

THE POLITICAL RIDE.

A CAMPAIGN SONG.

Air—"Dearest Ma."

A sight I saw the other night,
When the moon was still,
For then I saw the Woolly Horse,
A going down the hill.
He looked as if he wanted feed,
And drank from out the fountains,
And he turned back his eager gaze
Toward the Rocky Mount.
Oh, Buck and Breck,
You'll surely win the day,
The Woolly Horse has gone to grass,
So all the people say.
He drew a curious looking chain,
And freest at therein,
With Horse Greasy by his side,
Both on a friendly grin.
"The horse is getting very tired,"
Quoth Greasy, then, sobbing,
"I think he'll surely need some aid
From out your Morpion."
Oh, Ac, Ac,
Freemont replied, "I have it there,
With that we'll make a speck,
And talk of valor, gold and snow,
And Buck and Breck with us the day,
Said Greasy, "that will never do,
Without some other figures;
And winking, both at once cried out,
"We have it with the nigger."
Oh, Ac, Ac,
Thus carried rode the gallant pair,
Of humpbacked and tall,
Of tariff, bank and special bill,
For hogs and defaulting,
When lo! they saw far in advance
Old Buck was going,
"We'll lose," cried Greasy, in despair,
"Our horse can never win."
Oh, Ac, Ac,
"In spite of mountains, gold and snow,
I tell you now 'tis flat,
"I think and Breck with us the day,
And I shall lose that hat."
The White Horse then came full in view,
And Buck and Breck rushed in,
While all the people loudly cried,
"Freemont, you cannot win."
Oh, Buck and Breck,
You'll surely win the day,
The Woolly Horse has gone to grass,
So all the people say.

—AN ORATION.

Delivered before the Reading Association of New Holland, on the 14th of July, 1856.

BY W. SEEDER BARROW.

Published by request of the Association.

This is our national birthday. Eighty years ago, on this day, the Continental Congress dissolved the political connection which had existed between this country and Great Britain, and assumed for the colonies a separate and independent station among the nations of the earth. Our forefathers then resolved to be free or perish in the attempt; and by their undaunted and invincible courage have presented to the world a spectacle of wisdom and firmness which has no parallel in the annals of either ancient or modern ages.

To form a proper estimate of their valor, we must take into consideration the state of affairs in this country at that period.—Our country, then, was invaded by the armies of Great Britain, which were numerous and well disciplined in all the arts of modern warfare. They were commanded by officers who had acquired military fame and skill in every clime; they were furnished with every necessary implement of war, and supported by a nation whose wealth and influence enabled them to hire soldiers from foreign countries to continue and support the war waged with the colonists. On the part of the Colonists—in defiance of our country—were a few bands of soldiers, unacquainted with military discipline, and led by officers destitute of experience; and so miserably poor, that many of our brave soldiers were but half clothed, and their counter-marches over the rugged ground which they were disputing, could be traced by the blood which flowed from their naked feet.

But these were not the only disadvantages under which we labored. Not only had we to contend with the invading armies; but the harsh and discordant treason was waged within by our own inhabitants of Great Britain, at the time of the declaration of independence, had powerful parties in her favor in the middle and southern States, and many adherents throughout the Union, who baffled, in a great measure, the plans and delayed the success of the colonists. We might our patriotic forefathers have had their countrymen—

"If one day, our virtuous liberty,
Is worth a whole eternity in bondage."

It is not my intention to enter into a narration of the sufferings, heroic dangers and brilliant achievements of the American soldiers during the war which led to the establishment of our independence.—In this oration, I purpose to speak of the causes which have endangered and continue to threaten its security; and the means which will perpetuate it.

The defeat and capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, which were the crowning and closing acts of the Revolution, sent a thrill of joy throughout the country—they were the most decisive events of that glorious war. After eight years of unparalleled bravery, hardship and perseverance, on the part of the Americans, the contest was decided in their favor; Great Britain was compelled to acknowledge our independence and to yield the territory of the thirteen States to the jurisdiction of Congress.

Thus was peace established; and the Colonists obtained a glorious reward for their sacrifices and noble endurance in the cause of freedom. They were willing, too, to share the fruits of their labors with their fellow-mortals from all parts of the earth; and, therefore, opened a sanctuary sacred to civil and religious liberty in the West-

ern hemisphere, where the oppressed of the Old World might seek a home and "live unmolested under their own vine and fig tree."

But peace and independence did not immediately produce all the advantages and blessings which had been anticipated by the zealous and sanguine people, and which they had so justly merited. The evils of the war extended beyond its duration.—The patriotic ardor, disbanded, now was thrown into a state of extreme poverty.—Many soldiers had not received any compensation for five years, and their families were suffering for the necessities of life. All the resources and means of the Colonies had been exhausted during the war; and, unable to pay the soldiers who had ended their services in the field of battle, starvation stood at their doors ready to enter. Nor was it without great difficulty that they could be restrained from making a forcible redress of their grievances.

Washington, their brave and noble leader, inspired them with confidence and hope for the future. The debt of the government was very heavy, and Congress was not able to pay the interest arising from it. The people, therefore, suffered severe losses; public and private debts bore heavily upon them, restraining their enterprises and consuming their resources. Congress having neither the power or means of discharging their debt, attempts were made in some States to satisfy their creditors by levying heavy taxes. These attempts at taxation created much dissatisfaction among the people, and were followed by formidable insurrections requiring all the energy and power of the government to suppress them.

The articles of confederation which united the States during the Revolution, at its close, were insufficient to accomplish the purpose of a national government.—They merely conferred on Congress the power to carry on the war, and its requisitions were often disregarded—no authority being given to enforce obedience.—No power was conferred on Congress to regulate commerce. Congress having no power to make treaties with foreign nations, our merchants were denied all participation in commerce except on the most degrading terms. The trade between the States, which were considered separate and independent sovereignties, was also interrupted by numerous restrictions, producing frequent collisions and diminishing the benefits which would naturally flow from unrestricted commerce between the States. From these causes commerce languished; the resources of the country were already exhausted—no hope was left to replenish them, and all the energies of the people were lying dormant.

This condition of affairs made it evident that, for the future, as well as the present prosperity of the nation, a closer union of the States was necessary. For this purpose, after much deliberation, it was concluded by the most distinguished patriots and statesmen of that day, that a thorough reform of the existing government should be attempted. A convention was, therefore, held in Philadelphia, commencing in May, 1787; it was composed of delegates—the representatives of the people—from all the thirteen States, except Rhode Island. After four months' deliberation, contention and mutual concession, they agreed upon a Constitution for the United States of America. This Constitution was finally accepted by all the States; the object of which was, as stated in the preamble: "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." To maintain the manner in which these objects could be accomplished was no easy task; but God, in his infinite goodness and wisdom, provided our nation with men equal to the emergency. May He forever bless us with men who will maintain, unimpaird, that Constitution which was given to our people.

But, thus far spoken of the condition of our country during and after the close of the Revolution, and the causes which led to the formation of the thirteen States into a Union. I shall now proceed to speak of the benefits arising from the union of these States.

The benefits are made evident, when we reflect on the unparalleled prosperity and happiness which the citizens of the Republic have enjoyed since the formation of this Union. And this prosperity and happiness are rendered clearly perceptible, when we contrast our present condition with the state of affairs existing in this country at the close of the Revolution and before the present national government was instituted. I will not, however, recapitulate what I have already said of the sad condition of our country at the close of the struggle for independence: it will suffice to advert to our rapid growth and present prosperity and happiness as a nation; leaving you free to continue the contrast for yourselves.

At the close of the Revolution, we numbered but 13 States, lying along the Atlantic ocean and containing a population of only 3,000,000, with a government in the most embarrassing condition. A period of 70 years has since elapsed: we now number 31 States and 4 Territories, comprising a country nearly equal in size to the whole of Europe and larger in extent than any one nation on the face of the globe. From 3,000,000 of people, we have increased to 25,000,000 of people, scattered over this vast expanse of country and nowhere surpassed for industry, intelligence and in their attachment to liberty. Our commercial and other improvements have kept pace with our increase in territory and population; our ships are to be seen in every part of the civilized globe, bearing the various surplus productions of this country abroad, and bringing in exchange the products foreign to our soil and labor. Subject no longer to insults and injuries from the most remote part of the earth, as they do at home. The exclamation that "I am an American citizen," and the stars and stripes are passports securing safety and respect to our citizens in the most distant regions and among the most barbarous people.

Not only abroad are our interests and security guarded by our national government, but at home "the blessings of government, like the dews of heaven, are dispensed alike among the high and the low, the rich and the poor." Our citizens enjoy the greatest liberty and surest protection which can possibly fall to the lot of any people. No longer do we groan under heavy taxes, and no longer have we a nation debilitated by eating out our resources; with but a trifling debt, the fed-

eral government is enabled to encourage the arts and sciences, thus producing and encouraging everything necessary to the comfort and convenience of our people.—Indeed, in everything which constitutes the true power, glory and splendor of a people, we stand pre-eminently at the head of all nations. Now when we contemplate the present enviable position of our country and contrast it with its early history, we are not led to ask the cause of the great benefits and blessings which we now enjoy. And when we ask ourselves the question, we can come to no other conclusion than that, it is chiefly, I will not say solely attributable to the union of these States.

If argument were necessary to prove that to the union of the States, chiefly, attributable the power, glory and happiness of our people, I should attempt to show the liability of our States to quarrel had they remained separate and independent sovereignties. And to this it is not necessary to refer to ancient history to prove that, unless bound by the ties of mutual interest and consanguinity, small and neighboring independent sovereignties cannot long maintain their liberties against foreign influence or internal strife. This truth is forcibly verified in the past and present history of the South American States, and in the most recent affairs in Central America, when we consider the unsettled, precarious and unhappy condition of these, our sister republics, and our superiority over them in every respect, we are forced to acknowledge the wisdom of those sagacious men who bound these States in one Union and under one government. But I hope and believe that it requires no argument to convince you that the Union of these States is the "very palladium of our prosperity and safety, and the very security of liberty itself."

I shall now speak of the dangers which threaten our Union. In attempting this, I will not discuss the harmony of the scene before me, by the slightest allusion of a party character; the circumstances of the case forbid it; the associations of the day forbid it; the character of the business which assembled you here forbid it; and my own feelings revolt from it. But I may say, I must say, and every one within the sound of my voice will sustain me in saying, that there has been no moment since the formation of our government, when it was more important than at this moment, that the great leading principle of our constitution should be remembered and cherished. This principle is the most complete, cordial and indissoluble Union of the States. Perfect union among the States, perfect neutrality towards others, and peace—domestic peace and foreign peace—as the result; this was the chosen and consummate policy of the Father of his Country.

In his farewell address to his fellow countrymen, Washington touched upon many topics with the earnestness of a sincere heart. He warned us to beware of the insidious wiles of foreign influence; but, as he surmised, the period has arrived when "we may defy external injury from external annoyance." We have no longer any cause to fear the power of any nation; we are now powerful enough to repel attacks from abroad. But the greatest danger to the Union, and those which are too long to forewarn, and those which are too long to realize. The great dangers which he feared would jeopardize the Union was the probable refusal of one section to respect the rights of the other, and the consequent disobedience to the laws of our common country—arising from sectional prejudices. And a refusal to respect the rights of the other, which have, at different periods, threatened to impair the efficacy of our Union, are to be ascribed, mainly to a dissatisfaction with and a refusal by the people of different sections to obey the laws of our land.—Disobedience to our laws is not confined to the people, but to our people.

The very makers of our laws—men in Congress—declare their determination not to abide by the laws of our land, and express a willingness to favor a dissolution of the Union, rather than aid in the execution of certain laws. The press, the great pillars which support the edifice of our government, is, in part, following the example of dissatisfied statesmen; and, yielding to their sectional prejudices, are inciting to disobedience and violation of our laws. I am sorry to say, but you will all acknowledge, that we have among us men who dwell perpetually on local interests, and feel every flame of local prejudice. They array State against State, party against party, careless of the continuance of that unity of government which constitutes us one people.

If this state of affairs continues—if men and papers under the influence of sectional prejudices, are permitted to corrupt the minds of the people with treason and a spirit of rebellion—what will be the result? Aye, ask yourselves what has been the result of this course of affairs? Look at the halls of Congress: no longer the place where the representatives of different sections can meet in friendship and security to enact laws for the benefit of the country, it has been converted into a scene of contention and discord, where men are permitted to arouse sentiments of treason and disunion, with impunity; and where the pistol, the bowie-knife and the cane are substituted for truth, reason and persuasion! If the fountain-head is corrupt, what can we expect of the stream? If the source whence emanates law is in corruption and disunion, what benefit will law produce? Different portions of our country, scarcely consecrated as the homes of freemen, are in the most deplorable of all situations: for of all the afflictions which can beset a people, civil war is the worst. To have our homes burnt, and to be hunted and slain like wild beasts by our own countrymen, is a fate more to be dreaded than any that can befall a man. Yet this is the present condition of the people of one of our States and Territories. Daily accounts reach us of the most heart-rending scenes of war; never before experienced by any portion of our happy land; all the horrors of civil war are raging with havoc among our brethren in the States of State and Territory; in the latter, villages are in part consumed with fire, and the miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming houses, are slaughtered; fathers are torn from their children, husbands from their wives, charged with treason and imprisoned to await a trial by their own countrymen. I am no enthusiast, I do not believe in a speedy dissolution of the Union; I shall from upon every attempt to dis-

solve it; but not the recent occurrences in Congress and the present state of civil affairs in Kansas and California, calculated to awaken a fear for the preservation of the Union in the mind of every good citizen. And does it not become the duty of every American to condemn these wrongs and to endeavor to restore peace throughout our whole country?

Among the remedies for the evils which threaten the permanency of that government which constitutes us one people, I would first recommend obedience to law.—Disobedience to law, as I have already said, being the great cause of our past and present domestic troubles,—if this evil were banished and the laws obeyed by the citizens of all sections, peace and harmony would follow and our country would no longer be the scene of civil war. But, we are told by a few of our citizens, that general laws are wrong, and, therefore should not be obeyed. There is not a law, either State or National, that is not thought to be wrong by some persons; but would it be right and safe for those citizens to disobey laws, because they believed them to be wrong and oppressive? Government provides remedies for wrong laws, and when wrong, instead of trying to resist the law, or to settle our disputes, we should seek redress at the proper tribunal. One of our most popular and independent papers justly asks: "What would be that of that party, which, being defeated at one of our municipal elections, whether by fraudulent votes or otherwise, should attempt by violence to overthrow the government, rather than by consulting the judges of our courts?" The act would be a clear confession, to national minds, that those who resorted to this means of redress had no confidence in the justice of their own cause, and that they rely upon strong facts and sound argument.

Again, we are told by other citizens that their "allegiance to a higher law" forbids them to respect and obey certain laws, which they believe to be "unjust." Obedience to law, like every good act, should commence at home, and should not obey the human laws which concern their own and neighbors' present and temporal welfare, it is not probable they will obey those which concern their spiritual welfare! How selfish, how wrong, how sinful is such a doctrine! The scriptures repudiate it; the Bible teaches obedience to human laws, and Christ at no time incited the people to disobey the laws of the country, in which he reigned as spiritual King. Indeed, all experience has shown that government, though severe and disagreeable, more desirable than none; and to establish and continue a government, laws must be predominant, submission to legal authority must follow, no matter what opinion of the laws citizens may entertain.

To secure obedience to laws, something is yet wanting; our citizens must learn to overcome their prejudices. We should look beyond our rights and also consider the rights and opinions of others. We should not attempt to deny the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to citizens of the different sections of the country, merely because it does not suit our notion of what is right. Alas! how many of our citizens are yet waiting, our citizens must learn to overcome their prejudices. We should look beyond our rights and also consider the rights and opinions of others. We should not attempt to deny the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to citizens of the different sections of the country, merely because it does not suit our notion of what is right. Alas! how many of our citizens are yet waiting, our citizens must learn to overcome their prejudices. We should look beyond our rights and also consider the rights and opinions of others. 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