

How Benjamin Webster,
from his friend.

B. Sumner.

SUMNER'S
FOURTH OF JULY
ORATION.

AN
ORATION

DELIVERED

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1828, IN COMMEMORATION

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

BEFORE THE

SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH,

AND THE

CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS

OF

THE CITY OF BOSTON.

BY BRADFORD SUMNER.

BOSTON:

FROM THE PRESS OF NATHAN HALE—CITY PRINTER.

1828.

City of Boston.

In Common Council, July 7, 1828.

Ordered, that the Mayor and Aldermen be and they hereby are requested to present the thanks of the City to BRADFORD SUMNER, Esq. for the elegant and spirited oration delivered by him on the fourth day of July, at the request of the City, upon the anniversary of American Independence, and request a copy for the press.

Sent up for concurrence.

JOHN R. ADAN, *President*

In the Board of Aldermen, July 8, 1828.

Read and concurred, and the Mayor is requested to communicate the same.

JOSIAH QUINCY, *Mayor.*

A true copy,

Attest,

S. F. McCLEARY, *City Clerk.*

Oration.

It has been the custom of nations, from early time, to celebrate great national events. Ancient Greece, and Rome, and other states renowned in history, had their triumphal entries, into their cities, by armies, that had been led to conquest and to glory. And the same spirit has been cherished, and the same policy pursued, down to the days of our own times. And so fellow-citizens these things should be. They are wise, they are just, they are politic. Are the virtuous and the valiant among us, rewarded for their deeds of glory, by a nation's gratitude; are their names written in our hearts, cherished in our affections, and embalmed in our memory, by song, and eulogy, and celebration, then will others, alike daring in purpose, and emulous of their virtues and their fame, be led on to like achievements.

But we have met together to day, for no ordinary purpose. It is not to commemorate a single achievement, however brilliant, or however closely connected with our country's glory. It is not to pay our devotions, as some have done, to an illustrious individual, raised above the rest, by fortune or inheritance, bearing about him the badges of royalty, or waiting to receive them at our hands. No such guest is of our number. So let it never be. This were unworthy our pilgrim origin. It were a treason against our dearest rights, and an affront to the spirits of our fathers.

But we dismiss the thought. It is unwelcome to the feelings of freemen. We have not forfeited our birth-right; we have not, in mad defiance of all that should actuate high minded men, torn up the charter of our liberties, drawn in peril, and sealed with the blood of martyrs. Ours is still the high privilege, to celebrate the birth-day of a nation's freedom. To remind one another, and to tell it to our children, that they may tell it to theirs, to latest time, that on the fourth of July, 1776, the British colonies of North America, aroused by a love of liberty, and goaded by a sense of protracted injury, sundered the cords that bound them to the parent country, and shouted they were free. Let us then with emotions of gratitude to

the Parent of good, mingle our songs, our joys, and our gratulations, with the thousands of our countrymen, who with us hail the return of this joyous anniversary.

Standing as we do on a prouder height than it has fallen to the lot of any other nation to attain to, it becomes us to pause, and to look around us; to look back upon the steps of our progress, and to contemplate some of those events, that were connected with the origin of our national character.

The story of our pilgrim fathers need not now be told. The causes for leaving their native country, for this then inhospitable shore, the sacrifices they made, the dangers they encountered, and all those accumulated sufferings, which pressed heavily upon them, and took off some of their choicest spirits, are recorded in the page of history. Still, however, as often as this glad day shall return, they should receive at least a passing notice, that they may be written anew in our hearts, and have their proper effect upon our lives and our principles.

From seeming partial evil, the most important general blessings are often deduced. Had not the trials, and the sufferings, to which we have alluded, been endured, or had they been less severe, or less protracted than they were, our national independence might never

have been achieved—or had it been, it might and probably would have been, less glorious, and of less duration, than we now hope, under the smiles of Providence, it may be. Nations must be prepared for liberty, as well as able to achieve it, if they would enjoy it, and transmit it unimpaired to others. There is a love of liberty that consists only in a desire to do as we will. This may pervade a people, may spread as wide, and burn as intensely, and in the fervour of its zeal, may make the same sacrifices for the attainment of its object, as that holier flame, that seeks only the protection of life and property, and a guaranty of equal rights, under the mild administration of wise and equal laws. But this spirit never qualifies for self-government; never makes a nation free. The arm of the oppressor may be broken by it, and in its march thrones may be cast down, and crowns trodden under foot of men, but the condition of the subject will not be made the better, but worse. Despotism, however absolute, is less to be deprecated, than the disorder and misrule of anarchy. Less blood is shed, and fewer groans are uttered, where one man rules, though his sceptre be of iron, than where no man rules, and the leading spirits of an infuriate populace, are striving for supremacy. When laws are suspended, or there are none to execute them, all that is dear to a man is in

jeopardy. As the ocean, when agitated, and thrown into heaps, by the storm that sweeps over it, dashes in pieces the bark that rides upon its bosom, so life, fortune, character, all that men love, and all they live for, are engulfed in the vortex of wild misrule. As those who raise the storm, must always ride upon it, men least qualified to govern generally ascend to power. Where virtue and intelligence are wanting, revolutions have been attended with little else than strife, rapine, and bloodshed; and have ended in nothing better than a change of masters, without an alleviation of suffering.

But we were prepared for our independence, at the time it was achieved. The day that must separate us from the parent country, was seen afar off. The bone and muscle of the nation, were in the mean time gaining strength and consistency for the mighty conflict, whenever it should come. And when the storm that had long been gathering about us, broke over our heads, and was spending its fury, we were prepared to parry some of its deadliest bolts, and to hush its loudest thunders.

Enlightened public opinion, which must always precede efficient, persevering action, in every great enterprise, had made progress, even in our infant country: And an altar, sacred to the love of liberty, had been erected in the heart of every true American.

In the long period that elapsed, between the commencement of parliamentary aggression, and our first appeal to arms—a period marked at every stage with events deeply involving the interests of the colonies, and admonishing them of the impending crisis ; the finger of Providence seems plainly to be seen. The best talents of the country were brought out, and brought to bear upon the great business of the times. Men were, indeed, made, rather than improved, and brought into notice, during this period of emergency and discipline. And, as time has since fully shewn, were made equal to the extremity of the pressure, that demanded their labours. As the mountain oak, that is lashed by the blasts of an hundred winters, strikes deeper root, presents a firmer trunk, and throws up towards heaven a more towering top, so they by the burthens, and necessities that were laid upon them, and which grew up with them, attained to a stature, in character and intellect, which none but times that push men to the very verge of their powers, could ever produce.

Looking into future time, they had already put themselves to the severest tests. Trials had been met, sufferings had been endured, dangers had been braved, battles had been fought, and lost and won, and all the dread array of war, had been made to pass

in familiar review before them. As statesmen, and as warriors, therefore, they were born in manhood. They had buckled on the armour beforehand, and found that it fitted; and at the first call of their country for actual service, the strength, and wisdom of maturity, marked every enterprise. An assemblage of greater men, of more powerful intellect, of more elevated virtue, of more fervent and devoted patriotism, than were many of the leaders in our struggle for independence, no country on earth was ever blessed with.

Adams, Hancock, Otis, Quincy, Warren. Time would fail me to speak of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and others of that bright train of undaunted spirits, who guided by the same principles, and animated by the same high hopes, moved onward, side by side, and step for step, along the rough path to freedom, counting all things loss, in comparison with its attainment.

But, fellow-citizens, and in a tone of bereavement should it be said, these great men are no more. The grave has long since closed over them. Their dwelling is in the land of silence. But their virtues live; yes, they live, and they shall live forever. The bright and burning record of their deeds, shall be as imperishable as the marble that points out the place of their interment. It shall be cherished as a sacred relic in the archives of a nation's gratitude. Though their

hearts be now as cold and lifeless as the earth that embosoms them, the fire that once burned there, with an intensity not to be restrained, and which flashed with electric power upon the intellect of the country, enlightening, and burning as it went, is not extinguished; nor shall it ever be. It has found a common altar in the hearts of a grateful country.

It is a source of solace, to kindred and to country, that when great men die, so much of what they were, and what they lived for, survives them. Their virtues, their talents, and their influence, go not into the grave. Millions of angels could not confine them there. The moment that frees the spirit from the frail tenement, that binds it down to earth, is with them but the birth of being. They live with their survivors; and the bright page of recorded worth, shall make them cotemporaries with posterity to latest time.

Encouraged by the brilliant result of our struggle for independence, which has been hailed as the dawn of that day, when all the governments of the earth shall be free, sovereign, and elective, other nations have adventured upon the same great enterprise, and aspired to the same attainments in national felicity, which it has been our high privilege to enjoy.

Long, tedious, and sanguinary, has been the struggle for freedom, in the provinces of South America.

We have heard the distant sound, but have not approached the scene. This the caution of national policy seemed not to permit.

To consider at large, the wisdom or justice of this policy, in its general application, or as varied by circumstances, would exceed the limits of the present occasion. The country too, whose condition, interests and operations, first brought the subject under debate, in our halls of legislation and elsewhere, has now little or no interests in the decision. But to a fairer portion of the earth, and one of which the very name is dear to us all ; towards whom the eye of benevolence has been turned, and the fair hand of benevolence so liberally extended, it may be a subject of vital interest.

The principle contended for, and vehemently urged by some enlightened statesmen, in relation to these provinces has been, that any interference by neutrals, in the affairs of belligerent powers, is inconsistent with neutral policy, and a violation of neutral character. And even the recognition of these States as independent governments, after they had nobly fought their way to freedom and to glory was strenuously opposed. But is the question to be settled beforehand, without regard to circumstances, without examination, and without debate, that a neutral nation

is never to employ her influence, by negotiation or otherwise, to restore peace between contending powers? Will nothing less than this satisfy what is called neutral policy? Such a doctrine, even that cold and calculating principle which never looks beyond its own narrow circle, but avowedly spends itself in the pursuit of its own advantage, would at once disown and discourage. Pacific relations with other nations, may often be protected and prolonged, by a course of measures involving a partial, and temporary interruption of strict neutrality.

Others, however, more liberal upon this subject, and as we think more enlightened, have said, that a neutral nation may connect itself with the interests of contending powers, when the preservation of its own neutrality demands it. And this is the only case provided for. But is it not enough in all cases, to justify, and even demand such interference, that it is needed; that human suffering may be alleviated by it, and that it is consistent, at the same time, with the perfect safety of neutral character? Must there be superadded to all this, and in all cases, the fact, that such a measure is essential to the safety of neutrality, before it can be adopted? Are international duties, so unlike all other duties, as to call for a departure from that course of conduct, which we profess to follow in all

other relations? Has the nation that wages offensive war for its own aggrandizement, and without provocation, the same claim to our aid and sympathy, as the one that parries the blow of invasion, or is struggling for emancipation from the grasp of tyranny. Is there no philanthropy among nations? Is that noblest principle of our natures to be extinguished, and blotted out, the moment we assume the national character?

But though the arm of power was not extended to the aid of these new republics; though their armies were not fed, or clothed, from our bounty, nor the pains and sufferings of the battle plain alleviated by our solace, still our prayers and our sympathies were with them; and we rejoice that they have been able, after years of perilous conflict, to arise from the dust, to shake off the yoke of oppression, and in the strength and spirit of freemen, to set at defiance the authority of a parent country, whose passion for tyranny abides, while her power to exercise it has long since departed, and as we trust forever. We greet them as brethren. We extend to them the hand of fellowship. We bid them a cordial welcome, to a place with us among the assembly of free nations.

And we look for the time, and at no very distant day, when the numbers of this bright assembly, shall be greatly multiplied. When those nations of the

earth, whose long, dark night, of ignorance and oppression, has never been pierced by a ray of hope, or cheered even by a dream of freedom, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty.

Are we to indulge the belief, from a view of the past, or from the present aspect of political affairs, that that innumerable class of degraded subjects, who now people much of the eastern continent, and who like the trees of the forest, and the granite of the mountain, pass by feudal tenure, as appurtenant to the soil they cultivate, are never to be their own masters; are never to cultivate their own soil, never to enjoy the fruits of their own industry? The tendency of the world towards freedom, forbids the conclusion.

But before the brightness of this glad day can visit the world, the world must be prepared for its coming. The light of knowledge must be spread abroad, and felt by the people. Men must be brought to a knowledge of themselves. Their own energies must be developed within them. The veil that has long separated between them and their unalienable rights, must be lifted up. Those unhallowed principles, and leagues of men,* that have made war upon mind, and, under the treacherous guise of imposing appellations, have exerted their power to blot from the character of man

* Holy Alliance.

all that likens him to his maker, must be utterly banished from the earth ; and they will be. The time for men to be awed to silence and submission, by an arm of power, and that too under a pretence of right, when robbed of all that gives a charm to life, will soon be past forever. A day-star has arisen upon the world ; and in the brightness of its rising, that gloom that has been settling upon the nations for ages, shall be chased away, and made more visible, by the light that shall blaze upon it. The human mind has received an impulse, that will carry it onward, and upward, in its bright and brightening course, until it shall have attained to the high destiny assigned it by its author. The feeble barrier opposed by kings and potentates, though leagued in the name of the holy trinity,* and professing to be guided by the precepts of justice, christian charity, and peace, shall never prevail against it.

And as far and as wide as the progress of intellect shall extend, a kindred love of freedom and of country shall be felt. Awakened by an earnest of the blessings it bestows, and cherished by a recollection of protracted sufferings, it shall go from heart to heart, from place to place, and from shore to shore, till a

* Reference is here had to the alliance, formed between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and the principles by which they professed to be governed.

flame shall be lighted up, as extensive as the boundaries of the civilized world—and thrones, and crowns, and sceptres, and all the gilded pomp of royalty, shall be consumed in the mighty conflagration.

When we look abroad among those nations, where the blessings of liberty are unknown, and even among those who have achieved their independence, and, so far as may be practicable, have copied our institutions, we find the conviction impressed anew upon our minds, that ours is above all others, a country favoured of heaven. The degree of prosperity which crowned our labours in days of trial, and which has since marked our steady, onward, and upward course, to our high seat among the nations of the earth, has never been vouchsafed to any other people. And for all these blessings, and great indeed they are, the primary, and most efficient human cause, will be found in the character and principles of our pilgrim fathers; by whom the first germs of our national character were planted, and from whom it received its earliest impress.

As our government is rapidly spreading itself over a wider territory, and as our wealth, and the diversity of our interests, are daily increasing, all those causes both moral and political, which have made us what we are as a nation, must be cherished; must be incor-

porated with all our interests, in all parts of our wide dominions.

I would not predict the dismemberment of our union at any future period. I would gladly indulge the belief, that such an event could never in the nature of things come to pass. But nothing is more certain, and nothing more obvious to the common observer, than that all the virtue, and all the wisdom, and all the patriotism, that we can ever hope to exercise as a nation, will be necessary to that equal adjustment of general laws, to the various rights and interests of the people, which alone can preserve our union.

The task of government in our country, is daily becoming more and more difficult; the call for wisdom and patriotism more and more urgent. Ours is a country of vast extent, and of vast and increasing resources. Stretching westward from the shores of the Atlantic to the western ocean, and southward from the lakes, through half the latitudes of a temperate zone, it embraces the most salubrious climes, and bears upon its fertile bosom many of the richest productions of the earth. Attracted by the opening prospects, and high promise of this far spreading country, emigration in almost countless multitudes has been travelling westward, to fell its forests, to till its soil, and to reap its richest harvests. The ripe vallies of the Mississippi

and of the Missouri, are teeming with wealth and population ; and verdure, ripe luxuriant verdure, quickened by the hand of cultivation, has crept well onward to the foot of the rocky mountains. And at no very distant period, and as it may be in our own time, the hum of busy industry, and the voice of civilization shall break upon the shores of the Pacific.

But our character must extend with our country. Our brethren of the west, must in their manners, customs, and institutions, receive the impress of the New England model. We must be branches of the same stock, drawing nutriment from the same common source—an extended whole, preserving our identity, and not a combination of discordant parts, brought together by design or circumstance. To this end the minds of this vast people must be supplied with nutriment. The light of education must be let in among them. Their tone of morals must be raised. New England virtue must be planted there. And there too New England religion, clad in her own humility, and directing the wayward traveller to the path of truth, in tones as sweet as angels use, must plant her holy standard, erect her thousand churches, whose towering spires pointing towards heaven, remind the beholder of the holy charge of him who ministers at the sacred altar.

Then shall we have a bond of union, that will be felt and acknowledged throughout our country.

Nothing will be lightly esteemed by the true patriot, which has, or may have, an important bearing on the great interests of our country ; and no one will doubt, that the prosperity and happiness of a nation, are greatly dependent on the character of those who are called to administer its government. Men to whom power is delegated, may sometimes violate their trust, and no great practical mischief be suffered. But when these cases happen, it is where the power intrusted so soon reverts by limitation or forfeiture, that the disease is cured before its malignity spreads. Such exceptions, however, to the general principle, furnish no warrant for committing our destinies to men who are not qualified to rule over us. The character and principles of men in public life, are seen, not only through the medium of official conduct or public example. In their more retired walks, where the caution of public character is thrown off, there are a thousand avenues, through which the man looks out, and the world look in, and a powerful influence is exerted, and which if not salutary, is the more dangerous, because less observed. In all free elections, and especially, where there is a mass of intellect and virtue to select from, such as our state and country are blessed with, the in-

quiry should always be, who among us that will accept the trust, is best qualified to discharge it? Unyielding virtue, as well as competent powers of intellect, should always be a test of qualification for official station.

But we are at liberty to say, and with pride and heart-felt pleasure we do say, that in New England, and with more safety still, may we speak of our own Massachusetts, men have generally arisen, and do arise to places of power and trust, in the strength of their own qualifications for the duties assigned them. And it is manifest, that that virtue which gives stability to government, and dignity to character, has not been disregarded in the trust reposed in those who now hold the highest official stations in the gift of the people. Our confidence has not been misplaced. The highest measure of reasonable expectation has been filled up.

When has Massachusetts been more felt, more respected, or more feared, in the halls of our national congress, than at the present time; and when was there more talent, more enlightened independence, more undeviating fidelity, and more of the power of that 'soul stirring eloquence,' that falls from tongue of fire, and eye that burns, that can move to mutiny, or calm to peace, than are found in the ranks of her

present delegation? And never has she enjoyed in the same period of time, under any administration of her government, more prosperity and happiness at home, than in the few last years that have rolled away.

And we would that the same degree of unanimity prevailed in our national, as in our state administration. Not however a unanimity, resulting from a cold and thoughtless indifference to the great interests of our country, but that which should proceed from a faithful, enlightened, and impartial use of all the means afforded us, for devising the best measures for the attainment of the highest good.

I know it is said, that party zeal is essential to the safety of a government; and this has been so often said, as to have obtained the authority of a political maxim. And in its application to those countries where it originated, and where it more properly belongs, there is undoubtedly much truth in it. But not so here. Says the great founder of our freedom, when speaking of this spirit, with reference to representative governments, in which light only I now consider it. 'It serves always to distract the public counsels, and enfeeble the public administrations. It agitates the community, with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosities of one part against

another. Promotes occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. 'Thus the policy and will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.'

The tendency of hereditary power, not being incumbered with accountability, or liable to reversion, is always towards despotism; and the restraint imposed upon it by the people, through a popular branch of government, where one exists, is the only security against its abuses. But in those countries where all the branches of government are elective; where the tenure of office is the people's will, and that by constitutional provision, to be frequently expressed, party zeal is to be restrained rather than encouraged. A principle whose natural tendency is always to excess, needs no excitement. Can it be supposed by any one, that any good is to accrue to the people, from the high political excitement, which now pervades our whole country, upon the great question who shall be our next president. Is political wisdom to be increased by it, or virtue, public or private to be strengthened? Is patriotism to be more disinterested, and more enlightened, and to make greater sacrifices for the common good?

A question which has so long engrossed the public attention, and drawn out such an array of talent on either side, and with reference to which, most of the great political measures of the day are planned and executed, may demand of us a passing notice on this occasion. And I would with an unbiassed, and, as I trust, a teachable spirit, ask of those who are opposed to the present national chief magistrate, what are the grounds of their objection? Are they opposed to the measures of his administration? Then let it be avowed, and let the offensive measure, which has been recommended or sanctioned, be pointed out, that it may be defended, if wise and salutary, or abandoned, if provident. Does the objection lie against private character? Then let it be so stated, and the charge specified, that it may be disproved, if unfounded, and the accuser silenced; or admitted, if true, and the work of reformation commenced. If the objection is to the man, without regard to character, public or private, it is but ingenuous to state the fact, that the emptiness of the objection may appear upon the face of the avowal. Has not the present head of our government, from the beginning, in all the leading features of his administration, followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, those great and accomplished masters, in whose school he was educated: and have not their administrations

been successively the theme of admiration and eulogy, with many of those who now stand foremost in the ranks of opposition? If we test the measures of the present administration, by the code of political maxims left us by the father of our country, and which, by common consent, is above all praise, shall we not see throughout the whole, an adherence to the spirit, and may I not say, even to the very letter of that memorable document? Have not good faith, and justice towards all nations been observed, and peace and harmony towards all, cultivated? Have not our commercial relations with other nations been liberal, open and free? Have any permanent or entangling alliances with other nations been formed, or any excessive partialities or prejudices been indulged? These are questions of fact. Questions too, to be settled upon written evidence, and the evidence is with the people. They are familiar with it. Let then the issue be put to the country, and without argument, and let the parties abide the decision.

But whatever may be the answers to these questions, we cannot but lament the causes that give rise to them?

Our country, fellow-citizens, has hitherto been prosperous and happy. The blessings of freedom, and of good government have been poured upon us in the

richest abundance. All our interests, and institutions, under the protection of just and equal laws, have flourished beyond example. And if our peace with other nations has been at times interrupted, and the noise and strife of war succeeded to its blessings, even this has seemed to redound to our good. The effect, at least, upon the nation, has been to increase our strength at home, and through a farther developement of national character, our respect and influence abroad. As our country and its blessings are held by us in trust for posterity, a weight of responsibility rests upon us, which can be discharged only by exerting our best efforts, that they be transmitted unimpaired.

It need not now be said, that the present state of political feeling in our country, affords ground to fear that its freedom may be in danger. Be this as it may, no man can look with indifference on the strength and virulence of party zeal, which now pervade and agitate the people. Divided strength, distracted counsels, opposing wills, and sectional prejudices, will never preserve a nation in the enjoyment of its freedom.

Let not our bond of union be weakened now, when its strength is most needed; when our country is extending its boundaries, and tending, as may be feared, to dissolution, by its own ponderous weight. Let not

those energies and resources, which by the blessing of heaven, have made us the greatest, and happiest of nations, be paralysed, or what is worse, employed to demolish the fair edifice they have erected.

We are acting a public part. The eyes of other nations are upon us, and they may not long be indifferent spectators to our operations.

Could one of those leading spirits, who achieved our independence, commissioned from the rest, be with us to-day, would he not remind us of our high privileges as a nation; and in the fervour of a father's love, exhort us to union, and to a steady and religious adherence to those principles which have made us great and free? Yes, he would say to us, and when he said it, we should respond a loud amen,

‘Yours is a goodly heritage. From your fathers have ye received it. It is your birthright. It is above all price. The deeds that bought it, are recorded in your memory. Keep it, cherish it, as a father's blessing. Days, and months, and years of trial, of danger, and of suffering, could not purchase it. Our treasures were expended, and our lives sacrificed, or it had never been yours. Resolve then in the strength of your virtue, and in the fulness of your gratitude, that as was the price that bought it, so shall be your care and your zeal to preserve it. To this end, be united,

be brethren, be men. Let no feuds or contentions, spring up amongst you. No discordant passions, or interests, distract you. As we were one to obtain, so be ye one to enjoy, and perpetuate the inheritance we left you. Let the same spirit of patriotism, the same love of liberty, the same fixed purpose and high resolve, that bore us triumphant through danger and suffering, guide and sustain you in every emergency. Then shall we have your best pledge, your highest guaranty, that what we have committed to your charge, and more, shall go to your children after you, and to theirs, and to theirs, down the long track of time, till the years of nations shall be no more.

Finally, as you would be faithful to yourselves, as you would be faithful to posterity, as you would be grateful to the spirits that by me address you, and above all, to the father of spirits, who gave us the victory, let these things sink deep into your hearts, and become living admonitions to duty, until your dust shall mingle with ours, and another generation shall take the inheritance.'