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BY DAVID OVER.

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Poetry.

OUR COUNTRY.

Oh Columbia! Columbia the land of my birth,
The pride and the glory of nations on earth;
Next to God shall thy name be most dear to my heart,
And from thee I never, no never shall part,
Thy name and thy fame while living shall be
Protected and guarded and cherished by me,
And never till death shall my pilgrimage close,
Will thy name be abandoned to peril or foes.
Thy "Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."
Its colors all glorious from heaven came down,
And left there the impress of liberty's crown,
May the civil dissensions which close round these now,
Be permitted no more to cloud thy fair brow,
May the North and the South to the union prove true,
And honor the banner of Red White and Blue
God grant that our country may flourish and grow,
As long as the waves of the ocean shall flow,
And when the dread angel with uplifted hand,
With one foot on sea and the other on land,
Shall swear that by Him who forever doth live,
No time more to mortals on earth he will give;
Then grant that as time with its pleasures shall fade
The universe too that wisdom hath made,
That bright as the planet of Venus at even,
Our nation shall shine in the Kingdom of Heaven.

J. MILTON AKERS.
Bottle's Run, June 18, 1861.

GAY AND HAPPY.

REVISED EDITION BY DR. W. M. D. FOSTER.

I'm the one that's gay and happy,
Whoso'er I chance to be,
And I'll do my best to please you,
If you will but list to me.
CHORUS.—So let the wide world wag as it will,
I'll be gay and happy still,
Gay and happy, gay and happy,
I'll be gay and happy still.
I'm for the Union, I'm for the Union,
I am for the Union still,
For the Union, for the Union,
I am for the Union still.
I envy neither great or wealthy,
Poverty I never despise,
Let me be contented, healthy,
And the boon I'll dearly prize.
CHORUS.—So let the wide world wag, &c.
The rich have cares we little know of,
All that glitters is not gold,
Merit's seldom made a show of,
And true worth is rarely told.
CHORUS.—So let the wide world wag, &c.
If the President should sit beside me,
I'd sing my song with usual glee,
Fools may laugh, and knaves deride me,
Still I'll gay and happy be.
CHORUS.—So let the wide world wag, &c.
I care for all, yet care for no one,
Those that do well need not fear,
I like mankind and the world to dwell on,
What else makes this life so dear.
CHORUS.—So let the wide world wag, &c.

The New Government of Virginia. Governor Pierpont's Message in Full.

To the Senate and House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia:
GENTLEMEN—You have been convened in extraordinary session in midsummer, when under other circumstances, you should be at home attending to pursuits incident to this season of the year. The exigencies with which we find ourselves surrounded demand your counsels.

I regret that I cannot congratulate you on the peace and prosperity of the country, in the manner which has been customary with the Executive, both State and Federal. For the present, those happy days which, as a nation, we have so long enjoyed, and that prosperity which has smiled upon us, as upon no other nation, are departed.

It is my painful duty to announce that the late Executive of the State, with a large part of the State officers, civil and military, under him, are at war with the loyal people of Virginia, and the Constitutional Government of the United States. They have leagued themselves with persons from other States, to tear down the benign Governments, State and Federal, erected by the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers, and under which our liberties have so long been protected and our prosperity secured. They have instituted civil war in our midst, and created a system of error around us to intimidate our people.

But while we are passing through this period of gloom and darkness in our country's history, we must not despair, or fold our hands until the chains of despotism shall be fastened upon us, by those conspiring against our liberties. As freemen, who know their rights, and dare defend them, our spirits must rise above the intimidation and violence employed against us; and we must meet and conquer every obstacle these men are attempting to interpose between us and our liberties. If we manfully exert ourselves, we shall succeed. There is a just God who rides upon the whirlwind

and directs the storm." Let us look to him with abiding confidence.

The fact is no longer disguised that there has been in the South, for many years, a secret organization, laboring with steady perseverance to overturn the Federal Government and destroy constitutional liberty in this country. The various conventions held in that portion of the country, for some years past, ostensibly for other objects, have only been the means of feeling the public pulse to ascertain if there was sufficient disease in the body politic for dissolution. The cry of danger to the institution of slavery has been a mere pretext to rouse and excite the people. In abandoning the Constitution of the Union, the leaders of the movement must have known that they were greatly weakening the safeguards and protection which were necessary to the existence of that institution.

It has been urged that Secession was necessary to protect the slave interest of the South. As a usual thing, those who are interested in a species of property, are the best informed in regard to their own rights, and the most zealous in maintaining them. Secession has not originated among the large slaveholders of the South, nor has it found among this class its boldest and most ardent advocates. The sections of the country in which the largest slave interests have existed in this State have heretofore been the most decided in support of the Union. The votes given at the last November and February elections in Eastern and Western Virginia, will show that the slaveholders themselves considered the safety of their property as dependent upon the maintenance of the Union. Another pertinent fact may be mentioned in this connection.—It is, that in sections where slaves are numerous, it is always much easier to introduce a system of mob law and intimidation to control the votes of the people. The constant apprehension of servile insurrection makes the master an easy subject of control in a crisis like the present. Eastern and Western Virginia are illustrations of the truth of this statement.

What afflictions this great conspiracy has had in the Northern States, remain yet unknown. The spirit which has been roused throughout the North has carried all opposition before it. But the extent of the treasonable plot has not been fully developed. Before the designs of the conspirators were made manifest, thousands of good men sympathized with the effort, as they regarded it, of the South to maintain their Constitutional rights; but these have all abandoned them when the true purpose was ascertained. If there are any in the North, or in the Border States, who still adhere to the conspiracy, they will attempt to aid its object by indirect means; by opposing and cavilling at the efforts to the Government, in a struggle for existence may use in its own defense, and by attempting to raise a popular outcry against coercion, and advocating a peaceable separation. A bold stand for Secession would scarcely be attempted; but those who sympathize with the leaders of rebellion will seek by covert and indirect means to aid the object of the conspirators.

There is only one question now for each American citizen to decide in this controversy: Do you desire to stand by and live under the Constitution which has contributed so long and so greatly to the happiness and prosperity of the people, and to transmit its blessings to our posterity? Or, do you desire the Union broken up, and an oligarchy or military despotism established in its stead? The leaders of the South are striving for the latter. The Government of the United States is exerting its whole force to maintain the integrity of the former? There can be no neutral ground.

The Secession leaders have declared that they desire no compromise, except the unconditional surrender to them of the objects they have been aiming to accomplish, and the consent of the Government to its own destruction. The very proposition of compromise places a false issue before the country. It implies that the Federal Government has committed some great wrong which ought to be remedied, before peace can be restored; when in fact the leaders in the South have controlled the legislation of the country for years, and the laws now in existence were made, or suggested, by themselves when in power.

The position of this State is a peculiar one at this moment. Last November, at the Presidential election, it gave upwards of sixteen thousand majority for Bell and Douglas, both Union candidates for the Presidency.— Their principal competitor was loudly proclaimed as also true to the Union; and throughout the canvass, any imputation of favoring disunion was indignantly denied by the advocates of all the candidates. At the election for members of the Convention in February last there was a majority of over sixty thousand votes given to the Union candidates; and the people by an equal majority determined that no act of that Convention should change the relations of the State to the Federal Government unless satisfied by the popular vote. Yet the delegates to that Convention passed the Ordinance of Secession, and attached the State to the Southern League, called the Confederate States; and to render the step irrevocable and defeat the whole object of requiring a ratification of the people to render such acts valid, they put them into effect immediately; and before the vote could be taken on the question of ratification, transferred the whole military force of our State to the President of the Confederacy, and surrendered to him military possession of our territory.

When the chains had been thus fastened upon us, we were called to vote upon the ordinance of Secession. The same reign of terror which compelled Union men to vote as they did in the convention, was brought to bear on the people themselves. Vast num-

bers were obliged by intimidation and fear of threatened violence, to vote for Secession.— Many did not vote at all. Many, no doubt, were influenced by the consideration that the measures already adopted had placed the Commonwealth helplessly within the grasp of the President of the Southern Confederacy, and that she could not escape from his power by the rejection of the ordinance.

It is claimed that the ordinance of Secession has been ratified by a majority of ninety-four thousand votes? Had the people of Virginia then so greatly changed? The best evidence that they had not is found in the fact that, wherever the vote was really free, there was a much larger majority against Secession than was given at the election in February to the Union candidate for the Convention. The means of intimidation and violence, which were resorted to over a large portion of the State, to compel an appearance of unanimity in favor of Secession, show that the leaders of this movement felt that the hearts of the people were not with them.

The proclamation of the President calling for seventy-five thousand volunteer troops is commonly relied upon to justify the ordinance of Secession. That proclamation was issued on the 15th of April 1861. It must not, however, be overlooked that on the 6th of March, 1861, the pretended Congress at Montgomery, provided by law for calling into the field a force of one hundred thousand volunteers; and that on the 12th of April the Secretary of War of the Confederate States publicly announced that war was commenced, and that the capital at Washington would be captured before the first of May. The intention to capture the capital of the Union was repeatedly proclaimed in influential papers at Richmond and other Southern cities before the 15th of April. It was in fact long a cherished object of the leaders in this great conspiracy? Did they expect the President of the nation to yield the capital, and retire in disgrace, without adopting any measures of defense? Yet Virginia, we are told, seceded, because the President, under such circumstances, called volunteers to the defense of the country.

I need not remark to you, Gentlemen, how fatal the attempted dismemberment of the Union must prove to all our material interests. Secession, and annexation to the South, would cut off every outlet for our productions. We cannot get them to the Confederate States across the Alleghenies. The Ohio river and the country beyond it would be closed to our trade. With Maryland in the Union, our outlet to the East would be interrupted; while we could not carry our product across the Pennsylvania line, by the Monongahela or other routes. In time of war, we would encounter a hostile force, and in time of peace, a custom house, at every turn.

The interests of the people of Virginia were entrusted to the Richmond Convention.— How have they fulfilled that trust? Why, if war was to come, was our land made the battle field? Why was this Commonwealth interposed as a barrier to protect the States of the South, who undertook to overthrow the Union in utter disregard of our remonstrances? In the position in which the Richmond Convention has placed us, our homes are exposed to all the horrors of civil war, while the President of the Montgomery Congress can announce to the people of the Gulf States that they need now have no apprehension; they might go on with their planting and business as usual; the war would not come to their section; its theatre would be along the borders of the Ohio river and in Virginia.

Have we done wrong in rejecting the authority of the men who have thus betrayed the interest confided to their charge?

Under these circumstances the people of the State who desired to preserve Virginia in the Union, by their delegates appointed at primary meetings, assembled at Wheeling on the 13th of May last, to consider the measures necessary to protect their constitutional rights and liberties, their lives and their property. Before a frank comparison of views could be had, differences of opinion were to be expected, and such differences accordingly then existed. That Convention, however, after three days mature consideration, determined to call upon the loyal people of the State, after the vote was taken on the Secession Ordinance, to elect delegates to a Convention to be held on the 11th day of June, 1861. All who witnessed the assembling of the last Convention will bear witness to the solemnity of the occasion. Its action was attended with singular unanimity; and has resulted in the re-organization of the State Government, as a member of the Union.

Their journal and ordinances will be submitted to you. Plain principles vindicate their acts. The Constitution of the United States was adopted by the people of the United States; and the powers thus derived could be resumed only by the consent of the people who conferred them. That Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The Constitution of the State virtually recognizes the same principle. The Governor, the Legislature, and all State officers, civil and military, when they entered upon the discharge of their duties, took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. When the Convention assembled at Wheeling on the 11th of June they found the late Governor and many of the other officers of the State engaged in an attempt to overthrow the Constitution they had sworn to support. Whatever they might actually effect, with the aid of their confederates, by unlawful intimidation and violence, they could not lawfully deprive the good people of this Commonwealth of the protection afforded by the Constitution and laws of the Union, and of the rights to which they are entitled

under the same. The Convention attempted no change of the fundamental law of the State for light and transient causes. The alterations adopted were such only as were imperatively required by the necessity of the case; to give vitality and force to the Constitution of the State, and to enable it to operate in the circumstances under which we are placed. They attempted no revolution. Whatever others may have done, we remain as we were, citizens of Virginia, citizens of the United States, recognizing and obeying the Constitution and laws of both.

I trust, gentlemen, you will excuse me for dwelling so long upon these important topics. Immediately on entering upon the duties of my office, I addressed an official communication to the President of the United States, stating briefly the circumstances in which we were placed, and demanding protection against invasion and domestic violence to which our people were subjected; and I am happy to inform you that the President, through the Secretary of War, promptly gave me very satisfactory assurances that the guarantee embodied in the Constitution of the United States would be efficiently complied with, by affording to our people a full protection. I transmit herewith copies of these communications.

I also send you herewith a copy of a communication received from the Secretary of the Interior at Washington, certifying officially the appointment of representatives in the 38th Congress, under the census of 1860. Virginia has 13 representatives in the present Congress. Under the new appointments she will have eleven only. Before the term of the 38th Congress commences, it will be necessary, therefore, to redistrict the State in conformity with the principles established in the 13th and 14th Sections of the 4th Article of the Constitution of the State.

The President of the United States has issued his proclamation convening an extra session of Congress, to meet at the National Capitol on the fourth of this month. The two Senators from this State have vacated their offices. It is known to me that they are engaged in the conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States, and in rebellion to its lawful authority. They have renounced the title of citizens of the United States, claiming to be citizens of a foreign and hostile State. They have abandoned the posts assigned to them by the State of Virginia in the Senate of the United States, to take office under the rebellious government of the Confederate States. I recommend therefore, the election of Senators to fill the vacancies which have thus occurred.

I beg leave to call your attention to the subject of the Circuit Court. Those circuits, as now prescribed by law, are too large to enable the Judges to efficiently perform the duties incumbent on them. In investigating this subject, you may find it not only necessary to reduce the size of the circuits, but to increase the number of the regular term, or make it the duty of the Judges to hold special extra terms, at which the business before them can be disposed of. I would recommend, however that any alterations you make for the present, should be confined to that part of the State in which the authority of this Government is recognized.

I would also request your attention to the ordinance of the Convention to authorize the apprehension of suspicious persons in time of war, and to the provisions of the Code on kindred subjects. When a civil war is raging in the midst of us, an efficient system to protect the loyal people of the Commonwealth against the intrigues, conspiracies and hostile acts of those who adhere to our enemies, is necessary for the safety and good order of the community. Nor will the efficiency of the system be diminished, if it be conceived in a judicious spirit of moderation. I recommend the matter to your attention, trusting that any amendments which may be found necessary to protect the community, will be unhesitatingly adopted, but, at the same time, that all proper precautions will be taken to avoid any measure of unreasonable harshness.

The subject of the revenue will demand your attention. A recklessness has characterized the legislature of the State for the last ten years that has involved us in a most onerous debt. For many years past the Western part of the State has been contributing in an unequal and unjust proportion to the revenue, which has been largely expended on internal improvements for the benefit of our Eastern brethren, from which the West has received no advantage in any form. The proceeds of the heavy debt contracted on State account have also been applied to Eastern railroads and improvements, from which the West derives no benefit. The leaders of Secession in the Gulf States have avowedly involved Virginia in an immense expenditure in support of their treasonable schemes, and to save their own people and property, have managed to transfer the theatre of war to our territory. Before they are driven out, the whole of the material interests of the State east of the Blue Ridge will probably be destroyed, including the internal improvements, upon which such lavish expenditures have been made.

I can only recommend to you a vigilant attention to render effective the collection of the taxes already imposed, and the utmost economy and prudence in their expenditure. Under the circumstances of our people, no increase of taxation should, I think, be attempted.

The suspension of specie payments by the banks of the State has been already legalized by the Legislature. Under present exigencies, the measure was, I think, unexceptionable. If specie payments were continued among us, during the existence of civil war in our midst, the coin would soon find its way into the hands of those who would hoard it up.

The banks would be deterred from using their own notes by constant demands upon them for coin while the coin, would be concealed and laid away, thus ceasing to answer the purpose of circulation. The Banks too would have to press collection from their debtors, without discounting any; and the result would therefore be a general oppression of the debtor class of the community and a scarcity of currency of any kind.

I would recommend you to authorize the banks to issue notes of a less denomination than five dollars but not less than one dollar. There must be some medium of change. I would not limit them, however, for the present, in the amount of small notes, further than the limitations already imposed by law upon their total circulation. The denominations of the notes to be issued, not less than one dollar, may be properly left to their discretion. The demands of business will regulate the matter; and if it be found they are abusing the privilege proper regulations can readily be adopted to correct such abuse.

There is great aversion among business men to stay laws. It may be admitted that under ordinary circumstances, they are unwise. But at this period, the mass of debtors in this State are, from necessity, otherwise engaged than in making money to pay their debts, and none of the debts now contracted were made with a knowledge of the present state of affairs. Rigidly to enforce the collection of them would ruin thousands of worthy men. But I recommend especial caution in reference to any law you may adopt on this subject. It often happens that such laws are so framed as to prosecute suits, and costs are accumulated, so that both creditor and debtor are the losers, and nobody benefitted but the officers of the law.

The Board of Public Works should, I think, at once be abolished, and its powers conferred on the Executive. Our pecuniary difficulties commenced with its organization. I wish they would end with its abolition. There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent the abolition of the Board.

You have met, gentlemen, in the midst of civil war, but I trust you may yet be assembled under happier auspices when the strife shall be over, and peace and prosperity be restored to this once happy country.

All which is respectfully submitted.
F. P. PIERPONT.

MR. EVERETT'S ORATION. THE ISSUE OF THE DAY.

The New York Academy of Music was filled to overflowing on the 4th, on the occasion of Hon. Edward Everett's oration on "The Issue of the Day." The orator was escorted to the building by the Veterans of 1812, and received with most uproarious demonstrations of welcome. Judge Slosson presided, and the opening prayer was uttered by the venerable Dr. Spring. The stage was quite filled with distinguished guests, the Veterans and the pupils from the Institution of the Blind.

Mr. Everett commenced as follows:
When the Congress of the United States, on the 4th of July, 1776, issued the ever-memorable Declaration, they deemed that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind required a formal statement of the causes which impelled them to the all important measure. The eighty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration finds the loyal people of the Union engaged in a tremendous conflict, to maintain and defend the grand nationality, which was asserted by our fathers, and to prevent their fair creation from crumbling into dishonorable chaos. A great people, gallantly struggling to keep a noble framework of government from falling into wreckage, are engaged in a struggle with the kindred nations of the public opinion of mankind. But while our patriotic fellow-citizens, who have rallied to the defence of the Union, marshalled by the ablest of living chieftains, are risking their lives in the field; while the precious blood of our youthful heroes and ours is poured out together in defence of this precious legacy of Constitutional freedom, you will not think it an inappropriation of the hour if I employ it in showing the justice of the cause in which we are engaged, and the fallacy of the arguments employed by the South in vindication of their course, alike murderous and suicidal, which she is waging against the Constitution and the Union.

After depicting the prosperous state of the country up to the period of the Presidential election, and the manner in which the secession of South Carolina was an impossibility in law, he continued:

SECESSION IS REVOLUTION.
Whether the present unnatural civil war is waged by the South, in virtue of a supposed Constitutional right to leave the Union at pleasure; or whether it is an exercise of the great and ultimate right of Revolution, the existence of which no one denies, seems to be left in uncertainty by the leaders of the movement. Mr. Jefferson Davis, the President of the new Confederacy, in his inaugural speech delivered on the 18th of February, declares that it is an abuse of language to call it a "revolution." Mr. Vice President Stephens, on the 21st of March, pronounces it "one of the greatest revolutions in the annals of the world."

This assumed right of secession rests upon the doctrine that the Union is a compact between Independent States from which any one of them may withdraw at pleasure in virtue of its sovereignty. This imaginary right has been the subject of discussion for more than thirty years, having been originally suggested, though not at first much dwelt upon, in connection with the kindred claim of a right, on the part of an individual State, to "nullify" an Act of Congress. It would, of course, be impossible, within the limits of the hour, to review these elaborate discussions. I will only remark, on this occasion, that none of the premises from which this remarkable conclusion is drawn is recognized in the Constitution, and that the right of secession, though called a "reserved" right, is not expressly reserved in it. That instrument does not purport to be a "compact," but a Constitution of Government. It appears in its first sentences not to have been entered into by the States, but to have been ordained and established by the people of the United States, for themselves and their posterity. "The States are not named in it; nearest to the characteristic powers of sovereignty are expressly granted to the General Government and expressly prohibited to the States; and so far from reserving a right of secession to the letter, on any ground or under any pretence, it ordains and establishes, in terms, the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. [Applause.]

Mr. Everett then at some length showed how ridiculous were the claims to State sovereignty put forth by the South; and now that even "secession" would be perfectly legal to compel their submission to the General Government. On this point he said:

EVEN COERCION IS CONSTITUTIONAL.

Did any one imagine in 1798, when Gen. Washington called out 15,000 men to suppress the insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania that if the insurgents had happened to have the control of a majority of the Legislature, and thus clothed their rebellion with a pretended form of law, that he would have been obliged to disband his troops, and return himself, humbled and discomfited, to Mount Vernon? If John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, instead of being the project of one misguided individual, and a dozen and a half deluded followers, had been the organized movement of the States of Ohio and Pennsylvania, do the Seceders hold that the United States would have had no right to protect Virginia, or punish the individuals concerned in her invasion? Do the Seceders States really mean, after all, to deny that if a State law is passed to prevent the return of a fugitive slave, the General Government has no right to employ force to effect his surrender?

But, as I have said, even the old Confederation with all its weakness was held by the ablest contemporary statesman, and that of the State rights school, to possess the power of enforcing requisitions against a delinquent State. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Adams, of the 11th of July, 1786, on the subject of providing a naval force of 150 guns to chase the Barbary Powers, urges as an additional reason for such a step, that it would arm "the Federal head with the safest, of all the instruments of coercion over its delinquent members, and prevent it from using what would be less safe; viz: a land force. Writing on the same subject to Mr. Monroe a month later (August 11, 1786), he answers the objection of expense thus: "It will be said, 'There is no money in the Treasury.' There never will be money in the Treasury till the Confederacy shows its teeth. The States must see the need, perhaps it must be felt by some of them. Every rational citizen must wish to see an efficient instrument of coercion, and should bear in mind on any other claim than the water. A naval force can never endanger our liberties nor our blood; and a land force would do both." In the following year, when the confederation was at its last gasp, Mr. Jefferson was still of the opinion that it possessed the power of coercing the States, and that it was expedient to exercise it. In a letter to Colonel Carrington, of the 3rd of April, 1787, he says: "It has been so often said as to be generally believed, that Congress has no power by the Confederation to enforce requisitions, contributions of money. It was not necessary to give them that power expressly; they have it by the law of nature. When two parties make a compact, there results to each the power of compelling the other to execute it. Compulsion was as necessary as in our case, when a single State would sovereignty on the commerce of a single State the deficiency of its contributions."

Such was Mr. Jefferson's opinion of the powers of Congress under the "old" confederation. Will any reasonable man maintain that under a constitution of government there is less power to enforce the laws?

NAVAL OPPRESSIONS AND TYRANNIES.

Mr. Everett dwelt at great length upon the absurdity of the allegation that the Government has oppressed the South. On this point he said:

An oppressive and tyrannical Government! Let us examine this pretence for a few moments, first in the general and then in the detail of its alleged tyrannies and oppressions.
This oppressive and tyrannical Government is the successful result of a problem which had tasked the sagacity of mankind from the earliest ages, viz: to find a form of polity, by which institutions purely popular could be extended over a vast empire, free alike from despotic centralization and undue preponderance of the local powers. It was necessarily a complex system; a fusion of our Federal and National. It leaves to the separate States the control of all matters of purely local administration, and confides to the central power the management of foreign affairs and of all other concerns in which the United States have a joint interest. All the organized and delegated powers depend directly or very nearly so on popular choice. This Government was not imposed upon the people by a foreign conqueror; it is not an inheritance descending from barbarous ages, laden with traditional abuses, which create a painful ever recurring necessity of reform; it is not the conceit of heated enthusiasts, who have seized upon a revolution. It is the recent and voluntary framework of an enlightened age, compacted by wise and good men with deliberation and care, working upon the materials prepared by long Colonial discipline. In framing it they sought to combine the merits and to avoid the defects of former systems of government. The greatest possible liberty of the citizen is the basis; just representation the ruling principle, reconciling with rare ingenuity the federal equality of the States, with the proportionate influence of numbers. Its legislative and executive magistrates are freely chosen at short periods; its judiciary alone holds office by a more permanent but still sufficiently responsible tenure. No money flows into or out of the Treasury but under the direct sanction of the representatives of the people, on whom also all the great functions of government for peace and war, within the limits already indicated, are devolved. [Applause.]

No hereditary titles or privileges, no distinction of ranks, no established church, no courts of high commission, are known to the system; not a drop of blood has ever flowed under its authority for a political offence; but this tyrannical and oppressive Government has certainly exhibited a more perfect development of equal republican principles than has ever before existed on any considerable scale.

Under its benign influence, the country, every part of the country, has prospered beyond all former example. Its population has increased; its commerce, agriculture, and manufactures have flourished; manners, arts, education, letters, all that dignifies and ennobles man, have in a shorter period attained a higher point of cultivation than has ever before been witnessed in a newly settled region. The consequence has been consideration and influence abroad and marvellous well-being at home. The world has looked with admiration upon the country's progress; we have ourselves contemplated it perhaps with undue self-conceit. Armies without conscription; navies without impressment, and neither army nor navy swelled to an oppressive size; an overflowing treasury without direct taxation or oppressive taxation of any kind; churches without number and with no denominational preferences on the part of the State, schools and colleges accessible to all the people; a free and cheap press—all the great institutions of social life extending their benefits to the mass of the community. Such, no one can deny, is the general character of this oppres-