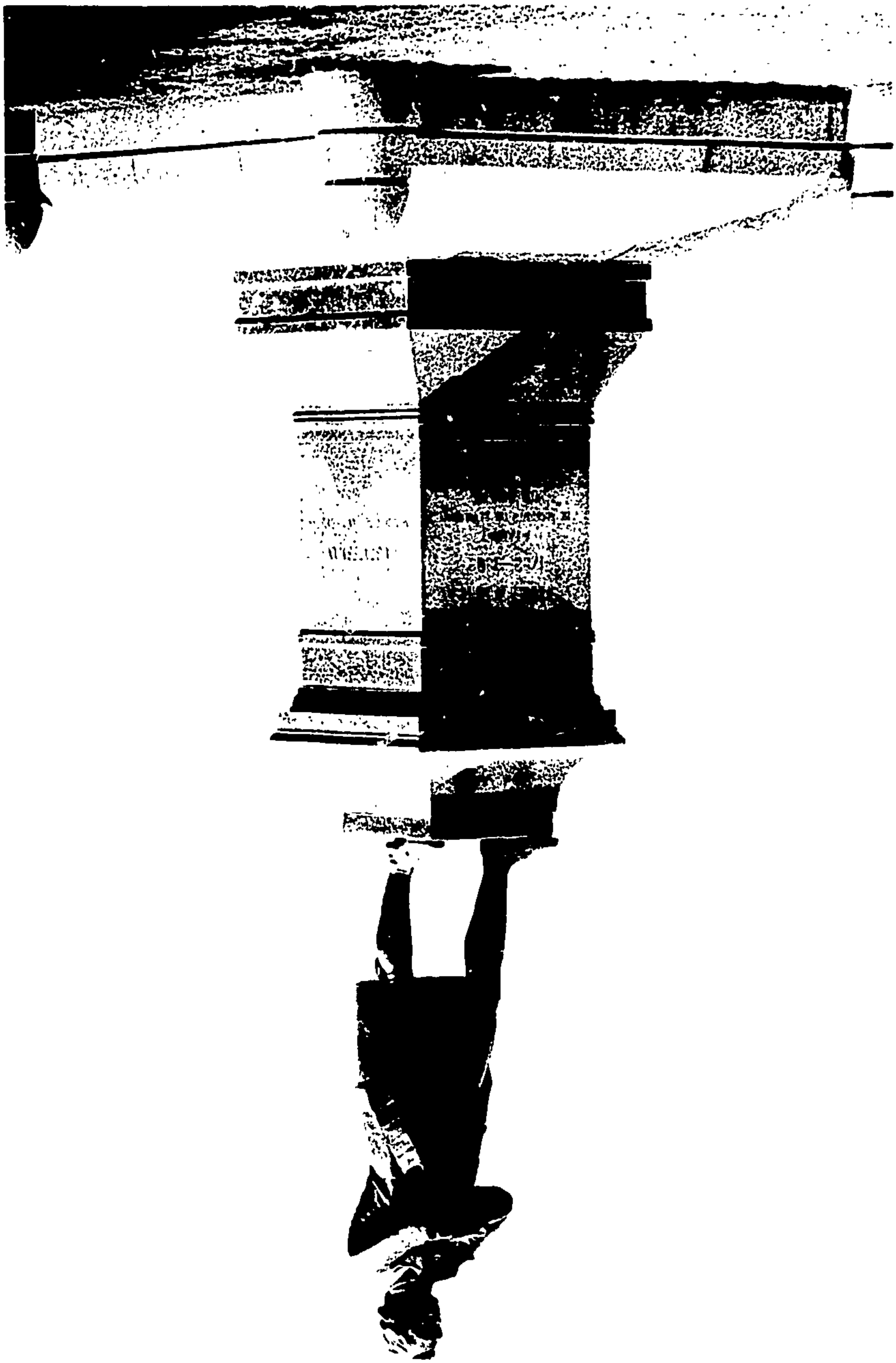

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

City Council and Citizens of Boston,

ON THE

ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

JULY 5, 1880.

BY

ROBERT DICKSON SMITH.

Boston:
PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL.
M D C C C L X X X .


PRESS OF
ROCKWELL &
CHURCHILL
BOSTON.

CITY OF BOSTON.

IN BOARD OF ALDERMEN, July 6, 1880.

Ordered, That the thanks of the City Council be tendered to ROBERT DICKSON SMITH, Esq., for the very appropriate and eloquent Oration upon the life and services of SAMUEL ADAMS, which was delivered before the municipal authorities of this city, July 5, 1880, upon the occasion of the dedication of the statue of that Revolutionary Patriot in this city; and that a copy of said oration be requested for publication.

Passed. Sent down for concurrence.

HUGH O'BRIEN,
Chairman.

IN COMMON COUNCIL, July 8, 1880.

Passed in concurrence.

HARVEY N. SHEPARD,
President.

Approved July 12, 1880.

FREDERICK O. PRINCE,
Mayor.

A true copy.

Attest: S. F. McCLEARY,
City Clerk.

Boston, July 14, 1880.

Gentlemen of the City Council:—

In accordance with the request contained in your order, I take pleasure in sending you herewith a copy of my address delivered upon the 5th of July, and remain

Your obliged and obedient servant,

ROBERT D. SMITH.

ORATION.

Mr. Mayor, Gentlemen of the Council, and Fellow-Citizens:—

Although the day we celebrate is a national one; although this anniversary commemorates the birthery of a nation, weak and feeble then,—composed of scattered farmers and sailors on "the shores of the misty Atlantic;" a nation, which,—as the genie in the Eastern fable, rising before the astonished eyes of the fisherman, from the vessel cast upon the shore,—in a trice, has spread like a cloud over a continent, wider than the whole civilized world beside; yet, as in the town of Boston, more than in any other place, and in this, more than in any other colony, were sown the seeds and are to be found the causes, the habits of thought and principles of action, which brought about the great result,—the American Revolution; and as Samuel Adams, a native and citizen all his life of this town, more than any other man, kindled and kept in a constant glow the fires of patriotism, but also, more than any other, may be truly said to have represented the principles and anticipated the

consequences of the American struggle for independence, — it has been thought proper, at this time, to call to mind some incidents of his life and times, and that the principles of which he was the exponent and personification should be the lofty subject of my theme.

I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your selection of a subject when you invited me to speak to you on this occasion. Your indication of your wishes will render this selection not invidious; and my treatment will not seem partial, or particular, by reason of a choice from out a galaxy of heroes and statesmen, among whom one star only differeth from another star in glory.

In that Pantheon of departed heroes, the old hall of the National Capitol at Washington, to which each State has been invited by Congress to contribute two representatives of her history, Massachusetts has, within a few years, placed two noble statues, — the one is of John Winthrop, as most worthily representing our early colonial period; the other of Samuel Adams, the personification of the Revolution. It has been said that your Legislature hesitated long between the latter and his more distinguished kinsman, John Adams, the second President of the United States.

But the great goods of fortune which had attended

the latter, the more national and public rewards which had been his during his long life, so many and such as seldom or never have fallen to the lot of another, doubtless had their weight with the powers which determined the selection. The Greek philosopher said, "No man is to be pronounced happy before his death;" and he mentioned as the most fortunate person whom he had known one who was the father of two virtuous youths, both upon the same day victors in the Olympic games. This father, when raised in the arms of his sons in the moment of congratulation, died from excess of joy.

So it was with John Adams, who upon the 4th of July, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, while his son was the President of the United States, upon the same day with his fellow-signer of the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, expired, in the full possession of everything that can make old age desirable.

It has been said, "If the chariot and horses of fire had been vouchsafed to him, he could scarcely have had a more splendid translation, or departed in a brighter blaze of glory."

But Samuel Adams lived and died poor, and post-humous justice has at last come, in some measure, to even up the moral equities, by a recognition which he would indeed have valued.

Of the marble statue at Washington a bronze reproduction by the same artist has been presented to your city by the munificence of Mr. Jonathan Phillips.

This noble gift is to be placed most fittingly in Dock Square, among the streets which Adams frequented, near the Green Dragon Tavern, where he talked and taught, upon his right hand, old Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty which he so often rocked, and looking straight upon the heights of Charlestown. It is a typical statue.

Thy spirit, Independence, let me share,
Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye!
Thee let me follow with my bosom bare,
Nor heed the blast which howls along the sky.

Born in 1722, and dying at the age of over fourscore years (in 1803), the latter half of his life extended over the period which most "tried men's souls." And yet his story is singularly wanting in romantic action or striking incident. With the exception of one or two noble scenes, *his* is a history of writings, of conferences, of resolutions and State papers.

The son of a Boston merchant, graduated at Harvard College, when he took his master's degree, in 1743, he proposed as his thesis the question, "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magis-

trate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." On this question he maintained the affirmative. This is the text of the sermon of his life, and the motive of his subsequent political career.

On leaving college he gave some attention to the study of divinity, but soon abandoned that profession for mercantile pursuits, in which his father was engaged.

It was not until he was forty-four years of age that he was sent by his fellow-townsmen to represent them in the Great and General Court of the Province.

Up to that time his highest political office had been the chairmanship of the town-meetings of the town of Boston, at which he usually presided, so that the town-house came to be called his throne.

But during all this period he had interested himself so much in political discussion, in conversation with the people in the rope-walk, the ship-yard, and the Green Dragon tavern, and in writing in the public prints, that he had come to be considered as the most stanch and steady friend of the liberties of the people, and the most skilful organizer of the popular party in the province.

In those days, Boston, a peninsula, less than half of its present size (so much of its territory has been stolen from the sea), contained less than

sixteen thousand people, mostly dwelling in one corner thereof, — between Summer street and the harbor.

This handful of people were actively engaged in trade and the fisheries. For two hundred and fifty years since, also on the Fourth of July (1631), within the first year after the foundation of your city, the first vessel, Governor Winthrop's bark, "Fortune of the Bay," had been launched, and commerce had so increased in a short hundred years, that during the early manhood of Samuel Adams, more than one vessel on the average entered and cleared from this port each and every day of the year.

So that before the blighting legislation which preceded the Revolution had crippled trade, the harbor and wharves of the peninsula were filled with the clamor of men, and the creaking of cordage, — "*clamor virorum stridorque rudentum*," — and Boston was the principal and most important town of North America.

At the North End, where were the wharves and the ship-yards, there was a certain political organization, made up in part of hardy shipwrights, and, therefore, called the Caulker's Club.

This Caulker's Club, of which Samuel Adams was the leading spirit, has given, probably, to the language of English-speaking nations the

much-abused word "caucus;" though composed of a few mechanics and artisans in a remote American village, then out of the world one may say, this club has exercised a greater influence upon the destinies of a nation than all the Jacobin clubs of France.

For, however important to the cause of American liberty was the eloquence of Otis (that flame of fire), the logic of John Adams, or, later, the courage of military leaders like Warren, Prescott, or Pickering, before the vague aspirations of the other colonists had taken form, Samuel Adams, backed by this club, was preëminent in embodying, uniting, and directing the will of his constituents, and in collecting the scattered threads of opposition, which would otherwise have been factious, and weaving them together into the strong cable of constitutional liberty.

Therefore it is that he has been called by Jefferson "The Palinurus;" by others, the "Father of the Revolution."

He was made, says John Adams, "a wedge of steel, to split the knot of lignum-vitæ which tied North America to England."

It also happened that in Boston, a few years before his birth, was established the first American newspaper, the "News-letter," and at the time of his birth

one other paper, the "Courant," was also published, in the office of which the printer, Benjamin Franklin, was working as an apprentice.

Young Samuel Adams, first of Americans, recognized the power of the press as a mighty engine for moulding the popular thought, and, gifted with a keen and polished pen, "every dip of which," Governor Bernard said, "stung him like a horned snake," he made the newspapers the daily vehicle of his high thoughts and noble aspirations.

This was before we came to blows; this was when people had time to read and to think.

It was when liberty, religious or political, was not a matter of course, and when the danger of oppression was a cloud arising out of the "black water," as the Hindoos call the ocean, and coming across the seas from the mother country with every Eastern breeze.

Long before he was elected a representative of his native town, his discussions in the newspaper, over various signatures, of public questions announced his favorite doctrines, which have now become the watchwords of constitutional liberty,— such as that government rests upon the equal rights of all men; that the welfare and safety of the people are paramount to all other law, and that there exists in them a right to change bad constitutions; that mag-

istrates may be guilty, and often are guilty of treason and rebellion; that the union of the several functions of government is dangerous to liberty; and, as to the application of his doctrines to the colony, that her representation in Parliament was impossible; that Parliament, or the king, or both, had no right to abrogate the liberties, or legislate for the colonies.

The first denial of the right of Parliament to tax the colonists contained in any official paper; the first opposition to the Stamp Act; the first suggestion of a union of the colonies, are in the instructions of the town of Boston to its representatives, drafted in 1764 by Samuel Adams.

All this was before the struggle, and during the mutterings of the storm. When the storm came, as Webster said of his father, "Through the fire and blood of seven years of Revolutionary war, he shrank from no toil, no danger, to serve his country."

It was said of another civilian of the Revolution, Benjamin Franklin, in most happy phrase and with a double meaning, "*Eripuit* COELO FULMEN *sceptrum que tyrannis;* but when the thunder-bolt, which Adams had forged and placed glowing in the hands of liberty, was growing cold and dull during the trials of the Revolution, he returned home, again and again, to breathe upon it, from the fiery furnace of his zeal, and as he moulded and pointed

it anew upon the iron anvil of his will the sparks of patriotism flew upward to the heavens.

From the age of forty-four to seventy-seven, for thirty years, as Representative of Boston in the Great and General Court of the Province; and as Clerk of that body, as Secretary of the Colony, as delegate to the Continental Congress, where he signed the Declaration of Independence, and was chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and represented Massachusetts till 1781, soon after which peace was declared; as member of the constitutional convention of the Commonwealth, in which he framed the Bill of Rights; as Senator and President of the Senate of this State; as Lieutenant-Governor, and Governor from the death of Hancock, in 1794, — his was a life of constant, untiring, and laborious public service.

Unsuccessful in his private business, in which his father's fortune was also lost, — engaged in trade at a most disastrous period, — from the time of his engaging in the public service he was supported by the pittance accorded in those times to public servants, and this was at times in arrears, and paid, during a portion of the time, in a terribly depreciated currency.

Living always in decent poverty, which was supported and relieved by the industry and

economy of his wife, when he retired from public life, in 1797, he had no means of support; and when he died, in 1803, it has been said that he would have been carried to his last resting-place (in the Old Granary Burying Ground) at the charge of his friends, had not the death of his only son given him a small support for his declining years.

These last years were clouded by grief and mental disease. He left no male descendant to bear his name. At home he was a firm opponent of all extravagance, dissipation, and sumptuary expense, and an advocate and example of the sternest republican simplicity in life and morals as the surest guaranties of the perpetuation of liberty. Indeed, he said he hoped to make Boston a "Christian Sparta." He caused the abolition of the stocks and of the whipping-posts, as being derogatory to the dignity of freemen.

The cultivation of private and social virtue and the education of the children of all citizens by free schools may be said to have been his hobbies.

Such was his own frugality that it was not till after middle life that he had a single silver spoon in his house. When he was a delegate to the Continental Congress he was actually pro-

vided with a fitting suit of clothes by the kindness of certain friends in Boston, and, this being captured by the British, he was obliged to procure another in Philadelphia, at the expense of the Commonwealth. Such was his Roman firmness that, though he had served during seven years, as it was said, with "a halter about his neck," he opposed the pardon of those convicted of treason during Shay's rebellion, on the ground that one who rebelled against a constitutional government, in which he had an equal voice, was worthy of the severest punishment — death.

As early as 1764 he had opposed the slave-trade, and when a negro girl was offered as a present to his wife, he declined to receive her as a slave, saying that "Surry must be free on crossing the threshold of his house." She afterwards served his family faithfully thirty years.

Such is a short view of the life of the patriot who *organized* the Revolution, who gave his life to the cause from a pure love of liberty and a conscientious belief in the natural right of a people to resist what is wrong in government and oppressive to the many. Life to him was very serious. It was a continued struggle with poverty, a resistance to power and oppression, a watchful battle for freedom and self-government.

The scenes in which he lived are our early history, the steps taken by this province in the new and untried path of liberty; and familiar as they are let me recall to your recollection some of those well-known incidents with which my subject is connected; and in so doing, to show briefly how far the notions entertained by him have impressed themselves upon subsequent times; how far his sibylline prescience is fairly to be considered as a guide.

The germs or seeds of the American Revolution are to be found more immediately in the origin and character of the first settlers of this land and colony. Whatever may be said of their narrowness and bigotry, they were

> —— Good yeomen,
> Whose limbs were made in England,
> To show us here the mettle of their pasture.

They were men of logic and courage, willing to suffer for opinion's sake, ready to die for that which they thought right.

This same spirit which animated the early colonists, the spirit of liberty and resistance to arbitrary power, was left, no doubt, in England.

Indeed, it had a temporary success in the resistance to Charles Stewart, culminating in his trial and execution; and after the restoration of Charles II. in

the more peaceable and permanent revolution of 1688, which secured the rule of the people of England by and through their commons.

The parallel development of the same characteristics among kindred peoples, under different circumstances, must always be a matter of interest to the student of history.

The times in which a man lives, the people among whom he is bred, insensibly to him form his character and determine his actions.

It is a mistake to suppose that any great popular movement depends upon the will or genius of a single person; much as one man may guide and direct the movements of a people, he is still a child of destiny.

So Samuel Adams, the last of the Puritans, as he has been called, I think falsely, was the legitimate result of the people, the country, and the times, and of the century of colonial life preceding his birth. Men of his character, though less in degree and force, though not combining his many qualities of head and heart, fitting him to lead men, there were many among the Puritan fathers. Each ship brought some of them to the bleak or rugged shores of either cape which guards our bay.

Indeed, it has been said that Cromwell himself was stopped at Bristol on his way to America.

The descendants of these Puritans, *Magnanimi Remi Nepotes*, have peopled a great belt of the continent with men of ruling minds. Whenever a man rises to eminence in the northern range of States, it is found that the bones of his ancestors are resting in the old graveyards of the Commonwealth, which should be the Mecca of the now imperial West. The ancestors of Generals Grant and Sherman lie with the ancestors of Adams and Franklin. The ancestors of these men may claim to belong to a commanding race ; when in power, indeed, capable of tyranny, but as subjects, no people more capable of free thought and action or of stubborn resistance to oppression.

To these emigrants to the province, enterprising and conscientious, Puritans, Independents, Sectaries, disposed to question for themselves and without much reverence for authority, the kings of the Stewart line did not scruple to grant territories in North America, extending from the Atlantic to the "Western Seas," to which these kings had only the right of discovery.

Connected with the general passion for colonization, which had taken possession of all European nations, there was in the minds of English sovereigns a feeling that active, uneasy, and factious subjects might well spend their energies in subduing the wilderness of the New World.

So little was the well-being of the colonists an object of fostering care, that all sorts of criminals were transported to some of the more flourishing plantations and sold to the planters for temporary periods of servitude, and all the Colonial Acts of Massachusetts abolishing the slave-trade were vetoed by the king or royal governors.

The magnitude of the colonial system was neither anticipated nor understood at the time of granting the early charters, and the Colonial Charter of Massachusetts Bay, as well as the Province Charter, contained certain very important provisions, upon which the conservative, as well as the independent, subject could found a claim to the right of self-government.

The material provisions of these charters granted the colonists power — I quote from the first charter — "to make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of said company, and for the government of said lands and plantations, and the people inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them, from time to time, shall be thought meet — so as such laws and ordinances be not contrary to the state of this own realm of England." [Col. Ch. 1628, p. 9.]

"That they shall live under our allegiance." *Ib.* 11.

"That all our subjects who shall go to and inhabit

(said plantations, etc.) shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within any of the dominions of us, our heirs and successors, as if they were born in England." *Ib.*

Upon these clauses hang all the law and the prophets, so far as the legal or constitutional aspect of the controversy went between the sovereign and the colonists of Massachusetts Bay.

These colonists were left much to themselves for a hundred years, during the troubles of Charles with the parliaments, and during the severe rule of Cromwell, with whom they were disposed to sympathize; for it is true, I believe, that as late as 1660, the Regicides, Goffe and Whalley, were publicly received and entertained in Boston. It was not till fourteen months after the restoration of Charles II. that he was proclaimed king, in Boston. And it was actually thirty days before the news of the Revolution of 1688 reached Boston, that the people of the town had risen and driven out the royal governor.

The colonists had grown strong in liberty and in self-reliance, and when they were thought ripe for taxation they were found also ready to maintain their rights under their charters, and to contend that it was the birthright of Englishmen to be taxed only by their own consent; and as by their situation and circumstances the colonists were not and could not be repre-

sented in Parliament, they could not be taxed by that body, but only by their own representatives in the General Court, whose laws were subject only to the veto of the sovereign, to whom alone they owed allegiance.

This position, in conflict with the supreme power of Parliament, which claimed the right to impose taxes, gave great umbrage to the partisans of the ministry.

Nay, some of the bolder and freer of the colonists were ready to go further, and to rest their demands upon the natural right of men; and even to take the ground that governments rested upon the consent of the governed, and were really intended for the benefit of the whole people, — a doctrine which has since obtained some currency, but then was not at all palatable to those who governed, and especially to those who maintained the divine rights of kings.

Among the latter class was Samuel Adams, who was a friend, as well as a leader, of the people, and by nature extremely jealous and watchful of assumed or centralized power.

Trained in the school of habitual opposition, and always resting upon his arms before the watch-fire of liberty, the fibre of his mind was of that toughness, and his nature so undaunted and incorruptible, that no want of success for a moment damped his courage.

He early saw the end that must come, — that the colonists must fight at last for their liberties.

To that test he was willing to submit the cause, and his prescience foretold the result.

As soon as he was embarked in the legislative life, and his character was known in England, and became a source of annoyance to the ministry, and it was also known that he was very poor, it was proposed, as usual in those days and with the ministry of George III., when the clamorous grew troublesome, to silence him with some office in the gift of government.

Gov. Hutchinson, whom he was opposing, in answer to some friend who asked why he was not so silenced, replied, "Such is the obstinacy and inflexible disposition of the man that he never can be conciliated by any office or gift whatever."

Some years later, when he had been warned on the night of the 18th of April, 1775, the eve of Lexington and Concord, and on the morning of the 19th was escaping from Lexington at dawn, through the fields, in company with a friend, he said, "This is a glorious day."

His friend, supposing he alluded to the weather, said, "It is very pleasant, indeed."

"I mean," said Adams, "this is a glorious day for America."

The story is too long to tell of acts of Samuel Adams which go to make up the history of the Revolution, but it seems to me that I may be pardoned if I recall to you at this time the oft-told tale of the Boston Massacre, and of the events immediately preceding, and particularly because that 5th of March, 1770, was for twelve years celebrated by our city as its anniversary of independence, and such men as Joseph Warren, John Hancock, and John Lowell, were the orators of that anniversary. It was not until 1783 that the celebration was merged in that of the 4th of July, of which it was the precursor. In 1783 Samuel Adams was one of the committee to select the orator for the first celebration of this day.

One year, then, after the reign of George III. began, a conspiracy was set on foot to try the question of strength with the colonies; which question the king declared he would never relinquish but with his crown and life; and Boston was selected by an obstinate monarch as the field for the grand debate.

This we now know from the lips of his own accomplices, his ministers.

In 1761 application was made to the courts of the province in aid of the collectors of custom for the celebrated writs of assistance. The eloquence of Otis in opposition to the application,

and the excitement manifested by the colonists at this invasion of their liberties, caused the court presided over by Hutchinson, after several adjournments, to shrink from the responsibility of granting such writs, and to refrain from giving judgment. Grenville then devised the Stamp Act, and the appointment of Oliver as a distributor of stamps again aroused the watchfulness of the colonists.

The stamp-office near the custom-house was demolished by a mob, and Oliver's house attacked and damaged. Such violence was extremely distasteful to Samuel Adams, who declared when the mob afterwards attacked Hutchinson's house, that he "would have rather lost his right hand."

Then it was determined to overawe Boston by a standing army, and the Fourteenth and Twenty-ninth Regiments of the king's troops were quartered in the town. The forces of the king had before always been quartered at the Castle William, as Governor's Island or Fort Independence was called; and, as may be imagined, the adverse occupation of the town by regulars was productive of vexations endless and frequent collisions.

In these conflicts the "town-born turned out," as the phrase was, and generally had the advantage. The soldiers burned for vengeance; and before the

5th of March, 1770, when Lord North, in his place in Parliament, was speaking of the colonies, and of the determination of the king to subdue them by force, and predicting his success, and declaring that America should lie prostrate at his feet, — before that very evening it was whispered by the soldiers that there would be blood. Upon the evening of the 5th of March, the moon was shining upon the newly fallen snow in the streets of Boston, in which many persons were moving to and fro, when several boys and citizens, perhaps not of the better sort, assailed with words a sentinel before the custom-house in King, now State, street. He finally called to his aid the guard, six in number, with whom came Capt. Preston, the officer of the day, and finally when from words came blows, and sticks, and stones, such was the irritation of the soldiers that they, either with or without command of their officer, discharged their pieces upon the crowd; each musket was loaded with two balls. To show the malice of their aim, it is said each bullet is accounted for, and is shown to have inflicted a wound upon some of the bystanders; three citizens were mortally injured and eight wounded, no one of whom had taken any part in the actual assault. The bells of the churches were rung; every man in the town turned out. "The drums beat at dead of night." The king's troops were under arms. They were

drawn up in the narrow part of State street, adjoining the Old State House, and stood there confronting the angry populace, swaying to and fro in the unlighted streets.

Gaunt murder stalked among the people.

At last the soldiers were ordered, at the request of the Governor from the balcony, to retire to their barracks, and, upon Hutchinson's promise that the law should take its course, the people were induced to retire to their homes, to meet upon the morrow in the town-house.

The meeting was adjourned, on account of numbers, to the Old South Church. John Adams says that ten thousand to twelve thousand persons were estimated to be collected in the venerable building. This is probably an exaggeration, when we consider that the town could not have contained more than a quarter of that number of male citizens. Jonathan Williams was chosen moderator. A remonstrance to the Governor was ordained, and a demand that the regular troops be removed from the town. Always willing that others should have offices of emoluments and honor, Sam Adams, when danger threatened, was at the front. He was appointed chairman of the committee to present this remonstrance, and to announce that the citizens could no longer tolerate the presence of troops within the town. This resolution he, at the

head of his committee, bore the next day to Governor Hutchinson.

It was not in Adams' nature to fear any man, much less his adversary, Hutchinson, who had spoken of him as the "Chief Incendiary."

He was fully roused, though very calm; breathing the spirit of the Roman Cassius, —

> —— but for my single self,
> I had as lief not be as live to be
> In awe of such a thing as I myself —

he appeared before the Council.

This picture has been described by a master hand. It is the dramatic scene of Samuel Adams' life.

In the Council Chamber, in the old State House, then adorned by two noble portraits of Kings Charles II. and James II., in splendid golden frames, — the gift of Governor Bernard, pictures of which no painter in England at that day was capable, — sat Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, with eight and twenty councillors, clothed in scarlet robes, snowy wigs, and gold-laced hats.

The Governor was supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, taking precedence of all the Councillors as Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces,

and seated by the right hand of the Chief Magistrate.

Before them appeared Samuel Adams, dressed probably also in a cloak of red broadcloth, as he is painted in Faneuil Hall, a cocked hat, and a tie wig, and without a sword; and for himself a man of middle size, with a clear blue eye, and of mild but grave expression, like one who was most earnest, and almost stern, but with whom little children loved to talk. His voice was sweet and melodious, trained in the practice of singing sacred music, — his only recreation; and with moderate tones, though the snow beneath the windows was stained with the blood of his fellow-towns-people, he spoke of the state of the town and of the country, the dangerous, ruinous, and fatal effects of standing armies in populous cities in times of peace, and of the determination of his fellow-citizens that the troops must be removed. His hand and head, then slightly palsied, "a tremor never communicated to his soul," gave additional emphasis to his weighty words. Hutchinson, at the head of his hesitating council, at first replied, "that he had no authority over the king's troops; that they had their separate commander, separate orders and instructions, and that he had no right to interfere." This was a pretence; but Hutchinson had before

him a master of debate, with whom no fallacy in argument, or misquotation of authority, could escape. Adams at once appealed to the charter of the province, which he said made the Governor, and in his absence the Lieutenant-Governor, commander of all the forces within its borders. There were at that time immense and excited assemblies of the people, from day to day, whom nothing but the influence and most solemn promises of Adams and others, that the soldiers should be withdrawn, could restrain; and the whole militia of the city, in sympathy with the people, was in requisition to keep the peace between the citizens and the soldiery. In this delicate crisis Samuel Adams was reasoning calmly with the Governor and Commander and Council upon chartered rights, and dangers of standing armies. The king's people were driven by his arguments from their positions. The Governor and the Council were cowed before him. When the whispering of consultation had ceased Hutchinson broke silence, and said he had consulted with Colonel Dalrymple, and had been authorized to say that he might order one regiment down to the castle, if that would satisfy the people.

"With a self-recollection, a self-command, a self-possession, and a presence of mind, that were

admired by every man present," says John Adams, Samuel Adams arose, with an air of dignity and majesty stretched forth his arm, with harmonious voice and decisive tone said: "If the Lieutenant-Governor, or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have the power to remove one regiment, they have the power to remove two. Nothing short of the total evacuation of this town by all the regular troops will satisfy the public mind, or preserve the peace of this province. If you refuse, it is at your peril. Night is approaching; an immediate answer is expected. Both regiments or none!" These few simple words thrilled through the heart of every freeman present. It is difficult now to read them without emotion. They closed that debate for liberty. "It was then," said Adams afterwards of Hutchinson, "if fancy deceived me not, that I observed his knees to tremble. I thought I saw his face grow pale, and I enjoyed the sight." Samuel Adams stood with folded arms. It is this moment which the artist has seized for the posture of the noble statue, the gift of Mr. Phillips to your city. It is not

The stone which breathes and struggles,
The brass which seems to speak:

but the moment of that pause, so awful to the

minister of a tyrant, clamoring by its silence for a reply, and knowing that only one answer can be returned. *Quum tacet clamat!*

After an awkward pause it was agreed that both regiments should be withdrawn. On their way to the castle, through the crowded streets they were marched to the wharf, attended by the patriot Molineux, to protect them from the indignation of the fellow-citizens of the townsmen who were lying dead. Lord North, with his characteristic humor, always afterwards called these troops "Sam Adams' regiments."

I need not tell you how at the trial of Capt. Preston and his soldiers for murder, which followed, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, leading patriots, by Samuel Adams' influence, were employed for their defence, that nothing might be needed for a fair trial; how, by their skilful efforts and an upright jury, six of the prisoners were wholly acquitted for want of proof, and the other two escaped death by pleading benefit of clergy. I need not mention to you how again he confronted danger, when at the head of a committee of the Legislature he bore the articles of impeachment against Oliver to the Council; how he and John Hancock were alone excepted from Gen. Gage's proclamation of pardon in 1775, "their offences being of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment;" how,

when the ancient government of Massachusetts was abrogated by Great Britain by the repeal of our provincial charter, the formation of the voluntary government was in part the work of Samuel Adams, which Burke says is "among the marvels of history;" how, by his efforts with others during the war, Massachusetts alone gave to the cause one-third of all the men and means furnished by the thirteen colonies, in recognition of which one of the two cannon in the State-house, presented by Congress to this Commonwealth, — all that remained of the four field-pieces constituting the entire Federal artillery at the beginning of the war, — is named "*The Adams*," the other being "The Hancock;" and how, finally, he insisted upon no peace without independence, and finally, when the treaty of peace was negotiating, the power of Adams was exerted in its accustomed manner to save and protect the fisheries, "that nursery of seamen," as he called them; and how, without the fullest guaranty for their safety, his voice and that of Massachusetts was still for war.

But at last the holy cause triumphed, and a treaty of peace was made with Great Britain, in which the independence of the thirteen colonies is acknowledged, and they are designated in the treaty "The United States of America."

During all the long struggle there had been no

destruction of civil government, no resolution of society into its elements, no committee of safety, no reign of terror, no rule of directory or the commune, no cessation of the steady rule of law and order. As Lord Dunmore said of Virginia, "The voluntary government had been obeyed infinitely better than the ancient in its most fortunate periods."

Before peace was actually declared it became proper for the people of this Commonwealth to frame a new constitution for their better government more in accordance with the principles which had been so fully vindicated.

A constitutional convention was convened in 1779, and we are now living under the substantial principles of organic law by it established. In this convention it is probable no one member had so much influence as Samuel Adams. To his hand and brain we owe its more important provisions. We have seen him as a constitutional revolutionist, of a different type from other revolutionists. We now see him as a constructor, as one of the devisors of the charter which is to protect us from ourselves and to enable us to transmit our liberty untarnished to our children.

And I may say, in this place, that so imbued was Samuel Adams with the duty of protecting the rights of minorities, and the free expression

of dissent, that when he was presiding and there was one dissentient voice from the unanimous sentiment of the town-meeting, and that voice was drowned by the tumultuous applause and clamor, he arrested proceedings until this dissent was recorded in due form. Adams returned from Philadelphia to attend to this new frame of government, and as the old State-house, with winding stair and antique gable, had become too small to accommodate the growing needs of the people, and as Samuel Adams afterwards laid the corner-stone of the present capitol of this Commonwealth, whereon arose, to crown the lofty heights of your city, the fair and symmetrical edifice which lifts its shining dome to the blue heavens and looks across the narrow sea on our Marathon at Bunker's Hill, a beacon to the sea-tossed mariner who is wafted to our shores, commanding within its horizon the busy marts and happy homes of half a million prosperous people, — so, in this constitutional convention, he drafted the Bill of Rights, that corner-stone on which rest the very fabric of our State, and the preservation of our liberties for all time.

Senator Hoar, in his remarks upon the presentation of the memorial statues at Washington, — to whom I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness, — said, "Samuel Adams was, I think, the greatest

of our American statesmen; greatest, if we judge him by the soundness and sureness of his opinions on the great questions of his time and of all time; greatest in the strength of original argument by which he persuaded the people to its good."

Most of his convictions have come to be household words of free governments, and received by all parties as political axioms.

Let us consider, then, what is the lesson of this story? What great and still present danger to our State did Samuel Adams foresee, and guard against? It was the unnecessary centralization, or long continuance of power in the hands of any ruler. Eternal vigilance had been the price of liberty; and his theory was to permit, nay, compel, men to govern themselves as immediately as possible, and especially in their domestic concerns. He absolutely trusted the people in the government of their own affairs when allowed to consider the reasons addressed to them. He believed in the education of the masses in the art of self-government. He had been brought up in the town-meeting, — our miniature of a true and pure democracy. He saw and knew how well the town affairs are administered by men not of eminent abilities, but of sound common-sense, clothed only with such powers as are absolutely

necessary to perform the tasks of government entrusted to their care, and acting constantly under the eyes of their constituents, and constantly responsible to them by frequent elections.

Indeed, it was wittily said of him by one of his friends, that if America could be governed by Massachusetts, Massachusetts by Boston, and Boston by a town-meeting in which he presided, he would be satisfied, and it would not be intentionally ill-governed either.

And so of the government of the Commonwealth, his belief was that the people could be absolutely trusted, and while elections should be annual, no great abuse could long exist, provided the people of the State were intelligent, virtuous, honest, and watchful of the doings of their legislators. And of course the permanent well-being of every free State must in the long run rest upon those qualities in the body of her citizens.

Is not this in accordance with the dictates of reason, that power should be delegated only to the extent which the object to be effected demands? Is not the only basis of a republic the general intelligence and honesty of the people?

As Samuel Adams had an important part in drafting the Articles of Confederation which the instructions in 1761 of the town of Boston to its

Representatives had recommended, so he was always sensible of the absolute necessity of giving to Congress the exclusive management of foreign, financial, and military affairs.

So it was that, when the constitution of the United States was offered for the acceptance of the sovereign State of Massachusetts, Samuel Adams, after much scrutiny, favored its acceptance, with the addition of amendments which were adopted, which were his work, and which, when mentioned, will at once be seen to be the very bulwarks of constitutional liberty.

The chief provisions are absolute freedom for religion; the right of the citizens to keep and bear arms; compensation for private property taken for public uses; trial by jury according to common law; and, most important of all, that powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by the Constitution to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

He also advanced the doctrine that the Federal Government should never interfere in the quarrels of other nations, and that the debates of Congress should be open, and not secret.

His belief was that the people of each State should govern themselves through their State governments,

to as great an extent as possible. His fear was of the encroachments of the General Government.

How perfectly the purposes of government are reached by our State constitutions, with what stability they have survived internal discord and foreign invasion, I think you all know. We perhaps can judge of the success of the experiment best by personal experience, which is likely to expose any and all defects.

Let us look at Massachusetts to-day, — and it seems to me that the experiment here has been going on since the time of Governor Winthrop, and does not date merely from the Revolution, — I venture to say that never in the whole history of the world, from the building of Babel to the present time, have there been seen a million and a half of people living together in such material prosperity, — so well fed, so well clothed, so well housed. May we not add, so surrounded by the means of education for themselves and their children; with such opportunities for the free exercise of their religion; with such security to life, liberty, to property, and the pursuit of happiness. And as to the administration of the law, has there been a just complaint for years, that in this Commonwealth all men and their rights in property are not equal before the courts?

Notwithstanding the burdens of taxation, and the tentative character of our legislation, I think it is a subject of congratulation that there is absolutely no class legislation, no legislation avowedly or really intended to diminish the liberty or take away the rights of any man. All men who have served in the Legislature know that party is almost unheard of in its deliberations; that as a body it is honest-minded, absolutely free from bribery, and that it is amenable to reason and common-sense.

The frequent election of its members prevents the office from being much sought for, as one of power or ambition. This also prevents its action ever being directed to improper restraint upon liberty or the pursuit of happiness. If a man does not vote properly, and his constituents can no longer trust his common-sense, he is easily removed.

This is not so with our federal government. There is another state of things almost from the nature of the case. It is more distant; it is more complex. Its action rests upon the concurrent consent of States, and the citizens of States, widely differing in climate, in laws, in manners, in habits, and modes of thought.

It cannot be readily reached; its mistakes cannot be readily remedied.

The presidential chair has been the object of the highest ambition of the most worthy and of the

most wicked men,—of a Washington and of a Burr.

The first term of office is often spent in canvassing for renomination; the second, in naming a successor; and these labors are so shared by the political aspirants in the Senate and House as materially to interfere with the business of the country.

And, although the few great beneficial and necessary powers confided by the Constitution to the General Government cannot be administered by the States, and must be delegated to the United States,—such as our relations with the foreign powers, and the relations of the sovereign States between themselves, the less that government is allowed to meddle with the domestic affairs of the States, with transportation by carriers, the selection of juries, the public schools, state tribunals, elections in which State officers are chosen, the better for us. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, the author of the question of his lecture, "Are we a nation?" said of Alabama, "If they will not have free schools we will compel them." It must be remembered that if the citizens of other States in Congress may impose schools upon Alabama, they may abolish them in Massachusetts.

The central government is not so competent to do the work which we need to have done. It is

more likely to be the prey to abuse and corruption; and those who are dazzled by the image of imperial power, who listen to the cries of sciolists for a strong central government, or the advice of doctrinaires who desire unification and a standing army, — for what purpose they do not tell us, — may be contented with the forms of election which placed upon a throne, of what was once a Republic, a line of Roman Emperors, a Nero or a Heliogabalus: with a plebiscite, by which the old departments of France, swallowed up in the centralizing vortex of Paris, were content to sanction a *coup d'état* of a prince President, or record the wishes of a most corrupt despotism.

We can compare, if we please, in mere military efficiency, the rising of the States long used to peace to put down the great rebellion by their militia, with the official corruption in every department of a strong government which had sapped the life of France, and led to the overwhelming misfortune at Sedan.

Even in the case of a free, representative, but centralized government, is it not natural that Ireland should cry for home rule, where mere absenteeism and a mistake in the law regulating the descent of real property, and the general evils of foreign control have led to such results?

But it will be long, I hope, before the people of Massachusetts will be persuaded to yield a present certain good for an uncertain and doubtful advantage; all the less that the central government has, in those things given it to do by the Constitution, had its capacity tried by foreign war and internal discord. It has sailed securely through the most threatening dangers; it has conducted great maritime wars, and overrun great territories. It has subdued a great rebellion: within its sphere it needs nothing added to its strength.

Let us, then, remember that we are safe while all powers not delegated to the United States are preserved intact in the custody and keeping of the people of the several States.

In the words of Henry Clay, "Our Government is not to be strengthened or our Union preserved by invasions of the rights and powers of the several States. In thus attempting to make our Government strong we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and States as much as possible to themselves; in making itself felt, not by its power, but by its beneficence; not by its control, but in its protection; not in binding the States more closely to the centre, but leaving each to move unobstructed in its particular orbit."

Upon our preserving the wise scheme devised by

our fathers, depends the perpetuity of liberty for our children.

"I have an ambition," said Lord Chatham. "It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have inherited from my ancestors."

I do not know that I can more appropriately conclude this address than by quoting the words of Samuel Adams, at his inauguration as Lieutenant-Governor, when about to take the customary oath to support and maintain the Constitution.

"I shall presently," he said, "be called upon by you, sir, as it is enjoined by the Constitution, to make a declaration upon oath, and shall do it with cheerfulness, because the injunction accords with my own judgment and conscience, that *the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is and of right ought to be a free, sovereign, and independent State.* I shall also be called upon to make another declaration with the same solemnity to support the Constitution of the United States.

"I see the consistency of this, for it cannot have been intended but that these constitutions should mutually aid and support each other.

"It is also my humble opinion that while the Commonwealth maintains her own just authority, weight, and dignity, she will be among the firmest pillars of the Federal Union.

"May the Constitution of the Federal Government and those of the several States in the Union be guided by the unerring finger of Heaven.

"Each of them, and all of them united, will then, if the people are wise, be as prosperous as the wisdom of human institutions and the circumstances of human society will admit."

APPENDIX.

THE STATUE

OF

SAMUEL ADAMS.

At the meeting of the Board of Aldermen held on the 23d of June, 1879, Alderman Stebbins offered the following order: —

Ordered, That the chairman and two members of this Board consider the expediency of erecting statues of Samuel Adams and John Winthrop in this city, the former to be located in the square at the foot of Brattle street, and the latter on Montgomery square or some other suitable location.

Aldermen Stebbins and Kelly made a few remarks in support of this order, and it was passed unanimously. Aldermen Stebbins and Breck were appointed on the committee.

On the 20th October the committee reported as follows: —

The special committee appointed to consider the expediency of erecting statues of Samuel Adams and John Winthrop in this city beg leave to submit the following report: —

It was the feeling of the committee, in performing the duty assigned them, that the city would probably obtain the most satisfactory statues by procuring, if possible, duplicates of those of Adams and Winthrop

contributed by the State of Massachusetts to the national gallery at Washington, and made by Miss Anne Whitney and Richard S. Greenough, respectively. The casts of these statues are preserved, and the labor and expense of furnishing duplicate statues would be much less than in designing and executing new ones.

With this idea in mind the committee obtained authority, as will be remembered, to contract with Mr. Greenough for furnishing a duplicate of his Winthrop statue, and they were disposed to contract with Miss Whitney also, in like manner, for a duplicate of her statue of Adams; but, upon further consideration, decided in the latter case to invite competition from one or two other resident artists.

Models for the proposed Adams statue were accordingly received from Thomas R. Gould and Martin Milmore, of Boston, and also from Alexander Doyle, of Hallowell, Me., who, although not invited to submit a model, was allowed to do so by the committee.

The studies submitted were in competition with Miss Whitney's completed statue. They were placed on exhibition in City Hall, and several gentlemen versed in art matters were invited to inspect them and give an opinion as to their relative merits.

The committee have no hesitation in saying that the weight of opinion was decidedly in favor of Miss Whitney's work; and, considering all the circumstances, they have felt fully warranted in giving her the commission.

It is specially gratifying to find that the committee were entirely united in this matter, and also that their views coincided with those of His Honor the Mayor, and, so far as known, of the gentlemen who were invited to pass judgment upon the studies submitted by the different artists.

The committee would respectfully recommend the passage of the accompanying order.

HUGH O'BRIEN,

S. B. STEBBINS,

CHARLES H. B. BRECK,

Committee.

Ordered, That His Honor the Mayor, with three members of this Board, be a special committee authorized to contract with Anne Whitney for the delivery to this city of a bronze statue of Samuel Adams, at a cost not exceeding $1,800; said sum to be paid from the income of the Phillips Street Fund.

The order was passed, and Aldermen O'Brien, Stebbins, and Breck were appointed on the committee.

In accordance with this order a contract was made with Miss Whitney to furnish the statue in season to be placed in position on the 4th July, 1880.

By an order passed November 3, the committee were requested to locate the statue in the open space at the junction of Brattle street, Cornhill, Washington street, and Devonshire street.

On the 17th November the following was submitted: —

The Special Committee of the Board of Aldermen charged with the erection of the statue of Samuel Adams, who were requested by an order of this Board to locate said statue in the space formed by the junction of Brattle street, Cornhill, Washington street, and Devonshire street, having considered the subject, would respectfully recommend the passage of the accompanying order: —

Ordered, That the Committee on the Adams Statue, in consultation with the Committee on Paving, be and they are hereby authorized to select a suitable site for said Adams statue in the open space formed by the junction of Brattle street, Cornhill, Washington street, and Devonshire street.

Ordered, That the open space formed by the junction of Brattle street, Cornhill, Washington street, and Devonshire street be hereafter called and known as Adams square.

Passed.

January 12, 1880, an order was adopted appointing His Honor the Mayor and Aldermen O'Brien, Breck, and Whitten a special committee on the subject. An order, passed April 19, authorized this committee to contract for a suitable pedestal, and a contract was made with the Hallowell Granite Company to furnish a pedestal made according to a design drawn by Mr. George A. Clough, City Architect, and to erect the same, for the sum of $1,800.

The height of the pedestal is ten feet and one inch. The die is three feet square, constructed of Quincy granite. The pedestal and plinth to the same are highly polished. The base, or substructure, including the fenders to a height of about two feet and four inches above the grade, is unpolished.

A broad curb is provided six feet from the base line of the pedestal to level the grade, and to give protection to persons viewing the monument.

The following inscriptions, prepared by His Honor Mayor Prince, are cut on the four faces of the die, in V-sunk letters, gilded: —

SAMUEL ADAMS

1722–1803

A PATRIOT

HE ORGANIZED THE REVOLUTION

AND

SIGNED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

GOVERNOR

A TRUE LEADER OF THE PEOPLE

A STATESMAN

INCORRUPTIBLE AND FEARLESS

ERECTED A.D. 1880

FROM A FUND BEQUEATHED TO THE

CITY OF BOSTON

BY

JONATHAN PHILLIPS

The Statue faces, by exact measurement, the Bunker Hill Monument.