UNION, THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS-THE GUARDIANS OF OUR LIBERTY.

Vol. XXXI.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1850.

No. 1539.

Correspondence of the Dollar Newspaper-Phila. VOCATION OF THE PARMER.

Opinions often exist that the calling of the farmer is externely low and vulpoctable people. Nothing can be more absurd! Such wild-fire notions evidently emanate from a week and narrow mind. What gladdens the heart more than the sight of a well cultivated farm, decorated with substantial dwellings and out-building", and with an abundance of fruit and ornamental trees? No better evidence do we need to be convinced of the industry and thrift of the owner. Such scenes never fail to impress one favorably.

Often do we hear the inquiry, " how do you manage to raise such abundant crops -grow such delicions fruits-keep such beautiful stock-and be surrounded by Indeed everything about tou looks so smilingly. Everybo 'y acknowledges that I am a good farmer, but somehow or other I am always under a pressure; my pro-duce never sells for as much as yours."

For invance, turn to the residence of the speaker. A heart-sickening scene presents itself to the lover of order. Everything is out of place, looking shabily enough; the min'l you will find in perfeet keeping with the rest. Inquire if they subscribe for a newspaper, and they will tell you that they cannot afford to waste money for such useless articles. Now this is no vain illusion, but a feet, and I am sorry to say, of almost every day occurrence. It requires two things to make a successful farmer-intelligence in agricultural matters sufficient to make the ground produce freely, and that knowledge in regard to the state of the produce market, necessary to insure sales at the best prices. To insure success, something beyond hard work is needed; the head must guide the hand, and in order to do this, the head must be properly enlightened.

Thus, it appears that a mind well stored with useful knowledge, is a valuable desideratum, and requisite in order to become prosperous and happy

Our farmers are becoming the most in dependent class of citizens, vicing in intelligence with those who occupy the upencle of society, as they term it. The high classed literature is beginning to find its way upon their tables. It is a beautiful scene to behold their family, after the toils of the day are over, gathered around the parlor table engaged in reading; and certainly a much wiser course than to frequent the tavern bar-room, as too many times is the case, thus squandering their evenings; for time is money. Their daughters are an ornament both to the kitchen and drawing room, exceeding in beauty and intellect those " fancy articles," lorded with such an abundance of empty airs and external show that we do so often meet with. Distribution of labor is indeed necessary, but if more of our young men would give their attention to agricultural pursuits, depend upon it, they would rise to affluence and influence much sooner than they now do. Great attention should be given to domestic economy. Our farmers are to give our nation a standing among nations. This branch, agriculture, should receive our undivided attention. Davenport, Centre, New York, 1850.

The Ter Plant -Junius Smith, of South Carolina, has demonstrated that the tea plant may be successfully cultivated in the United States. He states that the

tea nuts received by him from China in May were planted in June, and that on the 5th of the present month of September, many of them were from one to three inches in height-" strong, heal by, beautiful plants from the original China seed, germinating so as to lift themselves above ground in less than three months from the time of plan ing the nuts," He adds ;

"Anybody can see these plants, and the seed in which they were planted, and are now growing. No one can deny the fact that the tea plant imported from China will make itself agreeable in this climits, and grow with great luxuriance. There they stand-those imported and planted in 1848, and those from China planted the first week of June last, both in a strong, healthy, growing condition, Although the plants last imported-all of the first quality of the green tea speciewere of equal size when planted in June in one field, all contiguous, having the same soil, aspect, atmosphere and cultivation; yet it is a curious and remarkable fact, and difficult to account for, that the growth is exceedingly various. I have one plant, and only one, three times the size of any other in the plantation. Both plants and nuts are congenial to the climate, and I make no doubt will grow and flourish in any latitude and climate between Fiorida and the State of Maine. S | far as I have gone, I flatter myself that every step demonstrates the truth of the declinations with which I started in 1818."

Young nen can only hope to be respected b. others when they respect themselves.

ADDBESS

Delivered before the Union and Monutain Spring Divisions of the Sons

At Hill-borough, on the 4th of July 1850. BY SAMUEL F. PHILLIPS.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

It affords me a very sincere pleasure to make one of so large an assemblage of American Freemen, engaged in commemorating the birth-day of their country. It was thus, twenty-five hundred years ago, that the citizens of republican Rome joined in sacrifice and purification and congratulation upon the TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF APRIL, to which tradilation upon the TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF APRIL, to which tradition assigned the honor of giving origin to their city. With
increasing fervor, year after year, did they continue to recall
the memory of their early heroes, and of the foundation of
their free institutions, until, after nine hundred years of prosperity, a monster of cruelty and degradation ruled their fallen
fortunes, and having insulted their renown by electing his
horse to fill their proudest magistracy, decreed that his own
birth-day should thereafter be celebrated in the stead of that
of the Imperial City. With the best auspices of race and
of religion, we have renewed the solemn custom under these of religion, we have renewed the solemn custom under these western skies; with a worship so pure, a liberty so well ba-lanced, and so rich a heritage of Heroic Memories, that, were it not for this poor human nature which sometimes breaks down within us, we might trust it shall continue until nine times nine hundred years have rolled this Earth, and all that it inherit, upon the very latest time-" in the which the beavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works

thereof shall be burnt up."

I cannot but esteem it a happy omen for us all that the FOURTH DAY OF JULY is so firmly fixed in the affections of the PEOPLE. I cannot believe that so long as they remember with pleasure the words and deeds of their fathers, they will bring themselves to throw away or to undervalue the great legacy which these have bequeathed. I cannot believe that so long as the proud memories of this day are equally cherished in Massachusetts and North Carolina, in Georgia and Pennsylvania,-that Massachusetts and North Carolina, Georgia and Pennsylvania are willing to sever the bonds which have enclosed them to their joint prosperity and glory without interruption for two generations. I believe that whatever extravagance may pervade the world of politicians; however aspirants from the North, and aspirants from the South may vie in slander and detraction;—even had the great men of the country been as false to the Republic as they have been true;—even had not the illustrious Senator from Kentucky, the brave and good man from Michigan, and the wise and eloquent son of Massachusetts come shoulder to shoulder to the rescue;—the People, claiming this as exclusively their government, and recognizing the fact that the sun in his revolutions of six thousand years has never looked down upon twenty millions so happy and so free, would not have failed the institutions to which they have given existence and strength. It is a day of experiment, and political adventurers are dinning into our ears that this liberty we enjoy is not necessarily connected with any part of this system of States; that its life does not reside exclusively in the arms, the heart or the head, and that they will insure us against any bad consequences threatened by the separation of these parts. That luck for which a certain class of the community is proverbial, may prevent their madness from depriving our liberty of its existence, but we are sure that the country can lose no member; no hand, nor foot, nor eye, without being essentially weakened and deformed. Some excitement prevails, some well-grounded apprehension exists, but the feeling is general that we are sure to do worse by any change which we may make; that it is one thing to pull down, and altogether another to build up; and that however readily we may put out the light we have, no one can tell whence we shall get the Promethean heat which shall that light relume. A wanton child with a hatchet may in a few moments destroy the oak which required the rain and sun of two centuries to bring to its present perfection :

" A thousand years scarce serve to form a State, An hour may lay it in the dust ; and when Can man its shattered splendor renovate, Recall its virtues back, and vanquish time and fate !"

I am conscious, fellow citizens, that there glows within me but little of that eloquence whose spell is wont to detain you upon such occasions as this. I have no power to summon those gorgeous sentences in which we have heard the past history of our country described, or to catch that spirit of prophecy which exalts her future career to a height and splendour hardly of this world. In the absence of ability to attempt higher things, I hope I shall have your consent to consider some of the facts which made the American Revolution. If we would arrive at the perfect stature of admiration for our fathers, we must better acquaint ourselves with the detail of their deeds and designs; and in the mean time, we shall be refreshed by a contemplation of true sublimity—the sublimity and eloquence of lives of labour, of conquered disappointment, subdued despair, of a moderated ambition, and a self-government better than taking a city. We very much deceive our-selves by calculating the height to which our fathers' glory reaches, from the eminence upon which we are standing. We do them injustice by looking around upon this continent of States, these unsurpassed political institutions, this noble religious liberty, this name we have made us like to the name of the great men which be in the earth ;- and then imagining, that with all this in view they entered upon that fearful contest. Read their history; and learn that they were blessed with no such prospect! Beprived of their rights as English Freemen; their humble prayers to the British Throne un-heard; repulsed from every hope; encompassed with toils; with division in their ranks, and despair in their hearts; insulted, trampled upon, betrayed,-they set their lives in pledge for their liberty, and resolved that they must fight! It was only after that fight had considerably progressed, that they determined to strike a higher blow for Independence ;-only after that fight had ended, that they looked forward to a permanent Union. Through the dark, dark night they struggled in that deep morass to escape dangers which lay behind; they lost their foothold, wounded their feet, plunged almost hopelessly into bottomless gulfs; still they struggled onwards. But it was only after the mire had been left behind; after they had surmounted the rough and difficult hill before them, and the morning mist and cloud had broken away, that their eyes were rejoiced by the magnificent prospect of hill, valley and plain bathed in the golden light of the Sun of Freedom. Ah! that long lowering day, which passed over Washington and Adams, from September 1774 to June 1790; how did it alternate hope and deep despair! Happily, we have voluminous records of its events; but much that is of the highest interest has been lost forever. That which remains covers so much ground that few will go over it, and these few will close their

researches with an impression that the half has not been told them. They will return with a most exalted opinion of the intrepidity and self-denial of our fathers, and with a most solemn impression of the value of their labours. They will know, that with the Pilgrim of Bunyan's Progress, the Patriots of the American Revolution had to pass the Slough of Despond, to defy the Lions in the way, overcome the Devil, break from the enchantment of Doubting Castle, and pass a Valley dark as that of the Shadow of Death, before they stood upon the Delectable Mountains, or looked up into the Celestial City.

The war of the American Revolution did not propose as its ject the establishment of our present Union, or even the settling of our Government upon a Republican plan. Both of these questions were left open, and so far as the issue of that struggle was concerned, its authors might have been satisfied with the formation of thirteen separate States, each based upon the principle of Monarchy. I do not mean to say that those who engaged in this War were not deeply imbued with republican doctrines, or that they did not prefer a Confederation of the States. The event indeed shows the contrary. What I assert is, that the immediate issue of the contrary. was nothing further than a separation from, or, in the language of the day, an Independence of Great Britain. So it may be remarked that the Resolution which makes this day memorable, was limited to the attainment of the same separation. It is true that in this resolution the *United* Colonies are mentioned; but by *United* is meant nothing more than united for the War, as in 1776 not even the old and imperfect Confederation was in being. They were united, as History informs us that many weak states have united in all ages of the world, solely to carry on war with better chances of success; as the States of Greece united against the power of Persia; but so soon as peace returned, separated, and engaged in war with one another. Indeed, the first battles in the war of our liberation were fought not even for our Independence; and when that had been resolved upon, it was more than doubtful if the Confederacy could be maintained after the immediate result of it had been effected. If we would have a correct notion of the grounds upon which this Union stands, it is necessary to extend our study of the revolutionary era beyond the Peace of 1783. Much doubtless was done for it on the heights of Bunker, on the banks of the Hudson, and on the plains of Yorktown; "the battles, sieges, fortunes" which the Colonies had

passed together, produced a unity of suffering and sympathy which went far towards rendering them one people. But much remained to conquer still, and the era from 1785 to 1796 proved that "Peace hath her victories not less renowned than War." Bear with me, fellow citizens, whilst by a cursory review of these events I endeavor to refresh your memory of this important truth. Since the year 1297 it has been a leading principle in the English Constitution that the People are not to be taxed unless by consent of their representatives in Parliament assembled. The benefits of this provision extended, of course, to all subjects of the British Empire. By a series of acts passed by the Parliament, and extending over several years, we were deprived of it. I instance especially, the Stamp Act and the famous Tea Bill. Our fathers remonstrated, and appealed to the King, and to the people of Great Britain, for a restoration of their undoubted birth-right. George the Third, with that peculiar and unsound obstinacy which distinguished him through life, refused to interfere; and, although we succeeded in raising up eloquent defenders in Parliament and among the people, yet the large majority continued to support the madness of the Prime Minister. It was for this reason that in September 1774 a Congress of Delegates from all the Colonies, except Georgia, met at Philadelphia. This was, as you bear in mind, not quite two years before the Declaration of our Independence. We may well imagine that this Congress contained some bold spirits even then ripe for separation; but such was not the general disposition of the members, nor indeed of the people, especially in the Middle and Southern States. A petition to the King was drawn up; also an address to the People of Great Britain; a Declaration of their Rights as British subjects was framed; and the odious acts of Parliament were enumerated and protested against. The most important movement was the formation of the American Association, the members of which pledged themselves to commercial non-intercourse with the Mother Country, and to abandon all use of British productions. I call attention to this step as the first united endeavor of the Colonies to secure their independence. It may be true that the large majority of those who entered into the obligation did not so intend it.

If so, it is another example under the proverb—" Man proposes, but God disposes;" or it may be regarded as shrewdly designed by the few bold men who were looking forward to separation from England, as the sure entering wedge between the counties. In whatever light we regard it, there can be no doubt that it served an admirable purpose as a commencement of the struggle. After a session of eight weeks the Convention adjourned. Delegates from the same Colonies re-assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1775. In the mean time the battle of Lexington had been fought, and a tremendous excitement pervaded the country; an excitement which a few days later resulted in the adoption by the citizens of Mecklenburg county, in this State, of the memorable resolutions of the 20th of May, 1775. Notwithstanding, no murmur in favor of Independence escaped the Convention. On the contrary, although they resolved to defend their colonial rights against the sword of the Government, they actually disclaimed all intention of throwing off their allegiance, and expressed an anxious desire for peace. Another petition to the King was drafted, and again the people of England were memorialized. As a set off, on the 17th of June, George Washington was chosen Commander-in-chief of the Army of Defence; on the same auspicious day the lamented Warren fell fighting for the Colonies on Bunker Hill, and the last Royal Governor of North Carolina made a precipitate retreat before a body of militia, and escaped on board of an English ship in the Cape Fear. On the 4th of July, 1775, Georgia acceded to the Union. Whatever may have been the sentiments of the county of Mecklenburg upon the question of Independence at this particular period of our Revolutionary History, it is but fair to remark in this place, upon the directly contrary action of a Convention of the State held in Hillsborough in August, 1775, three months after the meeting in Charlotte. In this Convention Mecklenburg was represented by six gentlemen, four of whom had been concerned in the resolutions of May. Under date of the 4th of September, 1775, William Hooper laid before the House an Address to the Inhabitants of the British Empire, and the same having been read, was unanimously received. I make the following extracts from this Address out of the original published journal of its proceedings. "Traitors, rebels, and every harsh appellation that malice can dictate, or the violence of language express, are the returns which we receive to the most humble petitions and earnest supplications. We have been told that Independence is our object;

that we seek to shake off all connexion with the Parent State. Cruel suggestion! Do not all our professions, ill our actions uniformly contradict this? We again declare, and we invoke that Almighty Being who searches the recesses of the human heart, and knows our most secret intentions, that it is our most carnest wish and prayer to be restored with the other United Colonies to the state in which we and they were placed before the year 1763. This declaration we hold forth as a Parent State, and as a sincere earnest of our present and future intention." A test, in which the subscribers protested their allegiance to the King, was also proposed and entered upon the records, and received the signatures of every member of the Convention. The lest do not be to the convention. ber of the Convention. The last day of the year 1775 was marked by the death of the brave and accomplished Montgomery under the walls of Quebec. Early in 1776, the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, near Wilmington, gained by General Caswell, gave strength to the Whig Party in North Carolina; and in March, General Washington inspirited the whole country by driving the British from Boston.

I have been thus particular, and I fear tedious, in order to draw your attention to the fact that much of the fighting in the Revolutionary War was done without any desire upon the part of many who were engaged in it to sever their con-nexion with England. In the Spring of 1776, however, other sentiments were heard; and Common Sense, a pamphlet by Thomas Paine, showing the absurdity of longer endeavor to maintain our old relations, produced a decided impression upon the people. On motion of John Adams, Congress in May recommended to the several colonies to establish Gavernments adequate to their present exigencies. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, introduced his famous resolution for Independence into Congress. It was debated for two days. Being opposed by some of the most distinguished members as premature, it was at length passed by a vote of seven States to six; New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia voting in the affirmative, against New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Delaware and New Lorsey. Jersey. The resolution was then postponed until the 1st day of July, in order to insure a greater unanimity. The result is well known. Together with Mr. Jefferson's eloquent manifesto, it has this day been read in your hearing; and in 1850, after seventy-four years, thirty great States hail with loud acclaim the anniversary of that day on which our fathers resolved that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES." Henceforward the struggle was for separation. Our own State bore the brunt of the War in 1780 and 1781; Lord Cornwallis surrendered on the 19th of October, 1781; and our Independence was formally acknowledged by Great Britain on the 3d of September, 1783.

I have already said that the renown of the Fourth of July is not necessarily connected with that of our glorious Union. The struggle for the latter, though in some sense growing out, and a part of the former, was yet, on the whole, collateral, and for some time a sort of bye play to it. A committee was appointed to draw up Articles of Confederation as early as 1776. As soon as these could be matured, four States, of which I am proud to say that North Carolina was one, entertered into its bonds. It was not, however, until March, 1781—the same month in which the battle of Guilford was fought, and but seven months before the virtual close of the war, that it was completed by the accession of Maryland, I need not put you in mind that this Confederation was very defective, and but ill calculated for permanence. A struggle for a more perfect Union commenced upon the part of some members of this Confederacy even before the signature of the treaty of Peace. It was carried on with zeal, but with doubtful hopes, for several years afterwards. In 1789 our present Constitution was adopted, and this Republic commenced its high mission upon earth.

I trust, fellow citizens, that what I have said will convince you of the threefold character of our Revolutionary Era. For the first twenty-two months the contest was only for our rights as subjects of Great Britain; and in that we had the sympathy and co-operation of many distinguished citizens of the mother country. Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, Edmund Burke, General Conway, Colonel Barre, Mr. Hartley and Mr. Wilkes insisted upon our rights with a zeal and boldness which did them infinite credit, and gave them an extensive popularity throughout the Colonies. In commenoration of their services, counties and towns were named after them from Maine to Georgia. North Carolina has in this way perpetuated the gallantry of Chatham, Camden, Burke and Wilkes; the three latter at the same session of the Legislature in which the merits of two of her own patriotic sons, General Nash and Governor Caswell, were similarly honored; and in Pennsylvania the names of two of these disinterested advocates have been remembered in the town of Wilkesbarre: The aid of these generous Englishmen, how-ever, we had no right to expect, and did not receive after the Fourth of July, 1776. We all recollect the thunders of Chatham as he blasted the ministerial policy of taxing America, in 1766 :- " The gentleman tells us," exclaimed he, " that America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be made slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I come not here armed at all points with law cases and Acts of Parliament, with the Statute Book turned down into dogs' ears to defend the cause of Liberty. But for the defence of liberty upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground upon which I stand firm, on which I dare meet any man. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is my opin-ion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed, absolutely, total-ly, immediately." How changed were the tones in which he addressed the House of Lords some twelve years later! In April 1778, the Duke of Richmond having moved an Address to the Throne, advising the recognition of the unqualified In-dependence of the American Colonies, Lord Chatham, whom age and infirmity had prevented for some time previously from an active interference with affairs of Government, tottered down to his seat, and gave the last remains of his strength and abilities to its defeat. "I have this day," he began, "made an effort beyond the powers of my constitution, to come down to this House, perhaps the last time I shall enter its walls, to express my indignation against the proposition of yielding the sovereignty to America. My Lords, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am but little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions." Indeed, history is compelled to record