THE
"CLEARFIELD REPUBLICAN,"
PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY, BY
GEORGE R. GOODLANDER,
CLEARFIELD, PA.

ESTABLISHED IN 1837.

The largest Circulation of any Newspaper in North Central Pennsylvania.

Terms of Subscription.

If paid in advance, or within 3 months...$2 00
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1 square	$8 00	1 column	$40 00
2 squares	15 00	1 column	70 00
1 square	20 00	1 column	120 00

GEORGE R. GOODLANDER,
Editor and Publisher.

Cards.

THOS. H. MURRAY. CYRUS GORDON.
MURRAY & GORDON,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
9:30'74 CLEARFIELD, PA.

FRANK FIELDING,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Will attend to all business entrusted to him promptly and faithfully. nov12'73

WILLIAM A. WALLACE. DAVID L. KREBS.
HARRY F. WALLACE. JOHN W. WRIGLEY.
WALLACE & KREBS,
(Successors to Wallace & Fielding,)
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW,
11-12'73 Clearfield, Pa.

A. G. KRAMER,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Real Estate and Collection Agent,
CLEARFIELD, PA.,
Will promptly attend to all legal business entrusted to his care.
Office in Pie's Opera House, second floor. april 1-6m*

JOSEPH S. M'CNALLY. DANIEL W. M'CURDY.
McENALLY & McCURDY,
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Legal business attended to promptly with fidelity. Office on Second street, above the First National Bank. jan1:74

G. R. BARRETT,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Having resigned his Judgeship, has resumed the practice of the law in his old office at Clearfield, Pa. Will attend the courts of Jefferson and Elk counties when specially retained in connection with resident counsel. 2:14:72

WM. M. McCULLOUGH,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Office in Court House, (Sheriff's Office). Legal business promptly attended to. Real estate bought and sold. je11'72

A. W. WALTERS,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Office in Graham's Row. [dec8-1y

H. W. SMITH,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
11:1:72 Clearfield, Pa.

WALTER BARRETT,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Office in Old Western Hotel building, corner of Second and Market Sts. [nov21,68.

ISRAEL TEST,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Office in Pie's Opera House. [jy11,'67

JOHN H FULFORD,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Office in Pie's Opera House, Room No. 5. Jan. 3, 1874.

JOHN L. CUTTLE,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.
and Real Estate Agent, Clearfield, Pa.
Office on Third street, bet. Cherry & Walnut.
Respectfully offers his services in selling and buying lands in Clearfield and adjoining counties; and with an experience of over twenty years as a surveyor, flatters himself that he can render satisfaction. [Feb. 26:69:tf.

J. BLAKE WALTERS,
REAL ESTATE BROKER,
AND DEALER IN
Saw Logs and Lumber,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Office in Graham's Row. 1:25:71

J. J. LINGLE,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
1:18 Osceola, Clearfield Co., Pa. y:pd

J. S. BARNHART,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Bellefonte, Pa.
Will practice in Clearfield and all of the Courts of the 25th Judicial district. Real estate business and collection of claims made specialties. n1'71

DR. W. A. MEANS,
PHYSICIAN & SURGEON,
LUTHERSBURG, PA.
Will attend professional calls promptly. aug10'70

DR. T. J. BOYER,
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON.
Office on Market Street, Clearfield, Pa.
Office hours: 8 to 12 a. m., and 1 to 3 p. m.

DR. E. M. SCHEURER,
HOMŒOPATHIC PHYSICIAN,
Office in residence on Market st.
April 24, 1872. Clearfield, Pa.

J. H. KLINE, M. D.,
PHYSICIAN & SURGEON,
HAVING located at Pennfield, Pa., offers his professional services to the people of that place and surrounding country. All calls promptly attended to. oct. 12 tf.

DR. J. P. BURCHFIELD,
Late Surgeon of the 53d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, having returned from the Army, offers his professional services to the citizens of Clearfield county.
Professional calls promptly attended to. Office on Second street, formerly occupied by Dr. Woods. [apr4,'68-tf

DR. H. B. VAN VALZAH,
CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.
OFFICE IN MASONIC BUILDING.
Office hours—From 12 to 2 P. M.
May 12, 1875.

DR. JEFFERSON LITZ,
WOODLAND, PA.
Will promptly attend all calls in the line of his profession. nov.19-73

G. W. WEAVER & CO.,
DRUGGISTS & APOTHECARIES,
CURWENSVILLE, PA.
Dealers in all kinds of Drugs, Medicines, Fancy Goods and Druggists' Sundries.
Curwensville, March 17, 1875.

GEORGE M. FERGUSON,
WITH
W. V. LIPPINCOTT & CO.,
dealers in
HATS & CAPS, BOOTS & SHOES,
3:17 521 Market Street, Philadelphia. 75-tf

A. H. MITTON,
Manufacturer and dealer in
Harness, Saddles and Bridles,
Collars, Whips, Brushes, Fly Nets, Trimmings, Horse Blankets, &c.
Vacuum, Frank Miller's and Neatsfoot Oils.
Agent for Bailey and Wilson's Buggies.
Orders and repairing promptly attended to. Shop on Market street, Clearfield, Pa., in room formerly occupied by Jas. Alexander. [4:1475

Livery Stable.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform the public that he is now fully prepared to accommodate all in the way of furnishing Horses, Buggies, Saddles and Harness, on the shortest notice and on reasonable terms. Residence on Locust street, between Third and Fourth.
GEO. W. GEARHART.
Clearfield, Feb. 4, 1874.

Cards.

JOHN D. THOMPSON,
Justice of the Peace and Scrivener,
Curwensville, Pa.
Collections made and money promptly paid over. feb27'71tf

GEO. ALBERT.....HENRY ALBERT.....W. ALBERT
W. ALBERT & BROS.,
Manufacturers & extensive Dealers in
Sawed Lumber, Square Timber, &c.,
WOODLAND, PENN'A.
Orders solicited. Bills filed on short notice and reasonable terms.
Address Woodland P. O., Clearfield Co., Pa.
a25-1y W. ALBERT & BROS.

FRANCIS COUTRIET,
MERCHANT,
Frenchville, Clearfield County, Pa.
Keeps constantly on hand a full assortment of Dry Goods, Hardware, Groceries, and everything usually kept in a retail store, which will be sold for cash, as cheap as elsewhere in the county.
Frenchville, June 27, 1867-1y.

THOMAS H. FORCEE,
DEALER IN
GENERAL MERCHANDISE.
GRAHAMTON, Pa.
Also, extensive manufacturer and dealer in Square Timber and Sawed Lumber of all kinds.
Orders solicited and all bills promptly filled. [3y1872

REUBEN HACKMAN,
House and Sign Painter and Paper Hanger,
Clearfield, Penn'a.
Will execute jobs in his line promptly and in a workmanlike manner. apr4,67

G. H. HALL,
PRACTICAL PUMP MAKER,
NEAR CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.
Pumps always on hand and made to order on short notice. Pipes bored on reasonable terms. All work warranted to render satisfaction, and delivered if desired. my23:1ypd

E. A. BIGLER & CO.,
DEALERS IN
SQUARE TIMBER,
and manufacturers of
ALL KINDS OF SAWED LUMBER.
8:772 CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.

JAS. B. GRAHAM,
dealer in
Real Estate, Square Timber, Boards,
SHINGLES, LATH, & PICKETS,
9:16'73 Clearfield, Pa.

JAMES MITCHELL,
DEALER IN
Square Timber & Timber Lands,
je11'73 CLEARFIELD, PA.

H. F. NAUGLE,
WATCH MAKER & JEWELER,
and dealer in
Watches, Clocks, Jewelry, Silver and Plated Ware, &c.,
je10'72 CLEARFIELD, PA.

S. I. SNYDER,
PRACTICAL WATCHMAKER
AND DEALER IN
Watches, Clocks and Jewelry,
Graham's Row, Market Street,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
All kinds of repairing in my line promptly attended to. April 22, 1874.

REMOVAL.
REIZENSTEIN & BERLINER,
wholesale dealers in
GENTS' FURNISHING GOODS,
Have removed to 187 Church street, between Franklin and White sts., New York. [jy31'72

JAMES H. LYTLE,
No. 4 Pie's Opera House, Clearfield, Pa.
Dealer in Groceries, Provisions, Vegetables, Fruits, Flour, Feed, etc., etc.
apr14'75-tf

JAMES E. WATSON & CO.,
REAL ESTATE BROKERS,
CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.
Houses and Offices to let, Collections promptly made, and first-class Coal and Fire-Clay Lands and Town property for sale. Office in Western Hotel Building (2d floor), Second St. [my13'74y

D. M. DOHERTY,
FASHIONABLE BARBER & HAIR DRESSER.
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Shop next door to Weaver & Betts' store, Second street.
July 14, 74-y

HARRY SNYDER,
(Formerly with Lew Schuler.)
BARBER AND HAIRDRESSER.
Shop on Market St., opposite Court House. A clean towel for every customer. may 19,'75.

KRATZER & LYTLE,
AGENTS IN CLEARFIELD COUNTY FOR
LORILLARD'S
Celebrated Brands of
Smoking & Chewing Tobaccos.
We are enabled to wholesale to dealers throughout the county at city prices.
KRATZER & LYTLE,
je3'74-tf Clearfield, Pa.

UNDERTAKING.

The undersigned are now fully prepared to carry on the business of
UNDERTAKING,
AT REASONABLE RATES,
And respectfully solicit the patronage of those needing such services.
JOHN TROUTMAN,
JAMES L. LEAVY.
Clearfield, Pa., Feb. 18, 1874.

LIME! LIME!
The undersigned is now prepared to furnish the public with an excellent quality of
Bellefonte Wood-Burned Lime,
for plastering purposes, by the large or small quantity. Can be found for the present at Pie's new building, on Market street.
oct1-tf L. K. McCULLOUGH.

MITCHELL WAGONS.
The Best is the Cheapest!
Thomas Reilly has received another large lot of "Mitchell Wagons," which are among the very best manufactured, and which he will sell at the most reasonable rates. His stock includes almost all descriptions of wagons—large and small, wide and narrow track. Call and see them.
apr9'74 THOMAS REILLY.

JOHN A. STADLER,
BAKER, Market St., Clearfield, Pa.
Fresh Bread, Rusk, Rolls, Pies and Cakes on hand or made to order. A general assortment of Confectionaries, Fruits and Nuts in store.—Ice Cream and Oysters in season. Saloon nearly opposite the Postoffice. Prices moderate.
March 10-'75.

G. S. FLEGAL
Ironsides Store,
PHILLIPSBURG, PA.
DEALER IN
HARDWARE, STOVES, HEATERS, RANGES, WOOD AND WILLOW WARE.
AND MANUFACTURER OF
TIN, SHEET-IRON AND COPPERWARE.
Pennsylvania Street,
Phillipsburg, Centre Co., Pa.
20,May 1875.

CLEARFIELD REPUBLICAN.

GEO. B. GOODLANDER, Proprietor. PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN. TERMS—$2 per annum in Advance.

VOL. 49—WHOLE NO. 2432. CLEARFIELD, PA., WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1875. NEW SERIES—VOL. 16, NO. 31.

HELPING PAPA AND MAMMA.

Planting the corn any potatoes,
Helping to scatter the seeds,
Feeding the hens and the chickens,
Freeing the garden from weeds,
Driving the cows to pasture,
Feeding the horse in the stall,
We little children are busy;
Sure there is work for us all,
Helping papa.

Spreading the hay in the sunshine,
Raking it up when 'tis dry,
Picking the apples and peaches
Down in the orchard hard by,
Picking the grapes in the vineyard,
Gathering the nuts in the Fall,
We little children are busy;
So, there is work for us all,
Helping papa.

Sweeping, and washing the dishes,
Bringing the wood from the shed,
Ironing, sewing and knitting,
Helping to make up the bed,
Taking good care of the baby,
Watching her lest she should fall,
We little children are busy,
O, there is work for us all,
Helping mamma!

Work makes us cheerful and happy;
Makes us both active and strong;
Play we enjoy all the better
When we have labored so long.
Gladly we help our kind parents;
Quickly we come at their call;
Children should love to be busy;
There is much work for us all,
Helping papa and mamma.

The Declaration of Independence.

SPEECH OF

HON. A. H. STEPHENS,

DELIVERED BY REQUEST

At Atlanta, Ga., July 5th, 1875.

GOVERNOR SMITH'S SPEECH

Opened the exercises by returning thanks for the honor of being selected to preside on such an important occasion. He said the object of this assemblage was to celebrate the anniversary of our National Independence. Meetings for this purpose have not been frequent in the South for a few years, but this infrequency has not been for want of appreciation of the principles of '76 on the part of the people of the South. These great and glorious principles the South has ever cherished. We have an especial property in them and an especial right to be proud of and to celebrate them. The Declaration was drafted by a Southern man. The proposition was first made by Southern men. The army of the revolution was led to victory by a Southern man, and the South had always devotedly cherished the immortal principles embraced in the Declaration. I shall not allow any one to deprive me of the privileges of rejoicing on this anniversary. The principles of the Declaration are the platform upon which I stand and upon which the Southern people stand, and I am willing for everybody to get on it. I shall not be run off, no matter who gets on. I am glad to know that the Northern people are very largely getting upon it. It is one upon which all good people can stand. I am glad to have the Northern and Southern people assemble and commingle together on this platform. The people, the real people, of the North are not opposed to it, and they lack only the opportunity to manifest their devotion to it unmistakably. I tell you, when the people, the honest masses of both sections, meet and strike hands, the tricksters and soulless demagogues had better get out of the way, for their doom will be sealed.

Rev. A. T. Spalding was then introduced and led in a short and appropriate prayer, during which the band kept playing and the artillerymen firing salutes. Captain John Milledge, whose maternal and paternal ancestors were revolutionary soldiers, and were among the immortal thirty who captured the powder ship at Savannah, was then introduced, and read, in highly creditable manner, the Declaration of Independence. Col. Stewart, poet of the day, was then introduced, as a patriot who was born and reared in a short distance of the Hermitage, and as one who still retained his old principles as a Jackson Democrat, which he imbibed for forty years under the teachings of Old Hickory. He occupied twenty-three minutes in its delivery, reviving the memories of the by-gone days of the Republic in every verse.

MR. STEPHENS.

Sidney Dell, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, then arose and introduced the orator of the day, as follows:

I have the pleasure of introducing to you as orator of the day, a man whose private virtues and public worth have made him a central figure of the American history of this era—a man whom future ages will bless as the author of that twin palladium of liberty, the "Constitutional View of the War between States," which intructs those of mature years, and of the "School History of the United States," which teaches the principles of liberty to the rising generation—a man who was once the penniless invalid boy, but whose persistent will triumphing over poverty and physical ills, he to-day, upon his crutches, gives direction to the thought of millions of his fellows—a lover of the Union under the Constitution, but ever true to Georgia—the advocate of peace and the unalterable friend of the liberty of his State—the eloquent orator, the sagacious statesman, the "Sage of Liberty Hall."

Mr. Stephens spoke as follows:

EXORDIUM.

This, fellow-citizens, is no meaningless show. It is no demonstration gotten up barely for scenic or less worthy effect. Its object is to do honor to the day on which, ninety-nine years ago, our ancestors proclaimed those truths and principles, from the maintenance of which have sprung all our Free Institutions, and everything that has added lustre to the renown of our country. In honoring the day we treasure a grateful and reverential remembrance of the deeds of our fathers. The occasion is one for thought, meditation, reflection, and a close reckoning of facts and events—an examination into the balance sheet of progress—rather than one of entertainment furnished by any display of rhetoric or oratory; even if your speaker possessed the requisite qualities, and were in physical condition to attempt such a display. All he proposes to do, is to exhibit, as he promised you he would, if able, a manifestation of the earnest interest he feels in your demonstration, and the profound sympathy that stirs within him in accord with your movement to keep alive and perpetuate in memory these great truths and principles which have just been read in your hearing; and which lie at the foundation of the entire structures of our matchless system of civil and religious liberty. The 4th of July, 1776, was one of the grandest political epochs in the annals of mankind. Individuals had so written and spoken before, but it was reserved for our ancestors on that day to announce by the highest political authority, that is, the sovereign will of organized States—these true doctrines: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," etc., and "that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

These doctrines, if maintained and adhered to by all similar bodies, as well as by all law-makers and law-expounders, will secure "peace on earth and good will to men," or, as some render it, "peace on earth to men of good will."

In presenting such thoughts and reflections as seem to be pertinent to the object had in view by this imposing demonstration, I shall pursue such method as my feebleness, under the pressure of crowding suggestions, may allow and direct.

THE MEANING OF THE DECLARATION.

My theme is the paper you have just heard read—that Declaration of Independence, with its truths, principles and doctrines which were sent forth to the world on the ever memorable birthday of all real Constitutional Liberty, with the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and the joyous shouts from the hearts of millions from the Penobscot to the Altamaha. This Declaration, with its principles, embodies the text of all I shall attempt to say. Whatever reflections may be offered in relation to the past, the present, or the future, will be closely pertinent to the absorbing theme.

Let us, in the outset, inquire into the nature and character of the paper, the meaning of its language and principles; as well as the true purport of its announcements.

First, then, what is the meaning of the words—"that all men are created equal?" Is it that all men are created equal in size—in physical, mental, or moral structure? Not at all. We all know this is not true. Does it mean that they are all equal in their individual and social relations or rights? That these relations and rights between parent and child, guardian and ward, employer and employed, teacher and pupil, governor and governed, are all equal? Not at all. This meaning would destroy the very organization of society, and defeat the objects for which all governments should be formed, as announced in the text. The great truth uttered by these words is that all men—all mankind—of whatever size, race, color, or clime, have an equal right to justice in the administration of civil affairs, and that no one, however high, has any rightful power to wrong another, however low. The rule of justice here laid down is the Scriptural rule: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." Again, what is meant by the word "people," where it is announced that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish their form of government when they think proper to do so? Does it mean any promiscuous mass of discontents? Not at all. It means the people of any organized State or Kingdom, speaking through their properly constituted organic channels. It means, further, that all powers of government are public trusts, and that all rightful powers of government emanate from the people composing any State, Kingdom, or Commonwealth, and that it is the sovereign, uncontrollable right of every such State so organized, to institute and maintain such forms of government—founded on such principles and organized with such powers—as such State may think best for the protection of all the natural inalienable rights of its constituent elements, and in such way as to each shall seem most likely to effect the safety, peace and happiness of the entire community. The doctrine is, that human beings, singly, are separate and distinct organizations, endowed by nature with all those rights necessary for their individual safety and happiness, and that as men, singly, cannot protect these rights as well as in organized society, and hence governments are instituted. Society so formed constitutes an aggregate organism known as the State, which thereby becomes a political and moral person, and that the sovereign rights of this associated organism to exercise its fiduciary powers for the best interests of the whole, is of the same character and of like limitations as the natural rights of the individual organisms as to each singly before they entered into the social compact of government. So much on this point.

Again is this a Declaration of American Independence, as it is so commonly styled? By no means. America embraces two continents, South as well as North. Was it the Declaration of the Independence of North America?—With equal emphasis, I repeat, by no means. It related to only a small portion of the North American continent—that small portion which embraced only some; not all, of the British colonies established thereon. Was it a Declaration of the Independence of even those thirteen colonies so embraced, merged and consolidated into one nation, which is the more common as well as the more insidious method of statement, for the purpose of perverting the true import? Again I repeat, with greater emphasis, by no means. Far from it. So do not speak the words. So does not stand the record!

Let us turn to the language of the text. We do "solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and, of right, ought to be Free and Independent States: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do."

This was the Declaration of the Independence, not of a single Nation nor of a single State, but the joint Declaration of the separate Independence of several States. Who were the "We" that made the Declaration? They were the Representatives of the then thirteen British Colonies of North America referred to, to wit: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The Representatives of these Colonies, in the name and behalf of the good people of the Colonies severally, and by the special authority of each Colony, given to its Delegation in the Congress of the Colonies then assembled, published and declared that these thirteen United Colonies are and of right ought to be, not a Free and Independent Nation, but Free and Independent States, which was but another form of expression for declaring that they are and of right ought to be Free and Independent Nations. The word State, in this connection, is but a synonim for Nation. It means any separate and distinct, self-sustaining commonwealth, whatever be the form or nature of its government, or the name it bears. In the very sentence in which it was declared these former British Colonies were thereafter, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States, the kingdom of Great Britain is properly, in the same meaning, styled "the State of Great Britain." I speak from the record.

The "We," therefore, that spoke and made the Declaration were in reality the Colonies themselves, proclaiming the Declaration through their Representatives—each Delegation being clothed with full power to do so by their several Colonies respectively.—The very caption of the paper, as it stands on the journals of the body that made it, is in these words:

"In Congress, July 4th, 1776.

"The unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America."

It was the joint Declaration of the Independence of thirteen separate States, severally, of which Georgia was one.

Who composed the Congress through which or by which the United States thus spoke? What was the origin, the nature, and powers of this body; and how did they thus become the United States of America?

BRIEF COLONIAL HISTORICAL SKETCH.

This leads to a brief review of contemporaneous history outside of the text, but which is necessary for a thorough understanding of its meaning. Be it remembered, then, that these Thirteen Colonies were distinct and separate political Societies; planted or then existing under separate charters from the British Crown, which secured to each the full right of perfect government over all their local, internal affairs respectively. In their organization they had no more relation to each other, than have the present Colonies of Jamaica and Australia; and their political relations towards the mother country were not different from those which connected the kingdom of Hanover in Germany with the Crown of England. All the British Colonies in America, or elsewhere, acknowledged a common allegiance to the same British Crown. This was the only connecting link between them, and the only tie that bound them in any way to the Government of Great Britain. The people of these thirteen American British Colonies were no more subject to the control of the British Parliament in the regulation of their internal, municipal affairs, and no more subject to rightful taxation, than were the People of Hanover. The People of Massachusetts, under her chartered rights, stood in the same political relation towards England and his Parliament as did the People of Hanover. So likewise stood the People of New Hampshire, Virginia, and all down to Georgia—the youngest and smallest in population on the list. All the Colonies had grown up and prospered under the acknowledged and inestimable right of Local Self-Government, with exemption from legislation—of taxation or other kinds—except such as received their own voluntary consent. It was upon this principle that most of the emigrants hither, had quitted the Monarchical Governments of the "Old World," and had sought refuge in these Colonies where they could enjoy the great natural rights of civil and religious liberty as set forth in the paper we are commemorating.

Upon these principles these Thirteen Colonies had sprung into existence, under separately organized Governments, within the period of a century and a half preceeding, and had greatly prospered; not, however, without many intervening struggles between them, the Crown, and the Parliament, over the great essential rights upon which they were founded; and to which their growth and prosperity were due.—This struggle approached the culminating crisis in 1764—'65, upon the passage of what is known as the stamp Act. By this Act of Parliament all contracts, notes, deeds, bonds, writs and public documents were required to be written on Government-stamped paper, which was to be sold by officials at a fixed price; and from the sales of which a large revenue was expected to be derived from the Colonies. The excitement produced by the passage of this Act, especially in North Carolina Massachusetts, and Virginia, showed clearly that an attempt to enforce it would lead inevitably to armed resistance. Do not grow weary under a rehearsal of these details; they are necessary for a full understanding of the text, and they lead to the life-springs of our Institutions.

In the month of May, 1765, the House of Burgesses of Virginia passed their famous resolutions declaring (among other things) the exclusive right of that Assembly to tax the inhabitants of that Colony. It was in the course of the debate on these resolutions that Patrick Henry, in one of his bursts of eloquence, exclaimed:—"Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First had his Cromwell, and George the Third," (when being interrupted by the cry of "Treason! Treason!" with and undaunted eye upon the speaker, he continued) "may profit by their example! If that be treason make the most of it!" George the Third, as well as the Parliament, did "profit," at least, for a while, by these resolutions and similar ones adopted about the same time by the Legislative Assembly of Massachusetts (known as her General Court), and the general spirit of armed resistance manifested throughout all the Colonies. Such was the discontent produced by this usurpation that it was soon abandoned.—The Act was repealed in March, 1776. The principle upon which it rested, however, was not abandoned. The Parliament still claimed the right and power to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever. Other acts of like but less offensive character were passed. The struggle went on. All these other acts were also after awhile repealed, except one imposing a duty on tea. This had but little effect in allaying the excitement. In 1773 the duty on tea was reduced to three pence per pound, which was a less tax than the people of England paid on the same article. It was thought this would pacify the Colonies. Far different, however, was the result. The conciliatory measure was based upon the odious, unabandoned "preamble" declaring "the right of the Parliament to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." This was a favorite doctrine of Lord North, then at the head of the Tory Administration. With all of his disposition to conciliate, he would not yield this principle. His views of policy were founded upon the assumption that Parliament possessed the sovereign right to govern the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, if in their judgment circumstances should require it. Subject to this right, his policy was to conciliate as far as possible. This abstract principle was just what the Colonies would not yield. The principle they maintained was that taxes were the free contributions of the people through their representatives, even in England under Magna Charta; and that taxation and representation should ever go together. In other words, that, without being allowed representation in Parliament, they could not rightly be subject to taxation by that body. The struggle, therefore, still went on.

At the ports of New York and Philadelphia, vessels laden with tea were not permitted to enter. In Charleston, South Carolina, the tea was landed, but stored away in damp cellars, where it was quietly permitted to rot. In Boston, a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the ships laden with tea, broke open all the chests containing it, and cast their contents into the sea. In North Carolina, at Wilmington, a number of men under the lead of Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe and Hugh Waddell, in open day, without any disguise, boarded a ship similarly laden, and destroyed the tea; while in Baltimore the obnoxious article met with a similar fate. For all these outrages, so-called, Boston was the place selected by the Lord North Ministry to make an example of, in the maintenance of their policy. This was, perhaps, because they had already collected there a considerable military force. Early in 1774 the port of Boston was closed by an Act of Parliament. The charter of the Colony of Massachusetts was soon after effectually abrogated by another Act of Parliament; and the Royal Governor was authorized to send persons accused of crime to England for trial. These Acts of Parliament caused an excitement amounting to fury in Massachusetts, which spread rapidly throughout the other Colonies. The House of Burgesses of Virginia being in session in May, when the news of the first of these Acts reached them, and before they had heard of the second, appointed the first day of June ensuing, as a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer," and "to invoke the aid of Almighty God to save the liberties of the Colonies." This was at the instance of Mr. Jefferson, then a member of that body. The Royal Governor, Dunmore, immediately dissolved the House of Burgesses for this act of disloyalty, as he considered it to be. Whereupon, the members resolved themselves into a Committee, organized an Association, and passed Resolutions declaring that the interests of all the Colonies were equally concerned, and advising the appointment of a Virginia Committee of Conference to consult with the other Colonies on the expedience of holding a General Congress of all the other Colonies, to devise means for their common protection. The attack upon the chartered rights of Massachusetts might be followed by a like attack upon those of all the other Colonies in turn. The Virginia Committee of Conference was appointed. It was at this time that the cry raised in the "Old Dominion" went through all the Colonies—"The Cause of Boston is the Cause of us All." The appeal of Virginia was responded to favorably by the Colonies generally. Philadelphia was the place, and the 5th of September, 1774, was the time fixed upon for this Convention of the Colonies. The first thing settled by the body, on its meeting, was the nature of its own character and organization. It was settled to be a Congress of separate, distinct political organisms. It was styled by them "the Congress of the United Colonies of America."

In all its deliberations, each Colony was to be considered as equal; and each was to have an equal vote on all questions coming before it without regard to size, wealth, population, or the number of Delegates sent by them respectively; for the object of all was defense and preservation, by joint action and co-operation in Council, of what was claimed to be the inestimable and inalienable right of each, that is, the absolute right of Local Self-Government.

The vote on all questions was counted, not *per capita*, or according to the number of Delegates, but by Colonies. Georgia was the only one of the Thirteen not represented in this, the first Congress of the Colonies named. The reason of this was her distance from the scenes of preparation, and the want of those facilities in the transmission of intelligence necessary for speedy organization. This Congress so originated, so constituted, so organized, did their work well. They did all that could be honorably done to preserve their connection with the mother country, consistently with the maintenance of their own inestimable rights. In speaking of their acts, their addresses, and their appeals in setting forth these rights, Lord Chatham said in the British Parliament: "That though he had studied and admired the free States of antiquity, the master spirits of the world, yet, for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress."

Noble tribute, that, to their worth and their memory.

This body finished its work in October, 1774, with a recommendation to the Colonies to send Delegates to another similar Congress to meet at the same place the 10th of May, 1775. All of the Thirteen, including Georgia, responded to this call by sending duly elected Representatives. The Second Congress of the Colonies met in pursuance of the recommendation. The aspect of public affairs had grown no better. The immense war preparations by the British Ministry clearly indicated that the Lord North Policy was to be carried out by the force of arms. Three thousand troops had been sent to Boston as early as April, 1775. The battles of Concord and Lexington, the Centennial Anniversary of which has recently been celebrated with so much patriotic ardor and enthusiasm, had been fought on the 19th of April, nearly a month before this Congress met; and that of Bunker Hill was fought on the 17th of June, a little over a month after their assemblage. Still, the Colonies, so assembled in Congress, were anxious to restore peace upon just principles, if possible. Every means, upon this line, was resorted to, to assuage the temper of the Tory Administration in England. These were all of no avail. The fighting went on. On the 19th of June, Washington, at the instance of Massachusetts, was unanimously appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial forces. He was commissioned in the name of the United Colonies of America, the name of each Colony being set forth in his commission. This Congress of the United Colonies also issued an address in which were set forth the reasons for their repelling force by force. In this, they said, amongst other things: "We have no wish to separate from the mother country." "We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory or for conquest." "Honor, justice and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them." "In our native land, and in defense of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we have ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

It was already apparent to the farseeing few, that no terms of redress or conciliation could be obtained by the Colonies consistently with what they deemed their indefeasible rights, even as British subjects, upon the principles guaranteed by Magna Charta. Still hope against hope was indulged by many during the fall and winter of 1775-76. In the meantime the British army was greatly reinforced. There had been ordered to America a large fleet of ships, with thirty-two thousand troops, well supplied with provisions and munitions of war.

Early in the Spring of 1776, Washington wrote from the head of the Colonial forces at New York: "A reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible. When I took the command of the army, I abhorred the idea of Independence; but I am now fully satisfied that nothing else will save us."

Events, swift in succession, soon verified the correctness of his conviction. Soon after, a formidable fleet, with a large army appeared off Charleston harbor, South Carolina, showing that the war cloud was to burst upon the South as well as the North; and that nothing short of general subjugation was determined upon. It was on the 28th of June, 1776, that the great battle of Fort Moultrie was fought, in which the gallant Colonel whose name the Fort bore, and under whose skill it had been hastily erected, with five hundred Carolinians, achieved a most brilliant victory on the Colonial side, against the most formidable odds, commanded by the British Major General, Henry Clinton and Admiral Sir Peter Parker. Here it was that Sergeant Jasper won imperishable fame.

Civil action, in the meantime, was keeping pace with military. The last alternative, the Sovereign Independence of the Colonies, was pressing to an issue. On the 7th of June, after the British troops had been sent to Charleston, but before the great victory of Col. Moultrie had been achieved, Richard Henry Lee, a Delegate from Virginia in the Congress of the Colonies, moved a resolution embracing two great ends. The first was: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States;" and the second branch of the same resolution was: "That a plan of Confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation." This resolution was adopted on the 11th of June.—The vote upon it, as upon all other questions, was taken by Colonies. Two Committees were appointed under it. One to prepare the Declaration of the Independence of the United Colonies, as free and independent States; and the other to prepare Articles of Union for Confederation between them as such States. The Committee to prepare the Declaration of Independence, that paper you have just heard read—and which is the theme of this discourse—consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York. This committee reported that Declaration on the 28th of June, the very day on which the arms of South Carolina had been so triumphant at Fort Moultrie, but the news of which did reach Philadelphia for many days afterwards. There were no telegraphs, no steam locomotion, nor even speedy stage coaches in those days. These, and other grander results, which fill up the full measure of the glories of our history, are but the fruits of what our noble common ancestors were then doing in the chambers, as well as the battle-fields. They have long since passed away, but their deeds still live, and will live forever. All honor to their memories now, and for all time to come.

But not to wander from the text.—Please still be patient with details of facts. All the Colonies had, anterior to the 28th of June, duly empowered their delegations in the Congress, in their name and behalf severally, to vote for the Declaration, except New York, Delaware and Pennsylvania.—Massachusetts had done so as early as January, '76; but North Carolina had taken the lead of all her sister States in this respect. As early as the 20th of May, 1775, the day after receiving the news of the battle of Lexington, she put forth her celebrated Mecklenburg manifesto, in which she, for herself, singly, threw off all allegiance to the British crown, and declared North Carolina to be a Sovereign and Independent State. From that time onward the royal authority ceased to be exercised within her limits. His Majesty, then Governor, Josiah Martin, was immediately compelled by the patriotic masses of Wilmington and of the lower waters of the Cape Fear to seek safety on board the Cruiser, a British war-ship lying in port. From that time on North Carolina exercised all the functions of perfect government over her internal affairs, though she continued to hold her position in the Congress of the United Colonies for the maintenance of the common cause and the conduct of all extra State and foreign affairs. She also in April, 1776, empowered her delegation in the Congress to join the other delegations in the common Declaration. Georgia had done the same in April, South Carolina in March, Rhode Island in May, Virginia in May, New Hampshire in June, New Jersey in June and Maryland in June. New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware were the last to authorize and empower their delegations so to act. It was well known that such instructions and powers would be given by them, and might be on the way but had not reached Philadelphia on the 28th of June, when the Declaration was reported by Mr. Jefferson, the Chairman of the Committee. Action on it, therefore, was deferred for a few days, until such instructions and powers should be received by the delegations from the three last named Colonies. The instructions and powers came within the time according to expectation; and the question upon the Declaration came up for final disposition on the 4th day of July when it was voted on by Colonies and received the sanction not only of every one of the thirteen Colonies, but of every one of the Representatives in the respective delegations present.

You know and understand who the "We" was who declared the United Colonies to be Free and Independent States. You see from the facts that it was in reality the Colonies themselves. We thus see also how "the United Colonies of America" became "the United States of America," or, at least, how the Declaration came to be so made.

BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE STATES FROM '76 TO '88.

A further brief sketch of historical