

2620

NJ
lcw

45-

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED

IN THE CHURCH AT PRINCETON,

THE EVENING BEFORE THE

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

COLLEGE OF NEW-JERSEY,

SEPTEMBER 27, 1831.

BY GEORGE M. DALLAS, Esquire.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE AMERICAN WHIG
AND CLIOSOPHC SOCIETIES.

PRINCETON, N. J.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETIES, BY D'HART AND CONNOLLY.

.....

1831.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED

AT THE CHURCH AT BOSTON

ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY

BY THE REV. JOHN W. CHURCH

OF THE CHURCH AT BOSTON

ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY

1841

BY THE REV. JOHN W. CHURCH

OF THE CHURCH AT BOSTON

ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY

1841

BY THE REV. JOHN W. CHURCH

OF THE CHURCH AT BOSTON

ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY

1841

BY THE REV. JOHN W. CHURCH

OF THE CHURCH AT BOSTON

ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY

1841

BY THE REV. JOHN W. CHURCH

OF THE CHURCH AT BOSTON

ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY

1841

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE CLIOSOPHIC SOCIETY, AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING, SEPT. 28, 1831.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to present to GEORGE M. DALLAS, Esq., the thanks of this Society, for the able and eloquent address, delivered by him on Tuesday, the 27th instant; and to request a copy for publication.

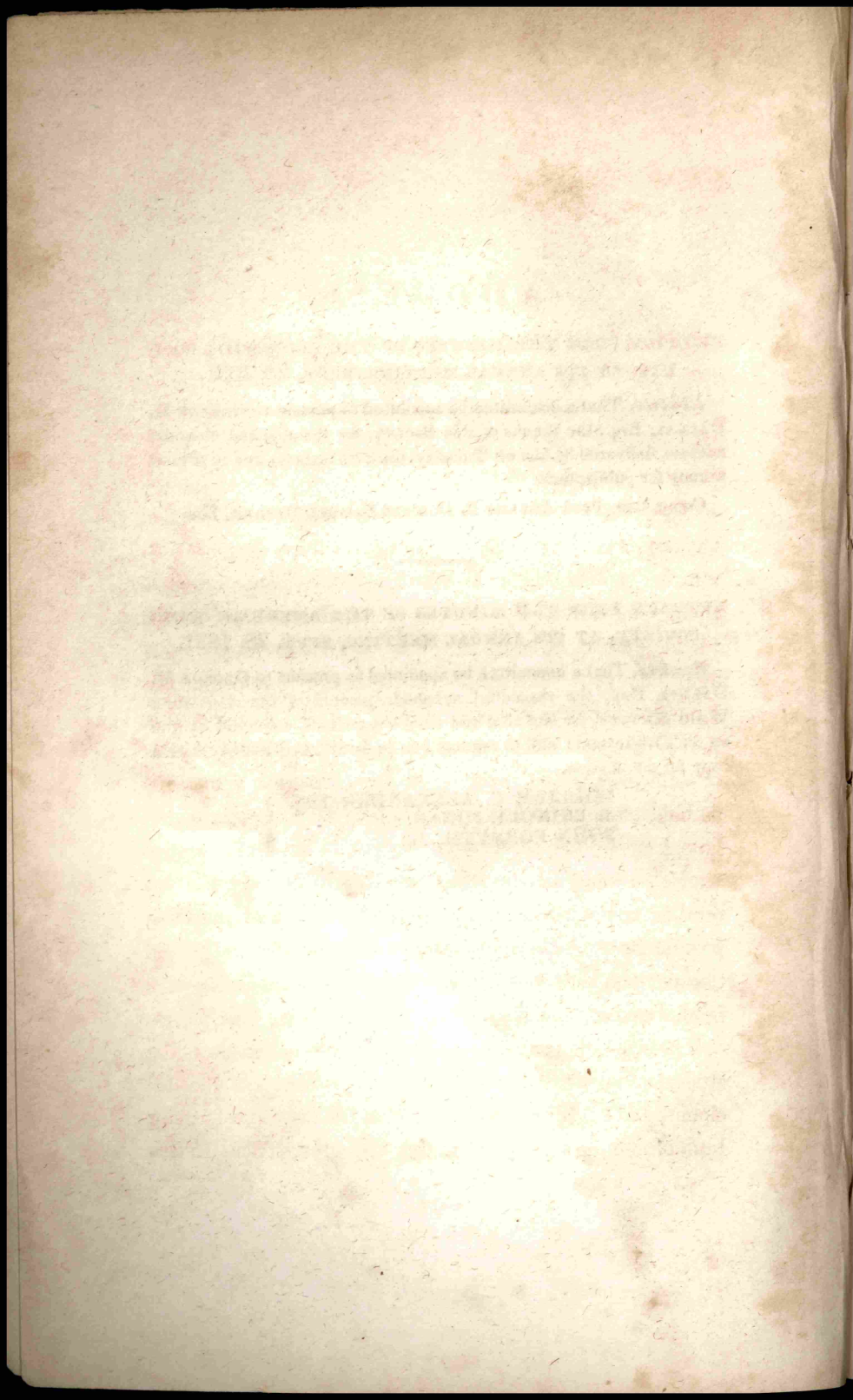
Committee, Prof. ALBERT B. DOD and SAMUEL BAYARD, Esq.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE AMERICAN WHIG SOCIETY, AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING, SEPT. 28, 1831.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to present to GEORGE M. DALLAS, Esq., the respectful acknowledgments of the AMERICAN WHIG SOCIETY, for the able and eloquent address, delivered by him on the 27th instant; and to request him to furnish this Society with a copy for publication.

WILLIAM C. ALEXANDER, Esq. }
J. PRINGLE JONES, } Committee.
JOHN FORSYTH, JR. }

J 378
pa 5
D 145
VAULT



AN
ADDRESS,
&c.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN!

THERE are some present—tho' the eyes, the smiles, and the complexions of youth remind me there can be but few—who may remember that he, who has now the honor to address them, quitted this very platform, bidding farewell to collected friends and to collegiate life, exactly one and twenty years ago. My young brethren, in obedience to whose summons I must awhile trespass upon your attention, have since sprung into existence:—have been carefully fashioned by the hands of parents and of preceptors:—and will to-morrow, with spirits as buoyant and hopes as exhilarating as mine then were, launch upon the boundless, the uncertain, but ever attractive world!—I come, like the veteran mariner, to consult with them on their contemplated voyage:—to hint how they may best provide for its happy progress and its honorable end:—and to give them the onward cheer and hearty benediction of a brother and a friend.

The step—the bounding and eager step—which clears the student at once from the secluded field of education and discipline, and lands him to participate in the busy and bustling hum of men, is equally interesting and irrevocable. In this

country, perhaps more than elsewhere, peculiar manners invest a graduated youth with the dignity, and exact from him the responsibility, of manhood. He no sooner ceases to be under collegiate government, than he is presumed competent, and expected, to govern himself. The instant he turns his back upon the symmetrical and flowery walks of academical culture, he moves, unaided, upon the irregular and entangled heath of general society. Heretofore the object of solicitude and protection, he must now be self-adjusted, self-poised, and self-sufficient! The epoch of such a transition is naturally one of thrilling anxiety to his relatives and friends. The tender and sustaining ties of sympathy are about being relaxed, if not severed:—the exclusiveness of domestic affection must be dispelled:—and the multifarious claims of society suddenly interpose to terminate forever the delights and the security of filial dependence. If, indeed, the roseate hues of a hope yet unblighted gild every prospect to the adventurer's vision:—if he, indeed, stand upon the shore and stretch his delighted gaze over a sunny ocean of life, shadowing forth unerring and brilliant tracks of happiness, tranquility, and glory:—these are delusions which the chastened imaginations of parents and of guardians cannot indulge. To them, however fond and confiding, the future is full of danger and of doubt. To them, the last exercise of preparatory education is but the beginning of a real struggle, and the emancipation from pupilage, an inevitable exposure to the burdens and buffets incident to humanity.

Let me not, however, too intensely aggravate the interests of the occasion. If it be accompanied by painful apprehensions, it also has its bright and renovating aspects.

What cordial more sweet to a parent than the intellectual and moral ascendancy of a son? To see him, after many years of probation, step forth from among his associates and competitors, and, in the presence of approving judges, claim the well-earned reward of virtuous deportment, prolonged industry, and cultivated mind? To know, and feel, and witness, the crowning conclusion of a work so long and so devotedly labored? To have the elated heart whispering at every throb its consciousness of kindred and of triumph:—and to receive him, on retiring from this edifice, no longer as dependent offspring, but as the dearest and truest and best of companions, of friends, of equals! Such a moment yields a rich and more than compensating harvest for every toil. It sheds the sweetest oblivion upon all past solitudes, and inspires a cheerful readiness for future and united trials.

Nor is it fair, by dull homilies, however true and philosophical, to take from our young friends their keen relish of this peculiar period. They have run the scholastic race:—they have attained the goal:—the victors await their prizes, and even the vanquished are refreshed, strengthened, and ennobled by their wholesome exercise and their generous competition. Let them enjoy the fruits of time thus far profitably spent:—and let us rather share in the sanguine feelings and anticipations by which they are prompted, as auspicious of coming victories, than unseasonably blunt their rapture by the stale though sound admonitions of age and of experience.

I turn then, Gentlemen of the American Whig and Clio-sophic Societies, to congratulate you upon having reached the termination of your collegiate course:—and to discharge the duty which you flatteringly assigned to me.

Although about to leave your revered instructors and beloved associates,—to quit forever this region long and successfully devoted to the delightful pursuits of literature and of science:—I am aware that your bosoms swell high with anticipations of home, of fancied free-agency, and of augmented personal importance. You are prepared, and eager, for the change—and it is right that you should be so. Loftier duties than any yet undertaken await and invite the exercise of moral and mental faculties now ripened into usefulness and energy. It is not that you are insensible to the advantages heretofore enjoyed:—it is not that you are ungrateful for the wise and affectionate supervision which has borne with the waywardness and frivolity of youth, and gradually guided you to your honorable position:—but it is, that your instructors have, almost unconsciously to yourselves, imparted powers which impel to activity—have given you an armour whose efficacy you wish to test—have made you fit, and thence instilled the resistless desire, to mingle with your fellow-men.

The extent to which this spirit of adventurous resolution may be beneficially indulged, henceforward depends entirely upon yourselves. Your own hands must feed the lamps until now kept burning by others. I need hardly say that the basis formed by the past accumulations of education must not only be preserved from decay, but should steadily and unremittingly be enlarged and perfected. It is a law of mind:—intellect stagnates as soon as it is stationary. You must be improving, or you will retrograde and degenerate. The strength now possessed is weakness compared with that which must hereafter be embodied. And refraining to touch

Donald Charles Lotz

farther upon the importance of your recent studies, and their persevering cultivation, than is involved in these general remarks, there is one of them as to which I cannot withhold the testimony of my strong conviction. In the knowledge of the classic languages of antiquity, you have master-keys wherewith to open store-houses, yet unapproached, of learning, of taste, and of enjoyment:—exhaustless granaries of moral aliment:—vast arsenals wherein are hoarded, forever polished and powerful, the weapons and ammunition of the understanding. How easy a thing to keep these keys within your grasp!—to retain thus a freedom of access to the noblest of the human race; the peerless Grecian, the exalted Roman, the wise of almost every age, and the elect of almost every land! Let them rust upon your hands, or be negligently lost, and, like the fabled Peri, you will fruitlessly flutter round the walls, or vainly knock at the gates, of Paradise.

While I am thus standing with you at the barrier which divides the college from the crowd, the silent shades of study from the glittering and tumultuous ways of the world:—a barrier which to-morrow's sun will see you overleap:—permit me cursorily to inculcate a principle of future action, whose direct tendency is to confirm your virtue, to elevate your motives, to invigorate the prosecution of upright pursuits, and to perpetuate the peace and composure of your hearts. It is not for me to meddle with the paramount precepts of religion or morality: I shrink from any vain attempt to fortify the admonitions of your pious, learned, and venerated chief.—But I would fain, in the fulfilment of my humbler task, furnish you a clue through many chambers of the labyrinth you are about entering, and impress upon your memories, a

maxim, to which you can never unprofitably nor reluctantly recur.

Gentlemen—you are American citizens. The immense throng of thirteen millions of human beings who surround you—their admirable institutions of government—their laws, usages, and language—their vast territory, noble rivers, luxuriant valleys, and interminable plains—their science, their letters, their liberties, their exploits, and their renown:—all these constitute your country; and I say to you, as the first of lessons, as well for individual happiness as for social duty, *reverence and love your country!* Take what occupation you may; agricultural, professional, mechanical—pursue it with ever so much zeal, talent, and tact; amass wealth and acquire sway; if you do not reverence and love your country, there will be a bitter and embittering void within your bosoms, making every acquisition distasteful, and converting every fruition into disappointment. But learn to love your country strongly: be that an ever-present and fundamental principle of public or of private conduct, stimulating you to useful examples, or checking the aspirations of ambition; and success will come without alloy, as adversity may overtake without reproach.

The love of country, however, to which I refer, is not that commonplace sentiment which germinates without root upon the rank soil of affectation, or shoots, unbidden and unawares, from ignorant instinct. The mere natural attachment to the region of nativity or of residence, is, in itself, though amiable, too fragile for reliance, too slight for constant or severe service. Let your's be the combined product of true feeling and discriminating reason; of comprehensive surveys, both

historical and contemporaneous; of a preference, calmly and conclusively adjudged. Thus only can it outlive the unceasing assaults of selfishness, or prevent the corroding effects of those temporary crosses or casualties to which we are all doomed.

Shall I then venture merely to indicate *why* you should reverence and love your country?—to advert to some of the many causes which warrant and justify it, in its most ardent and profound condition? The theme cannot readily tire, though essayed by an unskilful tongue, and is eminently appropriate to the occasion.

The scale, Gentlemen, upon which it has pleased the creative power to model this land, is that of united sublimity and utility. As an abode for intellectual beings, it is surpassed in grandeur of conformation, and in commodious connexion of parts, by no portion of the globe. Ranging itself majestically in front of the Atlantic Ocean from the twenty-fifth to the forty-seventh degree of latitude, it expands westward to the Pacific, three thousand five hundred miles. Its coast is penetrated by the noblest of estuaries. The undulations of its surface now swell into cloud-capt, but never bleak or inaccessible mountains: now sink into channels for vast, but never dangerous streams; and again stretch forth into boundless, but never baneful levels of fertility and of forest. The exuberance of its products, every where and unceasingly invites immigration, and rewards industry. Its waters and its woodland equally throng. The buffalo of the prairies, or the bald-eagle of the peaks, is but the closing link in a chain of animated nature, by which our soil and our air are enriched or adorned: and, almost spontaneously unveiled, the treasures

of mineralogy peer and sparkle from the earth, ministering alike to the "solid substance" and "feeble splendor" of its possessors. These are physical characteristics to which no patriot can be blind. They are the native and immutable qualities of his home; inspiring content, awakening admiration, and constituting an enduring foundation for just pride. It may be that you have read of skies more deeply blue; of lakes more poetically placid; of scenery more abrupt, impracticable, and romantic, than any this continent can furnish. Fancy, in these descriptions, has probably thrown her prismatic embellishment over fact: but conceding otherwise;—how shadowy and volatile seem all the mere amusements of taste, when contrasted with the ruddy offspring of America, the sterling realities of plenty, health, and happiness!

But, Gentlemen, this spacious mansion, with all its excellencies, is the humblest allotment of your inheritance. There are moral causes, far nobler and more impressive, to invigorate your love of country.

Scarcely three centuries have elapsed, since first a civilized man beheld, in a mist of distance and of doubt, the regions we inhabit. When Sebastian Cabot, impelled by the example of the great discoverer, moved along the eastern margin of the present United States, and returned to his monarch and his merchants, without attempting either settlement or conquest, not the feeblest ray of an impending future could have illumined his mind. He turned the prows of his barks away from these shores as irreclaimably savage:—and another hundred of years glided by, ere Raleigh trod the beach of Roanoke, or permanently encamped a pioneering detachment upon the banks of the Powhatan. In 1610, a small peninsula on the

coast of Virginia, tenanted by a less number of human beings than the young brothers I address, was the germ, the grain of mustard-seed, on which depended the gigantic growth of the American nation! The pilgrims of New-Plymouth followed, in 1620; and with a rapidity far transcending all experience and all hope, successive streams of civilization, like the rays of the sun, darted from the east, sped their searching and fertilizing course through a wilderness, and awoke to its high destiny the fairest and freshest portion of the earth!

And have you never asked, whence this wonderful work? Have you never scrutinized the basis of this mighty structure? Approach it, Gentlemen, with confidence: you, at least, need not shrink from tracing the moral overflow to which you owe your country up to its remotest source. There are no wolf-bred bands of robbers at *that* fountain—no hordes of devastating barbarians, impelled by want, or a keen thirst for blood; no flying criminals, dreading the avenging swords of justice—from such an origin as either of these, a generous patriotism might avert its gaze. But how is the heart soothed and the mind lifted; how powerfully fortified is our reverence for home, when we contemplate the virtuous, wise, peaceable, and pious men by whom this nation was founded? When we couple so extraordinary an achievement with their simple manners, their pure designs, their lofty motives, their meek resignation, and their unconquerable fortitude! When we find that, in an age of refinement, and from that very quarter of the globe self-esteemed solely civilized; in the days of Elizabeth and of Bacon—of Henry and of Sully—of Shakspeare, of Milton, our progenitors, enjoying all the blessings of moral and intel-

lectual improvement, and all the sweets of polished life, sought in the sequestered shades of this unexplored land, its only, but its unalienable and inestimable treasures—untrammelled freedom of action, and uncontrolable liberty of conscience! Philosophy can designate for contemplation nothing more sublime. History presents no parallel: for the callous and insatiable cupidity which made both eastern and western Indies, at periods of invading settlement, flow, with torrents of blood, or resound with the clank of chains, never degraded our national ancestry, nor polluted the air we breathe. It is our's—our's exclusively, to boast an undefiled social origin, consistent alike with true religion, universal philanthropy, and the proudest conceptions of human worth.

The moral influence of this peculiar feature of our story should operate unspent through all generations—steadily preserving us from the pernicious principles and practices shunned by the primitive fathers. Carry with you, Gentlemen, into the various occupations of active citizenship to which you are destined, a clear comprehension of its intrinsic excellence and a deep sense of its comparative superiority:—push your scrutiny into its details more amply than would be compatible with my present purpose or opportunity:—it will confirm sentiments of practical importance, and persuasively teach you to *reverence and love your country*.

These retrospections, though fortunately unaccompanied by any degrading consciousness of degeneracy, are not perhaps essential to present patriotism. The spirit of the first colonists was cherished like a sacred fire. It presided, as a territorial genius, over a rapidly augmenting population. It was inherently and inflexibly republican. And it gradually de-

veloped the doctrines and matured the measures upon which now repose the freedom and independence of the United States. But I come to call your attention to incidents of more recent date—to the glories which your immediate predecessors have achieved, and which you must contribute to perpetuate; to the proud proofs that no nation is more entitled than this to the honor, gratitude, and devotion of its citizens.

Whence was it, Gentlemen, that the great and fundamental truths of civil and religious liberty—truths which have harbingered the disenthralment and happiness of myriads of human beings—truths which, penetrating the recesses of superstition and oppression, have dispelled and destroyed them, as fluids glide into the fissures of rocks, and, expanding by congelation, heave them from their seats, or rend them into fragments:—whence was it, that these truths received their final demonstration and everlasting impulse? Whence were they sent forth, with the solemnity of national emphasis, as the recognized rules, alike of Divine beneficence and worldly wisdom—of Providence and of policy—without which modes of faith are but varied shades of folly, and forms of government mere meshes for slaves? In accomplishing the political separation of your country from Great Britain, its sages legislated and philosophised for all mankind, and for all ages. They have placed the world under an obligation which can be cancelled only by its frank acknowledgment. Do I exaggerate? Let the entire continent of America, rescued from Spanish tyranny and inquisitions; the thirty-five millions of France, unyoked of feudalism; emancipated Ireland, and revolutionized England; nay, let Europe, from her hundred communities, and even wretched Africa, answer the

question. Let *them* say to what radiant source they trace the light which has shone upon them in the fruition of its full blaze; or the cheering promise of its dawn. Let *them* say whence issued the loud pæan which startled man, throughout their domains, from bondage and bigotry, to the enjoyment of those rights to which "*the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle him!*"

And is not this something to exult in? Is not this youthful exploit better than twenty centuries of heraldry or of barbarous existence? Would you consent to exchange it for the Twelve Tables of Decemviral, or the fifty-volumed Pandects of Imperial, Rome? for the Canons of Papacy? or for the regal concessions of Magna Charta? It can never be an object of a disciplined mind to depreciate the value of these monuments of wisdom—but, contrasted with the luminous expositions of elementary and controlling principles embodied in the declaration of our revolutionary Congress, and in the constitutions of the Union and of the respective States, they sink into utter insignificance. Gentlemen, on this score at least, your country can have no rival in your reverence and love.

Look, then, to the structure of your public institutions—resting upon the will, and confiding in the virtuous intelligence of the multitude—as simple as wise, as practical as philosophical—the convenient, and conservative principle of representation, enabling a common government, both federative and popular in its origin and its action, to retain, through an almost boundless extent of territory, all the energy, while it avoids all the instability and disorder which accompanied the interesting and unmitigated democracies of antiquity.—Each free and independent State, itself a separate and secure

depository of invaluable rights and powers, forms, by chosen delegates, a part of one integral and essential branch of a national legislature:—an harmonious, though sub-divided—a consentaneous, though unamalgamated people compose, by their direct representatives, another branch: and the executive, mostly springing from the source last mentioned, may yet, in one case, by a complicated and compromised arrangement, be considered to emanate equally from both—the States, as distinct sovereign bodies politic, and the people representatively collected in the constituent assembly. The judicial department—that balance-wheel of the whole structure,—with its duties and objects limited and defined, is also an offspring of the interwoven principles of federation and union: its incumbents, being designated by the elected executive, are but one remove farther from the original fountain of all just authority, and being subject to confirmation or rejection by the Senatorial delegates, cannot exist except with the presumed assent of a majority of the free and independent States. But I may be trenching upon controverted theories, when my sole design is to impart a general idea: I therefore abruptly pause. It is, however, in reference to this social and political organization, that your patriotism should be strongly and steadily cultivated. Learn to appreciate, and resolve to sustain it. Compare it with the mischievous and cumbersome machinery, elsewhere reared in rude ages; making the general welfare subordinate to individual aggrandizement; inverting the order of Providence, and giving power to a prince or a peer, while it ascribes weakness to a people; and repressing or mis-directing the ennobling impulses and salutary struggles of an innate and inextinguishable sense of natural equality. Unfold the

pages of ancient or modern history, and as you mark the troubled course and disastrous effects of other systems, be prepared to exclaim:—

“Such are the woes, when arbitrary pow’r,
 And lawless passion hold the sword of justice!—
 If there be any land, as fame reports,
 Where common laws restrain——
 A happy land, where circulating pow’r
 Flows through each member of th’ embodied state:
 Sure, not unconscious of the mighty blessing,
 Her grateful sons shine bright with every virtue,
 Untainted with the lust of innovation:
 Sure all unite to hold her league of rule
 Unbroken as the sacred chain of nature
 That links the jarring elements in peace.”

I cannot forbear, at this, the most appropriate stage of my remarks, warning you of an assault to which your love of country must, in the ordinary course of events, be early subjected.

Few things excite more disgust in the ingenuous and disinterested mind of youth, than a first experience of the operations and uproar of party spirit. This seemingly inseparable companion of free institutions is encountered at the very threshold of public action:—long before you can perceive its contradictory tendencies, or ascertain its general effects:—long before you entirely abandon those Utopian views of human perfectibility, suggested by your own virtues, and yet unconfuted by the realities of life. Party spirit appears on the instant to be the antagonist of patriotism: reckless, tumultuous, unsparing, changeable, and fanatic:—inaccessible to reason; unawed by truth, and unsusceptible of fear:—

forever urging to extremes: alike fulsome in its praise and malignant in its censure: content with nothing short of an idol, or a victim. Its wonderful activity, and its clamorous echoes, inspire an exaggerated estimate of its prevalence and power; and a too hasty judgment sometimes pronounces condemnation upon a whole system, which is even slightly affected by what is deemed so perturbed and deforming an agency.

It may, nevertheless, be, as some have insisted, that party, to a certain extent, is not only wholesome, but necessary, in a republic: that without it we should slumber in dangerous security: that freedom is a blessing not to be permanently enjoyed, except with indefatigable and jealous vigilance: and that, such is the imperfection of man, his purest feelings and designs, like the precious metals, must be alloyed by baser ones, before they can become practically useful or efficient. If the annals of many centuries be credited, a government like your's, founded upon and recognizing indefeasible rights, cannot exist without the incident of party spirit. It is the foaming eddy driven before, or the boiling wake following after, the ship of state:—seeming sometimes to present an insurmountable impediment to her progress, and sometimes to dash overwhelmingly in pursuit;—but always composed of the very element on which she floats, and contributing in turn to buoy and sustain her.

A discriminating patriotism will not, then, be impaired by discovering this doubtful evil in constant association with the unquestionable good of constitutional government. You must withstand the first shock, and instead of turning away in the bitterness of sudden disappointment, be prepared, as

you cannot wholly destroy, to confront, to assuage, and to restrict its influence.

The liveliest attachment to your country may be farther and rationally justified by recollections of a kind less abstract than those thus briefly referred to.

Visit for a moment, Gentlemen, the Temple of Fame.— Let fancy guide you, with Truth and History as your companions, up it's elevated steps, and into the resounding hall, where are congregated the sculptured images of all the wise, the good, and the great. As you enter that vast rotunda, say, *whence* is he whose majestic statue fills the proudest, loftiest niche? whence is he, towards whom ancient sages, heroes, and statesmen, starting from the crowded walls, seem to look and lean, as if acknowledging his supremacy? Whence is he, whom Leonidas, Thrasybulus, Aristides, and Epaminondas, grouped congenially together, are gazing at with deference and admiration: before the calm dignity of whose front, the blood-shot eye of Macedonian Alexander sinks rebuked, and even the accomplished Cæsar throws his laurel crown away, sighing with the fatal memory of the Rubicon? Whence is he, towards whom Socrates points the attention of his pupil Alcibiades, as an illustration of the virtue he had fruitlessly inculcated? for whom, as a kindred, though superior spirit, Camillus, Cincinnatus, and Cato seem to glow with welcomes, and in presence of whose sublime simplicity, the Trajans and the Antonines are hiding the vain ornaments which encircle their brows? Let us draw nearer to this pre-eminent object. As we approach, its recess enlarges, and, clustering around the pedestal of the chief figure, are many who seem principally to delight in, and to boast of, their

association with him. *Whence and who is he?*—The whole world can answer. In the smooth adamant on which he stands, no one has thought it necessary to chisel his nativity or name. He is the one without parallel:—beyond all Grecian and all Roman fame:—never to be forgotten, never to be mistaken.

It is certainly a source of elevating reflection, and no contracted ground for pride, that you are citizens of a country which, in its very infancy, has furnished this noblest specimen of human excellence: which, while instructing and delighting mankind with her Franklin, her Madison, her Jefferson, her Adams, her Henry, her Hancock her Montgomery, and her Howard, could yet embody the varied qualities of these illustrious men in completing her chosen model and representative. Study, Gentlemen, study with the enthusiasm of artists, the character of this model. You will discover it to be, in every trait and in all its grand proportions, purely and exclusively American. It is the unmixed creation of your own continent:—it will insensibly and irresistibly teach you to be national; and I can suggest no more infallible means of arousing and confirming you to *reverence and love your country*.

But again:—throughout the two millions of square miles, composing the territorial surface of our twenty-four confederated sovereignties, variously populous, the arts of peace—of peace in its widest and wisest sense—are triumphant. The diversified and harmonious occupations of private life are every where pursued with energetic and unshackled industry. Human passions are neither exasperated nor subdued by even the semblance of military coercion. Nothing is seen,

nothing is known, nothing is acknowledged, as the means of protection or redress, but the universal, conventional, and equal power of the *Law*. Hence the importance, and hence the high reputation, of those Judicial functionaries whose wisdom and integrity, whether in the sphere of each commonwealth, or in that of their union, have illustrated the novelty, and maintained the firmness, of our institutions. They have been the "*National Guards*" of our jurisprudence: always at their posts, reconciling vivid doctrines of liberty with the exigencies of social order, and preserving, amid the untried bases of our system, the fundamental and immutable distinctions of right and wrong. To this peaceable phalanx, Gentlemen, a short experience and study will induce you to render the homage of your gratitude and veneration—while you cannot fail to perceive how immensely, though tranquilly, they have augmented the substantial virtues and true glories of your country. Wherever civilization is unequivocally established and progressive:—wherever the safety, honor and happiness of the mass of mankind, and the stability of nations are deemed worthier objects of attainment than the plundered trophies of aggressive war, or the Corinthian luxuries of palaces—there will be duly appreciated the learned triumphs and humanizing labors of a Parsons, a Kent, a Wythe, a Tucker, a Tilghman, or a Marshal—there it will be owned that the American Judiciary may be proudly invoked to confirm and justify the ardor of American patriotism.

Nor is this—perhaps the greatest—the only region of intellectual excellence to which you may confidently appeal. The time has come when we may venture, without incurring the

hazard of a venomous sarcasm, to speak of achievements on the rugged heights of Science, or the velvet lawns of Literature, as well as amid the boisterous waves of a some-time-since monopolized Ocean. "*Who reads an American book?*" was a contemptuous and taunting interrogatory, which became obsolete and absurd as rapidly as did the scoffed "*bit of striped bunting*" open its folds and spread forth a victorious star-spangled banner! Within the short period of your own lives, (too near for dispassionate or unsuspected comment,) your country has moved onward with giant strides. She is still advancing. Join her, Gentlemen, join her, with elated hearts and approving judgments: join her, "to swell the triumph and partake the gale."

Having thus superficially alluded to some of the causes and considerations which should engender and mature a fervent national loyalty in your bosoms, indulge me while I intimate its safest direction, and most efficient use.

The comparatively prodigious expanse and population of the United States, as well as juster modern conceptions of the true sources and solid foundations of social prosperity, repudiate as alike unnecessary and injurious, the spirit and temper consequential upon Spartan tuition. Your education has not been designed nor adapted to mould you into haughty and exclusive heroes: to absorb all your faculties and feelings in the prospect or desire of becoming public benefactors or martyrs. Should, indeed, some unforeseen emergencies arise, bringing into conflict your personal ease or advantage, and your country's welfare: should her safety, interests, or renown, demand the immolation of self, even to the life, you would shame your ancestry by a moment's hesitation. But

such calls are seldom made in a land whose "ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths, peace." The patriotism which awaits them must languish unexercised and unrevealed, or debase its purity by the contrivances and expedients of a selfish ambition. It is not here—far and forever removed from transatlantic inroads and interventions—it is not here, where the designs of sectional Syllas or Catalines can be mocked into frustration and contempt: where the powers of government, though capable of interruption, cannot be usurped: where a free and fearless Press, stationed in no less than twenty-four detached citadels, makes conspiracy impracticable, and treason preposterous: it is not here, Gentlemen, that aught but a morbid and indiscriminating imagination can lead you to postpone the manifestations of your love of country to the remote times of war, or the silly scenes of sedition. No! your lot is more fortunately cast; every day, every hour, affords its appropriate occasion. Our truest patriot is he who is most distinguished by the practice of private virtues. The faithful application of natural or acquired capacity; the persevering labors of mental or of manual industry; the vigorous development and useful adaptation of scientific knowledge; the contributions of literary talent, pure in tendency, and attractive in taste—these, swelling the common stock of moral energy, physical power, and durable fame, erecting by slow and sure accumulations, till "*hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise,*" the towering monument of national greatness—these are the legitimate indications and ever-recurring exercises of American patriotism. Its pursuits, in their motives and rewards, are not necessarily connected with the showy or sonorous gratifications of personal distinc-

tion. The unobtrusive tenor of individual industry may continue unnoticed ; dispensing its usefulness and energies, and reaping its blessings, within a seemingly limited sphere ; benefitting a nation, or a race, by progressive gradations so gentle as to be noiseless, and so minute as to be imperceptible. Resembling the living subterranean spring, which is betrayed rather than proclaimed by the verdure and fertility of which it is the invisible cause : its diamond current, inaccessible to the glare of day or the gust of notoriety, secretly ministering to the strength of the forest, the abundance of the field, or even the fragrance of the flower.

Nor is it possible, Gentlemen, for the true lover of a country whose institutions, however wisely designed and skilfully balanced, mainly depend for permanency upon the vigor and purity of public opinion, indolently to withhold the mite of his co-operation towards her advancement, or viciously to obstruct her progress by demoralizing examples. The sluggard and the criminal are alike devoid of so impelling and chastening a principle. Their's is the indurated selfishness which coldly excludes communion, and absorbed in sensual enjoyment, can deduce no exalting motive from national reminiscences, nor find a stimulant in the prospect of achieving good for others. Patriotism, linked almost from moral necessity with a sisterhood of virtues, is irreconcilably and everlastingly hostile to sloth of mind or degeneracy of action. You cannot sincerely feel the sentiment, and yet be idle : you cannot pretend to it, and yet be bad.

Enter, then, young citizens of a great and admirable republic, enter upon the exercise and enjoyment of this well-founded and lofty passion, with the conviction that its only

wide and unobstructed highways are useful activity, private worth, and unvarying integrity. * No occupation to which you can possibly be called is so humble as to be divested of patriotic tendency, if energetically pursued : and none is so high as to be harmless or honorable, if its purposes be ignobly perverted. And may the benignity of an approving Providence give to your exertions through life, success and prosperity commensurate to your *reverence and love of country!*