon the people thereof. As they are so will the state be.

What constitutes a State?

Not high raised battlements or labored mound,

Thick wall or moated gate;

Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;

Not bays and broad-armed ports,

Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;

Not starred and spangled courts,

Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.

No;—men high-minded men,

* * * * *

These constitute a state ;
 And sovereign law, that state's collected will
 O'er thrones and globes elate,
 Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.

Oregon! The matchless land of snow-capped mountains and verdure clad valleys—of swelling rivers and placid lakes—of majestic forests and broad prairies—of rich harvests and luscious fruits—of fair women and brave men. Oregon!—Our own loved land! The first American community on the Pacific coast—may she ever be such a State! A pillar of this Union, firm and unswerving as her everlasting hills. Upon her patriotic sons and daughters is devolved the duty of keeping this pillar in position. They must see to it that their state keeps step to the music of the Union—that she yields a willing obedience to the paramount authority of the national government as declared by the pre-ordained and final arbiter between the state and nation—the Supreme Court of the Republic—and that she also contributes by her example and her representatives in the national councils, to maintain the Union in its sphere, undisabled by weakness, and untarnished by corruption.

The stream rises not higher than its fountain. The usefulness and perpetuity of the Union depend upon the strength and character of its foundations—the people of the several states. If the senators and representatives in congress from Oregon are honest and capable, so far will the deliberation and action of

that body promote the public good and the perpetuity of the Union. But we will not and cannot be so represented unless the tone of political morality and the standard of public virtue in the state, is sufficiently firm and elevated. Nothing tends to lower the character and qualifications of members of congress more than the too prevalent idea that he is the best member who, either by hook or crook, gets the most out of the national treasury or domain for his state or constituents. Pushed to its logical conclusion this theory would make congress a mere contrivance for the division and distribution of the revenues and assets of the Union among its members, in proportion generally, to their ability to get what they are not entitled to.

To aid in inculcating and maintaining a proper standard of public virtue is the bounden duty of every good citizen of Oregon. In the performance of this duty it is of the first importance to commence at home. In the election of precinct justices and constables, you are helping to form the standard of public virtue which will obtain in the selection of governors, judges and members of congress. Remember, that a public position is a public trust, and remember also, that the elective franchise is not a personal right but a trust conferred upon you by law, with the implied understanding that you will only use it according to your best judgment, for the public good. A vote given upon any other consideration is a breach of this trust and an abuse of this franchise. Always

vote so as to honor and reward virtue and merit, and dishonor and repress vice and incapacity. Public virtue cannot exist without private virtue. On the contrary the former is only the reflex of the latter. In the long run, the man who is immoral and dishonest in his private life will be so in his public one. Therefore let no nomination or dictation, by any party or body of men, constrain you to support a candidate, however smart or popular, whom you have reason to believe is unworthy of your confidence and esteem as an individual. Insist upon a good character and an upright life as a qualification for office and as a rule your offices will be filled with none other. In this way every citizen can materially contribute to the integrity and durability of the state and national governments.

The indifference of the public, to the character and conduct of those who make and administer the laws, is one of the most unfavorable symptoms of the time. Unless there is a change for the better in this respect, the time will come, when the property of the country will be compelled to seek shelter from popular misrule and confiscation in the empire or its equivalent. The gross robbery of the taxpayers of New York was perpetrated by Tweed and his accomplices under the forms of popular government based upon universal suffrage. It was mainly accomplished by the votes of a large number of indigent and ignorant or unscrupulous and careless electors who voted either as they were bought or bidden.

The celebration of the Fourth of July, however proper, will not of itself produce honest government and good laws. The people must be educated—not intellectually alone—but morally and industrially as well. The test of right and wrong must not be mere success or convenience. A living not truly and honestly obtained must be regarded as a larceny. Our precious but dangerous gift of freedom must be kept within the safeguards of God's righteous law. The decalogue and the sermon on the mount must once more furnish the standard of morality in both public and private life. The youth of the country, upon whom its future depends, must be taught to respect and emulate—

The austere virtues strong to save
 The honor proof to place or gold—
 The manhood never bought nor sold.

Europe and Asia are growing old. Their avenues to wealth and distinction are filled with long-preferred candidates. The lives of the masses are so circumscribed by circumstance that the majority of them must live and die in the place and status where they were born. But the United States is still in the flush and vigor of youth. Here, the opportunities for self-improvement, advancement and distinction are within the reach of the greater number.

Yes; America! Land of WASHINGTON and HAM-

ILTON! The newly-risen star of the west! The youngest daughter of time! Thy history is not in the past, but the future. Thy career is yet to be run. The fame of thy greatness and achievements may yet fill the world, and endure forever. Then—

Look up, look forth, and on!
 There's light in the dawning sky;
 The clouds are parting, the night is gone;
 Prepare for the work of the day!
 Fallow thy pastures lie
 And far thy shepherds stray,
 And the fields of thy vast domain
 Are waiting for purer seed
 Of knowledge, desire and deed;
 The keener sunshine and mellow rain!
*But keep thy garments pure;
 Pluck them back with the old disdain,
 From a touch of the hands that stain;
 So shall thy strength endure.*
 Transmute into good the gold of Gain,
 Compel to beauty thy ruder powers,
 Till the bounty of coming hours
 Shall plant on thy fields apart,
 With the oak of Toil the rose of Art!
 Be watchful, and keep us so;
 Be strong, and fear no foe;
 Be just, and the world shall know!
 With the same love, love us, as we give;
 And the day shall never come,
 That finds us weak or dumb
 To join and smite and cry
 In the great task, for thee to die,
 And the greater task, for thee to live!