National Republican

W. J. MURTAGH.....Editor and Proprietor.

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TUESDAY MORNING.....JULY 4, 1876.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

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of Ohio.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT:

WILLIAM A. WHEELER,

of New York.

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THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN will not be issued to-morrow morning.

OLD HUNDRED.

The American Eagle Shedding His Moulting Feathers.

AN HISTORIC SOUVENIR.

THE ORIGINAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AS WRITTEN BY THOMAS JEFFERSON. THE PARTS PRINTED AS "QUOTATIONS" WERE ERASED BY CONGRESS, AND THE WORDS IN [BRACKETS] SUPPLIED.

A Declaration by the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with [certain] "inherent and" unalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness: that, to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to 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. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, "begun at a distinguished period and" pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to [alter] "expunge" their former systems of government.

The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of [repeated] "unremitting" injuries and usurpations, "among "which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest; but all "have" [all having,] in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, "for the truth "of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied "by falsehood."

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable and distant from the depository of their public records for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly "and continually," for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others, to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has "suffered" [obstructed] the administration of justice, "totally to cease in some of these States," [by] refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made "our" judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, "by a self-assumed power," and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, "and ships of war," without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them by mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

For depriving us [in many cases] of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses.

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these "States," [Colonies.]

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments.

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatever.

He has abdicated government here, "withdrawing his governors, and" [by] declaring us out of his "allegiance" [protection,] [and waging war against us.]

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy [scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and] totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

The three next paragraphs in the original were as follows:

"He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless "Indian savages, whose known rule of "warfare is an undistinguished destruction "of all ages, sexes and conditions of existence.

"He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation "of our property.

"He has constrained others, taken captives on the high seas, to bear arms against "their country, to become the executioners "of their friends and brethren, or to fall "themselves by their hands."

In place of the three paragraphs erased, these were introduced:

[He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.]

[He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.]

The next paragraph, which related to the slave trade, was entirely erased. It was as follows:

"He has waged cruel war against human "nature itself, violating its most sacred "rights of life and liberty in the persons of "a distant people, who never offended "him, captivating and carrying them into "slavery, in another hemisphere, or to "incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, "in the warfare of a Christian king of "Great Britain. Determined to keep open "a market where MEN should be bought "and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative "attempt to prohibit, or restrain, this "execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact "of distinguished dye, he is now exciting "those very people to rise in arms among "us, and to purchase that liberty of which "he has deprived them, by murdering "the people upon whom he also obtruded "them: thus paying off former crimes "committed against the liberties of one "people, with crimes which he urges "them to commit against the lives of "another."

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked, by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a [free] people "who "mean to be free. Future ages will scarce "believe that the hardiness of one man, adventured within the short compass of "twelve years only, to build a foundation "so broad and undisguised, for tyranny over "a people fostered and fixed in principles "of freedom."

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their Legislature "to extend a jurisdiction over these our States," [to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us.] We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, "no "one of which could warrant so strange a "pretension; that these were effected at "the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the "strength of Great Britain; that in constituting indeed our several forms of "government, we had adopted one common "king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them: but "that submission to their parliament was "no part of our Constitution, nor ever in "idea, if history may be credited; and" we [have] appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, "as well as to" [and we have conjured them by] the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which "were likely to" [would inevitably] interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; "and when occasions have been "given them by the regular course of their "laws, of removing from their councils "the disturbers of our harmony, they have "by their free elections re-established "them in power. At this very time, too, "they are permitting their chief magistrate "to send over not only soldiers of our "common blood, but Scotch and foreign "mercenaries to invade and destroy us. "These facts have given the last stab to "agonizing affection, and manly spirit "bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to "forget our former love for them, and to "hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. "We might have been a free and a great "people together; but a communication of "grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is "below their dignity. Be it so, since they "will have it. The road to happiness and "to glory is open to us, too. We will "climb it apart from them, and acquiesce "in the necessity which denounces our "eternal separation." [We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.]

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, [appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions,] do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these "States [Colonies,] reject and renounce all "allegiance and subjection to the kings of "Great Britain and all others, who may "hereafter claim by, through, or under "them; we utterly dissolve all political "connexion which may heretofore have "subsisted between us and the Parliament "of Great Britain; and finally we do assert" [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 connexion 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. And for the support of this Declaration, [with a firm reliance on DIVINE PROVIDENCE,] we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

New Hampshire—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts—John Hancock, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut—Roger Sherman, William Williams, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott.

New York—William Floyd, Francis Lewis, Philip Livingston, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey—Richard Stockton, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, John Witherspoon, Abram Clark.

Pennsylvania—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, George Ross, James Wilson.

Delaware—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thos. McKean.

Maryland—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heywood, jr., Thomas Lynch, jr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

HISTORY OF ITS ADOPTION.

Mr. C. Edwards Lester, in "Our First Hundred Years," describes the situation preceding and attending upon the adoption of the Declaration as the hour which had "at last "come for the final step to be taken which "was to render forever the thirteen Colonies "from the throne of Great Britain. Scarcely "three months had passed since the English "troops had been driven out of Boston, and "the shadow of great war was spreading over "the whole country. Nearly every provincial Assembly had spoken in favor of Independence. But still the Colonal Congress "hesitated on the verge of the abyss which a "single act would lay open at their feet, while "the nation itself seemed ready for the last "decisive movement."

For many days after this a feeling of dread had clouded the minds of the delegates. A murky gloom pervaded the hall where their deliberations were held. Richard Henry Lee had already displayed the high qualities of a statesman, and his soul glowed with patriotic fervor. He rose in his place, and in the rich tones which gave so magical a charm to his eloquence, read in a clear, deliberate voice the great resolution which so far transcended the action of Congress on the 10th of May, recommending the establishment of independent State governments in all the Colonies, that it was rather the expression of the popular will of the country—could it have been heard that day—than the will of Congress itself. It embraced the three great subjects—a Declaration of Independence, a Confederation of the States, and Treaties with Foreign Powers—and was in the following words: "That the "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 Great Britain is, and ought "to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the "most effectual measures for forming foreign "alliances.

"That the plan of Confederation be prepared "and transmitted to the respective Colonies "for their consideration and approbation."

Mr. Lee's biographer, says tradition, relates that he prefaced his motion with a speech, portraying the resources of the Colonies, and their capacity for defense, dwelling especially on the bearing which an independent position might have on foreign Powers, and concluded by urging the members so to act, that the day might give birth to an American Republic.

It was well known that Mr. Lee was to introduce the great resolution, and it was equally well known that, if pressed at the time, it would divide the House. Only a few of the more dauntless spirits, even in that brave Assembly, were prepared for so irrevocable a Declaration. The question was brought home to every delegate. Every man there knew that in voting for it he was deliberately putting the halter round his own neck. One movement further, and he had leaped the gulf, and found himself beyond the line of high treason—a proclaimed outlaw, with a price on his head. Any man might kill him—the God of Heaven alone having the power to put a mark upon his brow that would exempt him from slaughter.

John Adams seconded Lee's motion; but we learn from the Journal of Congress that the resolution was postponed until the next morning, and the members were enjoined to attend punctually at 10 o'clock, in order to take the same into consideration.

Promptly at the hour the House met, when Lee's resolution was referred to a committee of the whole. Benjamin Harrison, the future Governor of Virginia, took the chair. Then commenced that great debate of which we know so little, except the result. It lasted till 7 o'clock in the evening, when Hancock resumed the chair, and announced that, as the committee had come to no decision, they had directed him to ask leave to sit again on Monday, June 10, and the motion to adjourn over Sunday was carried.

For two days longer the resolution was debated with all the vehemence and power which could be brought for its defense on the one side, against everything that could be said on the other. The page of no history yet written, or that ever can be written, will give more than a faint idea of this gigantic and desperate struggle; for it is not known, after a careful search of a century, that a single speech then delivered is now in existence. In the preface of the "Memoir, Correspondence, "and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas "Jefferson" it is declared that this is the first disclosure to the world of these debates. We are told at the time Jefferson summed up the arguments for and against the resolution urged by the speakers during both days—that on the one side James Wilson, Robert R. Livingston, Edward Rutledge, and John Dickinson declared themselves in favor of the measures, but objected to their adoption at the time because there would be a lack of unanimity; and pleading for a delay of three weeks, they announced that by that time, they believed the Middle Colonies, which were not then ripe for the measure, would be prepared for it. They were answered with irresistible logic by John Adams, Richard Henry Lee and George Wythe, who were the most powerful orators in the body. John Adams defended the measure as having in view "objects of the most stupendous magnitude, "in which the lives and liberties of millions "yet unborn were intimately interested."

Congress sat with closed doors, and when they were thrown open at the close of each sitting, and that band of men came forth, eyewitnesses described the scene as one of the most imposing solemnity. They walked to their lodgings, some with bowed heads, but others with the steadiness of firmly-strung nerves, indicating the fearful earnestness of their determination. The latter class grew more numerous day by day. Far into the night hours they assembled in knots in each other's dwellings, when old and worn-out arguments were once more brought up to be shivered by the fiery blows of John Adams, or dissolved by the irresistible charm of Lee's persuasion. But the ice was melting from the foot of the glacier, and on the fourth day from the time Lee's resolution was read the great committee whose names were forever to be associated with the grandest acts this continent has witnessed was appointed: Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York. They were instructed to draw up a Declaration in the spirit of Lee's resolution, which was still before the House, and bring in their report at a future day, whenever that resolution should be brought up. Had not the framer of the resolution been summoned to what he feared was the dying bed of his wife, he would have been appointed chairman of the committee, and become the author of the Declaration. But fortune had reserved that glory for Thomas Jefferson, on whom the choice by common consent fell.

Jefferson thus sums up the result: "It appearing in the course of these debates that "the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South "Carolina were not yet matured for falling "from the parent stem, but that they were "fast advancing to that state, it was thought "prudent to wait a while for them."

To secure unanimity, a postponement of the Resolution of Independence was agreed to till the first day of July. Two days later, June 12, a committee of one delegate from each colony was appointed to report the form of a confederation, and another committee of five delegates was chosen to prepare a plan of treaties to be proposed to foreign Powers.

The Three Weeks of Suspense Preceding the Declaration.—The history of those three weeks while the nation was waiting for the Fourth of July to come witnessed clouds of peril and disaster closing around thicker than ever. From the North news came that the fragments of the Arnold and Montgomery expeditions were being driven out of Canada. Admiral Howe with his fleet, and General Howe with his army, composed of regulars, Hessians, Hanoverians, Tories and Indians, were "plundering and murdering, while the king "was amusing a distressed people with the "sound of commissioners crying peace when "there was no peace."

Loyalists were arming all through Delaware, New Jersey and New York. "Anxiety "and apprehension invaded every breast. "Every popular assembly, every religious congregation, every scene of social intercourse, "or of domestic privacy and retirement, was a "scene of deliberation on the public calamity "and the impending danger."

The Commander-in-Chief was without money or sufficient military supplies. The Colonies were in political chaos; and to give any conception to men now living of the awful suspense that hung over the nation during those long three weeks which intervened between the appointment of the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, and its final adoption, is an utter impossibility. But twelve of the United Colonies—as they now called themselves—had authorized their representatives to unite in making the Declaration, for as Judge Drayton said from the bench of Charleston, in a charge the 15th of the following October: "Such a declaration was of "right to be made only by the General Congress, because the united voice and strength "of America were necessary to give a desirable credit and prospect of stability to a declared state of total separation from Great "Britain. A decree has now gone forth, not "to be recalled; and thus has suddenly risen "in the world a new empire, styled the United "States of America."

The Morning of the Fourth of July, 1776.—It broke in all the splendor of midsummer, and the day closed more gloriously, for at sunset the great bell on the Hall of Independence was to ring out its peals as gladly as if hailing a festival of victory, instead of proclaiming a crusade of struggle and blood. And well it might, for the day was full of the inspiration of hope; its founders had cast on the bell itself an inscription which bade it "*Proclaim "Liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.*" The Congress had met at ten o'clock, and after the usual preliminaries proceeded to the order of the day.

Some new members of Congress were present for the first time; among them Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, who was so importunate in his demand for the question to be further discussed that the House exclaimed, "Let the gentleman be gratified," and now we have a gleam of light on those proceedings. In a letter to Mrs. Mercy Warren, dated Quincy, 1807, published by Frothingham in his "Rise of the Republic" for the first time, Mr. Adams says: "All was silence; no one would speak; all eyes were turned upon me." Mr. Edward Rutledge came to me and said laughing: "Nobody will speak but you "upon this subject; you have all your topics so "ready, you must satisfy the gentleman from "New Jersey." He further adds that "somewhat confused at this personal appeal, I "rose and began. This is the first time in my "life when I seriously wished for the genius "and eloquence of the celebrated orators of "Athens and Rome, called in this unexpected "and unprepared manner to exhibit all the "arguments in favor of a measure, the most "important in my judgment that had ever "been discussed in civil or political society. "I had no art or oratory to exhibit, and could "produce nothing but simple reason and plain "common sense. I felt myself oppressed by "the weight of the subject, and I believe if "Demosthenes or Cicero had ever been called "to deliberate on so great a question neither "would have relied on his own talents without "a supplication to Minerva and a sacrifice to "Mercury or the god of Eloquence." Mr. Adams adds that when the Abbe Raynal afterwards requested him to furnish him with any speeches he had published or delivered he assured the Abbe that he had never published or written a speech in his life made in any public assembly. That he did not wish that any one he had ever delivered should be preserved in form, excepting the one made upon the question of Independence; but of even that speech he had no minutes himself of what he said, and that no part of it had ever been published.

Jefferson had been requested to prepare the first draft, and when he presented it to Adams and Franklin it was his own work; neither the order nor the substance of it was impaired by the few alterations they made.

Final Adoption of the Declaration.—The question before the House was on the adoption of the paper which lay upon the table, with the alterations, and finally, as the sun was about setting, and the question, "Shall the Declaration now pass?" was put by the President, the clear, firm *aye* rose as one voice. The Secretary laid the greatest State paper in the history of human government upon the desk of the President, and it received the bold, eternal autograph of John Hancock.

The Declaration went forth authenticated by John Hancock, as President, and Charles Thompson, as Secretary. It had received the vote of every Colony except New York, its delegates not having the authority at that moment to act. But in the new Convention of that State, on the 9th of July, it was referred to a committee, of which John Jay was chairman, and this committee, without delay, reported resolutions pronouncing the reasoning of the Declaration cogent and conclusive, and that the convention were resolved "to support it with their fortunes and their lives." It was adopted, and declared to be the act of the representatives of the State of New York; and thus the Declaration became the act of *all* the United Colonies.

From the Journals of the Congress we learn that on the 19th of July it was resolved: "That the Declaration passed on the Fourth "be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the "title and style of 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America,' and that the same, when engrossed, be "signed by every member of Congress." The record of the second day of August says: "The Declaration being engrossed, and compared at the table, was signed by the members."

How the Declaration was Received by the Army and the State Assemblies.—It was at once officially proclaimed, and by the fleetest couriers it was carried to the most distant Colonies. In an appropriate and eloquent letter, the President communicated it to the Commander-in-Chief, to be read at the head of the army. Five days after it was passed Washington, in a general order, said: "The General hopes this important "event will serve as an incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and "safety of his country depend—under God—solely on the success of our arms; and that "he is now in the service of a State possessed "of sufficient power to reward his merit and "advance him to the highest honors of a free "country." At 6 o'clock that evening the Declaration itself was read at the head of each brigade, and every soldier had a copy for himself. In his reply to the President, Washington said: "The expressions and behavior "officers and men testify their warmest "nation." From Ticonderoga, our most military post, they wrote that the "language of every man's co[illegible] "is, 'Now we are a free people, and have a "name among the States of the world.'"

From the State Assemblies and from every Legislature and convention in every State, as fast as they could come, responses were received, all animated by the same fervid and patriotic spirit—all containing assurances of their determination at every hazard, with their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, to sustain the Declaration. The South Carolina Assembly said: "We receive the news with "the most unspeakable satisfaction, and we "are determined at every hazard to endeavor "to maintain it, so that after we have departed, our children and their latest posterity "may have cause to bless our memory." The Maryland Assembly "would maintain the freedom and independence of the United States "with their lives and fortunes." North Carolina would stand by "under the sanction of "virtue, honor and the sacred love of liberty "and their country." The Pennsylvania Convention would maintain it "in behalf of themselves, their constituents, and before God and "the world." And thus the United Colonies, one and all, took their station—a leagued, confederate, blended, single Nation—The United States.

Fifty-six years later, in President Jackson's proclamation against nullification in South Carolina, he recalled the feeling and the fact in those unmistakable words: "That decisive "and important step, Independence, was taken "jointly. We declared ourselves a nation by "a joint, not by several acts."

By the People.—Acclamations of joy and thanksgiving went up from every part of the country where the news of the Declaration traveled. Hearty responses were echoed from every deliberative assembly, every convention and every public gathering; from every workshop of labor, and every field of toil; across every valley, and from every mountainside; from every college and district schoolhouse, and from every altar of prayer. Statues of bronze, and lead, and marble, and granite, which had been inaugurated to kings, were torn from their pedestals and shivered to atoms, or melted down into bullets or cannon; and the name of George III. was suppressed in prayers. Ensigns of royalty, crowns, lions and sceptres, were swept away like chaff and in their places perched the bald-headed American Eagle, winged in a constellation of thirteen stars, with the stripes of white and red, which, being adopted now as the national standard, waved over the *Thirteen Independent Colonies.*

Wrote Samuel Adams: "Was there ever a "revolution brought about, especially one so "important as this, without great internal "discords and violent convulsions? The people, I am told, recognize the Revolution as "though it were a decree from heaven." "This," wrote John Adams on the day before the adoption of the Declaration, "will be a "memorable epoch in the history of America. "I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated "by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn "acts of devotion to Almighty God." On the 6th of July Colonel Haslett, commanding the Continental troops in Delaware, wrote to Cæsar Rodney: "I congratulate you on the "important day which restores to every American "his birthright; a day which every freeman will record with gratitude, and the millions of posterity will read with rapture." As a sample of the united voice of a free press, the *Continental Journal*, of Boston, July 18, said: "The 4th instant was rendered remarkable by the most important event that "ever happened to the American Colonies—an "event which will doubtless be celebrated "through a long succession of future ages by "anniversary commemorations." James Madison termed the Declaration "the fundamental act of union—the embodiment of the "public will as a source of authority, whenever it is the will of the people composing "one nation." Thus had the already-matured sentiment of nationality given its expression in a concentrated and enduring form. The founders of the Republic named it the Birth of the Nation.

How the Declaration was Received by Mankind.—Sismondi, in his "History of the French," said: "The Declaration had an immense effect. * * * The cause was so "noble and the effort was so grand that there "was not a doubt, not a hesitation, in the "sentiment of the entire world, and the governments and rulers of States would seek "glory by thinking like the people." Buckle, the most advanced of all the historians of civilization, records his sympathies with "the "great people who gloriously obtained their "independence. Their Declaration ought to "be hung up in the nursery of every king "and blazoned on the porch of every royal "palace."

On the eve of every outwatcher for the dawning of a better day for the human race, standing on the grave of the buried liberties of Europe, the light of the rising Republic of the West shone like a new star that had just taken its place in an old constellation. Statesmen contemplated the spectacle with amazement, and wondered—the wisest of them—not what they should do with the earthquake, but what the earthquake would do with them; while in the ears of the multitude, wearied with their burdens, and worn in their hopes, the news sounded like a fresh Evangel. "This is the work of the great Franklin!" exclaimed Volta, his correspondent. "Now may the multitude "of tyrants," exclaimed that hearty hater of despotism, Vittorio Alfieri; while the young Lafayette, with a sword by his side ready to be drawn in the cause of liberty before he had yet reached man's estate, in a transport of enthusiasm exclaimed: "I will yet live to fight by the side of George Washington." America was to become the teacher of mankind in a new system of political rights, and in the Declaration of Independence she has given her first lesson. "America," says Rotteck, the German historian, "in the Declaration of Independence planted herself between magnificence and ruin." Walter Savage Landor, with a heart throbbing with love to all mankind, paid this last willing tribute: "America was never so great as on the day she declared her independence." Our schoolboys all remember the words of Phillips, the fiery Irish orator. He gave none too warm an expression to the gratitude and love of the green island for the land which was to prove "the home of her emigrant, the asylum of her oppressed."

Without carefully tracing the records of European thought at that period, as scattered through her political literature, little idea can be gained of the effect which the news of the declaration produced upon foreign nations. It is even yet premature to form any adequate conception of its ultimate influence on the fortunes of the race. It began at once to revolutionize the world. But a few years passed before France was on fire, and all Europe in convulsions. Nor from that day to this has the wearied arm of injured man been lifted to level on the breast of his spoiler one more blow whose inspiration did not spring from the Declaration of Independence; and, through all time to come, every such blow will be coupled with an invocation of that eternal charter.

How our Enemies Received the News.—Poor George III was thrown into transports of rage. Forgetting the wonted stolidity of his character, he gave way to paroxysms of anger and hate. Rebels and traitors were epithets which no longer met the case; he branded the signers of the Declaration with still harder names, and the brand was malignantly held on the forehead of America, till the crazed brain of the poor old monarch, with the lying lips of his bigoted worshipers, had alike rotted in the grave. But among the whole human race these blasphemers of Liberty stood alone.

Personal Accusations against the King of England.—It was alleged at the time that the language of the Declaration was characterized by unworthy personalities against the ruler of a great State; but the reign of a constitutional monarch have been held responsible for free Parliament. Mr. Adams and Jefferson fared the proper light. which every American will remember, because the colonies owed the king, and any allegiance to Parliament. authority of Parliament says, "which our Act, did not subsist British Parliament, or British Government in "the aggregate, but directly between us and "the King himself. They had uniformly "denied that Parliament had authority to "make laws for them. There was, therefore, "no subjection to Parliament to be thrown off. "Parliament is not so much as mentioned in "the whole instrument. Hence, there was "this clear and obvious necessity of founding "the declaration on the misconduct of the "King himself; and this gives to that instrument its personal application, and its character of direct and pointed accusation."

An American Party in Great Britain and on the Continent.—The act of Declaration was, however, applauded by the enlightened and liberal portion of the British nation, and, from that day to this, the noblest Englishmen have been proud to rank themselves among the friends of America. As had been clearly predicted also by the most sagacious members of the Continental Congress that final announcing ourselves as a nation commanded the respect of every Cabinet on the Continent of Europe, and opened the way for diplomatic intercourse and confidential and public negotiations with France, Holland and other States. They soon afterwards saw their way to aid the American cause, and, at not a late period, to recognize our independence.

How was the Declaration to be Made Good?—This was the next great question before the nation. The Declaration itself announces the American theory in words, "the memory of which," said Buckle, "can never die." The existence of a new political sovereignty *de jure* implied the necessity of establishing it *de facto*. In this manner only, by the usages of international law, could the new Power claim admission into the society of nations. In a letter to James Warren, Samuel Adams had said in the preceding April: "The child Independence is "now struggling for birth. I trust in a short "time it will be brought forth, and in spite of "Pharaoh all America will hail the dignified "stranger." It did; events alone were to determine if it was to be thus hailed by mankind.

Resources for Achieving Independence.—They should be considered in the following order:

TERRITORY—In 1783 the area of the United States was estimated at 820,680 square miles; in 1854, at 2,936,166; in 1868, at about 3,440,000. The following are the statistics:

	Square Miles.
Original limits of the Thirteen States	820,680
Louisiana, purchased of France in 1803, for $15,000,000	893,579
Florida, purchased of Spain in 1819, for $3,000,000	66,900
Territory, confirmed by the Oregon treaty in 1842 and 1846	308,032
Texas annexed in 1846, (Texas debt, $7,500,000)	318,000
New Mexico and California in 1847, (cost of the war, $15,000,000)	522,955
Arizona, purchased of Mexico in 1854, for $10,000,000	50,000
Alaska, purchased of Russia in 1867, for $7,200,000	500,000
	3,468,186

Of that portion of the territory of North America which lies between the Alleghany Mountains and the Atlantic coast then occupied by the Thirteen Colonies Frothingham says: "This region, of a mean breadth of "about one hundred miles, and nine hundred "miles in length, is characterized as a long "ridge of rock and sand, presenting obstacles, "rather than offering temptations to the husbandman. It had, however, no wastes like "the deserts of Africa, and no impassable "barriers between the north and the south; "while parts of it were enriched by nature "with the most luxuriant fruitfulness of the "torrid zone. Its coasts were admirably adapted to foster the growth of a commercial marine; and its long, wide and deep rivers invited inter-communication." To the rear of this region was the valley of the Mississippi, which De Tocqueville declares in his "Democracy in America," to be "the most magnificent dwelling-place prepared by God for "man's abode; while the whole continent "seemed to be fashioned by Providence for the "uses of a great nation." Writing to Lord Kames in 1776, Franklin said: "America, an "immense territory, favored by nature with all "advantages of climate, soils, great navigable "rivers, lakes, etc., must become a great country, populous and mighty." In No. 2 of the *Federalist*, written by John Jay "to the people "of the State of New York," printed in 1787, in speaking of "independent America as one "connected, fertile, wide-spreading country, "blest with a variety of soils, and productions, "and watered with innumerable streams for the "delight and accommodation of its inhabitants," he says "it appears as if it was the "design of Providence that an inheritance so "proper and convenient for a band of brethren "united to each other by the strongest ties, "should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous and alien sovereignties."

Agriculture.—It was in its infancy. Little more was produced from the soil than the necessities of the people required. All the implements of tillage were of primitive simplicity, and the labor put forth upon the land was mainly by sheer brute force. For agricultural reliances this much only was certain—that when the fields were not "trampled by the hoof of war," there would be always a prospect of enough food the people, no matter how many men were sent to fight its battles, nor how many years the war might last. This general statement must suffice, till we reach the close of the Revolution, when it will be necessary to look more carefully into the methods and extent of agriculture, and how its products were increased.

Population.—Until the year 1790, when the first census of the population of the United States was taken, there were no means of ascertaining their exact number. The estimates differ widely, ranging, at the beginning of the Revolution, from two millions and a quarter as high as three millions and twenty-six thousand, the latter being the estimate of Congress. It is believed, however, that the estimate was too large, and that this number could not have been reached before the Declaration of Independence. The calculation of Professor Tucker, in his History of the United States, volume I, page 96, is probably the most reliable. At the date of the opening of the Revolution he made the following apportionment, which doubtless gives the relative importance of the Colonies as satisfactorily as we are ever likely to obtain:

Massachusetts	350,000
New Hampshire	80,000
Connecticut	200,000
Rhode Island	50,000
New York	180,000
New Jersey	130,000
Pennsylvania	300,000
Delaware	40,000
Maryland	220,000
Virginia	500,000
North Carolina	230,000
South Carolina	180,000
Georgia	30,000
	2,500,000

In this case, however, the resources of the country should not be measured by the ordinary standard as to population. It will give a better idea, if we show the *pro rata* of men furnished for the revolutionary armies drawn from the whole body of the people. When in 1790, in the first Congress under the Constitution, a call was made for the number of men furnished for the war by each State, and the number of the militia, the answer from the War Department, then under the charge of General Knox, gave the following table, which is copied from the first volume of *American Archives:*

Statement of the number of troops and militia furnished by the several States for the support of the Revolutionary war, from 1774 to 1783, inclusive.

	Number of Continental troops.	Number of militia.	Total militia and Continental troops.	Conjectural estimate of militia.
NORTHERN STATES.				
New Hampshire	12,496	2,093	14,598	7,000
Massachusetts	67,937	15,155	83,092	9,500
Rhode Island	5,908	4,284	10,192	1,500
Connecticut	32,039	7,792	39,831	3,000
New York	17,781	3,312	21,093	8,750
Pennsylvania	25,608	7,257	32,865	2,000
New Jersey	10,727	6,055	16,782	2,500
Total	172,493	46,048	218,553	30,950
SOUTHERN STATES.				
Delaware	2,387	376	2,763	1,000
Maryland	13,912	5,464	19,376	4,000
Virginia	25,672	4,153	30,825	21,880
North Carolina	7,263	2,715	9,969	12,000
South Carolina	5,508	....	5,508	28,000
Georgia	2,679	....	2,679	9,000
Total	58,421	12,719	71,140	76,810

It should be understood that at this time there was but little difference in numbers between the population of the Southern States and that of the Northern States. By the census of 1790, the Southern had a population of 1,956,334; the Northern had a population of 1,968,455. But, notwithstanding this comparative equality of population in the two sections, the North furnished vastly more men than the South.

Of continental troops, the Southern States furnished 58,421; the Northern furnished 172,496; making about three men furnished to the Continental army by the Northern States to one from the Southern.

But these figures, surprising as they are, would not alone account for the great results achieved during the War for Independence. For this, we must look at the character