

upon his own individual resources to equip his troops and re-enforce his battalions; opposed by veteran troops, more numerous than his own, and perfectly equipped and supplied, and commanded by trained officers, he was placed at a disadvantage that must be considered in estimating the military talent of this remarkable man. He seemed never to despair; burdened with troubles, suffering under grievances that would have overwhelmed another man, he worked steadfastly towards the goal. It would have been an easy matter for him, it would have been distinctively human to have answered the taunts of his friends, in a moment of despair, by throwing himself and his battalions upon the stronger foe, and to have perished himself, and to have hopelessly ruined the cause he represented, by suffering a glorious defeat. Such was not the character of the man. He was content to suffer the ignominy of criticism and disfavor, and that too without murmur. Circumstances were such, as he describes in his farewell address, that "the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amid appearances somewhat dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism." Criticized, he was denied the privilege of exculpating himself in fear of divulging his weakness to the enemy and even of discouraging his friends by pictures so dark. Campaign after campaign, year after year, sometimes with success, often with defeat, he pursued his plan of wearing out the patience of the enemy by avoiding engagement, until the opportunity presented itself to strike an effective blow. If success be the true criterion of greatness, then was Washington a great soldier, for in the end he succeeded. Victory under such adversity fairly justified the sentiment of Lowell that Virginia gave us a country in giving us him.

When the implements of war were thrown aside, the colonies were confronted with the difficult problem what to do with independence now they had won it. The confederation was a failure. Without authority to enforce obedience to its decrees; with the privilege to request, but without the right to demand, it became an object of contempt. It was necessary to find a substitute in order to create respect at home and enforce it abroad.

A convention was called. When it assembled, in 1787, Washington, the soldier, became its presiding officer and one of its leading spirits. When, two years later, upon the ratification of the Constitution by a majority of the States, steps were taken to put in operation the government it provided for, the eyes of all were turned towards George Washington, of Virginia, as the chief magistrate. The characteristics of the man endeared him to the people. He was modest, not assumedly, but truly so; he was patient, long-suffering and benevolent; his personal character was beyond reproach; his ability was of the high-

est order and his patriotism had been fully demonstrated. Certainly in the early history of our country was Washington first in war, in peace and in the hearts of his countrymen.

The wisdom of his eight years' administration, both in the men he called to his side, in the measures he advanced and in the principles he sought to inculcate at every opportunity, started the government well forward upon its destined course. The smoothness with which the machinery of the government works now did not characterize its earlier history. Problems are now solved and questions determined which were then to be met. Washington and his companion patriots were the pilots who steered the ship through the narrow and dangerous channels into the open and unobstructed sea. And yet the sea has not been altogether unobstructed, nor the course of the ship entirely free from danger. New questions of great importance, involving, in a degree, the utmost safety of the government and the survival of freedom, have arisen and have been disposed of. Foreign war has twice visited us; the horrors of civil strife, a bloody war of kinsmen, has shaken the very foundation of the structure.

It was one of the weak features of the Constitution that the question of slavery remained undisposed of. That question arose in the constitutional convention, and even at that early day, finding it impossible to settle it forever by constitutional provision, it was compromised. The wound was but temporarily healed. It broke out afresh, and for many years it was the malady which threatened the life of the nation. Great men arise in answer to great emergencies, and it was the peculiar good fortune of the nation that a statesman and a patriot was at hand to cope with the difficulties of the civil strife. The name of Abraham Lincoln deserves a place in the temple of fame alongside that of George Washington. Fortunate will be the nation whose hour of birth and whose hour of greatest peril will be attended by men of such massive mould! The Constitution has been a glorious success. America is distinctly the land of the free; it is the home of the oppressed; it is the asylum for the down-trodden of all nations. It has not only made entirely free those who have sought the protection of its laws, but by force of example has exercised a wide influence in the amelioration of the condition of all civilized people. It has given birth to and disseminated principles that must eventually result in the freedom of all mankind.

Washington, in his admirable farewell address, pointed out some of the dangers besetting the path. Changes, he said, should not be undertaken without adequate experience, upon the varying suggestions of hypothesis and opinion; the spirit of party was denounced as likely to agitate the country with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; to kindle the animosities of one part against the other, to foment

occasional riot and insurrection; and to open the door to foreign influence and corruption; encroachments of one department of government upon another, he pronounced to be likely; amendment, not usurpation, was pointed out to be the proper method of change; virtue and morality were described as the necessary spring of popular government. "Let us," he said, "with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion." In these and all the sentiments of his address are reflected the wisdom and patriotism of the Father of our Country. How far his fears have been realized may be a matter of dispute; that the strict letter and spirit of the Constitution have been encroached upon in some important respects, is beyond question.

We, of the Territories, have most cause to complain of partial inroads upon the great charter of the government. We have not, in a proper sense, the right of local government—and that was the bone of contention in the revolutionary war. The colonies revolted because they were taxed without representation, and because parliament assumed to have the right to regulate their affairs in all respects whatever. That is practically what Congress assumes to do with the territories. Without a vote in Congress, we are compelled to pay customs duties and internal revenue taxes—all the taxes, in fact, that citizens of the states impose upon themselves through their own representatives in Congress. We have no voice in the selection of the President or Senate, who appoint officers to administer our affairs. In Utah, the governor so appointed has an absolute veto over the acts of the legislature. Not only are we taxed and largely governed without representation, but our laws are subject to repeal by Congress. And, worse and worse, not only this, but Congress assumes and exercises the anomalous power to legislate upon matters that have always been regarded of strictly local concern. Serious inroads have thus been made upon constitutional principles. The citizens of the Territories may say as said the Continental Congress of 1774: "Can the intervention of the sea that divides us cause disparity of right, or can any reason be given why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles from it? Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety, and yet however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, parliament asserts that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception. Know then that we consider ourselves and do assert that we are and ought to be as free as our fellow subjects in Britain." Could more apt words be chosen by the Territories in pleading their cause?

In resolutions adopted in the same Congress, the colonists said in effect that they were entitled to life, liberty and property, and had never