

ORATION
ON THE
PRINCIPAL DUTIES OF AMERICANS;

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

WASHINGTON SOCIETY,

AND

OTHER CITIZENS OF CHARLESTON;

IN THE

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

ON

Thursday the 4th of July.

BY THOMAS S. GRIMKÉ.

WITH

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF THE

HON. WILLIAM DRAYTON,

TO THE WASHINGTON SOCIETY,

Delivered on the same day, at their Anniversary Dinner.



PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.



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1833.

CHARLESTON, 16th JUNE, 1833.

DEAR SIR:

MR. PETIGRU our Orator elect for the ensuing Anniversary of our National Independence, having been recently taken ill, and being still so seriously indisposed as to be unable to discharge the duty, I have been directed by the unanimous vote of the Committee of Arrangements to request you to supply his place.—Hoping that you will not find it inconsistent with your other avocations, to meet the wishes of your fellow-citizens,

I remain, Dear Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES H. SMITH,

Chairman Committee of Arrangements
of the Washington Society.

THOMAS S. GRIMKE, Esq.

No. 38 South Bay.
19th JUNE, 1833.

GENTLEMEN:

I regret that the serious indisposition of our friend MR. PETIGRU should have rendered indispensable, the appointment of another person to deliver the Oration before you on the approaching Anniversary of American Independence. In acceding to your request, that I should fill the place, thus unexpectedly and unfortunately left vacant, I do it, notwithstanding the little time that is left me, under a sense of duty to him and to the cause. Suffer me then to avail myself of this opportunity, to inculcate sentiments worthy of Christians and Americans: and of a Society, bearing the most beloved and venerable of names, in our National Biography, that of WASHINGTON. May the spirit, in which he loved and served his country, the spirit of Christian patriotism, be with us on that day, to strengthen our faith in the durability, and our hopes for the glorious destiny, at home and abroad, of our National Institutions! In discharging the duty allotted to me, however I may fall short of the just expectations of others or of myself—I cannot fail in the selection of materials, when I take as my principal topics, the gratitude due to Heaven for the almost miraculous preservations, attested by our history; and the Constitution as a text, with the life of WASHINGTON, as it's purest, noblest commentary.

Very Respectfully,

THOMAS S. GRIMKE.

JAMES H. SMITH, Esq.

Chairman, and the other Members of the
Committee of Arrangements of the Washington Society.

CHARLESTON, 6th JULY, 1833.

DEAR SIR:

We the undersigned. Committee of Arrangements of the Washington Society, execute with pleasure the task assigned, of requesting for publication a copy of your able and eloquent Oration, delivered before them on our recent Anniversary. Whilst thus cordi-

ally conforming to the wishes of the Society, we avail ourselves individually of the opportunity of expressing our highest consideration for your talents and virtues, as an orator and a Citizen of our glorious Republic.

We remain, Dear Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servants,

JAMES H. SMITH,
 GEORGE THOMPSON,
 ANDREW M'DOWALL,
 THOMAS DOTTERER,
 JOHN F. KNOX,
 R. WOETHRSPOON,
 A. FOURGEAUD,
 RICHARD FORDHAM,
 BENJN. SMITH,
 C. J. STEEDMAN,
 OGDEN HAMMOND,

Committee of Arrang'rs.

THOMAS S. GRIMKE, Esq

No. 38 South Bay.
 6th JULY, 1833.

GENTLEMEN:

Your letter of this date, requesting a copy of my Oration, delivered before the Washington Society on the 4th, for publication, has been received. I acquiesce in your wishes, under the belief, that whatever is devoted to the cause of our *whole* Country, to the character of WASHINGTON, and to the spirit of American Institutions, cannot be valueless; and may, if executed with judgment and taste, be eminently useful.

It has been my singular fortune, at the distance of twenty four years, to stand again before my Country on the Anniversary of American Independence, to vindicate the integrity of the Union and the sanctity of the Constitution. In 1809, I was called to remonstrate, on behalf of my whole Country, against the discontents and disaffection, which had been engendered in the Eastern States. In 1833, I have been summoned to the painful and mortifying duty of expostulating, on behalf of that whole country, with my native State, for sentiments and deeds, far exceeding all that has ever yet been done, in this country, against the Constitution and the Union. May the Carolina of future years, with redoubled fidelity and love, vindicate the spotless character and elevated standing, once her proud distinction; but now so changed, under the baleful influence of men, who could have made her the brightest star of the Union. The grief of our Sister States for the sake of Carolina, exceeds their indignation at the principles, that have been avowed, and the acts, which have been threatened, by her leaders. Let us rejoice, at the result of recent events, not as the victory of party, but as the triumph of our country.

Respectfully,

THOMAS S. GRIMKE.

Messrs. JAMES H. SMITH, and others

Committee of Arrangements of the Washington Society.

ORATION.



OUR COUNTRY! Our whole Country! how affecting are the ties which bind us to thee; how venerable is thy claim to our faithful services, to our purest affections! What indeed is our country, but a parent, by obligations the most sacred and sublime; by associations the most delicate and comprehensive; by prospects the most animating and delightful! In our American creed, what article then is of higher authority, of deeper interest, of more enduring value, than the precept, which commands us to reverence and love our country? Are we bound to Father and Mother by relations, which God himself has ordained and enforced? So are we to our country. Are we bound to our parents by all the sanctions of civil society, coeval with its origin, expanding in its progress, and destined to endure while social life shall last? So are we to our country. Are we bound to Father and Mother by all those natural affections, which make them the most venerable of human beings, and home, the happiest spot upon earth? So are we to our country. The parents, whom nature has given us, die, and are laid in the earth, by the hands of their children; but our Fatherland protects us in life and hallows our graves. Our Parentcountry still survives her children. She is immortal. Shall we not then, in the spirit of gratitude, reverence, love, engrave on our hearts some maxim, not less beautiful in its moral, if we regard our duty; than eminent for its wisdom and truth, if we consult only our interest? And where shall we find a precept more venerable for its antiquity, more commanding in authority, than the inscription on the Table of Stone? "Honor thy Father and thy Mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Our country is indeed a father, to be revered in the Authority which commands our obedience; and a mother, to be loved with all the enthusiasm of gratitude and affection. No voice from Heaven has indeed proclaimed, amidst the thunders, and lightnings, and clouds of another Sinai, "Honor thy Country, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee." No miraculous hand-writing has denounced against us, the sentence of destruction for unfaithfulness to her commands, for hypocrisy in our affections. No Prophet or Apostle has recorded with the pen of inspired truth and by divine authority, "Thy Country is thy Parent—by all that is most solemn and binding in duty, by all that is most eloquent and holy in love"—But the voice of nature and the testimony of all experience; the brightest and the darkest page of History;

the wisdom of Philosophy, the energy of Eloquence, and the enthusiasm of Poetry, all, all attest the truth, "Thy Country is thy Parent." Reverence, gratitude, obedience, love, are due to her. How then, as a free, educated, Christian, peaceful people, shall America best acknowledge these truths, and best observe them?

The first duty of Americans is to acknowledge, with mingled fear and gratitude, that "God presides in the Councils of Nations,"* and that these have ever acted a conspicuous part in the administration of his moral government. However mysterious may be the designs of Providence, and his ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts; yet, all History, as well as scripture attests the truth of this remark. We cannot close its pages, still less can we study them profoundly, without acknowledging, that the Supreme Creator of all men is the Overruler, the Judge, the Avenger among the Nations. How solemn is the Review of the History of Nations! How doubly impressive the lesson, taught by the Annals of Free States! Tell me, is there one, whether in the ancient or the modern world, whose history we should be willing to accept as the history of our own country; whose institutions we would adopt as the model of our own?—Assuredly we cannot be insensible to the solemn truths, which their history teaches, and to the affecting calamities, which afflicted and destroyed them. In the structure of their states of society and governments, do we not see that the hideous combinations of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy; their civil dissensions and more ferocious civil wars; the insecurity of life, liberty and property; the selfish ambition of rulers and the reckless passions of the demagogue; the degraded condition of woman; and the disregard of social happiness and virtue, were among the prominent causes of aggravated misery? And is it possible to read their history and not confess, that the spirit of the age which gave them birth, and the pressure of external circumstances, stamped on them all—the character of **MODERN REPUBLICS**? Their institutions were chiefly the instruments of selfish and ambitious rulers, forever sacrificing the people, without fear or remorse, under the pretext of National Glory and the public good. Their institutions breathed not the spirit of peace at home and abroad; of domestic and social improvement in virtue and happiness, in property and intelligence. Their objects were not the substantial, permanent good of the People: and the security of rational liberty under well balanced governments. Their institutions were founded for the sword, were maintained by the sword, and perished by the sword. Their hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them. Is it wonderful then, that the experiments of freedom in the ancient world exhibit such a catalogue of guilt and misery?

And what a lesson may be gathered from the history of Freedom in **Modern Europe**! How little did the Republics of Venice and Genoa, if proud Aristocracies can be called such, promote the substantial good of the people! How were the prospects of constitutional liberty in Spain destroyed by the arrogant and despotic Ximenes? How were its principles violated and degraded in England by the first and second Charles? How were

* Washington's Inaugural Address, 5 Marsh. 163.

they, in Revolutionary France, the bleeding victims of Atheism and Anarchy, and the very slaves of the Imperial Napoleon? And what shall we say of the Helvetic Confederacy, scarcely known in the history of man, but as the mother of the mercenary soldiery of Modern Europe, and held together only by the iron chain of despotism, which girds them round.* And what of the Batavian Republic, rescued from the weakness of its organization and the avarice of its commercial spirit, by the inexorable pressure of surrounding monarchies.* How painful the feelings, how solemn the reflections that arise on this review of the history of free states, in ancient and modern Europe! Who does not gather from their lamentable fate, the instructive truth, that the improvement of *the people, the whole people, in domestic and social virtue, intelligence and happiness, was not the* great end of all their institutions? And yet, what other legitimate, laudable object could they have had? Is not government founded, are not rulers ordained only for the sake of the people? Except this be their end and operation, society will always be a reproach to those who found, and to those who administer governments.

I have said, that it is a primary duty of Americans to acknowledge the moral government of God, in the affairs of Nations. Let us review the history of our own country, the more deeply to impress us with this general truth and with the conviction, for such is the SECOND great duty of Americans, that for causes as yet but imperfectly revealed, our country, ever since her foundations were laid, has been under the care of a special Providence. Instead of having been settled by the subjects of gloomy despotisms from Spain and Portugal, or even from the gay, licentious and gallant France, our country was colonized by that British race, which alone, of all men ancient and modern, appears to have understood *the true relation of the People to their Rulers, and the true character of political institutions?* Is it not equally remarkable that the efficient settlement of these shores was postponed, till the selfish and ambitious contests of the Red and the White Rose, till the slavish spirit, that marked the Parliaments of the tyrant Henry and of the despot Elizabeth, had passed away forever: and the foundations of modern British freedom had been laid by the Puritans? During the very century, when the fearful struggle of their principles against those of Aristocracy and Despotism was going on in England, those principles were transplanted to a new world, may we not say by divine appointment? there to spring up in nobler and fairer forms, to elevate, honor and bless the people of an unborn Nation—Our Country. How many circumstances concurred during that very period, to enable the colonies to go on, comparatively undisturbed, in the improvement and extension of those free institutions, which became in their maturity, the bone and sinew of these United States? Was it not equally an advantage, while the different settlements were exposed alternately to the jealousies and resentments of a succession of dominant parties in Church and State in England, on account of colonial diversities in politics and religion, that they escaped uninjured to become the broad and deep foundations of that liberality in political and religious creeds, which is the ornament and blessing of

* See 1 Eloq. U. S. p. 28, 98, 107, 119, 135, 144, 145, 174, 189.

our country. How wonderful is it, that the infant colonies were not overwhelmed by the sagacity, martial spirit and daring enterprize of the Indians, unquestionably superior in power and resources, had they known how to profit by them! And if we look at the still greater danger from the enemies of the Mother Country, in a long series of bloody and obstinate wars, and especially from the French and Spaniards, we cannot but exclaim with astonishment, a special Providence watched over our infancy! Nor is this all; for the very contests between the Lords Proprietors and the Officers of the King on the one side, and the People and the Popular Assemblies on the other, developed by slow degrees, and confirmed effectually yet insensibly those very principles, which the Puritans had defended in life and consecrated in death. The mal-administration, the ignorance, perverseness or tyranny, the servility and recklessness of Proprietary and Royal Servants, instead of disgusting or corrupting the people, discouraging emigration and weakening the infant cause of freedom, only served to enlighten the community, to animate their leaders, to enrich and strengthen the country, and to create that community of sentiment and interest throughout the continent, which prepared the way for our present Union.

Such is the striking and affecting retrospect before the Revolution of 1776. But the review of our National History since that period, awakens a deeper sense of dependence on God, and the liveliest emotions of gratitude for his special interpositions. In reading those annals, who does not acknowledge some thing marvelous in the combination of events, which draw forth such a host of talent; which led us, step by step to the Declaration of Independence; which gave us our Allies; which sustained the people under so much to appal and dishearten; which saved us from a servile, in addition to a civil war; and enabled them, scattered, ill-provided and badly prepared, to triumph over the most powerful nation on the globe? I esteem it likewise a striking circumstance, that the obvious policy of England and France to sacrifice this country, by an arrangement for their mutual benefit, was overruled for our sakes; and Independence was secured, when it might have been destroyed. Let us acknowledge also, the hand of a merciful Providence, in turning aside the thundercloud that seemed ready to burst upon us, from the suffering, neglected and unrewarded Army* of the Revolution; when a Traitor, in the person of Washington, might have convulsed the country, by deeds the most ruinous, the most dishonorable to a free people. Let us equally confess the same Supreme interposition, in rescuing us from the perilous gulf of Disunion and Civil War, under the Confederacy, and from that diseased state of public credit, which, next to corruption in the people, is the most fatal of political maladies. Still more strikingly was divine assistance manifested, in the sudden, the almost miraculous transition from the jealousies, weakness and discord of the confederation, to the confidence, strength and harmony of the Constitution. How surprising is it, that, the very State Governments, the very State communities, which had been so suspicious even of the imbecility of the old Congress; which had been such misers in conferring power on delegates under a perpetual league; which had denied in so many forms, that.

* Note A.

each could or would trust any but itself; which had granted only some powers indispensable to War and Foreign Relations, but withheld the most essential to peace, union and prosperity at home; which had so often, wilfully, and dishonorably broken their own engagements, and disabled Congress from keeping theirs; which had beheld, without shame or remorse, and almost without dismay, the fatal consequences of their own folly and unfaithfulness; how truly surprising is it, that such Legislatures and communities, should have adopted a Constitution, in all its most important features, the reverse of the Confederation!

But there is another reflection, still better calculated to inspire both awe and gratitude: and to plant in our souls the deepest conviction of a divine superintendance in the affairs of Nations, and especially of our own. Look, on the one hand, at the distracted state of our country; at the ruin of public credit; at the ascendancy of state interests and local leaders; at the loss of confidence at home and of character abroad; at the absence of harmony in counsel and energy in action; at Washington in retirement; in a word, at the absolute failure and incurable weakness of the Confederation. Turn then, and look on the other hand, at the gigantic power and demoniac spirit of the French Revolution, polluted by robberies and murders—countless in number, fiendish in character, atrocious in guilt, beyond all that is on the records of history. The very year (1787,) which produced the call of the Notables at Paris, *the first popular step* towards the Revolution, beheld the meeting of our Convention at Philadelphia to form the Constitution. The very year (1788,) which saw the establishment of the Clubs in France, the most bloody and remorseless engines of her republican tyrants, was employed by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, in composing the *Federalist*,* and by eight of the States in debating and adopting the Constitution.† Still more remarkable is it, that the very year (1789,) which displayed the American People calmly, peaceably administering in the organization of their new government, that Constitution, exhibited in France the horrors and enormities at the Bastille in July, and at Versailles in August: and the conversion of the three orders of the States General, into the uncontrollable despotism of the National Assembly. And what but a special Providence could have drawn forth the reluctant Washington from the tranquility of Mount Vernon, to lead us onward, in his own serene confidence in God, through the storms of a Revolution, more dangerous to our free institutions, than all the usurpations and oppressions of a British King.‡ Look now at the discord and weakness of our country: at her hatred of tyrants, at her enthusiasm in the cause of liberty; at her attachments to France and her resentments against England. Turn then to the Giant Demon of the French Revolution, of fearful energy and Atheist creed, reckless in spirit and savage in passions, and who will doubt, that, nothing but the Constitution of '89, with Washington as our President, rescued the freedom and religion of this country from the most powerful and desperate of mortal enemies? Our ruin, as a free, educated, Christian, peaceful people, but for this wonderful interposition, was inevitable. And is there a heart in this assembly, that is not filled with over-

* Note B. † Note C. ‡ Note D.

flowing gratitude, as it breathes in fear and trembling the sentiment of the Psalmist, "This is the Lord's doing: it is marvelous in our eyes!"

But the record of providential dispensation closes not here. We have remarked the astonishing transition, from the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution. Not less astonishing was the support which such a people gave to Washington's Administration, when we reflect on the recent jealousy of power and on our sympathies with France; on the decision and energy, the unity of purpose, and independence of spirit, the fearless patriotism and national measures, which characterized that memorable era. Who indeed but Washington had the sacrifices and services, the purity of character, the universality of influence, the moral courage, that were indispensable to the champion of God and Man, against the Jacobins and Atheists of the French Revolution?

Passing onward in our history, we cannot doubt, when we review all the preliminary circumstances of the late war, and the relation of that war to the European contest, in the opinion of the Dethroners of Napoleon, that its fortunate and early termination may well be accounted another example of providential interference. Is it not wonderful, that the conquerors of an enemy, so powerful and odious, having re-established the ancient order of things, and founded anew the Dynasties of European Royalty, should not have been disposed to wreak their vengeance on the Republic of America, in return for our having kindled the French Revolution, and declared that war, as they may well have believed, in co-operation with their mortal foe?—With the command of two millions of soldiers, and more than twelve hundred ships of war, had they become intoxicated with their success, and listened to their natural jealousy of freedom, and to their natural resentments against us, what must have been our peril, and how must we regard our preservation from the calamities of such a war, as a fresh claim on our gratitude to heaven! And when a second time, we escaped the perilous trial that awaited us, had Napoleon fled to the United States, and been demanded of our Government, can we but acknowledge that his having been baffled and compelled to surrender, were eminently fortunate for our country? Shall we then scruple to confess the hand of Providence in these matters, whether we look to our own Country or to Europe? Accustomed as I have been, and trust I ever shall be, to recognize a divine Ruler in the affairs of men, and to adore his invisible power, in the administration of the moral government of the world, I cannot close this retrospect, without declaring, that such is my inflexible opinion. I delight to regard our country as a conspicuous part in the machinery of that government, and destined to more important and glorious achievements in the cause of Religion and Peace, of Education, Freedom and Civilization, than any community that ever existed.—I regard her as a chief instrument in the hands of Providence, to regenerate, enlighten and christianize the people of every land.

Let me now recur to the Æra of 1787, the formation of the Constitution. We have already seen the extraordinary state of opinions and feelings, which preceded the meeting of that Convention; and we all know, that their embarrassments and difficulties were inexpressible. No journal, no record even of the debates could exhibit a faithful picture of

their number and intricacy. Fortunately for them and for us, as Washington has said in his letter to the Governors of the States in June 1783,* "The foundation of our Empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha, when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period. The researches of the human mind, after social happiness, had been carried to a great extent, the treasures of knowlege, acquired by the labors of Philosophers, Sages and Legislators, through a long succession of years, were laid open for our use, and their collected wisdom could be happily employed in the establishment of our forms of government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation, has had a meliorating influence on mankind and increased the blessings of Society. At this auspicious period, the People of the United States came into existence as a Nation." Yet, notwithstanding these immense advantages from abroad, and with others greater than all these at home, viz: our own practised sagacity and long experience in the administration of the Colonial Governments, and of the Federative Systems of 1775 and 1778, the Covention, as Franklin himself told them, had made "small progress after four or five weeks close attendance and continual reasonings with each other."† Judge Wilson, another of the Sages of that Assembly, has recorded as his experience that "The great-undertaking-at-times seemed to be at a stand: at other times, its motions seemd to be retrograde. At the conclusion however of our work, many of the members expressd their astonishment at the success with which it had terminated."‡

To have organized small communities with a small territory, was esteemed such an achievment as to immortalize the names of Lyeurgus and Solon, of Romulus and Numa. The ill-constructed federations of antiquity and of Modern Europe, have secured to the Amphictyonic Union, to the Achaean League and Lycian Confederacy, to the Helvetic and Batavian Republics, some of the brightest and most eloquent pages of history. Yet, ~~all, according to the testimony of Madison,||~~ Franklin and Wilson, were weighd in the balance and found wanting. It is remarkable also, that all who wrote or spoke on the subject, agreed in the opinion, "That Heaven had crown'd all its other blessings, by giving us a fairer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation had ever been favor'd with."§ All were equally unanimous in the sentiment, that the great struggle for liberty in this country, should it be unsuccessful, would probably be the last which she would have for her existence and prosperity in any part of the globe."¶ Equally common was the sentiment, that "numerous States, yet unform'd, and myriads of the human race who will inhabit regions hitherto uncultivated were to be affected by the result of their proceedings."Ⓜ Such was the solemn and trying situation of that Convention. Never did a body of men come together under circumstances better calen-

* 5 Marsh, 43.

† 1, Frankl. Wks. p. 474.

‡ 1. Eloq. U. S. 11.

|| Note E.

§ 5. Marsh, Wash. 43.

¶ 1. Eloq. U. S. p. 15. 1. Frankl. Wks. 475. 5. Marsh, 171:

Ⓜ 1. Eloq. U. S. 2.

lated to fill them with a religious awe, with a deep distrust of themselves and with painful uncertainty as to the result of their labors. The Congress of 1776 was sustained and impelled onward by the external pressure of imperious necessity, by the spirit of the people, and the excitement of the times; nay, by the very dangers that surrounded them, and by the triumphs they had already won. But the Convention of 1787, met under circumstances that would have filled with despair, any other body of men, less calm and patient, less wise, thoughtful and discreet; less profound in knowledge, thinking and reasoning; less pure, elevated and fervent in patriotism. Theirs was the task

“To form a public, to the general good
 “Submitting, joining and conducting all.
 “For this the Patriotic Council met, the full
 “The free and fairly represented whole.
 “For this they planned the holy guardian laws,
 “Distinguished powers; animated arts,
 “And with joint force oppression chaining, set
 “Imperial Justice at the helm, yet still
 “To them accountable.”

The Convention found little or no assistance from the Governments of Antiquity or those of Modern Europe. In none of them did they discover the great principles that were indispensable to the strength and harmony, the independence and prosperity of our Union. They sought in vain for an example of a CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC, as distinguished from a mere *Confederacy of Republics*; for no one presented the spectacle of “an Assemblage of Societies, that constituted a NEW ONE, capable of increasing by means of further association.”* Their search was equally unsuccessful for an instance of a government, in which “the vigor and decision of a wide spreading Monarchy, may be joined to the freedom and beneficence of a contracted republic;”† for they discovered no examples of a Federal System, established over an *imperial* extent of territory,‡ nor of one which had fulfilled its first great object the protection of its *members*.|| They sought equally in vain for an example of the SUPREMACY OF THE POPULAR WILL, as secured by a clear, simple, well defined, written Constitution, created by and for the People; nor could they discover any where, the all important idea of a CONSTITUTION, as distinguished from, and SUPREME OVER THE LAW-MAKING POWER.§ Nor was it less fortunate, when they sought the model of “a supreme power lodged somewhere, to regulate and govern the GENERAL concerns of the confederate republic, “without which no union could be of long duration;”¶ altho’ they met with abundant proofs both at home and abroad of federative systems, in which “thirteen different bodies judged of the measures of Congress,”Ⓜ and the striking absurdity followed, “that the contracting powers were as numerous as the varying interests.”** Not less in vain did they seek for an example of a Confederacy in which the laws of the GENERAL Government acted *imme-*

* Mont. Sp. L. B. 9, c. 1,
 ¶ 1. Eloq. U. S. 121, 130, 142.
 Ⓜ 1. Eloq. U. S. 24.

† 1. Eloq. U. S. 13.
 § 1. Eloq. U. S. 18.
 ** 1. Eloq. U. S. 51.

‡ Note F.
 ¶ 5. Marsh. 47,

diately on the *people individually*;* and not as *requisitions* or rather *requests* to the *political* bodies that composed the Union, in their corporate capacity.† They sought in vain for the light of experience on the just principles of REPRESENTATION; for, (as Judge Wilson has remarked) “The doctrine of representation in government was altogether unknown to the Ancients.”‡ and the more they examined, the more they were convinced, “to what a narrow corner of the British Constitution, the principle of representation was confined.”|| “The Ancient Democracies” says Alexander Hamilton, “in which the People themselves deliberated, never possessed one feature of good government. Their very character was tyranny, their figure deformity.”§ And the English Government, the best and noblest in theory and practice that ever existed in the Old World, exhibited a scheme of representation so unjust, unequal and corrupt, as to be in no proper sense a system of popular representation. Equally in vain did they seek for an instance of the construction of a DOUBLE LEGISLATIVE department, on principles directly or indirectly *purely popular*, without a tinge of aristocracy in the one, without the ignorance, folly and passions of pure democracy in the other. How vain, how idle was their search for an example, ancient or modern, in which different States had “displayed the true greatness of soul, the genuine love of liberty, the enlarged wisdom and the Christian spirit of moderation, compromise and brotherly love, which deeply felt and firmly ordained that, “The few, must yield to the many,”¶ that “The particular must be sacrificed to the general interest”Ⓢ that, “The small good ought never to oppose the great one”** that, “The head, suffering the control of the members, has ever proved a fruitful source of commotions and disorders.”††

And how did the Convention escape from the difficulties that surrounded them; from the embarrassments that impeded their progress, which ever way they turned? “We indeed,” said Franklin to the Convention, “after four or five weeks consultation, we indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom; for we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government and examined the different forms of those republics, which having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now, no longer exist: and we have viewed modern States all round Europe, but find none of their Constitutions suitable to our circumstances.” Such was the situation of those discreet and sagacious patriots, who deserved far more than the founders of the Confederation, to be called, in the language of Washington, “The collected wisdom of the continent.” Then it was, that, “groping as it were in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it, when presented,” Franklin, the admirable Franklin, tho’ not himself professing to be a Christian, arose and said to the President, “In this situation of this assembly, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the FATHER OF LIGHTS to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection—

* 1 Vol Elog U S 26.

§ 1 do. 27, 29, 37.

†† 1 do. 53.

† 1 do. 25, 124.

¶ 1 do. 5.

‡ 1 do. 7.

Ⓢ 1 do. 57.

|| 1 do. 8.

** 1 do. 48.

Our prayers were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in that struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace, on the means of establishing our future national felicity. I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that **GOD GOVERNS IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN**, and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an Empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it," and I firmly believe this: and I also believe, that, without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political undertaking no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our *little partial, local* interests; our projects will be confounded: and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. I therefore beg leave to move, that, henceforth, prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning, before we proceed to business, "and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service."*

What a rebuke was this to the Christians in that Convention, what a solemn lesson to the Patriots and Statesmen of our own country, as long as this Nation shall endure! Assuredly the Christian, nay, the very Theist may well believe, without the imputation of credulity or enthusiasm, that the Father of Lights, in rebuke to his own Servants, in mercy to our Fathers, in loving kindness to their descendents, gave, himself, this impulse to Franklin's mind. Thus viewd, how sublime, how solemn, how affecting are his situation and words! And is there a heart in this assembly, that does not leap with joy, at the thought, that reason and religion sanction our belief, that God himself, the Author and Giver of every good and perfect gift, condescended thus to teach **ANOTHER CHOSEN PEOPLE, THEIR weakness, dependence and duty, and HIS power, wisdom and love?**

If at this solemn moment, some Layman had been found in that august assembly, bold enough to style the clergy, "those avaricious, ambitious, fraudulent and impudent impostors, the Christian Priests"† that with them, "Religion was a Trade,"† and "Sunday their day of labor;"† that "all public prayer is forbidden by Christ," expressly by words as well as by precept:"† If such a Layman had thus arisen, and declared to that assembly "the whole ceremony is a farce, and you know it,"† how would that venerable man have been appall'd at the self-stiled "bold and fearless honesty" of one, who could thus ridicule public worship, and denounce the Christian clergy, as "hired prayer mongers,"† as "fraudulent priests!"†— But thanks be to "the Father of Lights," the Atheism of the French Revolution, had not yet decreed, that there is no God, and that death is an eternal sleep. Thanks to the same Mighty and Merciful Being, America had not as yet, been call'd to mourn over that adopted Son, who dared, against her will and desire, *to calculate for a UNITED PEOPLE, the value of their UNION, for a CHRISTIAN PEOPLE, the value of PUBLIC PRAYER!*

* 1. Vol. Frankl. Wks. 474.

† To any Member of Congress, by A. Layman, p. 11, 12.

The proposition of Franklin prevailed: the incense of daily prayer, ascended to the throne of Infinite Wisdom, Power and Goodness.—Is there a being who hears me, too proud to acknowledge, or too skeptical to believe, with Franklin, that the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much?" And in this assembly, who will refuse to believe, that from the soul of Franklin himself, in the spirit of another Centurion, the prayer of faith and hope ascended "for a memorial before God?" The result must convince us, that the supplications of our Cornelius and of his fellow-worshippers, were "had in remembrance before God." Order arose out of chaos: Light, out of darkness; Discord was exchanged for Unanimity; the jealous, proud and selfish States, became bound to each other, as by the indissoluble bond of perpetual wedlock. Then the Declaration, wiser, more sublime and affecting than the Declaration of Independence, went forth to the world. "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, 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." That Constitution under the blessing of Heaven, has hitherto secured to us, at home, liberty, safety and prosperity; abroad, independence, respect and admiration, altogether unexampled in the history of the world.* Such a People, so singularly privileged, so eminently blessed, ought to engrave upon their hearts, as the golden rules, equality of the Citizen and the Ruler, the sentiments of Washington's Inaugural Address."—No People can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the People of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an Independent Nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution, just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberation and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established,† without some return of pious gratitude. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence."‡ May such ever be the sentiments of United America! Then will she go forward, calmly, securely in her glorious career, the only example the world has ever seen, of a Free, Educated, Peaceful, Christian People, the only model of a Confederate Republic.

I have said, that the first duty of Americans, is to confess with an inflexible faith, a Supreme Director in the affairs of Nations—their next, to acknowledge with humility and gratitude, "The frequent instances of a Superintending Providence in their favor;" but above all, to believe, that the Constitution, ordained by the People of the United States, is in the eye, both of reason and religion, *the gift of that Supreme Director, and*

* Note G.

† 5. Marsh. 169.

the highest proof of that Superintending Providence. The THIRD great duty of Americans is then, *to cling to the CONSTITUTION, as the best safeguard of our UNION and to that UNION as THE HIGHEST SECURITY for tranquility and freedom at home, for peace respectability and independence abroad.* In order to form a just estimate of this duty, let us devote a few moments to the reception of that Constitution.* Alexander Hamilton, the most profound and sagacious of American Statesmen, the right arm of Washington's Administration, remarked in the Convention of New York, "It is more easy for the human mind to calculate the evils than the advantages of a measure, and vastly more natural to apprehend the danger, than to see the necessity of giving power to our rulers."† Hence, the Constitution was assailed, as having sprung from usurpation of power in the Convention;‡ as annihilating our treaties;‡ as substituting a consolidated government for a confederacy;‡ and as having effected a revolution as radical as that which separated us from Great Britain."‡ The people were taught, that, "the rights of conscience, trial by Jury, liberty of the press, all their immunities and franchises, all pretensions to human rights and privileges, were rendered insecure, if not lost;"‡ that Congress might reduce the whole representation of the Union to thirteen members;"|| that "it did not leave the States, the means of defending their rights, or of waging war against tyrants;"|| and that they would have "a standing Army to execute the execrable commands of Tyranny."|| The people were also taught, with all the zeal of honest conviction, and all the vehemence of indignant declamation, that "the features of the Constitution, were horribly frightful,"§ that among other deformities, it had an awful squinting towards Monarchy," that the "President might easily become a King;"§ that "the Army would salute him Monarch;"§ that "the democratic branch would possess none of the public confidence;"§ that there was "no true responsibility on the part of Congress;"§ and the most powerful and eloquent of the adversaries of the Constitution, in the vehemence of his indignation, declared,|| "I would INFINITELY rather, and I am sure, most of this Convention are of the same opinion, have a KING, LORDS and COMMONS, than a Government so replete with such insupportable evils."¶

To this sentiment, to us in our day, so unaccountable, so marvelous, so unnatural, let us oppose that of Thomas Jefferson, in his first inaugural address. "If there be any among us who would wish to *dissolve the UNION or to change its REPUBLICAN FORM*, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety, with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."** And reason did combat and conquer under the same Providential blessing, which had been so liberally bestowed on this country for two centuries. The people of the United States, with calmness, moderation and wisdom, discussed the great question between the Confederationists and the Constitutionals. The latter prevailed, and their triumph, won by the weapons of Reason and Eloquence, of Wisdom, Experience and Public Virtue, was a triumph more-

* Note H. † 1. Eloq. U. S. 61.
 || 1. Eloq. U. S. 80, 81, 85.
 ¶ 1. Do. 95. § Pres. Sp. 163.

‡ 1. Eloq. U. S. p. 75, 74, 77.
 § 1. Eloq. U. S. 94, 95, 96, 97.
 ** Note I.

sublime and glorious, than all the achievements of the freeman warrior in the ancient and the modern world. Who can contemplate the battle fields, where statesmen, orators and patriots, philosophers and civilians, scholars and divines, fought mind to mind, in the thirteen Founder States of this glorious Union, and not acknowledge the moral grandeur and beauty of the scene to be unrivalled in the history of our race! Who would compare with it, even for a moment, the consultations of the Grecian States to wage war against Troy, or repel the invasions of Xerxes? Can you find a parallel in Helvetic or Batavian councils, in the measures of the gallant Hugonots, of the proud Barons of Runnymede, or of the Parliament, that called William and Mary to the English throne?

The People of the United States, listened not to the encomiasts of the Confederation and the denouncers of the Constitution. They adopted this, and abandoned that, we trust forever. Who, when he beholds their passions, prejudices and local selfishness, all overruled for good to them, to their posterity and to the whole world, is not ready to acknowledge, that this transition, so dignified and calm, so entirely voluntary and rational, is among the most remarkable proofs of a providential interposition in our behalf? Guided by the superior wisdom and patriot influence of Washington, Hamilton, Franklin and Jay; of Madison, Sherman, Rutledge and the Pinckneys, the People of the United States believed and substantially declared by this Constitution, that the communities which compose a confederate republic must "surrender to it, a part of their political independence,"* that it is proper to give minute attention to the interests of all the parts;* "but that there was a duty of still higher import, to feel and to show a predominating regard to the interests of the whole:"† that "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority is the vital principle of Republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism:"‡ "and that it is essential the interest and authority of the whole community should be binding on every part of it."|| The people believed and declared by that instrument, that it was indispensable "to enable the national laws to operate on individuals in the same manner as those of the States;"|| that when they had "formed a Constitution of free principles, when they had given a proper balance to the different branches of Administration, and fixed representation upon pure and equal principles, they might with safety furnish it with all the powers, necessary to answer in the most ample manner the purposes of government:"|| that when "they had strongly connected the virtue of their rulers with their interests, when in short, they had rendered their system as perfect as human forms can be, they must place confidence, they must give power;"|| but that "to talk of tyranny,§ and the subversion of their liberties, was to speak the language of enthusiasm."||

The people of the United States, accordingly established a double legislature, equally independent while in office, of the people and the Legislatures of the States: they "instituted one branch, peculiarly endowed with sensibility"|| to the popular will, "another, with knowledge and firmness."|| They invested these houses with all the important powers, as to

* 1. Eloq. U. S. p. 15.

† 1. Eloq. U. S. 14.

‡ Pr. s. Sp. p. 165.

§ 1. Eloq. U. S. 11. 26. 61. 64. 42. 54.

§ Note 45.

both foreign and domestic relations, which belong to a *Constitution*, as distinguished from a *Treaty*: to a *Government* as distinguished from a *Confederacy*: and to *one People*, forming *one Nation* as distinguished from *many*. They prohibited to the States, all the correspondent powers, which could conflict with the free and independent exercise of those, which they granted to Congress. They ordained an Executive department, and placed in it, the Chief Magistrate of the Nation, the representative of their dignity and power abroad: of their authority, justice and mercy at home. They established one Supreme Tribunal and clothed it with jurisdiction, more august, important and interesting, than any Court ever possessed; over cases and controversies the most dignified and momentous; over the Acts of the very Legislature and Executive of the Union; over States, Ambassadors, Citizens and Foreigners. They declared, that Treason against the United States, should consist in levying War against them: and as their laws acted on individuals, *without regard to office or influence*, they drew no distinction between the Officers and Citizens of States, acting under her Authority, and those who acted *without or against* it. They declared the citizens of each State, to be citizens of all, and demanded from each, a paramount allegiance to the government founded by all, for the good of all, and administered by the representatives of all. They provided for the admission of new States into their perpetual Union; the most glorious Sisterhood of Free States, that History has recorded. They guaranteed to every State a Republican form of Government; they pledged to each the national protection against domestic violence and invasion; they redeemed the faith of the Confederation, whether plighted to its creditors or to foreign States, and ordained alternative tribunals to originate and decide on amendments. Lastly, in correspondence with the power and majesty of that authority which had said, "We, the People of the United States do ordain and establish this Constitution," they declared, that this Constitution and the Laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the Authority of the United States, shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary, notwithstanding." And as tho' to leave no doubt of the supremacy of the jurisdiction, Executive, Legislative and Judicial, which they had thus created, they finished this, the model government for all Nations, by decreeing an Oath of universal official obligation. "The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all Executive and Judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution."

Such is the government, ordained by the people of this country for themselves and their posterity, and destined, the more it is known and the better it is understood, to become the model government of all nations. To have **CONCEIVED*** it, implies a higher order of intellect, a more comprehensive wisdom, a more enlarged foresight, than to have conceived the Declaration of Independence. To have **FASHIONED** it, step by step, from its

* Note L.

embryo state, to the maturity and perfection of its manhood, exhibited more profound philosophy, more consummate skill, and a richer experience in politics, than to have framed the Declaration of Independence. To have PROPOSED it to a people, who had sent them to reform and not to create, to the people of the States, so jealous of power and watchful over rights, so full of State pride, prejudice and suspicion, was a manifestation of moral courage in the Convention, far exceeding that of the Congress of 1776, when "with a firm reliance on Divine Providence," they mutually pledged to each other, "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor." To have ADOPTED that Constitution, was a more illustrious instance of popular self-sacrifice, a nobler example of self-denial, a more striking proof of self-conquered passion and prejudice, than history has ever recorded. To have ADMINISTERED that government with justice and dignity abroad; with energy, wisdom, moderation and equity at home; to have made the American Republic more glorious, more venerable, more lovely than aught in the annals of mankind; and the name of American, a name more proud and precious, than that of Greek, or Roman, or Briton, was the heaven-appointed privilege and reward of Washington. To have created, adopted, executed, submitted to such a government, was worthy of a people, who knew that government derives its "just powers from the consent of the governed;"* that "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government."† Thus to have acted, was worthy of a people who knew, that "for a people wanting to themselves, there is no remedy: from their power, there is no appeal: to their error, there is no superior principle of correction."‡ Thus to have acted, was the highest proof that man has ever given of his capacity for self government; and is the most striking illustration of the truth, value and authority of the maxim, "TRUST THE PEOPLE."

I have said, that the third duty of Americans, was to cling to the Constitution, as the highest security for our Union; to the Union, as the best safeguard of Liberty. Their FOURTH duty, next to our Country, the Constitution and the Union, is to love, honor and reverence the character and memory of Washington; and to esteem, as the very test of a pure and lofty patriotism, conformity to his principles and practice.

GENTLEMEN OF THE WASHINGTON SOCIETY.

Let me enjoin it especially on you, to cherish and illustrate this great duty of Americans. It is your privilege to bear the most precious and venerable name, that man ever conferred on a Society of his fellow men. Shall it not then, be your office, to bear ever about you the spirit which made Washington, THE FIRST OF AMERICANS; THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY; FIRST IN WAR, FIRST IN PEACE, FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN? And what is that spirit? Read it in the history of the past. Illustrate and honor it, in the history of the present and the future. Philosophy has nothing more admirable for symmetry, wisdom and virtue: poetry and eloquence have nothing more commanding and attractive than the life of Washington. That life teaches you, in his own language, that he made

* Decl. of Independ.

† 1 Elog. U. S. 19.

it "his earnest prayer to God," "To dispose us all to *justice*, to *love*, *mercy* and to *demean* ourselves with that *charity*, *humility* and *pacific* temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion, without a humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy Nation."* It teaches you to believe the moral government of God in the world, his empire over nations, and his special providence in favor of our country. It teaches you, that "of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports:"† that in vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens:‡ and that we must, "with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion."‡ That life teaches you to reverence, as well as to love the People; to trust, as well as to serve and obey them: to bear with their passions, to respect their prejudices, and to forgive their injuries and injustice. It equally teaches you, that the People, if they wander from the paths of political wisdom err, but are not criminal: that the capacity for self-government, in our intricate and extended system, can be perfectly developed and reduced to practise, only when their Rulers are distinguished by purity of motive and fidelity of conduct; by a spirit of moderation, disinterestedness, candor and magnanimity. There may you learn, the inestimable truth, the solemn lesson, that the *danger* in our Republic lies, not in **THE PEOPLE**, for they are honest and patriotic; but in the selfishness and ambition, in the corruption and intrigue, in the reckless passions, in the prejudices and self-sufficiency of **RULERS**. In that life, may you read, that the good sense and virtue of the people, unobscured and unpoluted by the acts of the Demagogue and the resentments of the disappointed and violent, are inexhaustible fountains of public spirit, prosperity and glory. And there may you also read, how hostile to the best interests of the People, are those who agitate and excite them; who appeal to their passions and selfishness, to their jealousy and prejudices; who alarm their fears and kindle their resentments; who count as secondary considerations, the holy bonds of Union, the sacred ties of brotherly love; who have not the courage, the honesty or the wisdom, to appeal to their good sense, patriotism and justice: who while they profess to be their servants and friends—**DARE NOT TRUST THE PEOPLE**. There may you learn, how dishonorable to our country and to public men, how injurious to national morals, how degrading to the Press, are bitterness and ridicule, the savage, reckless spirit of political intolerance, slander and violence; the denunciation of our Rulers, as Tyrants, the proscription of our Brethren, as Enemies. The Administration of Washington, will teach you, that a temperate, disinterested, manly, conscientious opposition to the measures of government, is among the noblest of public virtues, among the highest of public duties: that an opposition, marked by violence and abuse, by prejudice, and exaggeration, and hateful passions, is a crime against God and our Country; but that "no combination of designing men under heaven, will be capable of making a Government unpopular which in its prin-

* 5 Marsh. 57.

† 5 do. 699.

‡ 5 do. 699, 700.

copies a well and good one, and vigorous in its operations.* His public career will also teach you, "that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the Union, we cannot exist as an independent power."† And in the whole life of Washington, may you behold embodied the spirit of American Institutions, grave, thoughtful, calm, patient; full of wisdom and moderation; of magnanimity and disinterestedness; of justice, purity and brotherly love. Of such a man, we cannot feel too proud as our countryman. For such a man, we cannot cultivate too deep a sense of gratitude and veneration, as a Ruler and Patriot-Father, as a model of duty and usefulness in public and private life.

Such, Gentlemen, of the Washington Society, is the pattern you have selected as a standard for your principles, as a lamp to your paths: whether as citizens in social and domestic life, or as servants of the People in public stations. May you be faithful to the pledge you have given to this community, to Carolina, to your whole Country, by adopting as the title of your Institution, a Name, so spotless and venerable; a name, inexorably hostile to all the arts of intrigue and corruption, to the selfishness of ambition and the violence of evil passions. May you redeem that pledge most honorably to yourselves, most fortunately for your country. May you redeem it magnanimously, boldly and frankly, for the sake of yourselves and of your latest posterity. Influenced by these sentiments, and illustrating them by a correspondent practice, Carolina shall have reason to hail you the most faithful and affectionate of her children, as in thought, word and deed, the disciples of Washington.

The last great duty of Americans, is, to reverence and cultivate the essential, vital spirit of American institutions. How lamentably have we erred in this respect, "groping in the dark" as Franklin said of the Convention: and seeking for light and models, among the institutions of ages, and nations, far removed from us in time or character. How insensible have we shown ourselves to the spirit of American Institutions! Instead of studying, developing and perfecting them, we have been seduced from our allegiance to that spirit, and treading the paths of European precedent, have sought for our tree of life in the classic gardens of "those finished histories, which," it is said, "still enlighten and instruct Governments in their duty and their destiny." Can we better improve the most memorable Anniversary in our own, or any other National Annals, than by devoting the residue of this day to meditation on the true character of that spirit? And to whom shall this last last, great duty be assigned?

Fellow-Countrymen, Fellow-Citizens! this *last* duty is assigned to you. Your's is the noblest, the most precious heritage, that free men have ever possessed. Your's is indeed, the Promised Land, foretold by the prophet pen of Philosophy, or seen through a glass darkly, in the visions of Poetry. Your's is a Realm, more spacious in extent, more various in character, and richer in resources, than the Statesman-Patriot of any other age or country ever called "his own, his native land." Your's was an infancy, marvelous beyond that of any other people: a youth, such as the Republics of Ancient and Modern Europe seek in vain, among the records of their own

* 1 Elog. U. S. 43.

† 5 Marsh. 48.

historians: a manhood, earlier, more dignified, more commanding, than the annals of any other nation presents to our view. Shall your's be the lot of a premature old age, imbecil, degraded, the object of mockery, contempt and indignation? Or shall it be that serene, that beautiful old age; that virtuous, majestic and glorious old age, little less than immortal youth, which shall be the destiny, but the destiny, **ONLY OF A FREE, EDUCATED, PEACEFUL, CHRISTIAN PEOPLE?** Is there a heart in all this holy Temple that does not breathe its fervent aspirations to the Father of Lights, to the God of all mercies, "May such be the old age of our Country!"—That such may be the lot of our children to the latest generations, depends on **YOU, MY BELOVED AND RESPECTED COUNTRYMEN!** You must meditate often and anxiously on the spirit of American Institutions. That spirit is Freedom, Education, Peace, Religion. These are the four Cardinal virtues of our American Republic: their concentrated essence is the spirit of our institutions.

We are, we must continue a **Free, Educated, Peaceful, Christian People.** But freedom is not with us, what freedom was in the ancient democracies. The liberty of those ancient States, was the inertness of paizy, or the shocking features of apoplexy. It was licentiousness and anarchy, the fierce contest between patrician and plebian, or between a jealous and ever-endangered people on the one hand, and powerful, corrupt, ambitious rulers on the other. Their portrait is sketched by the pencil of a Poet, but with the fidelity of history:

Who that would ask a heart to dulness wed,
The waveless calm, the slumber of the dead?
Not the wild Bliss of Nature needs alloy,
And fear and sorrow fan the fires of joy.*

Not such is American Freedom. Her spirit is Religion, Peace, Education. It is tranquil, sedate, rational, dignified. May the Galvanic convulsions of Athenian and Roman Liberty, never be the lot of our country! Nor is Freedom with us, the freedom of European States. There, the great landmarks are, the supremacy of the members and the subordination of the head; exemption from the misgovernment of their hereditary Rulers; and security against Tyranny. But with us, the parts are subjected to the whole: representation is pure, simple, equal: an independent Judiciary is a shield of defence, against executive violence, legislative errors, and popular prejudice. We have nothing to dread from tyranny and tyrants, nothing seriously and permanently from the ambition of rulers; every thing from the abuse of self government. Let the People only realize the true spirit of American institutions, considerate, tranquil, prudent as it is, *and their spirit must be the spirit of their Rulers.* **LET THE PEOPLE DO THEIR DUTY TO THEMSELVES, THOUGHTFULLY, CALMLY, DISCREETLY, AND THEIR RULERS WILL NOT, DARE NOT BE DISOBEDIENT TO THE SPIRIT OF THEIR MASTERS.** Let the Devotee of European liberty, perishing in the battlefield against Tyrants, on the scaffold of civil contest, or in the prison

* Campb. Pleas. Hope, P. 2 v. 17.

on of faction, breathe forth his indignant spirit, in the aspiration of the Tuscan patriot inscribed on his dungeon walls,

“Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.”—*Æn.* l. 4, v. 6.

But, while the spirit of American institutions shall endure, our eminent patriots may indeed be called to their rest, in their own homes, as by divine appointment, even on the birthday of American Independence.* But never, never shall they die on the battlefield of brothers, never in the Bastile of tyrants, never on the scaffold of the Rebel or the Traitor. O my Country! mayest thou cling, with an enduring trust as thou hast so lately done, to the spirit of American institutions! “Thy faith hath made thee whole.” Thou hast touched the garment of that spirit, wise, peaceful, Christian; and hast been healed of thy plague. The fountain of thy blood has been stayd. And in the very depth of that midnight darkness, which lately shrouded our land; when fear came upon us, and trembling; when a spirit passd before our faces, but we discern’d not the form thereof; who shall deny, rather, who can doubt, that the effectual fervent prayer of many a private Christian, thro’ all our borders, ascended to heaven for the peace of brothers?

“His prayer, his praise, his life to vice unknown,
 “In sweet memorial rose before the throne;
 “These charms, success in that bright region find,
 “And call’d an Angel down to calm our mind.” PARSELL’S HERMIT, v 180.

And who, with the past examples of American History, and the testimony of Washington and Franklin, can doubt, that Providence, by a special interposition saved us then from ourselves? Who shall say, that the prayer offerd up in that very Convention, whose unchristian, whose unrepubli- can spirit, (as we believ’d it to be) struck us with grief, and amazement, and almost with despair, was not instrumental in fulfilling that remarkable declaration of the Sacred Writers, quoted by Franklin, “surely the wrath of man shall praise thee, the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain?”—Whilst we lay, as it were, helpless and despairing, and seemd to wait for some Angel to trouble the waters for our healing, the prayer for light and help, ascended from the midst of that very assembly. And it was heard. The blessing of Heaven descended, silent and unscen, as the dew of evening. The spirit of American Institutions prevaild, and we were saved. O my Countrymen! let us never doubt the sincerity of that prayer! Let us accord with willing hearts, the meed of respect and gratitude, to those who proposed, to those who offerd up, to those who join’d in that prayer. Let us believe, that in the dark hour of temptation and trial; of temptation to dishonor their Parent, to smite their Country; of trial to the strength and sincerity of their love and duty, many a spirit that would have yielded at her bidding, life, liberty, property; yea, the aged parents that bore him, and the wife and the children of his fire-side, struggled in an agony of intercession, intense and solemn as death-bed supplications.

* Thos. Jefferson and John Adams died 4 July 1826, and James Monroe, 4 July 1831.

One of the most eminent of that Convention, in talents, energy and influence, one of the boldest and most zealous of the men, whom we beheld, with mingled awe, astonishment and indignation, has yielded his spirit, within a few days, to his Father and our Father, to his God and our God. —Let us believe, for his sake and our sakes, that out of the depth of his soul, as he stood on the verge of the gulf of Civil War and Revolution, went forth an impassioned prayer for light and counsel. Peace be to his ashes! Let his talents and eloquence, as a writer and speaker, be remembered, for they honor Carolina. Let his principles, so deeply condemned by us, be recolected, as warning beacons; but without scorn, ridicule, or bitterness: Let the errors of his political life, for such we must esteem them, be forgiven, as we trust to be ourselves forgiven; and be forgotten, for the sake of our common country.

Will you my Fellow-Citizens, yield me your attention yet a little while longer, that I may illustrate still farther, the spirit of American Institutions? Patrick Henry said, in the Convention of Virginia, "Guard with jealous attention, the public liberty. Suspect every one who approaches that Jewel. Unfortunatly, nothing will preserve it, but DOWNRIGHT FORCE. Whenever you give up that force, you are inevitably ruined."* And the question has been asked, with triumphant confidence, as tho' but one reply could be given, "What have the People ever gained but by Revolution?" and we have been told, "Revolution has no terrors for me." The sentiments of Patrick Henry, belonged to the jealousy and anxiety, the confusion, alarms and doubts, which naturally sprang up with, and survived the Revolution. They are unworthy of our age: they are a reproach to the spirit of American Institutions: they are foreigners in our Union and with our Constitution. To the question, "what have the People ever gained but by Revolution," I answer, boldly, if by REVOLUTION be understood the Law of the Sword, LIBERTY HAS LOST FAR MORE THAN SHE EVER GAINED BY IT. The sword was the destroyer of the Lycian Confederacy and the Achaean League. The Sword, alternately enslaved and disenthrald Thebes and Athens, Sparta, Syracuse and Corinth. The Sword of the Macedonian cut his way to the Council of Amphictyon, thro' the ranks of freemen, and expell'd Lacedæmon to make room for Philip. The Sword of Rome, conquerd every other free State, and finished the murder of liberty in the ancient world, by destroying herself. What but the Sword, in modern times, annihilated the Republics of Italy, the Hanseatic towns, and the primitive independence of Ireland, Wales and Scotland? What but the Sword partition'd Poland, assassinated the rising liberty of Spain, banish'd the Hugonots from France, and made Cromwell, the master, not the servant of the People? What but the Sword of Republican France, cut down the liberties of the Batavian Confederacy, and traced in letters of blood on the eternal snows of Switzerland, "the Law of the Sword, is the Law of violence to the peaceful, of slavery to the free?" And what but the Sword, of the same Republican France, destroy'd the Independence of half of Europe, deluged the Continent with tears, devour'd its millions upon millions, and closed the long catalogue of guilt, by founding and de-

* 1 Elog. U. S. p. 78.

ending to the last, the most powerful, selfish and insatiable of Military Despotisms.

The Sword, indeed, delivered Greece from the Persian Invaders, and expelled the proud Tarquin. The Sword emancipated Switzerland and Holland; restored the Bruce to his Throne, and brought Charles to the scaffold. The Sword hewed in pieces the giant power of the oppressor Napoleon; cut asunder the chains, that bound the Spanish Colonies to the Mother Country; and redeemed the pledge of the Congress of '76, when they plighted to each other, "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor." And yet, what would the redemption of that pledge have availed, towards the establishment of our present government, if the spirit of American Institutions, had not been both the birthright and the birth-blessing of the Colonies? Religion, Education and Popular Institutions, a deep sense of the value of civil and political liberty, of the rights of conscience, of the Independence of the People, of the responsibility of Rulers, and of the true nature of the Social Compact, were the mother-milk of our colonial infancy. The Indians, the French and the Spaniards, even England herself, warred in vain against a People, born and bred in the household, at the domestic altar of Liberty herself. They *were* freemen, because they were worthy to be such; before the Sword of Revolution had cut the Gordian knot of colonial dependence. *They never had been slaves, for they were born free.* The Sword was a herald to *proclaim* their freedom, but neither *created* nor *preserved* it. A century and a half, had already beheld them free in infancy, free in youth, free in early manhood. Theirs was already the spirit of American Institutions: the spirit of Christian freedom, of a temperate, regulated freedom, of a rational civil obedience. For such a People, the sword, the law of violence, did and could do nothing, but sever the bonds which bound her colonial wards to their unnatural guardian. They redeemed their pledge sword in hand; *but the Sword LEFT THEM, AS IT FOUND THEM, unchanged in character; Freemen, in thought and in deed, INSTINCT WITH THE IMMORTAL SPIRIT OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.*

But what has the Sword ever done, what can the sword ever do, to change the Slave into a Freeman? The fit subject of Despotism or Monarchy, baptized in blood, no more becomes a Freeman; than the Pharisee, plunged in the waves of Jordan, came forth a Christian. The very materials of the Warrior's Sword, are the materials of the Tyrant's chains, of the Atheist's Guillotine. The Sword may rescue the slave from the dungeon, and cut asunder the "iron that entered into his soul." The Sword may deliver him from the tyrannical misrule of another; but, can it confer on him the capacity for self-government?—And what is Liberty without this?—What is it, but the fickle, tempestuous democracy of Athens: the selfish and all-destructive ambition of Rome; the very whirlwind and hurricane of the French Revolution? The Sword cannot give to the slave the virtues, that public and private life demand of the Freeman. It cannot kindle the sense of duty, and the spirit of usefulness; it cannot clothe him with the calm and enlarged wisdom, the moral courage, the self-denial and self-command; without which, Liberty is a ferocious and remorseless demon, "a reproach and a by-word down to future ages." The Sword

cannot elevate and expand the soul of the Slave, and fill it with high and holy thoughts of Country and Brethren, of Union and Constitution, of the majesty of the Laws, and the obligations of civil obedience, of the authority of public sentiment and the supremacy of its moral power. What but the spirit of American Institutions can work the change? What but this is able to cast out the unclean spirit, which fits the Slave to be the Maniac of a Reign of Terror, or the base satellite of Imperial Ambition? What—but Education, Religion, Peace—is endured with power to make liberty a blessing, and not a curse? The spirit of American Institutions has ruled our Country for two centuries; and, what has it not done for us? The Sword has had the dominion of the Earth, for nearly six thousand years; and, what has it accomplished for the human race? Millions upon millions give the answer from the world of spirits. The Sword can never change the Slave into a Freeman; for it cannot work miracles. It cannot breathe into him, the breath of life; and Liberty is Life.

NOTES.

NOTE A. p. 7.

I quote with pleasure the following passage from Patrick Henry's 2d Speech in the Virginia Convention—"We have seen sons of Cincinnatus without splendid magnificence or parade, going, with the genius of their great progenitor Cincinnatus, to the plough—men who served their country without ruining it; men who had served it to the destruction of their private patrimony, their country owing them amazing amounts, for the payment of which no adequate provision was then made. We have seen such men throw prostrate their arms at your feet. They did not call for those emoluments, which ambition presents to some imaginations. The soldiers, who were able to command every thing, instead of trampling on those laws, which they were constituted to defend, most strictly obeyed them. The hands of justice have not been laid on a single American soldier. Bring them into contrast with European veterans;—you will see an astonishing superiority over the latter. There has been a strict subordination to the laws."—What a noble example of obedience to the spirit of American Institutions! What a rebuke from the Army of 1783 to *civili* Rulers and citizens of South-Carolina in 1832—when, to wrest by force from the nation and the government of the nation, what they conceived to be their rights, *these* took up the arms cast away by *those*.

NOTE B. p. 9.

The following sentiment from the pen of Dr. David Ramsay, is inserted in his Chronological Table A no 1787. "A series of Essays, the work of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, with the title of Publius or the Federalist, published soon after the promulgation of this Constitution, had a decided influence in procuring its acceptance, by enlightning the mind in the principles of government, and removing prejudices *in favor of a heightened State sovereignty incompatible with the general good.*" Of the Federalist the Edinburgh Review says—"a work little known in Europe, but which exhibits an extent and precision of information, a profundity of research, and an acuteness of understanding, which would have done honor to the most illustrious Statesman of ancient or modern times. 12 vol. p. 471.

NOTE C. page 9.

The Constitution was ratified in the following order. By Delaware, Pennsylvania and New-Jersey in 1787; by Connecticut, Massachusetts, Georgia, Maryland, South-Carolina, New-Hampshire, Virginia, and New-York in 1788; by North-Carolina in 1789, and by Rhode Island in 1790.* Had the debates of all of these Conventions been preserved, they would have formed a richer and more copious library of political sagacity, wisdom and knowledge, than any nation ever possessed. Indeed, Elliott's Debates, The Federalist, Washington's public papers, Pitkin's Civil and Political History, and Marshal's Life of Washington are more valuable to an American, than the whole body of political Literature of Ancient and Modern Europe.

* South-Carolina adopted the Constitution by the auspicious majority of *seventy-six*.

NOTE D. page 9.

The following sentiment of Washington in his Farewell Address, is one of the strongest proofs of his sagacity and wisdom." With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor *to gain time to our country, to settle and mature its yet recent institutions; and to progress, without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give*

it humanly speaking, *the command of its own fortunes.* * It was the Constitution, *which gained time* for us to settle and mature, and has given us, if we are wise and faithful, *the command of our fortune.* Who can doubt that the same advice is still applicable? Let Americans engrave it on their hearts. It is worth all the advice of the violent and precipitate. Patience was said by Newton to be the real source of all his great achievements. Patience was the prominent feature in the character of Washington. It ought to be the leading feature of American character. Moderation and wisdom at its handmaids: a gradual, healthful, uninterrupted development of all our resources physical and moral will be its fruits.

5. Marsh, 708.

NOTE E. page 13.

Judge Wilson says in his Speech in the Pennsylvania Convention—After a period of 6000 years had elapsed since the creation, the United States exhibit to the world the first instance, as far as we can learn, of a nation unattacked by external force, uncivilized by domestic insurrections, assembling voluntarily, deliberating fully and deciding calmly, concerning the system of government under which they would wish that they and their posterity should live. The Ancients so enlightened on other subjects were very uninformed with regard to this. They seem scarcely to have had any idea of any other kinds of government than the three simple forms designated by the epithets, monarchical, aristocratical and democratical. "What induces me to be of this opinion, is that Tacitus, the profound politician Tacitus, who had undoubtedly studied the Constitution of all the States and Kingdoms known before and in his time, and who certainly was qualified, in an uncommon degree, for understanding the full force and operation of each of them after all he had known and read, considered a mixed government, composed of the three forms, as a thing rather to be wished than expected, and he thinks that if such a government could ever be instituted, its duration could not be long." 1 vol. Eloq. U. S. p. 6, 7. Mr. Madison says in his speech in the Virginia Convention. "The uniform conclusion drawn from a review of Ancient and Modern Confederacies, is, that instead of promoting the public happiness, or securing public tranquility, they have, in every instance, been productive of anarchy and confusion—ineffectual for the preservation of harmony, and a prey to their own dissensions and foreign invasions." 1 vol. Eloq. U. S. p. 13. Alex. Hamilton, speaking in allusion to the Ancient Governments, says—"No inference can be drawn from these examples, that republics cannot exist, we only contend that they have hitherto been founded on false principles." 1 Do. 29. And at page 27 he says, "The fact is, the same false and impracticable principle ran thro' most of the Ancient Governments." See more on the subject, in the Federalist No. 9, 15, 63.

NOTE F. p. 15.

Montesquieu says, Sp. L. B. 8 c. 20--that the natural property of *small States* is to be governed by a republic, and of *large empires* to be swayed by a despotic prince. "What then was to be done" says Judge Wilson. "The idea of a *confederate republic* presented itself," having "all the *internal advantages* of a *republican*, with the *external force* of a *monarchical government*." Mont. Sp. L. B. 9. c. 1. "The experiment," says Paley in his Moral Philosophy "is about to be tried in America on a large scale." B. 6, c. 6, at end. "It has been advanced as a principle," says Alexander Hamilton, 1 Eloq. U. S. 67, that no government but a despotism, can exist in a very extensive country." "But the position has been misapprehended; and its application is entirely false and unwarantable.-- It relates only to *democracies*, where the *whole body of the people* meet to transact business." So Patrick Henry says in the same volume, p. 240, "Whoever will be bold to say, that a continent can be governed by that system, contradicts all the experience of the world. It is a work too great for human wisdom. I call for an example of a great extent of country, governed by one government or congress, call it what you will." Patrick Henry did not see the fine distinction drawn by Judge Wilson p. 5. "This opinion seems to be *supported, rather than contradicted*, by the history of the governments in the old world." Edmund Randolph, in reply to the same objection, made by George Mason, says, (p. 126,) "No extent on earth seems to me too great, provided the laws be wisely made and executed. The principles of representation, and responsibility, may pervade a large, as well as a small territory." "Not the dignity of names, but the force of reasoning gains my assent. Addison in his remarks on Italy, thinks "that it would certainly be for the good of mankind to have all the mighty empires of

the world cantoned out into small principalities, which like so many large families, might lie under the observation of their proper governors, and the Abbe Sieyes in his plan for reforming and organizing France adopted the same idea when he divided the ancient provinces of France into 83 departments; but combined the whole into one compact and general system of administration. See in part I. of the Fr. Rev. l. p. 143, 150, 151. I know, says Mr. Jefferson, "that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some, from a candid apprehension that the dilargement of our country would endanger the Union. But who can limit the extent, to which the federative principle may operate effectively? *The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions.*" Presid. Sp. 204. I have been thus full and particular in these quotations, in order to impress upon my countrymen the important truth, that extent of territory a great number of States, a population of one hundred millions, will be among the greatest securities for the strength, integrity, and durability of the Union. Let there be a correspondent improvement in the civil and religious, not in the mere *literary* education of our people, and we have absolutely nothing to fear, but every thing to hope for, in the destiny of a people, truly great and glorious as the friend, monitor and example of all nations.

NOTE G. p. 15.

Mr. Madison said, in the spirit of prophecy, in the Virginia Convention: "I pledge myself that this government will answer the expectations of its friends, and foil the apprehensions of its enemies." 1 Eloq. U. S. p. 142. And in his last Message of December, 1816, he thus expresses himself in a passage, more worthy of being studied and memorized by the young American, than any dozen passages in the Orations of Cicero and Demosthenes. Would that our Colleges would substitute the collection of the Presidents' Speeches, (Messages,) for the title of the latter, and the much of the former, which they require of their students! I trust yet to live to see the day, when Text Books of American Politics, History, and Constitutional Law, will occupy a full year of every College course. "Happily I shall carry with me from the public theatre other sources, which those who love their country most, will best appreciate. I shall behold it blessed with tranquility and prosperity at home, and with peace and respect abroad. I can indulge the proud reflection, that the American people have reached, in safety and success, their fortieth year, as an independent nation; that, for nearly an entire generation, they have had experience of their present Constitution, the offspring of their undisturbed deliberation and of their free choice; that they have found it to bear the trials of adverse, as well as prosperous circumstances; to contain, in its combination of the federative and elective principles, a reconciliation of public strength with individual liberty, of national power for the defence, of national rights, with a security against wars of injustice, of ambition, and of vain glory, in the fundamental provision, that subjects all questions of war to the will of the nation itself, which is to pay its cost and feel its calamities. Nor is it less a peculiar felicity of this Constitution, so dear to us all, that it is found capable, without losing its vital energies of expanding itself over a spacious territory, with the increase and expansion of the community for whose benefit it was established. And may I not be allowed to add to this gratifying spectacle, that I shall read in the character of the American people; in their devotion to true liberty; and to the Constitution, which is its palladium, sure presages, that the destined career of my country will exhibit a government, pursuing the public good as its sole object, and regulating its means by the great principles consecrated in its character, and by those moral principles, to which they are so well allied: a government which watches over the purity of elections, the freedom of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, and the equal interdict against encroachments and compacts between Religion and the State; which maintains inviolably the maxims of public faith, the security of persons and property, and encourages in every authorized mode, that general diffusion of knowledge which guarantees to public liberty its permanency, and to those who possess the blessing, the true enjoyment of it. A government which avoids intrusions on the internal repose of other nations, and repels them from its own; which does justice to all nations with a readiness equal to the firmness with which it requires justice from them, and which, whilst it refines its domestic code from every ingredient not congenial to the precepts of an enlightened age, and the sentiments of a virtuous people, seeks, by appeals to reason, and by its liberal examples, to infuse into the law which governs the civilized world, a spirit which may diminish the frequency, or circumscribe the calamities of war, and inclinate the social and beneficent relations of peace: a government, in a word, whose con-

duct, within and without, may bespeak the most noble of all ambitions— that of promoting peace on earth and good will to man. These contemplations sweetening the remnant of my days, will animate my prayers for the happiness of my beloved country, and a perpetuity of the institutions under which it is enjoyed.—*President's Speeches, p. 345.*

NOTE H. p. 16:

The great subject of Patrick Henry's fears and declamation, (for there is little or no thinking or reasoning in his speeches,) was the acceptance of the Constitution, without amendments *beforehand*. Accordingly, in his speech of the 24th June, 1788, he says, "I conceive it my duty, if this government is adopted before it is amended, to go home," and he declares Mr. Jefferson to have been of the same opinion, as to rejecting the Constitution till amended, 1 Eloq. U. S. p. 197. This was one of the greatest difficulties attending the adoption of the Constitution: and had it not been overruled for our good, must have proved fatal. We may form some conception of the extent and seriousness of those difficulties, by adverting to the fact, that although Seven States adopted the Constitution, without proposing explanations or amendments, yet the other Six offered no less than (172) one hundred and seventy-two of such resolutions and alterations. Let these doubts and fears teach us to cling with redoubled fidelity to the Constitution and the Union; and to regard the preservation of both; as *absolutely indispensable* to us at home and abroad. *Theoretically* the constitution is not faultless, in the opinion of any intelligent man of the millions whom it blesses; but *practically*, it is faultless; because you cannot prevail on the requisite majority to agree to any amendment.

NOTE I p. 76.

The extravagance of Patrick Henry is absolutely astonishing. All the extracts in the text are his sentiments. Without discovering any imagination in his speeches, he has indulged in a wildness of exaggeration, that surpasses the flights of almost any fancy. How little did he realize the character of the Constitution, and the spirit of American institutions, when he spoke thus. "What can avail your specious, imaginary balances: your rope-dancing, chain-rattling, ridiculous, ideal checks and contrivances?" 1 Eloq. U. S. 89. At the end of this speech he says, "I have not said the *hundred thousandth* part of what I wish to impart." * "There is no title of nobility to be granted, which by the by would not have been so dangerous, as the perilous cession of powers contained in that paper.*" "What shall the states have to do?—take care of the poor, repair and make highways, erect bridges, and so on and so on.*" "Our legislature will indeed be a ludicrous spectacle, one hundred and eighty men, marching in solemn farcical procession, exhibiting a mournful proof of the lost liberty of their country.*" "I look on that paper as *the most fatal* plan, that could possibly be conceived *to enslave a free people.*"* Patrick Henry was undoubtedly a man of great energy and ardor, but it would be difficult to find any thing in the political extravagances and exaggerations of our day, that surpass these specimens. The truth is, Patrick Henry was wonderfully fitted for the irregular action and violent excitement of a revolutionary period. He would have been the very monarch of popular orators in an ancient Democracy. Had he been a Greek, he would have vanquished even Demosthenes. But like many of the men, whom we mourn over in our days he comprehended not the essential genius, the true spirit of American institutions. He understood and admired *revolutionary*; but he neither comprehended nor loved *constitutional* liberty. This spirit has survived, to the grief and dishonor of Carolina, in some of her principal men. But the nation has rebuked it: and Heaven has saved their country.

NOTE K. p. 17.

Alexander Hamilton was the reverse of Patrick Henry. He saw that the whole danger of America lay in the preference of *revolutionary* to *constitutional* liberty. His speeches exhibit a wise profound Statesman, thoroughly intimate with the characteristic differences of governments, and understanding what medicine his country needed. On this subject *the dread of tyranny*, he makes these capital remarks. "In the commencement of a revolution, which received its birth from the usurpations of tyranny, nothing was more natural, than that the public mind should be influenced by an extreme jealousy. The

zeal for liberty became predominant and excessive. In forming our confederation, this passion alone seemed to actuate us; and we appear to have had no other view than to secure ourselves from despotism."* "We have erred through excess of caution, and a zeal false and impracticable. Our counsels have been destitute of consistency and stability."*

"We have it constantly held up to us, that it is our chief duty to guard against tyranny: it is our policy to form all the branches of government for this purpose."* Judge Wilson says, in the same spirit as Alexander Hamilton, "The truth is, we dreaded danger only on one side: this we manfully repelled. But on another side, danger not less formidable, but more insidious stole in upon us." "Those, whom *foreign strength* could not overpower, have well nigh become the victims of INTERNAL ANARCHY."* Let us rejoice that our country has had the good sense, the wisdom, the virtue, to resist indignantly and inflexibly, the recent attempt, in the form of threats, denunciation and political metaphysics, to seduce them from their allegiance to the constitution. They have nobly rejected the counsel, which strove to induce them, by menace and sophistry, to launch anew the shipwrecked Confederation, and abandon their glorious "Old Lionsides." Washington unrolled the star spangled banner to her mast: and there may it float equally triumphant over foreign jealousy and domestic intimidation, till a hundred stars shall glitter in its folds!

It is due to the memory of Alex^r. Hamilton, to vindicate him from the unjust aspersion that has been cast upon him, of having been an enemy of the *states*. Those, who desire to see the most complete refutation of the charge, will find ample proofs in the opinions expressed by Hamilton, of the absolute necessity and incalculable value of the States in the new scheme of Government. See the 1 vol. of Eloq. of U. S. p. 37, 42, 49, 68, 70. His vindication of Republican Government against the suggestion, that it had become a prevailing doctrine, that republican principles ought to be booted out of the world, is simple and manly. 1 Eloq. U. S. p. 43; 44.

* 1 Eloq. U. S. 101, 212, 219, 225.

NOTE L. p. 18.

Whilst I can claim for Carolina, the merit of having produced Charles Pinckney's draft of the Constitution I envy not to Virginia the distinction of having penned the Declaration of Independence. Regarding the former as a far nobler monument of wisdom and virtue, than the latter, I have no hesitation in placing the reputation of Mr. Pinckney above that of Mr. Jefferson in this respect. There were a hundred men in the United States, who could have penned the Declaration as well as Mr. Jefferson; but Carolina claims for herself the singular merit of Chas. Pinckney's draft of a Federal Government, for it approaches far nearer to the adopted instrument, than the Resolutions of Edmund Randolph, the proposition of Wm. Patterson, or the plan of Government of Alexander Hamilton. Thus may she well console herself for having yielded as truth and justice required she should, to New Hampshire, the distinction of having produced the *first written* Constitution. That of N. H. bears date the 5th January 1776; that of So. Ca: 26 March, 1776.

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF THE

HON. WILLIAM DRAYTON,

To the Washington Society.



At the celebration of the Fourth of July, in this city, by the Washington Society; one of the Vice-Presidents gave the following toast:

The Hon. Wm. Drayton.—The patriot “without fear and without reproach,”—estimable in private, illustrious in public life—*all the ends he aims at, are his country's.*

When the enthusiastic plaudits, with which this toast was received had subsided, Col. DRAYTON rose and spoke as follows:—

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

Although you have been induced, by personal kindness, to speak of me in a manner which I am very far from meriting, I yet receive your flattering compliment with the most grateful feelings, not because it is flattering, but because it manifests your approbation of my conduct, and your opinions, that the exertions which I have made in the cause of our country, and for the preservation of your rights, however inefficient they have been, have been all that my humble abilities enabled me to render, and that they have been directed by purity of intention. But, fellow-citizens, any thing relating to myself, is unconnected with the object of this meeting. We have met for the purpose of celebrating the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence; of giving utterance to the deep and heartfelt emotions which are associated with the recollection, that by the toils, and the sufferings, and the valor, and the blood of our ancestors, we were raised from colonial vassalage to sovereign power. Whilst thus rejoicing, we ought, also, to remember, with emotions scarcely less intense and reverential, that our ancestors after experiencing the evils of an embarrassing and feeble Confederacy, framed that Constitution which was ratified by the people of the United States, to secure the blessings of Independence, Liberty and Union, to themselves and their posterity. Greater blessings than Independence, Liberty and Union, were never bestowed by man upon man; and yet have we witnessed a period, when some of the posterity of our glo-

rious ancestors would have hazarded the possession of these inestimable treasures; to promote the triumph of a pernicious sophistry, first promulgated in the "Exposition and Protest," which was published by the order of the House of Representatives of this State, in December, 1828. These observations are not made by me, as prefatory to an elaborate investigation of the odious doctrine of Nullification—a doctrine so paradoxical, as to involve in its mere statement the palpable contradiction that a single State, under no other restraint than her own discretion, can, within her limits, annul the Laws of a Government, which the People of all the States have solemnly bound themselves to obey, as "the Supreme Law of the Land"—that a State can exempt herself from the burthens, and participate in the benefits of the Union—can be a member of the body politic, and absolve herself from the obligation which it imposes. That these gross incongruities might be sustained, what have we not endured? Whilst the accomplishment of Nullification was in progress, the practical effect of which it was alleged, would be a peaceful and constitutional remedy for our grievances, can we ever forget that Clubs were organized in every city and hamlet, by whose irresponsible will, the Constitution and the Laws were controlled—that thousands of Volunteers were raised, holding themselves ready, at a minute's warning, to march and to fight, as if a foreign enemy were hovering upon our coast—that large sums of money were expended by the Legislature for the purchase of arms and ammunition, to reimburse which, we must be heavily taxed—that our youth were allured from their appropriate avocations, and the softer sex from their characteristic pursuits, to mingle in the strife of political contention—that ancient friendships were dissolved, the ties of blood rent asunder, and the domestic circle, where affection, and harmony, and confidence should reign, embittered by party rancor—that a portion of our citizens were proscribed and disfranchised, because they would not take an unrighteous and unconstitutional oath—that our whole State was convulsed to its centre—and that even the horrors of Civil War were anticipated by those who deprecated it as the direst calamity, with which an offending people could be visited by an avenging Deity?

These, fellow-citizens, were some of the bitter fruits of Nullification. What are the benefits which it has conferred upon us? We were told, that it was resorted to in order that we might be relieved from the intolerable oppressions of an unconstitutional protective tariff; and yet the Convention which annulled all the protective tariff acts, by their Ordinance in November, 1832, formally repealed that Ordinance in March, 1833, although a tariff act was then in existence, which enacted, that protective duties should be levied until June, 1842, which, thereafter, perpetuated "the protective system as the settled policy of the country," so far as it could be perpetuated by legislation, in the event of a uniform duty of 20 per cent, producing a revenue beyond the expenditure of the Government, which substituted cash in lieu of credit duties upon all imports, and which introduced the innovation of the home valuation of imports, thus increasing, by 40 per cent, the amount upon which the duties are to be assessed after the year 1842; and although that Convention, in the "Address to the People of South Carolina," resolved that until these abuses (the protective tariff acts) "shall be reformed, *no more taxes shall be paid here,*" and

in the "Address to the People of the United States," declared, "If we submit to this system of unconstitutional oppression, we shall voluntarily sink into slavery, and transmit that ignominious inheritance to our children. We will not, we cannot, we dare not submit to this degradation, *and our resolve is fixed and unalterable, that a protecting tariff shall be no longer enforced within the limits of South Carolina. We stand upon the principles of everlasting justice, and no human power shall drive us from our position.*" That position, nevertheless, has been abandoned—the Ordinance of Nullification, founded upon "the principles of everlasting justice," has been repealed by the Convention which ordained it—and "*a protective tariff*" is now "*enforced within the limits of South Carolina.*" I shall make no further comments upon the conduct and the acts of the Convention of South Carolina. No powers of eloquence could more vividly exhibit their character, than a bare reference to what they have done, and what they have undone. I take no pleasure in dwelling upon so humiliating a topic, and shall quit it, with simply expressing my fervent hope, that our sad experience of the evils of Nullification, and the rejection of its dogmas by every Legislature in the Union which has considered them, may operate as a solemn and solitary warning to deter others from imitating the example of those, who, had they not been "driven from their position," would have plunged their State into all the miseries of anarchy and bloodshed and civil war, and, ultimately, have subjected themselves to the degradation of submission to the Government which they had resisted, or of dependence upon a foreign power.

If the Convention which assembled at Columbia, in March last, had limited their acts to the repeal of their Ordinance of Nullification, the wounds which have been inflicted upon our distracted State, might have been healed by the lenient hand of time; the wrongs and injuries which a minority have suffered, might have been forgiven or forgotten, and, gradually, that harmony might have re-appeared, which formerly prevailed among us. But, unfortunately, with that Convention originated another Ordinance, declaring, "that the allegiance of the citizens of this State, is due to the said State, and that obedience only, and not allegiance, is due by them to any other power or authority; and "empowering the general Assembly of the said State, from time to time; when they may deem it proper, to provide for the administration, to the citizens and officers of the State, or such of the officers as they may think fit, of suitable oaths or affirmations, binding them to the observance of such allegiance, and abjuring all other allegiance: and also to define what shall amount to a violation of their allegiance, and to provide the proper punishment for such violation." With such an Ordinance as this, to be enforced in the discretion of the Legislature, to talk of our rights and liberties is an insult to common sense.

I am aware of the argument which is relied upon by our political opponents, that test oaths are required in several of the States, and that a State may unquestionably, insist that the citizens in the form of an oath, shall manifest their obedience to her Constitution and Laws. These positions I do not controvert. I except not to a test oath, in the abstract, but to the purposes to which it has been applied. The Federal Constitution was as directly ratified by the people of this State, as was the Constitution

of this State. The allegiance of a citizen of the United States to the United States, is as substantive and obligatory, as is that of a citizen of the State to the State. Within the sphere of Federal Allegiance, the United States are supreme: within the sphere of State Allegiance, the State is supreme. Federal and State Allegiance are perfectly consistent; instead of interfering with, they mutually strengthen each other. Notwithstanding the distinction which is drawn in the Ordinance of the Convention, between allegiance and obedience, (suggested, I presume, by the same spirit of paradoxical subtlety as the dogmas of Nullification,) their meanings are identical. Allegiance is the obedience which every citizen owes to the Constitution and the Laws of his Country. A citizen of South Carolina is also a citizen of the United States, consequently, he owes Allegiance to the Constitution and Laws of South Carolina, and to the Constitution and Laws of the United States. Should he, nevertheless, be involved in any difficulty, proceeding from an apparent or real variance, between the laws of the State and of the United States, by the Constitution of the latter, "the laws of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, shall be the supreme law of the land;" should doubts arise, in the judgment of the citizen, whether a law of the United States has been "made in pursuance of the Constitution," those doubts, by the provisions of the Federal Constitution, are to be resolved, in the last resort, by the Federal Judiciary. Keeping steadily in view the true meaning of Allegiance, and these provisions of the Constitution of the United States, no citizen can be embarrassed by the subject of his Allegiance. When, therefore, the State, by an Ordinance, requires her citizens to take a test oath, by which they abjure all Allegiance, excepting to herself, it is obvious, that they must either violate that Allegiance, which they are constitutionally and conscientiously bound to observe towards the United States, or by refusing to do so, be rendered amenable to any pains and penalties, (extending, even, to death and confiscation of property,) which may be imposed upon them by the Legislature of the State. It is against such a test oath as this, that I enter my protest—a test oath, unconstitutional, vindictive, and cruel, exhibiting a melancholy proof of the reckless extremes, into which a dominant party will rush for the attainment of their object, when misled by narrow prejudices, blinded by exclusive feelings, and infuriated by burning resentments. Until the Ordinance containing this test oath be annulled, it must be execrated by all who recognize the Federal Constitution as a Constitution. It usurps the exercise of a power which no State, *in the Union*, can grant—invades the sanctuary of the heart—tramples upon the sacred rights of conscience—and prescribes to citizens of South Carolina and of the United States, to abjure that Allegiance from which they cannot be absolved, except by expatriation or revolution.

The radical error which pervades all the reasonings of the advocates of Nullification is this—they have not distinguished between constitutional and natural rights—between rights under the Constitution and beyond it. As this State always acknowledged the Federal Constitution, she could not be relieved from a protective tariff, upon the ground of its being unconstitutional, otherwise than in some of the modes warranted by the Constitution, among which Nullification was not included. When, by her sole au-

thority, she undertook to annul a protective tariff, she exercised an extra-constitutional and revolutionary power, derived from the rights of man and of nature, paramount to all Constitutions, although she never declared that she had seceded from the Union. Had she made this declaration, and acted upon it, she would have been entitled to adopt such measures as she deemed necessary for the accomplishment of her object, for in revolutions self-preservation is the supreme law. She might then have called upon her citizens to renounce their Allegiance to the Union, and to have nullified the Constitution and all the laws of the Union. Placed in this situation, she must either have settled her differences with the United States peaceably, by treaty, or failing in this, she must have appealed to arms, and abided by the issue of the contest. In this struggle, they might have been compelled, at their peril, to choose the side which they would maintain.

Before resuming my seat, I will offer to you a few remarks upon a subject which has created no little excitement. I allude to the "Act" "further to provide for the collection of duties upon imports," for my vote in favor of the passage of which, the harshest epithets of censure and crimination have been lavished upon me. When that act was passed, the Ordinance of the Convention was in force, by which all protective tariff acts were declared "null and void, and no law, and all contracts, promises and obligations made or entered into with purpose to secure the duties imposed by the said acts, and all judicial proceedings which shall be hereafter had in affirmance thereof, shall be held utterly null and void."—This ordinance came into operation from and after the 1st day of February, 1833, from which period, it interdicted "appeals from the State Courts to the Supreme Court, in any cases within the purview of the ordinance," required "all persons holding, or hereafter elected to any offices, civil or military, under the State, (members of the Legislature excepted) to take an oath to execute the ordinance," and forbade jurors to be impanelled, unless they swore "well and truly to obey, execute and enforce it." If this ordinance was constitutional, Congress had no right to interfere with it. If it was unconstitutional, they were bound to endeavor to defeat it. For the reasons which I have already submitted to you, as well as for many others which are familiar to you, Congress entertained no doubts as to the unconstitutionality of the ordinance, they had, therefore, only to deliberate upon the expediency of the measures which they should adopt to prevent its enforcement. Had they been quiescent, they would, impliedly, have conceded, that the ordinance was constitutional, and that the Federal Government could not protect itself: *that* government would then have been annihilated for a government which cannot execute its laws, ceases *to be a government*. Upon the passage or rejection of the Act of the 2d March, 1833, depended the momentous alternative, whether the Federal Constitution should exist, or be prostrated at the feet of a dominant party in a State. Happily for the integrity of the Union, and the honor and salvation of the country, Congress were faithful to the trust which was reposed in them, and in their performance of it, kept themselves within the pale of their legitimate powers. Those parts of their Act which authorize the employment of military force, (which can only be defensively employed)

are sanctioned by precedents upon our Statute Books, during the administrations of Gen. WASHINGTON and of JEFFERSON, (the constitutionality and expediency of which are admitted) authorizing the employment of that species of coercion, under less guarded restrictions, and under circumstances much less imperious; and those parts of the Act, for which no precedents have been furnished, because the exigencies demanding them had not previously occurred, were introduced for the purposes of preventing collision between our citizens, and the shedding of fraternal blood, and to counteract the Ordinance of the Convention, which set the laws at defiance. Had the President, who is bound to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," and to "take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed," not informed the Congress of the desperate legislation of South Carolina, and not recommended those means which were expedient, in order "that the laws might be faithfully executed," he would have been guilty of the violation of his official oath. Had Congress, who, by the Constitution, have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers vested in them, and "in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof," not passed an Act, without which the laws of Congress could not have been carried into execution, they would have been guilty of a violation of their official duty. The Act which was passed in pursuance of these high obligations, (the true character of which, upon a candid examination, will be perceived to be such as I have stated it to be) has, nevertheless, been stigmatized as inconsistent with the principles of freedom, as subversive of the rights of the States, as unconstitutional, ferocious and bloody, as having been recommended by the President in the spirit of a fiend, that he might execute it with the malignaty of a demon.

The repeal of the ordinance of nullification of November, 1832, must have been produced by some measure of the Federal Government. But two measures were resorted to by the Government; the passage of the Tariff Act of 2d March, 1833, and of the Act for the collection of duties on imports of the same date. It cannot be presumed that the repeal was owing to the first mentioned Act, because it enforces a protective tariff, in diametrical opposition to "the fixed and unalterable resolve of the Convention "that a protecting tariff should be no longer enforced within the limits of South Carolina;" the conclusion, consequently, is irresistible that the repeal is to be attributed to the latter Act. By the passage, therefore, of that Act denounced by the Convention, as "unauthorized by the Constitution, subversive of that Constitution, and destructive of public liberty," the monster Nullification was strangled, the march of misrule and anarchy arrested, the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws maintained, and the cheering assurance afforded to those who venerate the Constitution and the laws, that our representatives will not be found slumbering and sleeping upon their posts when the citadel of our liberties is menaced, either by internal foes or foreign enemies.

Some of the observations which I have submitted to you may appear to be alien to the occasion for which we have met. But it seems to me, that on the anniversary of our National Birth Day, we ought to take a comprehensive view of the good and evil by which we are surrounded.

Thanks to the discernment and patriotism of the people, and to the wisdom and energy of our Government, we have been delivered from the miseries of practical Nullification, with which we were recently threatened; but the storm which was raised by its agitators has not yet subsided; the angry passions which they generated have not yet sunk into repose. We have heard it iterated and reiterated—that the battle with the General Government is not over, that it has just commenced—that the State cannot protect herself without being armed for resistance—that no State can be sovereign, which permits appeals from her judiciary to the Federal Courts—that the protective system constitutes but a small part of our controversy with the General Government; and in the Convention at Columbia, in March last, it was said by a delegate, “if a confederacy of the Southern States could now be obtained, should we not deem it a happy termination of our long struggle for our rights against oppression?” When sentiments and declarations such as these are avowed, unabated firmness and vigilance are still requisite on the part of those who believe that the Federal Constitution is calculated to effect the great objects for which it was formed, in order to counteract any open or secret machinations, by which we may be deprived of the inestimable benefits of that Constitution, and by which the Union may be torn into fragments, and a Southern Confederation created from its mangled members. Vigilance and firmness ought to be exerted by all, who would deprecate the success of a revolution, of which the inevitable concomitants and consequences would be— anarchy, intestine war, and military despotism. The members of this Society, which bears the name of WASHINGTON, are peculiarly called upon to be foremost whenever the Union is endangered. Professing ourselves to be disciples of Washington, we should imbibe a portion of that spirit, which animated him when alive; like him, in the worst of times, we should never despair of the Republic; like him, we should dedicate our days and our nights, our hands and our hearts, to the preservation of the honor and the security of our common country; and like him, we should resolve, either to conquer in the cause of independence, liberty, and union; or to perish in the glorious conflict.

Colonel Drayton concluded with a farewell address to the Society, in which he spoke in appropriate terms, of their meritorious exertions to serve the cause which they had espoused, in spite of the terrors of proscription, and the discouragement inseparable from an organized majority, which controlled and directed the power and patronage of the State—gratefully thanked them for their disinterested and persevering support of himself—requested them to receive his warmest wishes for their individual welfare and happiness, and to believe that he entertained towards them, the sincerest personal respect and esteem—expressed his fervent hopes that the dark clouds which now lowered over our political horizon, would be dissipated, by the interposition of that Omnipotent and merciful Being, who wielded the destinies of men and nations—assured the Society, that wherever he might be, and whatever might be his lot, he should always rejoice in the prosperity, and mourn over the adversity of South Carolina, and that he should be ready and willing in any future crisis, to identify himself with her fortunes, and to render to her all the aid, within the sphere of his limited means and talents.