ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE CITY AUTHORITIES

OF BOSTON,

ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1860,

BY

EDWARD EVERETT.

TOGETHER WITH

THE SPEECHES AT THE DINNER IN FANEUIL HALL, AND OTHER CEREMONIES

AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE

EIGHTY FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BOSTON:

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1630.

CITY OF BOSTON.

In Common Council, July 5, 1860.

ORDERED: That the thanks of the City Council be, and they are hereby presented to the HON. EDWARD EVERETT, for his able, eloquent, and patriotic oration before the Municipal Authorities of the City of Boston, on the Eighty-Fourth Anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America, and in vindication of their Republican Institutions, and that he be requested to furnish a copy to the City Council for publication.

Sent up for concurrence.

J. P. BRADLEE, *President.*

In Board of Aldermen, July 9, 1860.

Passed in concurrence.

OTIS CLAPP, *Chairman.*

Approved July 10, 1860.

F. W. LINCOLN, JR., *Mayor.*

ORATION.

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Eighty-four years ago this day, the Anglo-American Colonies, acting by their delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia, formally renounced their allegiance to the British Crown and declared their Independence. We are assembled, Fellow-Citizens, to commemorate the Anniversary of that great day, and the utterance of that momentous Declaration. The hand that penned its mighty sentences, and the tongue which, with an eloquence that swept all before it, sustained it on the floor of the Congress, ceased from among the living, at the end of half a century, on the same day, almost at the same hour, thirty-four years ago. The last survivor of the signers, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, closed his venerable career six years later; — and of the generation sufficiently advanced in life to take a part in public affairs on the fourth of July, 1776, how few are living to hail this eighty-fourth anniversary! They are gone, but their work remains. It has grown in interest with the lapse of years, beginning already

to add to its intrinsic importance those titles to respect, which time confers on great events and memorable eras, as it hangs its ivy and plants its mosses on the solid structures of the Past,—and *we* are now come together to bear our testimony to the Day, the Deed, and the Men. We have shut up our offices, our warehouses, our workshops,— we have escaped from the cares of business, may I not add from the dissensions of party, from all that occupies and all that divides us, to celebrate, to *join* in celebrating, the Birthday of the Nation, with one heart and with one voice. We have come for this year, 1860, to do our part in fulfilling the remarkable prediction of that noble son of Massachusetts, John Adams, —who, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, was "the Colossus of Independence,—the pillar of its support on the floor of Congress." Although the Declaration was not adopted by Congress till the fourth of July, (which has therefore become the day of the Anniversary,) the Resolution, on which it was founded, passed on the second instant. On the following day accordingly, John Adams, in a letter to his wife, says, "Yesterday the greatest question was decided that was ever debated in America, and greater perhaps never was nor will be decided among men. A resolution was passed without one dissenting Colony, that these United States are and of right ought to be Free and Independent States." Unable to restrain

the fulness of his emotions, in another letter to his wife, but of the same date, naturally assuming that the day on which the resolution was passed would be the day hereafter commemorated, he bursts out in this all but inspired strain: —

The day is passed; the second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha 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 God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, — with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this Continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore!

You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this Declaration and support and defend these States. Yet through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means; and that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, — which I trust in God we shall not.

The time which has elapsed since the great event took place is so considerable, — the national experience which has since accrued is so varied and significant, — the changes in our condition at home and our relations abroad are so vast, as to make it a natural and highly appropriate subject of inquiry, on the recurrence of the Anniversary, how far the hopeful auguries, with which our Independence was declared,

have been fulfilled. Has "the gloom" which, in the language of Adams, shrouded the 4th of July, 1776, given way on this 4th of July, 1860, "to those rays of ravishing light and glory" which he predicted? Has "the end," as he fondly believed it would do, proved thus far to be "more than worth all the means?" Most signally, so far as he individually was concerned. He lived himself to enjoy a more than Roman triumph, in the result of that day's transaction; to sign with his brother envoys the treaty of peace, by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of her ancient Colonies; to stand before the British throne, the first representative of the newly constituted Republic; and after having filled its second office in connection with him, who, whether in peace or in war, could never fill any place but the first, — in office as in the hearts of his countrymen, — he lived to succeed to the great Chief, and closed his honored career, as the elective Chief Magistrate of those United States, whose independence he had done so much to establish; with the rare additional felicity at the last of seeing his son elevated to the same station.

But the life of an individual is but a span in the life of a Nation; the fortunes of individuals, for good or for evil, are but as dust in the balance, compared with the growth and prosperity or the decline and fall of that greatest of human Personalities, a Com-

monwealth. It is, therefore, a more momentous inquiry, whether the great design of Providence, with reference to our beloved country, of which we trace the indications in the recent discovery of the Continent, the manner of its settlement by the civilized races of the earth, the Colonial struggles, the establishment of Independence, the formation of a constitution of republican government, and its administration in peace and war for seventy years, — I say, it is a far more important inquiry whether this great design of Providence is in a course of steady and progressive fulfilment, — marked only by the fluctuations, ever visible in the march of human affairs, — and authorizing a well-grounded hope of further development, in harmony with its auspicious beginnings, — or whether there is reason, on the other hand, to fear that our short-lived prosperity is already (as misgivings at home and disparagement abroad have sometimes whispered) on the wane, — that we have reached, that we have passed the meridian, — and have now to look forward to an evening of degeneracy, and the closing in of a rayless and hopeless night of political decline.

You are justly shocked, fellow-citizens, at the bare statement of the ill-omened alternative; and yet the inquiry seems forced on us, by opinions that have recently been advanced in high places abroad. In a debate in the House of Lords, on the 19th of April,

on a question relative to the extension of the elective franchise in England, (the principle which certainly lies at the basis of representative government,) the example of the United States, instead of being held up for imitation in this respect, as has generally been the case, on the subject of popular reforms, was referred to as showing not the advantages but the evils of an enlarged suffrage. It was emphatically asserted or plainly intimated by the person who took the lead in the debate, (Earl Grey,) the son of the distinguished author of the bill for the Reform of Parliament, whose family traditions therefore might be expected to be strongly on the side of popular right, that, in the United States, since the Revolutionary period, and by the undue extension of the right of suffrage, our elections have become a mockery, our legislatures venal, our courts tainted with party spirit, our laws 'cobwebs,' which the rich and poor alike break through, and the country, and the government in all its branches, given over to corruption, violence, and a general disregard of public morality.

If these opinions are well founded, then certainly we labor under a great delusion in celebrating the National Anniversary. Instead of joyous chimes and merry peals, responding to the triumphant salvos which ushered in the day, the Fourth of July ought rather to be commemorated by funeral bells, and

minute-guns, and dead marches; and we, instead of assembling in this festal hall to congratulate each other on its happy return, should have been better found in sackcloth and ashes in the house of penitence and prayer.

I believe that I shall not wander from the line of remark appropriate to the occasion, if I invite you to join me in a hasty inquiry, whether these charges and intimations are well founded; whether we have thus degenerated from the standard of the Revolutionary age; whether the salutary checks of our system formerly existing have, as is alleged, been swept away, and our experiment of elective self-government has consequently become a failure; whether, in a word, the great design of Providence, to which I have alluded, in the discovery, settlement, political independence, and national growth of the United States, has been prematurely arrested by our perversity; or whether, on the contrary, that design is not, — with those vicissitudes, and drawbacks, and human infirmities of character, and uncertainties of fortune, which beset alike the individual man and the societies of men, in the old world and the new, — in a train of satisfactory, hopeful, nay, triumphant and glorious fulfilment.

And in the first place I will say that, in my judgment, great delicacy ought to be observed and much caution practised in these disparaging commentaries on the constitution, laws, and administrations of friendly

states; and especially on the part of British and American statesmen in their comments on the systems of their two countries, between which there is a more intimate connection of national sympathy than between any two other nations. I must say that, as a matter both of taste and expediency, these specific arraignments of a foreign friendly country had better be left to the public press. Without wishing to put any limit to free discussion, or to proscribe any expression of the patriotic complacency with which the citizens of one country are apt to assert the superiority of their own systems over those of all others, it appears to me that pungent criticisms on the constitutions and laws of foreign states, and their practical operation, supported by direct personal allusions to those called to administer them, are nearly as much out of place on the part of the legislative as of the executive branch of a government. On the part of the latter, they would be resented as an intolerable insult; they cannot be deemed less than offensive on the part of the former.

If there were no other objection to this practice, it would be sufficient, that its direct tendency is to recrimination; a warfare of reciprocal disparagement, on the part of conspicuous members of the legislatures of friendly states. It is plain that a parliamentary warfare of this kind must greatly increase

the difficulty of carrying on the diplomatic discussions, which necessarily occur between states whose commercial and territorial interests touch and clash at so many points; and the war of words is but too well adapted to prepare the public mind for more deplorable struggles.

Let me further also remark, that the suggestion which I propose to combat, viz. that the experiment of self-government on the basis of an extensive electoral franchise is substantially a failure in the United States, and that the country has entered upon a course of rapid degeneracy since the days of Washington, is not only one of great antecedent improbability, but it is one which, it might be expected, our brethren in England would be slow to admit. The mass of the population was originally of British origin, and the additional elements, of which it is made up, are from the other most intelligent and improvable races of Europe. The settlers of this Continent have been providentially conducted to it, or have grown up upon it, within a comparatively recent and highly enlightened period, namely, the last two hundred and fifty years. Much of it they found lying in a state of nature, with no time-honored abuses to eradicate; abounding in most of the physical conditions of prosperous existence, and with few drawbacks but those necessarily incident to new countries, or inseparable from human imperfection.

Even the hardships they encountered, severe as they were, were well calculated to promote the growth of the manly virtues. In this great and promising field of social progress, they have planted, in the main, those political institutions, which have approved themselves in the experience of modern Europe and especially of England, as most favorable to the prosperity of a state; — free representative governments; — written constitutions and laws, greatly modelled upon hers, especially the trial by jury; — a free and a cheap, and consequently all-pervading press; — responsibility of the ruler to the people; liberal provision for popular education, and very general voluntary and bountiful expenditure for the support of religion. If under these circumstances, the People of America, springing from such a stock, and trained in such a school, have failed to work out a satisfactory and a hopeful result; and especially if within the last sixty years (for that is the distinct allegation) and consequently since, from the increase of numbers, wealth, and national power, all the social forces of the country have, for good or evil, been in higher action than ever before, there has been such marked deterioration that we are now fit to be held up, not as a model to be imitated, but as an example to be shunned, — not for the credit but for the discredit of popular institutions, — then, indeed, the case must be admitted to be a strange phenomenon in human

affairs, — disgraceful, it is true, in the highest degree to us, — not reflecting credit on the race from which we are descended, — nor holding out encouragement anywhere for the adoption of liberal principles of government. If there is any feeling in England that can welcome the thought, that Americans have degenerated, the further reflection that it is the sons of Englishmen who have degenerated, must chasten the sentiment. If there is any country, where this supposed state of things should be readily believed to exist, surely it cannot be the parent country. If there is any place where such a suggestion should find ready credence, it cannot be in that House of Commons, where Burke uttered those golden words: "My hold of the Colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection." It cannot be in that House of Peers, where Chatham, conscious that the Colonies were fighting the battle not only of American but of English liberty, exclaimed, with a fervor that almost caused the storied tapestry to quicken into life, "I rejoice that America has resisted." It must be in Venice, it must be in Naples, or wherever else on the face of the earth liberal principles are scoffed at, and constitutional freedom is known to exist, only as her crushed and mangled form is seen to twitch and quiver under the dark pall of arbitrary power.

Before admitting the truth of such a supposition, in itself so paradoxical, in its moral aspects so mournful, in its natural influence on the progress of liberal ideas so discouraging, let us, for a few moments, look at facts.

The first object in the order of events, after the discovery of America, was, of course, its settlement by civilized man. It was not an easy task; — a mighty ocean separated the continent from the elder world; a savage wilderness covered most of the country; its barbarous and warlike inhabitants resisted from the first all coalescence with the new comers. To subdue this waste, — to plant cornfields in the primeval forest, to transfer the civilization of Europe to the new world, and to make safe and sufficient arrangements, under political institutions, for the organized growth of free principles, — was the great problem to be solved. It was no holiday pastime, — no gainful speculation, — no romantic adventure; but grim, persistent, weary toil and danger. That it has been upon the whole performed with wonderful success, who will deny? Where else in the history of the world have such results been brought about in so short time? And if I desired, as I do not, to give this discussion the character of recrimination, might I not, — dividing the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the European settlements in America into two portions, namely, the one which

preceded and the one which has followed the Declaration of Independence, the former under the sway of European governments, England, Holland, France, Spain, the latter under the government of the independent United States,—might I not claim for the latter, under all the disadvantages of a new government and limited resources, the credit of greatly superior energy and practical wisdom, in carrying on this magnificent work? It was the inherent vice of the colonial system, that the growth of the American colonies was greatly retarded for a century, in consequence of their being involved in all the wars of Europe. There never was a period, on the other hand, since Columbus sailed from Palos, in which the settlement of the country has advanced with such rapidity as within the last sixty years. The commencement of the Revolution found us with a population not greatly exceeding two millions; the census of 1800 a little exceeded five millions; that of the present year will not probably fall short of thirty-two millions. The two centuries and a half which preceded the Revolution witnessed the organization of thirteen Colonies, raised by the Declaration to States, to which the period that has since elapsed has added twenty more. I own it has filled me with amazement to find cities like Cincinnati and Louisville, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis, not to mention those still more remote, on spots which

within the memory of man were frontier military posts; — to find railroads and electric telegraphs traversing forests, in whose gloomy shades, as late as 1789, and in territories not more remote than the present State of Ohio, the wild savage still burned his captives at the stake.

The desponding or the unfriendly censor will remind me of the blemishes of this tumultuous civilization; — outbreaks of frontier violence in earlier and later times; acts of injustice to the native tribes, (though the policy of the Government toward them has in the main been paternal and conscientiously administered,) the roughness of manners in infant settlements, the collisions of adventurers not yet compacted into a stable society, deeds of wild justice and wilder injustice, border license, lynch law. All these I admit and I lament; — but a community cannot grow up at once from the log-cabin, with the wolf at the door and the savage in the neighboring thicket, into the order and beauty of communities which have been maturing for centuries. We must remember, too, that all these blemishes of an infant settlement, the inseparable accompaniment of that stage of progress and phase of society and life, have their counterpart at the other end of the scale, in the festering iniquities of large cities, the gigantic frauds of speculation and trade, the wholesale corruption, in a word, of older societies, in all parts of the

world. When I reflect that the day we celebrate found us a feeble strip of thirteen Colonies along the coast, averaging at most a little more than 150,000 inhabitants each; and that this, its eighty-fourth return, sees us grown to thirty-three States, scattered through the interior and pushed to the Pacific, averaging nearly a million of inhabitants, — each a well-compacted representative republic, securing to its citizens a larger amount of the substantial blessings of life, than are enjoyed by equal numbers of people in the oldest and most prosperous States of Europe, I am lost in wonder; and, as a sufficient answer to all general charges of degeneracy, I am tempted to exclaim, Look around you.

But, merely to fill up the wilderness with a population provided with the ordinary institutions and carrying on the customary pursuits of civilized life, though surely no mean achievement, was not the whole of the work allotted to the United States, and thus far performed with signal activity, intelligence, and success. The Founders of America and their descendants have accomplished more and better things. On the basis of a rapid geographical extension, and with the force of teeming numbers, they have, in the very infancy of their political existence, successfully aimed at higher progress in a generous civilization. The mechanical arts have not only been cultivated, but they have been cultivated with unusual

aptitude. Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Navigation, whether by sails or steam, and the art of printing in all its forms and in all its applications, have been pursued with surprising skill. Great improvements have been made in all these branches of industry, and in the machinery pertaining to them, which have been eagerly adopted in Europe. A more adequate provision has been made for popular education, the great basis, humanly speaking of social improvement, than in almost any other country. I believe that in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, more money, in proportion to the population, is raised by taxation for the support of common schools, than in any other cities in the world. There are more seminaries in the United States, where a decent academical education can be obtained, — more, I still mean in proportion to the population, — than in any other country except Germany. The Fine Arts have reached a high degree of excellence. The taste for music is rapidly spreading in town and country; and every year witnesses productions from the pencil and the chisel of American sculptors and painters, which would adorn any gallery in the world. Our Astronomers, Mathematicians, Naturalists, Chemists, Engineers, Jurists, Publicists, Historians, Poets, Novelists, and Lexicographers, have placed themselves on a level with their contemporaries abroad. The best dictionaries of the English language

since that of Johnson, are those published in America. Our constitutions, whether of the United States or of the separate States, exclude all public provision for the maintenance of Religion, but in no part of Christendom is it more generously supported. Sacred Science is pursued as diligently and the pulpit commands as high a degree of respect in the United States, as in those countries where the Church is publicly endowed; while the American Missionary operations have won the admiration of the civilized world. Nowhere, I am persuaded, are there more liberal contributions to public-spirited and charitable objects, — witness the remarkable article on that subject, the second of the kind, by Mr. Eliot, in the last number of the North American Review. Our charitable asylums, houses of industry, institutions for the education of deaf mutes and the blind, for the care of the pauper, and the discipline and reformation of the criminal, are nowhere surpassed. The latter led the way in the modern penitentiary reforms. In a word, there is no branch of the mechanical or fine arts, no department of science exact or applied, no form of polite literature, no description of social improvement, in which, due allowance being made for the means and resources at command, the progress of the United States has not been satisfactory, and in some respects astonishing. At this moment, the rivers and seas of the globe are navigated with that

marvellous application of steam as a propelling power, which was first practically effected by Fulton; the monster steamship which has just reached our shores, rides at anchor in the waters, in which the first successful experiment of Steam Navigation was made. The wheat harvest of England this summer will be gathered by American reapers; the newspapers which lead the journalism of Europe are printed on American presses; there are imperial Railroads in Europe constructed by American Engineers and travelled by American locomotives; troops armed with American weapons, and ships of war built in American dock-yards. In the factories of Europe there is machinery of American invention or improvement; in their observatories, telescopes of American construction; and apparatus of American invention for recording the celestial phenomena. America contests with Europe the introduction into actual use of the electric telegraph, and her mode of operating it is adopted throughout the French empire. American authors in almost every department of science and literature are found on the shelves of European libraries. It is true no American Homer, Virgil, Dante, Copernicus, Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Newton, has risen on the world. These mighty geniuses seem to be exceptions in the history of the human mind. Favorable circumstances do not produce them, nor does the absence of favorable circumstances pre-

vent their appearance. Homer rose in the dawn of Grecian culture; Virgil flourished in the Court of Augustus; Dante ushered in the birth of the modern European literature; Copernicus was reared in a Polish cloister; Shakespeare was trained in the greenroom of a theatre; Milton was formed while the elements of English thought and life were fermenting toward a great political and moral revolution; Newton, under the profligacy of the Restoration. Ages may elapse before any country will produce a mind like these; as two centuries have passed since the last-mentioned of them was born. But if it is really a mark of inferiority on the part of the United States, that in the comparatively short period of their existence as a people, they have not added another name to this illustrious list, (which is equally true of all the other nations of the earth,) they may proudly boast of one example of Life and Character, one career of disinterested service, one model of public virtue, one type of human excellence, of which all the countries and all the ages may be searched in vain for a parallel. I need not,—on this day I need not,—speak the peerless name. It is stamped on your hearts, it glistens in your eyes, it is written on every page of your history, on the battle-fields of the Revolution, on the monuments of your Fathers, on the portals of your capitols. It is heard in every breeze that whispers over the fields of Independent

America. And he was all our own. He grew up on the soil of America; he was nurtured at her bosom. She loved and trusted him in his youth; she honored and revered him in his age; and though she did not wait for death to canonize his name, his precious memory, with each succeeding year, has sunk more deeply into the hearts of his countrymen!

But, as I have already stated, it was urged against us in substance on the occasion alluded to, that within the last sixty years the United States have degenerated, and that by a series of changes, at first apparently inconsiderable, but all leading by a gradual and steady progression to the same result, a very discreditable condition of things has been brought about in this country.

Without stating precisely what these supposed changes are, the "result" is set forth in a somewhat remarkable series of reproachful allegations, far too numerous to be repeated in detail, in what remains of this address, but implying in the aggregate little less than the general corruption of the country,—political, social, and moral. The severity of these reproaches is not materially softened by a few courteous words of respect for the American People. I shall in a moment select for examination two or three of the most serious of these charges, observing only at present that the prosperous condition of the country, which I have imperfectly sketched, and especially its

astonishing growth, during the present century in the richest products, material and intellectual, of a rapidly maturing civilization, furnish a sufficient defence against the general charge. Men do not gather the grapes and figs of science, art, taste, wealth, and manners from the thorns and thistles of lawlessness, venality, fraud, and violence. These fair fruits grow only in the gardens of public peace, and industry protected by the Law.

In the outset let it be observed then, that the assumed and assigned cause of the reproachful and deplorable state of things alleged to exist in the United States is as imaginary, as the effects are exaggerated or wholly unfounded in fact. The "checks established by Washington and his associates on an unbalanced democracy" in the general government have never, as is alleged, "been swept away," —not one of them. The great constitutional check of this kind, as far as the General Government is concerned, is the limitation of the granted powers of Congress; the reservation of the rights of the States; and the organization of the Senate as their representative. These constitutional provisions, little comprehended abroad, which give to the smallest States equal weight with the largest, in one branch of the national legislature, impose a very efficient check on the power of a numerical majority; and neither in this nor in any other provision of the Constitution, bearing

on the subject, has the slightest change ever been made. Not only so, but the prevalent policy since 1800 has been in favor of the reserved rights of the States, and in consequent derogation of the powers of the General Government. In fact, when the Reform Bill was agitated in England, and by the conservative statesmen of that country stigmatized as "a revolution," it was admitted that the United States possessed in their written Constitution, and in the difficulty of procuring amendments to it, a conservative principle unknown to the English government.

In truth, if by "an unbalanced democracy" is meant such a government as that of Athens, or republican Rome, or the Italian Republics, or the English Commonwealth, or revolutionary France, there not only never was, but never can be such a thing in the United States, unless our whole existing system should be revolutionized, and that in a direction to which there never has been the slightest approach. The very fact that the great mass of the population is broken up into separate States, now thirty-three in number and rapidly multiplying, each with its local interests and centre of political influence, is itself a very efficient check on such a democracy. Then each of these States is a representative commonwealth, composed of two branches, with the ordinary divisions of executive, legislative, and judicial power. It is true, that in some of the States, some trifling property qualifications for

eligibility and the exercise of the elective franchise have been abrogated, but not with any perceptible effect on the number or character of the voters. The system, varying a little in the different States, always made a near approach to universal suffrage; and the great increase of voters has been caused by the increase of population. Under elective governments, with a free press, with ardent party divisions, and in reference to questions that touch the heart of the people, petty limitations on the right of suffrage are indeed 'cobwebs,' which the popular will breaks through. The voter may be one of ten, or one of fifty of the citizens, but on such questions he will vote in conformity with the will of the great mass. If he resists it, the government itself, like that of France in 1848, will go down. Agitation and popular commotion scoff at checks and balances, and as much in England as in America. When Nottingham Castle is in ruins and half Bristol a heap of ashes, monarchs and ministers must bend. The Reform Bill must then pass "through Parliament or over it," in the significant words of Lord Macaulay; and that, whether the constituencies are great or small. That a restricted suffrage and a limited constituency do not always insure independence on the part of the Representative, may be inferred from the rather remarkable admission of Lord Grey, in this very debate, that "a large proportion of the members of the present House of

Commons are, from various circumstances, *afraid to act on their real opinions*," on the subject of the Reform Bill then before them.

I have already observed that it would be impossible, within the limits of this address, to enter into a detailed examination of all the matters laid to our charge, on the occasion alluded to. The ministerial leader (Lord Granville) candidly admitted, in the course of the debate, that, though he concurred with his brother peer in some of his remarks, "they were generally much exaggerated." We too must admit with regret, that for some of the statements made to our discredit, there is a greater foundation in fact, than we could wish; that our political system, like all human institutions, however wise in theory and successful in its general operation, is liable to abuse; that party, the bane of all free governments, works its mischief here; that some bad men are raised to office and some good men excluded from it; that public virtue here as elsewhere sometimes breaks down under the temptation of place or of gold; that unwise laws are sometimes passed by our legislatures, and unpopular laws sometimes violated by the mob; in short, that the frailties and vices of men and of governments are displayed in Republics as they are in Monarchies, in the New World as in the Old; whether to a greater, equal, or less degree, time must show. The question of the great Teacher, to which the reverend Chap-

lain has just called our attention, may as pertinently be asked of Nations as of individuals, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

An honest and impartial administration of justice is the corner-stone of the social system. The most serious charges brought against us, on the occasion alluded to, are, that, owing to the all-pervading corruption of the country, the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, who once commanded the public respect at home and abroad, are now appointed for party purposes, and that some of their decisions have excited the disgust of all high-minded men; that the Judges of most of the State Courts hold their offices by election, some by annual election; that the undisputed dominion of the numerical majority, which has been established, will not allow the desires and passions of the hour to be checked by a firm administration of justice; and that in consequence the laws in this country have become mere cobwebs to resist either the rich, or the popular feeling of the moment; in a word that the American Astræa, like the goddess of old, has fled to the stars. I need not say, fellow-citizens, in your hearing, that wherever else this may be true, (and I believe it to be nowhere true in the United States,) it is not true in our ancient commonwealth; and that Westminster Hall never boasted a Court more honored or more

worthy of honor, than that which holds its office by a life tenure and administers impartial justice, without respect of persons, to the people of Massachusetts.

Such a court the people of Massachusetts have no wish to change for an elective judiciary, holding office by a short tenure. In their opinion, evinced in their practice, this all-important branch of the government ought to be removed, as far as possible, beyond the reach of political influences; but it is surely the grossest of errors to speak of the tribunals of the United States as being generally tainted with party, or to represent the law, in the main, as having ceased to be respected and enforced. Taking a comprehensive view of the subject, and not drawing sweeping inferences from exceptional occurrences, it may be safely said that the law of the land is ably, cheaply, and impartially administered in the United States, and implicitly obeyed. On a few questions, not half a dozen in number since the organization of the government, and those partaking of a political character, the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, like the questions to which they refer, have divided public opinion. But there is surely no tribunal in the world, which, like that court has, since the foundation of the government, not only efficiently performed the ordinary functions of a tribunal of the last resort, to the general satisfaction of the country, but

which sits in judgment on the courts and legislatures of sovereign States, on acts of Congress itself, and pronounces the law to a confederation coextensive with Europe. I know of no such protection, under any other government, against unconstitutional legislation; if, indeed, any legislation can be called unconstitutional, where Parliament, alike in theory and practice, is omnipotent.

With respect to the partisan character of our courts, inferred from the manner in which the judges are appointed, the judges of the United States Courts, which are the tribunals specifically reflected on, are appointed in the same manner and hold their offices by the same tenure, as the English judges of the courts of common law. They are appointed for life, by the executive power, no doubt from the dominant party of the day, and this equally in both countries. The presiding magistrate of the other branch of English jurisprudence, — the Lord Chancellor, — is displaced with every change in politics. In seventy-one years, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, there have been but four chief justices of the United States, and the fourth is still on the bench. In thirty-three years there have been, I believe, nine appointments of a Lord Chancellor, on as many changes of the ministry, and seven different individuals have filled the office, of whom five are living. As a member of the Cabinet, and Speaker of the House of Lords,

he is necessarily deep in all the political controversies of the day, and his vast official influence and patronage, generally administered on political grounds, are felt throughout church and state. The Chief Justice of England is usually a member of the House of Lords, sometimes a member of the Cabinet. As a necessary consequence, on all questions of a political nature, the Court is open to the same suspicion of partisanship as in the United States, and for a much stronger reason, inasmuch as our judges can never be members of the Cabinet or of Congress. During a considerable part of his career, Lord Mansfield was engaged in an embittered political warfare with the Earl of Chatham, in the House of Lords. All the resources of the English language were exhausted by Junius, in desolating and unpunished party libels on the Chief Justice of England; and when the capital of the British Empire lay for six days at the mercy of Lord George Gordon's mob, its fury was concentrated against the same venerable magistrate.

The jurisprudence of this country strikes its roots deep into that of England. Her courts, her magistrates, her whole judicial system, are regarded by the profession in America with respect and affection. But if, beginning at a period coeval with the settlement of America, we run down the line of the chancellors and chief justices, from Lord Bacon and Sir Edward Coke to the close of the last century, it will, in scarce any

generation, be found free from the record of personal, official, and political infirmities, from which an unfriendly censor might have drawn inferences hostile to the integrity of the tribunals of England, if not to the soundness of her public sentiment. But he would have erred. The character of governments and of institutions is not to be judged of from individual men or exceptional occurrences, but must be gathered from a large experience, from general results, from the testimony of ages. A thousand years, and a revolution in almost every century, have been necessary to build up the constitutional fabric of England to its present proportions and strength. Let her not play the uncharitable censor, if portions of our newly constructed state machinery are sometimes heard to grate and jar.

With respect to the great two-edged sword, with which Justice smites the unfaithful public servant, the present Lord Chancellor (late Chief Justice) of England, observes, of the acquittal of Lord Melville, in 1806, that "it showed that Impeachment can no longer be relied upon for the conviction of state offences, and can only be considered as *a test of party strength;*" while of the standard of professional literature, the same venerable magistrate, who unites the vigor of youth to the experience and authority of fourscore years, remarks, with a candor, it is true, not very flattering to the United States, in the form of the expres-

sion, that down to the end of the reign of George the Third (A. D. 1820), "England was excelled by contemporary juridical authors, not only in France, Italy, and Germany, but *even* America." I will only add, that, of the very great number of judges of our Federal and State Courts, — although frugal salaries, short terms of office, and the elective tenure may sometimes have called incompetent men to the bench, — it is not within my recollection, that a single individual has been suspected even of pecuniary corruption.

Next in importance to the integrity of the courts, in a well-governed state, is the honesty of the legislature. A remarkable instance of wholesale corruption, in one of the new States of the West, consisting of the alleged bribery of a considerable number of the members of the legislature, by a distribution of Railroad bonds, is quoted by Lord Grey, as a specimen of the corruption which has infected the legislation both of Congress and of the States, and as showing "the state of things which has arisen in that country." It was a very discreditable occurrence certainly, (if truly reported, and of that I know nothing,) illustrative I hope, not of "a state of things," which has arisen in America, but of the degree to which large bodies of men, of whom better things might have been expected, may sometimes become so infected, when the mania of speculation is epidemic, that [illegible]ple, prudence, and common

sense give way, in the eagerness to clutch at sudden wealth. In a bubble season, the ordinary rules of morality lose their controlling power for a while, under the temptation of the day. The main current of public and private morality in England, probably flowed as deep and strong as ever, both before and after the South Sea frauds, when Cabinet ministers and Court ladies, and some of the highest personages in the realm ran mad after dishonest gains, and this in England's Augustan age. Lord Granville in reply, observed that the "early legislation of England, in such matters, [Railways,] was not so free from reproach, as to justify us in attributing the bribery in America solely to the democratic character of the government," and the biographer of George Stephenson furnishes facts which abundantly confirm the truth of this remark. After describing the extravagant length to which Railway speculation was carried in that country in 1844–1845, Mr. Smiles proceeds:—

"Parliament, whose previous conduct in connection with Railway legislation was so open to reprehension, interposed no check, attempted no remedy. On the contrary, it helped to intensify the evil arising from this unseemly state of things. Many of its members were themselves involved in the mania, and as much interested in its continuance as even the vulgar herd of money-grubbers. The railway prospectuses now issued, unlike the Liverpool and Manchester and London and Birmingham schemes, were headed by peers, baronets, landed proprietors, and strings of M. P.'s. Thus it was found in 1845, that not fewer than one hundred and fifty-

seven members of Parliament were on the list of new companies, as subscribers for sums ranging from two hundred and ninety-one thousand pounds sterling [not far from a million and a half of dollars] downwards! The proprietors of new lines even came to boast of their parliamentary strength, and the number of votes they could *command* in 'the House.' The influence which land-owners had formerly brought to bear upon Parliament, in resisting railways, when called for by the public necessities, was now employed to carry measures of a far different kind, originated by cupidity, knavery, and folly. But these gentlemen had discovered, by this time, that railways were as a golden mine to them. They sat at railway boards, sometimes selling to themselves their own land, at their own price, and paying themselves with the money of the unfortunate stockholders. *Others used the railway mania as a convenient, and to themselves inexpensive, mode of purchasing constituencies.* It was strongly suspected that honorable members adopted what Yankee legislators call 'log-rolling;' that is, 'you help me to roll my log, and I will help you to roll yours.' At all events, it is a matter of fact that, through parliamentary influence, many utterly ruinous branches and extensions, projected during the mania, calculated only to benefit the inhabitants of a few miserable old boroughs, accidentally omitted from schedule A, were authorized in the memorable session of 1844–45." *

These things, be it remembered, took place, not in a newly gathered republic, just sprouting, so to say, into existence on the frontier, inhabited by the pioneers of civilization, who had rather rushed together, than grown up to the moral traditions of an ancient community; but they took place at the metropolis of one of the oldest monarchies in Europe, the centre

* Smiles's Life of Stephenson, p. 371.

of the civilized world, where public sentiment is propped by the authority of ages; heart of old English oak encased with the life-circles of a thousand years. I was in London at the height of the mania; I saw the Railway King, as he was called, at the zenith of his power; a member of Parliament, through which he walked quietly, it was said, "with some sixteen railway bills under his arm;" almost a fourth estate of the realm; his receptions crowded like those of a Royal Prince; — and I saw the gilded bubble burst. But I did not write home to my government, that this marvellous "state of things" showed the corruption which springs from hereditary institutions, nor did I hint that an extension of the right of suffrage and a moderate infusion of the democratic principle were the only remedy.

I have time for a few words only on the "unscrupulous and overbearing tone" which is said by Lord Grey to "mark our intercourse with foreign nations."

"If any one European nation," he observes, "were to act in the same manner, it could not escape war for a single year. We ourselves have been repeatedly on the verge of a quarrel with the United States. With no divergence of interest, but the strongest possible interest on both sides to maintain the closest friendship, we have more than once been on the eve of a quarrel; and that great calamity has now been avoided, because the government of this country has had the good sense to treat the government of the United States much as we should treat spoiled children, and though the right was clearly on our side, has yielded to the

unreasonable pretensions of the United States. There is danger that this may be pushed too far, and that a question may arise, on which our honor and our interests will make concession on our part impossible."

No one is an impartial judge in his own case. If we should meet these rather indiscreet suggestions in the only way in which a charge without specifications can be met, — by a denial as broad as the assertion, — the matter would be left precisely as it stood before; that is, each party in its national controversies thinks itself right and its opponent wrong, which is not an uncommon case in human affairs, public and private. This at least may be added, without fear of contradiction, that the United States, in their intercourse with foreign governments have abstained from all interference in European politics, and have confined themselves to the protection of their own rights and interests. As far as concerns theoretical doctrines on the subjects usually controverted between governments, a distinguished English magistrate and civilian pronounces the authority of the United States "to be always great upon all questions of International Law."* Many of the questions which have arisen between this country and England, have been such as most keenly touch the national susceptibilities. That in discussing these questions, at home and abroad, no despatch has

* R. Phillimore's International Law, vol. iii. p. 252.

been written, no word uttered, in a warmer tone than might be wished, is not to be expected, and is as little likely to have happened on one side of the water as the other. But that the intercourse of the United States with Great Britain has, in the main, been conducted, earnestly indeed, as becomes powerful States treating important subjects, but courteously, gravely, and temperately, no one well acquainted with the facts will, I think, deny.

It would not be difficult for me to pass in review our controversies with England, and to show that when she has conceded any portion of our demands, it has not been because they were urged in "an unscrupulous and overbearing tone," (an idea not very complimentary to herself,) but because they were founded in justice and sustained by argument. This is not the occasion for such a review. In a public address, which I had the honor of delivering in this hall last September, I vindicated the negotiations relative to the Northeastern Boundary, from the gross and persistent misrepresentations of which they have been the subject; and I will now only briefly allude to by far the most important chapter in our diplomatic history. I go back to it, because, after the lapse of a generation, the truth has at length pierced through the mists of contemporary interest and passion, and because it will sufficiently show by one very striking example, whether

in her intercourse with foreign nations, America has been in the habit of assuming an unscrupulous and overbearing tone, or whether she has been the victim of those qualities on the part of others.

After the short-lived peace of Amiens, a new war, of truly Titanic proportions, broke out between France and England. In the progress of this tremendous struggle, and for the purpose of mutual destruction, a succession of Imperial decrees and Royal Orders in Council were issued by the two powers, by which all neutral commerce was annihilated. Each of the great belligerents maintained that his adversary's decree was a violation of International Law; each justified his own edict on the ground of retaliation, which of course as far as the neutral was concerned was no justification; — and between these great conflicting forces the rights and interests of neutrals were crushed. Under these orders and decrees,—it is estimated that one hundred millions of American property were swept from the ocean; — of the losses and sufferings of our citizens, in weary detention for years at Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty all round the globe, there can be no estimate. But peace returned to the world; time wore away; and after one generation of the original sufferers had sunk, many of them sorrow-stricken and ruined, into the grave, the government of King Louis Philippe, in France, acknowledged the

wrong of the Imperial *régime*, by a late and partial measure of indemnification, obtained by means of the treaty negotiated with great ability, by Mr. Rives, of Virginia. England, in addition to the capture of our ships and the confiscation of their cargoes, had subjected the United States to the indignity of taking her seamen by impressment from our vessels, — a practice which, in addition to its illegality even under the law of England, and its cruelty, which have since caused it to be abandoned at home, often led to the impressment of our own citizens, both naturalized and native. For this intolerable wrong (which England herself would not have endured a day, from any foreign power), and for the enormous losses accruing under the Orders in Council, the United States not only never received any indemnification, but the losses and sufferings of a war of two years and a half duration, to which she was at length driven, were superadded. These orders were at the time regarded by the liberal school of British statesmen as unjust and oppressive towards neutrals; and though the eminent civilian, Sir William Scott (afterwards Lord Stowell), who presided in the British Court of Admiralty, and who had laid the foundations of a princely fortune by fees accruing in prize causes,*

* Sketch of the Lives of Lords Stowell and Eldon, by William Edward Surtees, D.C.L. [a relative], p. 88.

deemed it "extreme indecency" to admit the possibility, that the Orders in Council could be in contravention of the public law, it is now the almost universal admission of the text-writers, that such was the case. As lately as 1847, the present Lord Chancellor, — then Lord Chief Justice of England, — used this remarkable language: "Of these Orders in Council, Napoleon had no right to complain; but they were grievously unjust to neutrals; and *it is now generally allowed, that they were contrary to the law of nations, and to our own municipal law!*"

These liberal admissions have come too late to repair the ruined fortunes or to heal the broken hearts of the sufferers: they will not recall to life the thousands who fell on hard-fought fields, in defence of their country's rights. But they do not come too late to rebuke the levity with which it is now intimated, that the United States stand at the august bar of the Public Law, not as reasoning men, but as spoiled children; not too late to suggest the possibility to candid minds, that the next generation may do us the like justice, with reference to more recent controversies.*

Thus, Fellow-Citizens, I have endeavored, without vainglorying, with respect to ourselves, or bitterness

* Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vii. p. 218: Story's Miscellaneous Writings, p. 283; Phillimore's International Law, vol. iii. pp. 250, 539; Manning's Commentary on the Law of Nations, p. 330; Wildman's Institutes of International Law vol. ii. pp. 183, 185; also, the French publicists, Hautefeuille and Ortolan, under the appropriate heads.

toward others, but in a spirit of candor and patriotism, to repel the sinister intimation, that a fatal degeneracy is stealing over the country; and to show that the eighty-fourth anniversary finds the United States in the fulfilment of the glowing anticipations, with which, in the self-same instrument, their INDEPENDENCE was inaugurated, and their UNION first proclaimed. No formal act had as yet bound them together; no plan of confederation had even been proposed. A common allegiance embraced them, as parts of one metropolitan empire; but when that tie was sundered, they became a group of insulated and feeble communities, not politically connected with each other, nor known as yet in the family of nations. Driven by a common necessity, yearning toward each other with a common sympathy of trial and of danger, piercing with wise and patriotic foresight into the depths of ages yet to come,—led by a Divine Counsel,—they clung together with more than elective affinity, and declared the independence of the UNITED STATES. North and South, great and small, Massachusetts and Virginia, the oldest and then the largest; New York and Pennsylvania, unconscious as yet of their destined preponderance, but already holding the central balance; Rhode Island and Delaware, raised by the Union to a political equality with their powerful neighbors, joined with their sister republics in the august Declaration, for themselves and for the rapidly multiplying family of

States, which they beheld in prophetic vision. This great charter of independence was the life of the Revolution; the sword of attack, the panoply of defence. Under the consummate guidance of Washington, it sustained our fathers under defeat, and guided them to victory. It gave us the alliance with France, and her auxiliary armies and navies. It gave us the Confederation and the Constitution. With successive strides of progress, it has crossed the Alleghanies, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri; has stretched its living arms almost from the Arctic circle to the tepid waters of the Gulf; has belted the continent with rising States; has unlocked the rich treasuries of the Sierra Madre; and flung out the banners of the Republic to the gentle breezes of the Peaceful Sea. Not confined to the continent, the power of the Union has convoyed our commerce over the broadest oceans to the furthest isles; has opened the gates of the Morning to our friendly intercourse; and — sight unseen before in human history — has, from that legendary Cipango, the original object of the expedition of Columbus, but which his eyes never beheld nor his keels ever touched, brought their swarthy princes on friendly embassage, to the western shores of the world-dividing Deep.

Meantime, the gallant Frenchmen, who fought the battles of liberty on this continent, carried back the generous contagion to their own fair land. Would

that they could have carried with it the moderation and the wisdom that tempered our Revolution! The great idea of constitutional reform in England, a brighter jewel in her crown than that of which our fathers bereft it, is coeval with the successful issue of the American struggle. The first appeal of revolutionary Greece, an appeal not made in vain, was for American sympathy and aid. The golden vice-royalties of Spain on this continent asserted their independence in imitation of our example, though sadly wanting our previous training in the school of regulated liberty; and now, at length, the fair "Niobe of Nations," accepting a constitutional monarchy as an instalment of the long-deferred debt of Freedom, sighs through all her liberated States for a representative confederation, and claims the title of the Italian Washington for her heroic Garibaldi.

Here then, fellow-citizens, I close where I began; the noble prediction of Adams is fulfilled. The question decided eighty-four years ago in Philadelphia *was* the greatest question ever decided in America; and the event has shown that greater, perhaps, never was nor ever will be decided among men. The great Declaration, with its life-giving principles, has, within that interval, extending its influence from the central plains of America to the eternal snows of the Cordilleras, from the western shores of the Atlantic to the furthest East, crossed the land and the sea, and

circled the globe. Nor let us fear that its force is exhausted, for its principles are as broad as humanity, as eternal as truth. And if the visions of patriotic seers are destined to be fulfilled; if it is the will of Providence that the lands which now sit in darkness shall see the day; that the south and east of Europe and the west of Asia shall be regenerated; and the ancient and mysterious regions of the East, the cradle of mankind, shall receive back in these latter days from the West the rich repayment of the early debt of civilization, and rejoice in the cheerful light of constitutional freedom,—that light will go forth from Independence Hall in Philadelphia; that lesson of constitutional freedom they will learn from this day's Declaration.

DINNER AT FANEUIL HALL.

THE DINNER

Took place as usual in Faneuil Hall, whither the City Council and its guests marched from the Music Hall, upon the conclusion of the services at that place. The interior decorations of the hall elicited general admiration, for their simplicity and good taste; the temporary aquarium, water fountain, and living flower-beds arranged upon the platform lending an unusual air of freshness to the scene.

The company being seated, a blessing was asked by Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D., and immediately thereafter the repast prepared for the occasion by Mr. J. B. Smith was laid upon the tables, and received undivided attention for nearly an hour.

His Honor Mayor Lincoln then rose and said: —

Fellow-Citizens: Again in the progress of time our great National Anniversary has arrived, and we, the people of Boston, have assembled to participate in its celebration. As the ancient Jews went up to the Temple to commemorate their sacred festival, so we have thronged this ancient edifice, our hearts filled with those joyous emotions which belong to the place and the hour.

Surely no spot in this vast Republic is more fitting for such a celebration than old Faneuil Hall. No community has richer blessings than ours, or has greater cause for gratitude to the Fathers, or is more willing to sustain those principles, and transmit them unimpaired to posterity. If we had assembled upon some of the great battle-fields of the Revolution, (appropriate it might have been,) our thoughts would have been carried back to the scenes of conflict and strife, with the shouts of the victor, and the groans and despair of the vanquished; but here we are reminded of those great principles which were discussed, those great truths of the rights of man which were here enunciated, which, carrying conviction to the hearts of the patriots, nerved their arms and inspired their courage to seek the tented field, and to lay down even their lives in defence of the liberties of their country.

The events which took place in Boston and its vicinity at the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle, are as familiar to you as your mother tongue, and it would be useless to relate them, — they have already been recorded upon the historic page, and are known to the world. But the great principles of liberty which gave them significance and importance are still in our charge. We have a filial duty of gratitude to the past, but our noblest ambition should be to keep the present up to that high standard of public equality and social privileges which was bequeathed to us by our patriotic sires.

The commemoration of this day, therefore, becomes more than a mere holiday occasion; it suggests serious reflections upon the present state of the Republic, and a most watchful scrutiny into the tendencies of the times; party spirit we would banish, partisan warfare should be hushed, as we thus meet together as brothers and patriots at a common board.

This is the sentiment which has always characterized the public celebration of this day in Boston. The public authorities, commencing in the year 1783, by the happy choice of Dr. John Warren, the younger brother of the patriot martyr of Bunker Hill, who delivered the first oration, have always endeavored to provide such an observance of the occasion as the whole people, without distinction of party or sect, could enjoy and actively participate in.

To-day, then, welcome one and all to this scene of our festivity at Faneuil Hall. We confess to some local pride for the part which our immediate ancestors took in the great struggle which we commemorate; yet, as we recollect how nobly they were supported by the people of the other colonies, all narrow feelings vanish, — we comprehend our country, our whole country, in our love and admiration. Our hearts expand with the growth of the Republic, and not only the old thirteen are embraced in our sympathies, but the whole thirty-three States, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores, are included in our fraternal embrace, and we hail their people as one and indivisible.

Let us also remember that we not only have a sacred duty to ourselves and our children, to preserve the precious inheritance which has come down to us, but that we are acting upon a stage where the whole world are spectators, and that the friends of constitutional liberty in every nation are beseeching us, in their behalf, to be true to these obligations which our position imposes.

A portion of the people of Italy at this very moment are passing through their great conflict with the minions of power, and shall we, at such a time, be recreant to duty, or falter in support of those principles which have given us a name among the nations?

It is just seven years this summer since Garibaldi, the great modern Apostle of Liberty, visited this hall, then filled with the products of American skill and industry. Is it too much to say, that the historic associations of this place, with the exhibition of useful arts which he witnessed, showing the mechanical ingenuity and thrift of a free people, did something to stimulate him to rescue his countrymen from thraldom, and give fresh vigor to that brain and arm which has recently astonished the world by the splendor of his achievements in behalf of the cause of human rights and constitutional government?

But I will forbear, fellow-citizens, from trespassing further upon your time. Let me close with indulging the hope that the festivities of this day, with all its inspiring memories of the past, — the jubilant joy and shouts of childhood in the streets, mingled with the more sober delights of the mature at the hospitable board; the martial pageant, the eloquent oration, the prayer to Almighty God for his blessing, — may bear such a record, and exert such an influence upon us, that we all shall be better fitted to discharge our duties as citizens, and jealously guard those rights which cost our revolutionary sires so many sacrifices to secure.

The Mayor concluded by offering the following sentiment: —

The Day we Celebrate — Honored by the friends of civil liberty throughout the world, as the anniversary of the grandest event of modern times; — ever to be remembered by a free people as the rich fountain of unnumbered blessings to themselves and their children.

The Chief Marshal of the day, Mr. Dyer, acting as toastmaster, then read the first regular sentiment: —

The President of the United States.

To which Hon. Richard Frothingham, Jr., responded. He said: —

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN: I thank you for asking me to respond to a sentiment in honor of the President of the United States. On such an occasion, on such a day as this, the mere mention of the office will elicit a response from every American heart; and hence the name of whoever the country commissions to be the incumbent will ever be re-

ceived with that respectful response which is worthy of an assembly of patriotic citizens. But, sir, in the present case, this great office is filled by one who for more than forty years has served his country, I am sure all here will agree, with a single regard to its best interests, with a private character unstained, and with an ability which has commanded respect in the eyes of the world. In the usual course of things, in our country, this venerable official is about to pass from the public stage; and when, as I believe, the passions and prejudices of the day shall have passed away, he will be judged worthy to have occupied the place which has been filled by a line of statesmen so able and illustrious.

Mr. Mayor, from these special considerations connected with the present incumbent, allow me a retrospect as to the past. In the splendid oration we have heard to-day, the distinguished statesman has handled Earl Grey with the same thoroughness and energy and faithfulness with which, a few years ago, he handled Lord John Russell, on vital points of international law; and in the spirit of this triumphant vindication of our country, may we not point, as proofs of the successful working of our government, to a succession of characters who have been raised to this highest office in the world, such as no European state can boast; and when we look back and see who have commanded the support and approbation of the American people, in not only the great office of president, but in other offices, — who have filled cabinet places, who have been our diplomatists, who have been governors of States at times,— the thought must impress all, that when our country has had great and vital work to do, either in the executive or diplomatic line, it has always had the good fortune to have placed in high positions the men whom it seemed Providence had raised up specially to do this work. This has been the case from the days of Washington, through all the mutations of party, down to our own time. As our distinguished friend, in one head of his oration, dwelt on the question of international law, I thought, as he told us, we obtained usually our case, not because the Earl Greys chose to regard us as spoiled children and granted us favors, but because we asked for rights and had to manage our case, in every great question, such men as Jefferson, and Hamilton, and Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster, and William L. Marcy among the dead, and among the living, such men as he to whose eloquence we have listened to-day. This is the reason why this country has been great on international law. Thus, when occasions have required the presentation of our side of questions involving the principles of American institutions, the splendid future and the manifest destiny of our country have been pointed out in a manner which the foreigner could understand, and which every American could appreciate, and which commanded the assent of the patriotic of all parties.

But, sir, others are here to speak; and in conclusion, I will only express the hope that nothing will occur to mar the nationality of the present celebration, so much in spirit like what it was in the olden time, when the fathers earliest gathered in this memorable hall to provide for the popular celebration of this great day. I think that when they first did this, when Dr. John Warren delivered the oration to which you have just alluded, — you will find in the town records a vote of a legal town meeting, to the effect that Boston instituted this celebration to keep alive the feelings and principles of the American Revolution.

I offer as a sentiment: —

Our National Holiday — Fitly commemorated when its observance widens and deepens the feelings and principles of the Revolution.

Second sentiment: —

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts — May the patriotism, love of liberty, and attachment to the Union, which have ever distinguished our fathers, be also true of us and of our descendants.

In reply to this sentiment the Chief Marshal read the following letter from Gov. Banks: —

BOSTON, July 3, 1860.

DEAR SIR: I regret that I am unable to participate with you in the commemoration of the Eighty-Fourth Anniversary of American Independence. The uninterrupted observance of this day, by the City of Boston, with appropriate and patriotic ceremonies, is a pleasant incident in the history of the city and the Commonwealth. If patriotic considerations alone were not sufficient to perpetuate this honored custom, the prosperity of the city and the happiness of its people would remind them of the sacrifices made, and the privileges secured to us, by those who pledged their fortunes, lives, and sacred honor for the independence of the nation and the liberties of the people. It is a celebration that I trust may be perpetual, and so long as the city of Boston shall stand, that the people may annually be permitted to honor the day that gave to the world a new interpretation and a nobler significance to the ideas of Union and Liberty.

I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.,

NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

His Honor F. W. Lincoln, Mayor, &c.

Third sentiment: —

Patriotism — That spark from heaven which in every age and every clime has found some bosom ready to be kindled into life and action at its touch.

Hon. John C. Park briefly responded to this toast, and concluded by giving —

Life, health, and success to Joseph Garibaldi.

Fourth sentiment: —

Garibaldi and his Companions — May the Italian patriots imitate the example of America: may our example always be worthy of their imitation.

Hon. Thomas Russell, Judge of the Superior Court, responded as follows: —

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I gladly respond to that sentiment to which every true American heart instinctively responds. It is meet that we should turn, for a moment, from our accomplished and triumphant liberty, and send a greeting to those who are struggling so bravely for the freedom of their Italian homes. But what can I say, on this theme, to you, who have just been thrilled by the silver tones and golden words of the great orator of America, the great orator of the age? Nothing could have added force to his eloquent eulogy upon Garibaldi, except the generous warmth of your eloquent applause.

You, Mr. Mayor, have reminded us of Garibaldi's visit to this spot, seven years ago. Here he saw something of the products of our American workshops, — the noblest product of all, the American mechanic. Here he learned something of that American Liberty, which, it is hardly extravagant to say, was itself the product of our American workshops; and, as he entered this hall, the majestic forms of our Revolutionary fathers might have bent from the canvas to greet a kindred spirit, — to recognize one of those

> ——— "Men whose mighty tread
> Brings from the dust the sound of Liberty."

As we read from time to time, and shuddered as we read, the atrocities of Bourbon tyranny in Italy; the judicial butcheries, which were the mockery of Justice; the lingering torments, inflicted upon men of whom the world was not worthy; the brutal horrors, which I cannot even name, — we were almost tempted to lose our faith in an overruling Providence. We were ready to cry out, in the language of the Psalmist, "Awake, why sleepest thou, oh my God?" The fit reply to our doubts would have been, "Stand still, and see the salvation of God." See even now the arm of Omnipotence laid bare for the rescue of Italy; behold the sufferings of her children made the instrument of her deliverance.

Believe me, no groan nor sigh, wrung from her dying patriots in the torture-chambers of

Naples or Palermo, was ever breathed in vain. He spends his life well, who dies for the right, whether in the van of battle or in the gloom of a dungeon. He who watches the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and counts the beatings of our thankless hearts, never suffered anything to be lost so precious as a drop of martyr blood.

You remember how Garibaldi, in the hour of Italy's despair, recruited his forces, — "I offer you hunger, thirst, want, wounds, danger, death; whoso will choose these for liberty, let him follow me," — words that might create a nation. A little band of heroes accepted these terms, but they did not come alone. When he descended from the heights around Palermo, to strike that noble blow for freedom, —

"Of which all Europe rings from side to side,"

he was attended not only by a handful of daring adventurers, legions of martyrs thronged around his standard. The dead fought for the living. In his armory were "exultations, agonies," the groans of tortured patriots, the dying prayers of heroes; all the noblest feelings of our nature; indignation against wrong; pity for suffering, admiration for courage, — these were the invincible and irresistible artillery, before which the ramparts of despotism were levelled to the ground.

And when the cruel cowards pointed their cannon against the homes and the hospitals of Palermo, sending death among innocent children and unoffending women, every shot did the errand of freedom. Now, when the tyrant crouches, in turn, before each of the great powers of Europe, and begs for aid against his revolted subjects, they answer him. even Russia, even Austria answers him, — "No, by bombarded Palermo, — no, by all your foul outrages upon humanity, we leave you to struggle alone with your risen people, alone against all the sympathies of man."

Thus once more does the blood of the martyrs become the seed of the Church of Liberty. Thus is the cause of her saints judged and avenged.

Do you ask, what can we do for Italy, except to feel for her? One thing is already done. America, first among the nations, has recognized Sardinia, in her diplomatic relations, as a power of the first class, — an act which cheered the hopes of every friend of constitutional government in Europe. And we may all feel an honest pride that this measure was proposed and carried by the Representative of the Faneuil Hall district.

I make haste to add, that he was seconded by every representative from every section; from every party, and from every section of every party.

One greater thing the American people can do for the friends of liberty in Italy and in Europe. We can daily set before them the example of a republic not only free but just; true to high motives, regardful of others' rights, jealous of its honor, radical against all abuses, conservative of every noble principle,— harmonious, progressive, united.

Each year of such national life would strike a blow upon the chains of every bondman in Europe.

And now, before we leave Faneuil Hall, let us give one thought, one grateful tear, one throb of our hearts, TO THE DEAD WHO HAVE DIED FOR FREEDOM.

Fifth sentiment: —

The Orator of the Day — To every American, Everett and eloquence are glowing synonyms.

The entire company rose and greeted Mr. Everett with nine cheers. After music by the band, he addressed the company as follows: —

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I pray you to accept my warmest thanks for this most flattering reception. I cannot make you a speech; I have left my voice in yonder hall, and if some not ungrateful impression from it still lingers in your ears, as you permit me to hope, be pleased to accept that, in lieu of a more formal address, for which at present I am too much exhausted.

I will say, however, that I feel grateful to you, Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens, for allowing me to speak to you on this great anniversary. It is what I have never done before. I have, on several former occasions, been called upon to deliver orations on the Fourth of July in other places; but though once before invited to do it in Boston, I was obliged to decline, and this is the first time that it has been my good fortune to perform the pleasing, and, as I deem it, not unimportant duty, in our beloved Boston. I shall never, in all human probability, deliver another oration on the Fourth of July, and in discharging that duty for the first and last time before you, my honored and partial fellow-citizens, I rejoice to have had it in my power to bear my humble testimony to the vitality of the principles of the great Declaration, and to the success which, in the experience of eighty-four years, has crowned the labors of our fathers who formed and adopted it.

Boston, Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens, has never allowed the day to pass unnoticed: I trust she will never do so. I feel that it is good to be here. I feel that we owe it to our fathers, nay, that we owe it to ourselves, to keep alive the associations of the day, by these rational and festive observances. I never come into this consecrated hall, without carrying away from it some thoughts and emotions, some recollections of the great men who have here imparted their lessons of patriotism and wisdom, which guide and strengthen me for the duties of life. The moral sentiments, Mr. Mayor, not armies and navies, are the weapons by which the battles of humanity are fought, and her victories won; and this hall is one of the chief armories where those weapons are stored up. The lessons we have learned from those on whose lips we have so often hung with rapture, may not find their application the next day, the next week, the next year. The ordinary duties of life furnish little scope for the great, throbbing impulses of a lofty patriotism. They may be buried for a while under the cares of life, but when the crisis arises to call them forth, they will burst into action. This miniature fountain, now bubbling up on the table before us, and scattering its dewy freshness over the flowers which surround its margin, derives its waters from the distant lake. They have flowed for miles, unseen, unheard, through darksome conduits and devious channels, alike beneath the green sod and the bare gravel. They have wound their way far underground beneath ringing pavements and through narrow streets, and here at length they are gushing up in this festal hall, to pay nature's sparkling homage to that immortal name. [The name of Washington was inscribed on the gallery in front of the fountain at the Mayor's table.]

Mr. Mayor, there is a mighty power in this place on a day, an occasion like this. Do you suppose that it was to no purpose that Joseph Garibaldi visited Faneuil Hall, (and by the way, I think, whatever may be said of the King of Egypt, "who knew not *Joseph*," that this reproach, after what we have heard from yourself and the gentlemen who have preceded me, will not lie against the people of Boston this day,—they *do* know him,)—I say, sir, when he visited this neighborhood and this hall, seven years ago, as you have told us, then a sojourner, gaining his honest daily bread by hard daily labor, did he carry away no lesson from Faneuil Hall? Has he not thought of the stirring words here uttered, while rousing his countrymen to resistance? As he has drawn his entrenchments around Palermo, has he not thought of those thrown up on Dorchester Heights? While the Neapolitan fleet is battering the palaces of the fated city, has he forgotten the undaunted spirit breathed in Washington's letter to Congress, written on the day when a hundred and thirty-four British transports landed their twenty-five thousand troops on Staten Island, while he had scarce a third of that number of efficient men and no ships to oppose them; and do you suppose he has not remembered that on that day the resolution of Independence was adopted?

Yes, sir, in our humble sphere, if in time to come the voice of the country shall call us to assert her rights and defend her dear-bought liberties, we shall do it with credit to ourselves, only in proportion as we are faithful to the associations of this day and the lessons we have learned in this hall.

Again, fellow-citizens, I pray you to accept my heartfelt thanks for this most cordial welcome.

Sixth sentiment : —

The Clergy of the Revolution — What they thought they said, and what they said they did. They did not choose to learn the duty of silence, and they had not time to learn the duty of repose.

Rev. Edward E. Hale responded as follows : —

He was always glad to hear such recognition, which he believed was the general sense of thoughtful men, of the service of any body of the clergy, who in expounding the truth, were willing to take their illustrations from the life of their own time, and to show the bearings of divine truth on the social or personal duties of their own times. It was not the fortune of the Revolutionary clergy more than of any other body of clergymen to leave a great many names widely distinguished in later times. Their reward was not in the praise of history, — their fame was not on the votive canvas. Among the portraits of patriots preserved in that hall, there was none of any of the clergy of the Revolution, — indeed the only clergyman whose features were portrayed there was the clergyman who had delivered this day's oration, standing in the group of those who listened to the words "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." The notoriety of history was not the reward which the Revolutionary clergy sought. But they had all they did seek : — the eternal influence of men who had fearlessly attempted to bring the truth of God to bear on all the relations, social or personal, of the times in which they lived.

There can hardly be a child in this land to-day, Mr. Mayor, (Mr. Hale continued.) who does not think he knows what "Independence Day" means. If it is only independence from Mr. Chief of Police's more piercing gaze, the very boy who is firing crackers under the windows thinks he has caught its interpretation. But I remember the story of an old man in the city of New London, who said that when, in 1775, he held his father's hand, listening to the farewell speech of a young lieutenant of one of the Connecticut regiments, — one Nathan Hale, — as he took leave of his townsmen, and marched for the army at Cambridge, he heard the word "Independence" from the lips of that young officer for the first time in his life. The boy whispered to his father to ask what "Independence" meant. — so new was the word, even then, to the general ear. In fact, that word had not then been in the language for many generations. For it was to the independent clergy of the seventeenth century that the language owed the word. The idea, of course, of independence, is in the Bible. But the word is not in the English version of the Bible. It is not in the whole range of the wondrous vocabulary of Shakspeare. It does not appear anywhere in English, till the men who planted New England and republicanized old England wanted a word to express the independence of the churches which they were founding. Those men gave the language the word "independent," and its kindred words, — and those were the men who at the same time were teaching the state — which did not know what it was learning — the idea of independence. The word was an ecclesiastical word first. The men who planted the Independent Churches of England and of New England were the men who through that century were teaching both countries the idea, as they taught them the very word, which makes the centre of the celebration of this day. Yet this day every church claims to be an Independent Church, — however united to its sister churches. From the lessons of such men as those were, as history unfolded, had the people of these States learned what the word independence meant, — had they caught the principles under which on the same day they proclaimed these States at once independent and united!

Seventh sentiment : —

The Press — The medium of intelligence to the masses, and the mirror of every day life — May its reflections always be truthful.

Hon. George Lunt, one of the editors of the Boston Courier, responded as follows : —

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: You open to me a very wide subject indeed; but I shall not deem it my part here to enlarge upon a topic so fertile of thought and association. I am proud to be selected as the representative, upon this occasion, of this great instrument of knowledge and civilization, — the guardian of freedom, the discoverer of truth, the promoter of right, the suppressor of wrong. For, though the newspaper press, to which I presume your sentiment more especially alludes, may certainly become perverted in part to unworthy ends, and so far vicious and mischievous, yet it is impossible that error should long and permanently prevail, when it is compared with its opposite in fair and open discussion. For in truth itself there is that inherent virtue, that it lives as a part of the source of life, — that it is therefore indestructible, and thus immortal and eternal; — and though its face may be often veiled by the cloud and the storm, yet they soon pass by, and, like the god of day, it is still seen in the heavens, serene, resplendent, and benencent, without a stain upon its glory, or a single beam of its native light withdrawn.

For, differing altogether from a recent public speaker, on this subject, I both think and feel that error is partial, but truth permanent and perpetual. Were it not so, falsehood would long ago have gained the entire victory and become universal, — men would be barbarians and society impossible. But it is not so, — for, while one exploded falsehood after another has gone to oblivion, the same moral sentiment which touched the heart of the first man, sinks as deeply into the convictions of to-day as it did six thousand years ago.

But let me say, in a word or two only, how vast a change has been wrought in social life during the present century by that great disseminator of light and knowledge, the newspaper press. Human wrong has by no means ceased, and in the advancement of society the ingenuity of vice undoubtedly strives to keep pace with the intelligence and power of virtue. And yet, what casual glance does not show that, though oppression and terror still cling to the habitations of cruelty, — yet the echoes of one voice, the concentrated remonstrance of the humaner and more enlightened sentiment of the world, now more than ever before, do penetrate the darkest of the dark places of the earth, and make the thrones of force and fraud now and forever insecure.

Without the Press, then, I say, sir, none of those progressive revolutions, the signs, I trust, of a far nobler civil state of man in the future, could have been brought about. And I need not say, that, at this moment, the two kindred nations of the world, the most conspicuously prominent in the march of civilization, — the one in the maturity of its powers and the other in the ripening promise of a dominion never before beheld by mortal eyes, — are substantially the only two which can boast of a free press. Sure I am, that in our own country, and especially in this New England, which we hold so justly dear, the influence of this irresistible means of social improvement can be distinctly traced, as definitely as the ineffaceable marks of every forward step. There is no portion of the world which bears any comparison with New England in the number and variety of its public journals. We have gained this advantage chiefly during the last half century. There can be no question that an astonishing advance has been made by us, during that last half century, in the diffusion of knowledge, and in general cultivation and refinement. And though I fear we are far from perfect, — perhaps not half so near perfection as we are sometimes inclined to boast, to say nothing of growing vices, evils, and errors, and of the prevalence of opinions which I should be glad to see changed, — yet, after all, upon any fair comparison with an equal population, I may be excused in this assembly for saying, that I deem New England the most fortunate and favored spot upon the face of the globe.

But it is as the ready and efficient means of intercommunication, in a country so vast as our own, and of keeping unbroken the electric chain of patriotic sentiment and feeling, that the press is chiefly valuable to us. So that from the heart of one people may be poured out a common stream of devotion to surround the holy altar of freedom, — and that thus the prosperity and glory of the country may be made perpetual, and thus the benign end, of Providence may be answered, and the nations of the earth be induced to follow in the footsteps of a Republican Commonwealth; to become, let us hope, as wise and noble as it is free, — it is for this generous ministration that the free press of a free country should be honored and cherished by its citizens. In correspondence with these views, I beg to offer this sentiment: —

The Union of the States — Intended by our fathers no less as a safeguard of their own liberties, than as an example and invitation to the world. God bless it and protect it, through all generations of mankind.

Eighth sentiment : —

Our Representatives in Congress — Conscientiously tenacious of the just claims of their own constituents, they as scrupulously respect the rights guaranteed to their fellow-citizens elsewhere.

Hon. Alexander H. Rice, member of Congress, responded as follows : —

Nothing could be more agreeable to me, Mr. Mayor, than to return at this festive season from a community of strangers to the familiar scenes and the cordial hospitality of a New England home, — nothing more delightful than to exchange the narrowness of sectional strife, for the liberal sentiment of this place and this occasion, — nothing more refreshing than to forget the rancor of partisan invective while listening to songs of innocent children, or to the music of that eloquence from which the imagination takes us, by easy transit, to the melody of the morning stars. Little need be added, much cannot be, to what has already been uttered here and elsewhere, to-day ; but the sentiment which has just been read, alludes, if I mistake not, to the diversity of duties which devolve upon a representative in Congress, — the duties which he owes to his immediate constituents, and those which belong to the people of a common country. And they may indeed esteem it praise, if such there be, who can with justice appropriate to themselves the language of that sentiment ; for no man enlisted in any department of the public service, need ask more of reward for his successful endeavors, nor more of solace for his failures and disappointments, than the recognition of his fidelity to his constituents, and to his country. But, sir, this twofold relation is common as well to every citizen as to the members of the National Government ; and that is but a limited and dwarfish patriotism, which, while careful of interests specially its own, neglects those which concern the honor or the welfare of the nation at large. I am reminded that it was the American *Congress* of 1776, which sent forth that immortal Declaration of Independence to which we have again listened to-day, and the anniversary of whose promulgation has been so uniformly celebrated, under municipal authority, by the people of Boston, for nearly fourscore years. Thus, indeed, will it always be celebrated, while this people cherish the spirit and emulate the deeds of their ancestors. That Declaration has revived the hope and spread abroad the love of liberty throughout the world. It was most befitting, therefore, that the same American Congress from which it emanated, still true to the sentiment of national as well as of popular freedom, should, in 1860, be the first of the great powers of the earth, as has already been indicated, to recognize the independence of the bravest and most enlightened of the Italian states. And while it has always been the source of pride and satisfaction that, years ago, Boston, through the patriotism of a portion of her people, crowned the imperial fortress of Sardinia with a Paixan gun, to assert and to proclaim its independence, it is gratifying, also, that the initiatory measures for the acknowledgment of that independence should have been made by one of the representatives in Congress from the same city. On this memorable day, Mr. Mayor, when, more than upon any other, we recall the incidents of the early struggle for our own independence, and commemorate the heroic deeds of those by whom it was achieved, we are wont to cast our thoughts to the future in solicitude for the continued unity and peace of the country.

During three fourths of a century, the grand experiment has been tested; the government has survived the vicissitudes incident to its complex organization, to the rapid increase of its territory, the multiplication of States, and the flowing tide of its mixed population ; till what was originally a small people, occupying a narrow belt upon the Atlantic, has become a mighty nation, held only by the utmost limits of the continent. All the conflicts of interest have failed to destroy its unity, the competition of the world

besides, has not checked its progress. Its authority to-day is not surpassed by the sceptres of kings; its stability is firmer than thrones; let us do our part to render its renown more lasting.

Ninth sentiment: —

The most liberal culture of all classes in the community the best safeguard, under God, for our liberties.

President Felton, of Harvard College responded. He said: —

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen: I came to town this morning, with no purpose of making a speech. I came in accordance with a rule which I adopted nearly forty years ago, to hear Mr. Everett whenever it was possible for me to do so. But you have connected the name of Harvard with a noble sentiment, as the representative of that high culture the importance of which the sentiment recognizes. Whenever and wherever the name of Harvard University is thus honorably mentioned, I shall not hesitate to respond, whether prepared or unprepared.

Sir, Harvard is not unworthy of being remembered in the midst of the glorious associations of Faneuil Hall. It is not unworthy of mention, in the presence of that name, — the greatest name in the history of man. It is not unworthy of mention in the presence of the pictured form of the illustrious departed, whose voice has so often filled these arches with his mighty eloquence.

Harvard University was founded by our Puritan ancestors coevally with the foundation of the Commonwealth. It has kept pace with the fortunes of their descendants, growing with their growth and strengthening with their strength. Our ancestors, in their struggle with the Evil Principle, knew well the importance of human learning; and they built the college, that knowledge and letters might not die out in the wilderness. With the increasing demands of society for wider culture of science and letters, the means of the college have been enlarged. Between this City of Boston, and the University, a close and mutually beneficial relation has been constantly maintained. The wealth of Boston has nobly responded to the numerous appeals we have made; and the favor has been requited by sending forth annually classes of young men, with their intellectual faculties trained, their moral natures cultivated, to do the work which each generation calls upon its educated men to perform. They are trained, also, *to obey the laws:* and in an age of wilful claims to disregard the law, and to assert the pretensions of unlimited self-assertion, this I hold to be one of the most important parts of an enlightened system of public education. He who has learned to obey, will be better fitted to rule.

Mr. Mayor, Harvard University is not wanting in patriotic memories. We cannot claim the author of the Great Declaration as one of our graduates; but the President of the illustrious assembly that adopted it was a graduate of Harvard, and for many years a high officer in the institution; and he whose eloquence, when the debate came on that involved the fortunes of ages and nations yet to come, swept all before it, and won for him the proud name of the Colossus of Independence, was a son of Harvard. Other distinguished names on the list of signers, belong to us. During the siege of Boston, the college buildings were surrendered to the soldiers of the American army for barracks: the house of the President was occupied by the officers; Washington assumed the command, and first drew his sword in the war of Independence, under the shadows of the ancient halls, and his head-quarters were assigned in the house now occupied by the great American Poet, — for many years one of the brightest ornaments of the college, — Mr. Longfellow, whose works are read wherever the English language is understood. And just at that most critical moment, when the students were compelled to retreat to Concord, — another historical name, — and to hold their literary exercises in the church of that ancient town, — the authorities of the University, assembled at Watertown, conferred on the illustrious chief the highest academic honors. Again, when the great conflict was over, and Washington was seated in the chair of state, he was welcomed to the Halls of Harvard with every mark of respect and veneration.

But, Mr. Mayor, I must not be tempted into making a speech by the fruitful theme of the service Harvard has rendered in every age to the country. I cannot help, however, adding that our University may claim some part of the honor which Mr. Everett's eloquent and unanswerable vindication of our country has conferred upon this day. Old Harvard may say to him, as Mante Cradoch said to Hope Leslie, in Miss Sedgwick's charming novel, "Did I not teach him the tongues?" His unequalled genius, which from its earliest dawn has continued to increase in brilliancy to the present moment, received its first recognition, and its youthful honors, from Harvard University.

I will not occupy more of your time. Allow me to propose a toast in accordance with the spirit of the sentiment with which you have connected the name of Harvard.

Science, letters, law, and religion, the main pillars of a free Commonwealth.

Tenth sentiment: —

The Empires of China and Japan — If our commercial and diplomatic intercourse with these "twin sisters" of the Orient be that of the most favored nations, this is chiefly due to the estimable private and public character of the able negotiators we have sent them as our representatives.

The Hon. Peter Parker, late Minister to China, responded, as follows: —

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens: I find myself for the first time within the walls of Faneuil Hall, and could I have chosen the occasion, I could not have selected one of greater interest. The object of the Anniversary we this day celebrate has been happily exp' ssed by your poet to be, to

"Chant again the deathless story,
Light another vestal fire."

Another vestal fire has this day been lighted, [referring to the Oration,] and I trust the future will reveal that the story of our Freedom is indeed deathless, and shall yet be sung by every land.

I did not anticipate being called upon for a speech, and I am not insepsible to the presumption of attempting it in this hall, where a Warren, Adams, Webster, Choate, Everett, and Felton have poured forth their eloquence; but, while I bow to their intellect and eloquence, as respects *love of country*, and admiration of patriotic sentiment, I claim these are not, and cannot be, dearer to any heart than to the one that beats within this breast.

[Indorsing the remark of the Hon. J. C. Park, that God raises up men for special emergencies.] The venerable elm of three centuries is being broken down by the hand of time, but from the same soil, other elms are coming forth whose roots will strike as deep, and their overshadowing branches will, in time, equal those of the old elm. Warren, Adams, Webster, and Choate, have passed away, but I believe the same gracious Being, who gave us them, can and will raise up others in their stead, as the exigencies of the country shall require.

In responding to the sentiment before you, I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the wisdom, moderation, and justice, which characterized the diplomacy of my predecessors and successors in the office of minister of the United States to the government of China. In doing so, I cannot refrain from referring particularly to my highly esteemed friend, the beloved brother of the orator of the day, with whom it was my honor and happiness to be associated. In his premature death, not only his country, but China, also, sustained an irreparable loss. Had it pleased an all-wise Providence to have restored the health, and preserved the life, of the late Hon. Alexander H. Everett, it is impossible now to say what had been the result of his influence upon China, and upon the relations subsisting between that country and the United States.

In the extreme East, where a large portion of my life has been spent, the doctrine of

the *divine right of kings*, has been claimed and expounded as in no other part of the world. His majesty, the Emperor of China, the late Taou Kwang, in his letter, in reply to one addressed him by President Tyler, and borne to China by the Hon. Caleb Cushing, in 1844, claimed to have received "the mandate of Heaven to rule the empire." The Chinese character, translated "to rule," from its etymology or composition, conveys to the Chinese mind something more than to rule. It conveys the figurative idea of holding the reins of government, as the charioteer guides his steeds. But startling as the statement may appear, to a certain extent, the spirit of Republicanism is as rife in China as in America. An intelligent and patriotic Chinese scholar once remarked to me, [*Te Whang Shang yu pih sing, Je she pih Sing yu Te Whang Shang.*] "*The Emperor for the people, not the people for the Emperor,*" and the obligation of the people to conform to certain articles of the United States treaty was ignored on the ground that the imperial ratification of it was made without consulting them.

When in 1837 I went in the bay of Yeddo, and the vessel in which I was, [the Morrison, returning to their homes seven shipwrecked Japanese,] for six hours, and subsequently in the southern principality of Satzuma, again for eighteen hours, was exposed to the Japanese shot, could I have then known that in 1860 I should be living and be present at the landing in Washington of a friendly embassy from the government of Japan to that of the United States, I could have asked for nothing more. But this is now history. In this contrast we have an illustration of the progress of liberal ideas going forward in the East, confirmatory of the sentiment of my Chinese friend, "the Emperor for the people, — not the people for the Emperor."

Eleventh and last sentiment: —

The signers of the Declaration of Independence — Their best monument is the history of their country, whose greatness and prosperity have resulted, in a large measure, from the sentiments and principles which they adopted for its political creed.

Mr. Samuel H. Randall, the reader of the Declaration, responded as follows: —

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The annual recurrence of the Anniversary of this sacred day, furnishes a happy occasion to revive and reinvigorate the slumbering patriotism of the country.

The swelling tide of our national prosperity, the boundless wealth of our resources, and the imperial promise of our future destiny, have almost obliterated from our minds, and driven from our thoughts, the remembrance of those early struggles, which laid the strong, deep, and sure foundation of all this marvellous and magnificent success. Eighty-four years ago, this day, a band of patriots in convention assembled, stimulated and nerved by a sense of long, weary, and heartless oppression, with every indication of perpetual absolute despotism and tyranny, to be exercised over them, and their countrymen, should they continue to submit, had the firmness and courage to throw off the shackles of slavery and shame, in obedience to their views of certain principles of right and to declare that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

The Declaration of Independence, thus made, was sustained by a desperate, yet zealous and devoted struggle. The God of battles smiled propitiously on the arms of the yeoman soldiery of the Revolution, and brought the oppressed colonies out from a state of bondage, into the glorious existence of a nation of freemen.

The existence of our nation and of our national independence, of the possession and enjoyment of the priceless blessings of liberty, being mainly, if not wholly, due to the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence by the Colonial Convention, it is fitting and proper, that as each succeeding year rolls round, and the Anniversary of the Nation's birthday dawns upon us, we should celebrate it in a becoming manner, and that those means should be resorted to which will remind us from what causes our nation had its being, who was the author of those causes, what was the issue at

stake, what the struggle and what the triumph, — to kindle our patriotism, foster our love of country, and devotion to that Union for which so much toil, blood, and treasure were expended by the revolutionary patriots of the Republic to accomplish.

It is well, too, that on this day, at least, we should bless the efforts of the noble martyrs of the Revolution, and hallow the memories of those patriots, who, after the Constitution was adopted, so skilfully, faithfully, and successfully guided the young Republic onward in its immortal mission.

And well would it be for our people, if they should pause and reflect, whether they are realizing to-day, in this epoch of our country's history, the full blessings and enjoyment of the mighty and sublime principles of the Declaration: Whether all that the efforts and success of the fathers promised us, is, by us, their children, being enjoyed, — I speak not now as a party man, for to-day is sacred to a common love, but of a truth which exists independent of party.

The struggle, eighty-four years ago, was a struggle between Independence and Slavery. The American people supposed that, when the shackles imposed on them by George the Third, the ignoble tyrant, and the despot fool, had been thrown off, the star of liberty, had risen, with healing on its wings, which was, thenceforward, to shine *only* as the beacon light of the Republic. Happy were the people in such a case; yea, blessed were the people to have had this for their hope, — but still, to-day the same struggle goes on, in these *Free* and *Independent* States, between opposing forces and contending principles; — between Liberty, the offspring of God; and Slavery, the offspring of the Devil. Need we not another assemblage of a band of patriots? Need we not another Declaration? Need we not another Revolution, — of patriots against tyrants; and will there not soon be another glorious triumph?

Have not nearly *all* the wrongs and oppressions so truly charged against George the Third and his ministry, in the Declaration, as committed against the American Colonies, been inflicted by modern administrations, in our country, upon territories that stand in the same relation to our nation that the Colonies did to Great Britain? Let the intelligence, the wisdom, the patriotism of the age, bear witness.

But, God be praised, this is a Union day, a day of national life. And although the patriot may have occasional fears that all is not well, yet the anthems our voices raise this day shall be fragrant with springing hopes of the triumphs of liberty.

> Our land, the blest garden of liberty's tree,
> It has been and shall *yet* be, the land of the free.

Let us then believe, in our heart of hearts, that our country's glorious destiny is to be realized; that the brilliant promise of its youth is to be crowned by an old age of glory. And that succeeding generations, as they celebrate the anniversaries of this day, will triumph in the full realization of those eternal principles of Truth, Liberty, and Justice, of which the bow of promise was witnessed by our fathers, and which, from its distant gleaming in the heavens, it may be permitted to our generation to enjoy. May the blessed hour of the shining of that bow come quickly to our hopes, that our Union may be in truth, as it is in name, a Union of Free and Independent States.

As a sentiment, I would propose: —

The Declaration of Independence — May the conceptions of this almost divine instrument, as entertained by the fathers of the Republic, be realized in our own and all succeeding generations.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Among the letters received by His Honor the Mayor, in reply to invitations to participate in the celebration, were the following :—

LETTER FROM CHARLES SUMNER.

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1860.

Dear Sir : I have been honored by your invitation to the approaching festival, when the City of Boston will repeat its annual vows to the support of our Declaration of Independence. Other engagements will keep me away; but be assured, my dear sir, that, present or absent, I shall unite in these vows.

Henry Clay, in the noblest utterance, perhaps, that ever fell from his lips, said that the men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, must not only blow out the moral lights around us, but must go back to the era of our Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. He saw, of course, the natural simple meaning of that National Act,—so plain on its face that all who read or who hear must understand, and he little thought that the attempt would be made so soon to muzzle the Declaration itself.

The open denial of the life-giving principle of the Declaration of Independence, now unblushingly made, in stultification of the Fathers of the Republic, renders it important that our annual celebration should be something more than a day of ceremony. The time has come when the Fathers must be vindicated. It must be shown that they were intelligent and honest patriots, who knew what the occasion required, and who meant precisely what they said; who, when announcing "self-evident truths," as the justification of Independence, were not guilty of a mere verbal flourish, and who, when solemnly claiming natural rights for ALL MEN, did not degrade themselves to the hypocrisy of meaning natural rights for a particular class or caste only. The authors of the Declaration were not idiots or hypocrites.

Were I able to take part in our annual celebration, I should be glad to speak on this theme, so germane to the occasion that it seems almost to exclude all other themes. I hope that I do not go too far if I inclose a sentiment in honor of the day. Accept my thanks for the courtesy you have done me, and believe me, my dear sir, with much respect your faithful servant and fellow-citizen, CHARLES SUMNER.

To the Hon. F. W. LINCOLN, Mayor, etc.

The Declaration of Independence—Best celebrated by a faithful adherence to its *self-evident truths*, and by constant efforts to render them everywhere of practical force,—until *natural* rights shall become *legal* rights, and *all men* shall be admitted to be equal before the laws, as they are equal before God.

LETTER FROM EX-PRESIDENT TYLER.

SHERWOOD FOREST, June 26, 1860.

Gentlemen: Your invitation to attend the celebration of the eighty-fourth anniversary of American Independence, under the auspices of the City Council of Boston, has been duly received. Other engagements, which I am not at liberty to forego, will prevent my acceptance.

I shall, however, be permitted to express my gratification at this patriotic demonstration by the "solid men of Boston," through their public councils, which is so well calculated to revive past glorious memories, when responsive echoes were given by Faneuil Hall and the Old Capitol at Williamsburg. Now that a deep veneration and attachment to the Constitution, and necessarily to the Union, seems no longer to exist with many; when the laws are despised, and their enforcement prevented by the interference of lawless mobs; when, in full knowledge of these proceedings, the State governments manifest not only entire indifference to this state of things, but give them virtually countenance and encouragement, by legislative enactments falling very little short of positive nullification of the acts of Congress, whether passed by the conjoint action of the two houses, or emanating from either in the inforcement of its rightful authority; when, in short, efforts are continually made to sever the bonds which bind the States together, which have so far succeeded as to visit the communion table, around which all should assemble in peace and brotherly love, with anger and schism: and at a time when the question of the breaking asunder the bonds of the Union (and its ligaments, I fear, are becoming daily more and more a rope of sand) is made a topic of discussion in every family circle; at such a time, and under such circumstances, it is a source of unfeigned gratification to me, that the City Council of Boston have resolved to celebrate the natal day of the great Republic after the imposing manner which it proposes. My earnest prayer is that the result may correspond with the brightest hopes and warmest feelings of the lover of our country, and its grand and noble institutions.

I have the honor to b , gentlemen,

Respectfully and truly yours,

JOHN TYLER.

FREDERICK W. LINCOLN, JR., and others.

LETTER FROM MAYOR SAUNDERS, OF LAWRENCE.

LAWRENCE, July 2, 1860.

Gentlemen: I desire to thank you for the invitation to join with you in the celebration of the 84th Anniversary of our National Independence. An engagement of the City Government of Lawrence to celebrate the day as the guests of the City of Lowell, will prevent my acceptance of your invitation, which, under other circumstances, I would gladly have availed myself of. The many obligations which the City of Lawrence owes to your City will ever be remembered and appreciated. Permit me to offer the following sentiment:

Boston—Celebrated for its early historical associations; prominent amongst the cities of America in all that pertains to the arts and sciences; foremost in the works of philanthropy: may her future success equal her present liberality.

With the highest respect, I am your obedient friend and servant.

DANIEL SAUNDERS, JR.

Hon. FREDERICK W. LINCOLN, JR., and others, Committee, Boston.

LETTER FROM THOMAS B. CURTIS.

ST. VERNON STREET, July 2, 1860.

Sir: Last year "The Glorious Fourth" was c rated by speech, feast, and song, on board the Royal Mail Steamer *Europa*, and an elegant banquet was ordered by the gallant

Commander, in honor of the occasion. The health of the Queen and the President was drunk with cheers.

I would propose now,

The health of JOHN LEITCH, ESQ.—In whom are blended the fortitude of the seaman and the suavity of the gentleman.

Respectfully offered by your obedient servant,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

His Honor F. W. LINCOLN, Chairman, &c., &c.

EVENTS OF THE CELEBRATION.

EVENTS OF THE CELEBRATION.

The Eighty-Fourth Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence was celebrated by the City Council of Boston, under the direction of a joint committee, consisting of Aldermen Crane, Holbrook, Atkins, Hanson, Faxon, Amory, and Briggs, and Councilmen Doherty, Robbins, Burgess, Webster, Burr, Henshaw, Frederick, Batchelder, Stetson, Jones, Fowle, and Sprague, to whom, by their invitation, was added His Honor Mayor Lincoln. An ample programme for the amusement and edification of the people was arranged, and was carried out in a manner altogether successful and satisfactory.

The city buildings, and the entrances to the Music Hall and to the Common, were decorated in a fitting manner by Messrs. Lamprell and Marble.

The customary salutes were fired from the Common at sunrise, noon, and sunset, and the bells of the city churches were rung at the same hours.

At eight o'clock, a grand concert was given upon the Common, by a band composed of the Brigade, Boston Brass, Germania, and Gilmore's bands, all under the direction of Mr. B. A. Burditt. A programme of ten pieces of music was performed, including "Hail Columbia" and the "Star-Spangled Banner," to heighten the effect of which the guns of the Light Artillery were introduced. The Concert concluded with "Old Hundred;" the immense concourse of people, who had been listening with gratification to the previous pieces, joining in a grand and powerful chorus.

Shortly after nine o'clock, the Second Battalion of Infantry, Capt. Harrison Ritchie commanding, marched from their armory to the parade-ground of the Common, and were there reviewed by the Mayor and members of the City Council. The graceful and soldier-like movements of the corps were much admired.

The city procession was formed at the City Hall at ten o'clock, under the direction of Micah Dyer, Jr., Chief Marshal, and twenty-five assistant Marshals. Escort duty was performed by the Second Battalion of Infantry, and the procession, headed by the Mayor and City Council, included in its ranks many of the representative men of Boston, of all professions and classes, as well as numerous distinguished strangers. The route of the procession was from the City Hall, through School, Washington, Court, and Tremont streets to the Common, around the Common upon the malls, to West Street, and thence through Tremont and Winter streets to the Music Hall.

SERVICES AT MUSIC HALL.

Long before the arrival of the procession, ladies had filled the galleries. Upon the stage was assembled a choir of about 150 girls and 50 boys, selected from the Grammar Schools. Nearly all of the girls were dressed in white, and wore beautiful wreaths of flowers, presenting a charming appearance.

Upon the arrival of the procession, the hall was crowded to its fullest extent. The exercises began with a voluntary by the Germania Band, after which the following chant was sung by the juvenile choir, under the direction of Mr. Charles Butler.

O sing unto the Lord a new song;
For he hath done marvellous things.
With his own right hand, and with his holy arm,
Hath he gotten himself the victory.
The Lord declared his salvation:
His righteousness hath he openly showed in the sight of the heathen
He hath remembered his mercy and truth toward the house of Israel;
And all the ends of the world have seen the salvation of our God.
Show yourselves joyful unto the Lord, all ye lands:
Sing, rejoice, and give thanks.

Praise the Lord upon the harp;
Sing to the harp with a psalm of thanksgiving.
With trumpets also, and shawms,
O show yourselves joyful before the Lord, the King.
Let the sea make a noise, and all that therein is;
The round world, and they that dwell therein.
Glory be to the Father, Almighty God:
Through Jesus Christ our Lord.
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be:
World without end. AMEN.

Rev. William R. Nicholson offered a fervent prayer, which was followed by the singing of the following original ode, written by A. Wallace Thaxter, Esq.

Raise the pæan! swell the chorus,
Hailing Freedom's natal day!
Let the men that were before us
Wake a new triumphal lay!
Be their true hearts and their glory
Fittest theme for minstrel's lyre!
Chant again the deathless story!
Light another vestal fire!

Though their ashes be around us
And their bones in every vale,
Ties that bind them still have bound us;
For alike the Northern gale
And the soft South breeze are sweeping
Over graves of fathers dead,
And their sons their precepts keeping
Prove "the spirit has not fled."

Northman! Southron! still be clinging
To the heirloom of your sires!
Be the watchword, "UNION" ringing
From your tongues and by your fires!
May no power but One Supernal
Ever rend the tie apart, —
Joining, in embrace fraternal,
North to South, and heart to heart!

The Declaration of Independence was then read by Mr. Samuel H. Randall. The following original ode was then sung: —

NATIVE LAND! — Our warm heart's adoration.
Once again at thy shrine we are bending,
While our voices, with glad acclamation,
Exultingly welcome the hour,
When our fathers their freedom declaring,
Braved boldly the trial impending,
Their bosoms unflinchingly baring,
Defying fierce Tyranny's power.
May the same pure and chivalric spirit
Our hearts with like fervor inspire,
And our acts show wherein we inherit
The high love of Freedom they knew;
And when mindful in oft retrospection,
Of their deeds that we proudly admire,
May the light we derive from reflection,
Make us to our country more true.

Not alone by the bells' joyous pealing,
Not alone by the cannons' glad thunder,
Shall we body the tone of our feeling
And love of our country confess;
But, quickened by new resolution,
We vow that no cause e'er shall sunder
The ties of our loved Constitution,
Or weaken its power to bless.
Still to guard it be our firm endeavor,
With more than a filial devotion,
In the hope that its Union forever
With undimming glory may stand;
And the thought of its claim must awaken
The heart's patriotic emotion,
And a faith in the future, unshaken,
For our own, our dear native land.

Hon. Edward Everett was then presented to the audience by the Mayor, and he proceeded to the delivery of his oration. During the delivery of the address, the orator was warmly cheered, and the ovation to the speaker was such as is seldom seen upon a similar occasion. At the close of the oration, the Doxology was sung by the choir, the audience rising and joining in singing the last verse: —

From all that dwell below the skies
Let the Creator's praise arise;
Let the Redeemer's name be sung,
Through every land by every tongue.

Eternal are thy mercies, Lord, —
Eternal truth attends thy word;
Thy praise shall sound from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more.

A benediction was pronounced by Rev. Mr. Nicholson, the audience dispersed, and the municipal procession was again formed and marched to Faneuil Hall to partake of the City Dinner.

REGATTA.

At noon, the City Regatta for rowing boats took place on Charles River. Prizes to the amount of $675 had been offered by the sub-committee having the matter in charge, and a board of five judges, (Messrs. George H. Braman, Charles A. Chase, S. H. Buckingham, Nathaniel McKay, and James Dingley) assisted in preparing the regulations to be observed by competing boats, and in superintending the races. Thousands upon thousands of people manifested their interest in this feature of the celebration by assembling on the mill-dam and in other available localities to witness the contests. The races commenced promptly, and were conducted in a manner which received the praise of all persons specially concerned in aquatic recreations, as well as of the general mass of spectators. The prizes were won by the following named persons and crews : —

Shell Wherries, —	M. S. Smith,	$60
" "	L. Kinsley,	25
Lapstreak Wherries, —	A. H. Clark,	60
" "	M. F. Wells,	25
Double Scull Lapstreaks, —	Doyle & Colbert,	75
" "	Daley & Wells,	30
Six-oared Lapstreaks, —	Sophomore Class of Harvard College,	100
" "	"Thetis," — Freshman Class of Harvard Coll.,	50
Six and four-oared Shells,	"Harvard,"	175
" " "	"J. Riley,"	75

BALLOON ASCENSIONS.

Three balloons were sent up from the Common in the afternoon, under the direction of Messrs. King and Allen. The ascensions were witnessed by a vast concourse of people, and proved in every respect satisfactory, each one of the three being conducted in the most skilful manner. The "Zephyrus," navigated by Ezra Allen, went up at $4\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, and landed in Waltham. The "Belle of New England," navigated by Dr. Helm was the next to go up, and landed in Mattapan. The third ascension was made by Mr. Samuel A. King, in the large balloon "Queen of the Air." He was accompanied by a lady of Philadelphia, and Mr. E. B. Haskell, reporter of the *Herald*. Their voyage was, according to the written account of Mr. Haskell, a most pleasant and successful one. The balloon rose from the Common with majestic grace, and for hours hovered about the city, floating over and near it, so as to be visible by its residents, till nearly nine o'clock. After sailing south as far as Dedham, it took a northerly course, and finally landed on a farm in the town of Groton about one o'clock, A. M. on the 5th of July.

THE FIREWORKS,

in the evening, were from the manufactory of A. Lanergan & Co.; and the pyrotechnic skill of that firm was well displayed in the varied programme which they furnished for the entertainment of the great multitude of spectators assembled upon the Common.