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CELEBRATION

658
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OF THE

EIGHTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES,

IN CHICAGO,

JULY 4th, 1862.

PRINTED BY AUTHORITY.

CHICAGO:

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On the 23d day of June, 1862, resolutions presented by Alderman J. Q. Hoyt, favoring the celebration by the City of Chicago of the coming 4th of July, were acted upon at full meeting of the Board, and unanimously passed.

In conformity to the spirit of these resolves, committees were appointed and a programme of proceedings adopted.

On the morning of the 4th, One Hundred Guns were ordered to be fired, and all the bells of the city to be rung for an hour, commencing at sunrise.

At 10 o'clock, A.M., a procession, in five divisions, was formed, officered as follows:

COL. G. S. HUBBARD, CHIEF MARSHAL.

GEO. S. BOWEN, Aid.

JOHN L. HANCOCK, Aid.

First Division.

Col. B. S. SHEPHARD, Marshal.

Assistant Marshals, GEO. A. GIBBS and _____.

- Three Batteries United States Artillery.
- Five Companies United States Infantry.
- Independent Home Companies.
- Fire Department.

Form on South Water Street, fronting on Michigan Avenue.

Second Division.

J. Q. HOYT, Marshal.

Assistant Marshals, NELSON TUTTLE and SANFORD B. PERRY.

- President of the Day, Orators and Clergymen, in carriages.
- Foreign Consuls, Ladies on horseback.
- United States Government Officers, with special escort.
- The Board of Supervisors.
- Sheriff of Cook County and his Deputies.
- Town Officers of North, South and West Chicago.
- The Mayor and Common Council, and City Officers.
- Board of Police Commissioners.
- Judge and Officers of the United States Court.
- Judge and Officers of the Superior Court.
- Judge and Officers of Cook County Court.
- Judge and Officers of the Recorder's Court.
- The Law Institute and Members of the Bar.
- Mercantile Association.
- Board of Trade.
- The Students of Rush Medical College.
- The Students of Chicago University and other Colleges.
- Young Men's Association.

Young Men's Christian Association.
 Board of Education of Public Schools.
 Superintendent and Teachers of Public Schools.
 Committee of Arrangements.

Form on Michigan Avenue, Right resting on Lake Street.

Third Division.

DAVID WALSH, Marshal.

Assistant Marshals, **JOHN COMISKY** and **J. H. DONLIN.**

St. Andrew's Benevolent Association.
 Hibernian Benevolent Society.
 Catholic Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society.
 United Sons of Erin.
 Tailor's Fraternal Union.

And such other Societies as are not in the Sigel Festival programme, to take their places as they appear on the ground.

Form on Wabash Avenue, resting on Lake Street.

Fourth Division.

HENRY GREENBAUM, Marshal

Assistant Marshals, **Ald. E. S. SALOMAN** and **AUG. BRUNING.**

H. L. RUCKER, Special Marshal for the I. O. O. F.

The "Sigel Festival" procession, as follows:

Free Turner Association.

Free Song Union.

Turner Association, West Chicago.

Harmonia Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 221.

Robert Blum Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 58.

Fort Dearborn Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 214.

Chicago Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 55.

Excelsior Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 22.

Duane Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 11.

Union Lodge, I. O. O. F., No. 9.

Germania Encampment, I. O. O. F., No. 40.

Chicago Encampment, I. O. O. F., No. 10.

Sigel National Agitation Committee on horseback.

Orator of Sigel Festival, in carriage.

Sigel Lodge, No. 4, Sons of Herman.

Chicago Lodge, No. 1, Sons of Herman.

Thomas Paine Lodge, No. 2, Sons of Herman.

Freemen's Lodge, No. 3, Sons of Herman.

Chicago Social Workingmen's Association.

Workingmen's Relief Association.

Social Workingmen's Association, 10th Ward.

Schiller Lodge, No. 4, of Druids.

Columbia Lodge, No. 5, of Druids.
 Goethe Lodge, No. 9, of Druids.
 Humboldt Lodge, No. 12, of Druids.
 Gruetli Association.
 German Tailors' Association.
 German Coopers' Association.
 German Joiners' Association.
 German Citizens on foot.
 German Butchers' Association.
 German Citizens in carriages.
 German Citizens on horse.

Form on State Street, resting on Lake.

Fifth Division.

CHARLES G. WICKER, Marshal.

Assistant Marshals, F. C. TAYLOR and J. J. RICHARDS.

The Sunday School Children in charge of their superintendents and teachers, in omnibuses and express wagons.
 The Reform School, in charge of their superintendents and officers.
 Citizens generally, on horseback or carriages.
 Citizens on foot.

Form on Dearborn Street, resting on Lake.

This Procession formed into column, proceeded through the streets designated for its march by the Committee of Arrangements, to Washington Park, where the order of exercises was as follows:

- I. Prayer, by REV. DR. EVARTS, Pastor of the First Baptist Church.
- II. Remarks, by HON. S. A. GOODWIN, President of the Day.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Citizens:

We are again assembled to do honor to the ever-memorable Declaration of July 1776. It was a declaration not only of independence, but of a previously existing *unity*, by that act transferred from Great Britain as the common Sovereign, to the new nationality of "the United States of America." It was followed by the articles of confederation of July 1778, by which the "Union" thus declared was ordained "perpetual." To render this "Union" more perfect, was the avowed object of the Constitution of 1787, afterwards substituted for the original Articles of Confederation.

We have come up hither to-day with all the imposing forms of popular demonstration, to proclaim anew our fealty to that Union,

and to the principles inscribed upon its banners. And we have come here under circumstances of grave and momentous importance to ourselves, to our children, and to the civilized world. Yonder July sun in his annual circuit never looked down upon a crisis of such magnitude. But while shining out upon a rebellion, the most stupendous crime of all the ages, that sun, too, has witnessed the unswerving, self-sacrificing devotion of a patriotic people to the Constitution of their fathers.

Meet it is and proper that here in the Queen City of the West, and from the noble young State of Illinois, and on this sacred day, should go forth a voice to animate and encourage the Government in its life-struggle, and to thank our brave sons who are baring their bosoms to the iron storm of war. It is meet and proper that here should be heard the voice of the people of the Northwest, expressing their solemn determination that this war shall not cease (no matter what foreign impertinence shall gainsay it) until the supremacy of the Constitution and obedience to its laws shall be enforced over the entire extent of these United States; and until that dear old flag which symbolizes to the nations of the earth a free and undivided Republic, shall float triumphant as the scepter of power, alike to protect and to punish, over every State and over every rood of Union soil from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

In a cause so just, consecrated by all that is holy in the memories of the past, and all that is blessed in the hopes of the future, we have a right to invoke the spirits of the departed patriots of '76 and the blessing of Almighty God.

It becomes my agreeable duty, in opening the exercises of the day, to introduce to your notice Rev. Dr. RYDER, who will read the Declaration.

III. Reading of the Declaration of Independence, by Rev. W. H. RYD

"Vive l'America," by the LIGHT GUARD BAND.

IV. Oration, by B. F. AYER, Esq.

ORATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

This is the eighty-sixth anniversary of that memorable day on which it was proclaimed by the Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

The prediction made by John Adams that the day would be celebrated by succeeding generations as our great anniversary festival, by pomp, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other, has been literally fulfilled. From the close of the Revolutionary struggle it has been set apart as a day of national festivity and rejoicing, on which, by common consent, political differences and party controversies are hushed, if not forgotten, and Americans of all shades of political sentiment are accustomed to unite in congratulations upon the great inheritance of liberty it is their privilege to enjoy, and in commemorating the patriotism and heroism of their fathers who rallied around the standard of freedom in its day of imminent peril.

We have been taught to believe that these national festivities rest upon a solid foundation. The sentiment that underlies them is of loftier significance than the indulgence of a vehement passion for frivolous amusement and boisterous sport. It is a sentiment of love and affection for the land which gave us birth. It is a sentiment of honest pride in the success of our free and beneficent government, and in the growth and prosperity of the nation. It is a feeling of dutiful respect for the lofty character and sublime moral courage of those sages and patriots who set their hands to the Declaration of Independence, and mutually pledged to each other in its support their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. It is a sincere and grateful tribute to the brave soldiers of the Revolution, for the blood they shed and the toils and sacrifices they encountered to maintain that declaration. It is a reverential homage to the intelligence, fortitude, and fidelity of the heroic leaders in that eventful struggle—to that wisdom in council and valor in war, by which the national cause was supported through every

vicissitude of fortune and all the melancholy disasters and fiery trials it had to encounter. It is a feeling of devotion to the Constitution and the Union framed for us by our fathers, which have made us great and glorious among the nations, and which duty, interest, and affection, all stimulate us to preserve. It is, finally, the desire to keep alive an earnest love of country, and to gather from the historical reminiscences which the day revives, new and fresh incentives to maintain at all times the rights and blessings which our fathers achieved for us, with a determination equal to theirs, and, if need be, with still greater sacrifices.

Such are the sentiments which should animate and unite all American hearts upon every return of this anniversary.

During the period of seventy-eight years succeeding the close of the revolution and the acknowledgment of our independence, no event occurred which greatly disturbed the national serenity, or which tended to excite serious apprehensions as to the success of our great experiment in self-government. We had, it is true, met dangers, but we had overcome them. Clouds had occasionally obscured for a brief season our political horizon, but they had rolled away. Doubts had been awakened, in seasons of political contention and excitement, as to the durability of our federal system; but as the Union continued to flourish and diffuse its benignant blessings among all the people it clasped in its wide embrace, those doubts had rapidly given way to a general and abiding confidence that the great conservative and preservative principles of the American character, which had proved a sufficient support to the government through all the difficulties it had yet encountered, would also prove a sure reliance against all the follies and excesses of the future.

First among these great conservative principles was the apparently *strong and ardent attachment of the people of the United States to the Federal Union.*

This feeling, until within a recent period, was shared by the people of all the States. Though stronger, perhaps, in some quarters than in others, it was still confined to no section. East, West, North, and South, upon this subject, the great body of the people appeared to be of one heart and one mind. It was a feeling resting

both upon sentiment and a clear conception of their material interests. The abundant blessings of the Union were everywhere seen and felt; the evils of separation were obvious and startling.

If a band of hot-headed conspirators, urged on by an unholy ambition and the love of power, have lately succeeded, for the time, in stifling this feeling throughout a portion of the South, it is nevertheless true that the importance of preserving the Union is as vital now as ever before, and the consequences of separation are no less hideous and appalling.

The importance of this subject, in view of the present condition of public affairs, will be a sufficient apology, I trust, for devoting, upon the present occasion, a brief space to its consideration.

The foundations of the Union were laid at an early period of our colonial history. The idea of forming a perpetual confederacy of the British colonies in America was suggested by William Penn as early as 1697. In 1754 the idea was revived by Benjamin Franklin. On the 19th of June of that year, commissioners from seven colonies assembled at Albany to concert measures of defense against the French. Before separating, they agreed upon a plan of perpetual union which Franklin had matured. It proposed that the legislatures of the different colonies should elect triennially a grand council to consist of forty-eight members. This council was to meet once a year to regulate all questions of peace or war with the Indians, the affairs of trade, and the purchases of land outside the limits of particular colonies. It was to organize and temporarily govern new settlements, to have control of men and money, and enact general laws not inconsistent with the British constitution and acts of Parliament. It was to have at its head a governor general, appointed by the crown, who should possess a veto power on all acts of the council. This plan, which bears a very perceptible resemblance to the basis of our present Constitution, was rejected by the board of trade in England as too democratic, and was never put in operation. It furnishes, however, conclusive evidence that at this early period the importance of establishing a general government for certain great purposes, in which all the colonies had a common interest, was being felt and agitated throughout America.

In 1765, when the passage of the stamp act had roused the spirit of resistance throughout the colonies, that "inspired madman," as he has been styled, James Otis of Boston, advised the calling of an American Congress, for the purpose of deliberating upon the acts of Parliament. His suggestion was approved by the legislature of Massachusetts, and circulars were sent to every assembly on the continent. The first colony to respond to the call was South Carolina. In October of that year, delegates from nearly every colony assembled at Philadelphia. The union spirit of that day may be seen in the patriotic exclamation of one of the South Carolina delegates—the noble-hearted Christopher Gadsden. "There ought to be," he said, "no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent; but all of us Americans." About this time the patriots started a new paper in New York, with the motto "Join or Die." "Join or Die," says Bancroft, "was echoed from one end of the continent to the other." On the last day of the session the delegates to this Congress "set their hands to the papers," says the same historian, "by which the colonies became, as they expressed it, 'a bundle of sticks which could neither be bent nor broken.'" It was this assembly, writes John Adams, that "raised the hopes of the people to a union of the colonies, to be accomplished and perfected by future more universal congresses, for their defense, protection, and security."

In 1774, on the 5th of September, the first Continental Congress, so called, convened at Philadelphia. Patrick Henry was there, and spoke for Virginia. After recounting in a glowing speech the wrongs inflicted upon the colonies by acts of Parliament, he insisted upon the necessity of union. "British oppression," he exclaimed, "has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American."

The second Continental Congress met upon the 10th of May, 1775, three weeks after the battle of Lexington. Measures were soon taken by that body for organizing the American continental army, of which George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. In July, 1776, this Congress proclaimed the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, in the first sentence of which the people of the colonies are referred to as "*one people*," and in the closing paragraph it is solemnly published and declared that "these *united* colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

The fervent hope expressed by Otis, ten years before, for union — union that "should knit and work into the very blood and bones of the original system, every region as fast as settled," seemed now accomplished. The citizens of the different colonies, when they threw off their subjection to the British crown, however divided into different governments for local purposes, became a united people — united in the same principles, in the same system of action, and under one recognized national organization. The Union thus effected was afterwards consolidated by the Articles of Confederation, in which it was specially provided that "the Articles of Confederation should be inviolably preserved by every State," and that "the Union should be perpetual." This form of government proving from its inherent weakness wholly inadequate to the purpose for which a general government was required, in 1789 there was established in its place, "in order to form a more perfect Union," as announced in its very first line, the present Constitution of the United States.

The brief retrospect I have now taken of these interesting events distinctly shows that the importance of concerting some plan for a strict and intimate union of the colonies for the purposes of general welfare and defense, was felt at an early period in our colonial history. In 1775, when the conflict began with the mother country, the accomplishment of this object could no longer be deferred. The grand result, which the great men of the revolution had been striving for ten years to attain, was at length realized. Through its agency the colonies were enabled to combine their strength and resources, so as to interpose a successful resistance for seven years, to the persistent attempts made by Great Britain to reduce them to subjection. When the war had terminated, the necessity of union was scarcely less urgent than when it commenced. Notwithstanding some diversities of habits and character, upon most points the people of the different States had a common sympathy and interest. They had an interest in preserving peace

with each other; in protecting themselves from foreign intrigues and aggressions; in maintaining freedom of trade and commerce between themselves; in the establishment of manufactures; in providing for the national debt contracted during the war; in establishing treaties and pacific relations with foreign nations and the Indian tribes; and numerous other general measures and principles relating to the common welfare and security.

The conviction, therefore, of the imperative necessity of perpetuating the Union so happily begun, was no less general or profound upon the restoration of peace, than it had been at the breaking out of hostilities. And what, let me ask, are the lessons taught us upon this subject by subsequent experience? Have we found the Union to be a curse and a burden? Or has it proved to every section, State, and district in this broad land, a priceless boon and inestimable blessing? There is but one possible answer to the question. It is found in everything you can see and hear around you. In whatever direction you turn your eyes, to whatever part of the country you may direct your steps, you get the same sure and quick response. You find an answer here as you turn your eyes upon this great city, raised up as if by magic under the kindly and genial influence of our Federal system. You have the same answer from those broad prairies beyond the city, but lately yielded up to agriculture and now covered with the richest harvests. There is no community on earth which should have so distinct a conviction as our own of the blessings of national unity, and of the evils of separation. Seventy years have hardly passed over us since the adoption of the Constitution. In that time, the original thirteen States, at first thinly peopled, weak, and almost exhausted in available resources, have grown up to a great and powerful nation. Half a continent has been redeemed from savage wildness, and a civil polity established over it, in which the idea of civil and religious liberty has been realized to a degree that in other countries has never yet been dreamed of.

But the perpetuation of the Union is a matter of vital importance, not merely as the source of incalculable material benefits and pecuniary advantage to every part of the country, but also as the only possible security we can have against mutual jealousies,

and the fierce and implacable enmities that must inevitably and perpetually arise between the different fragments of the confederacy, if broken into separate and rival communities.

To say nothing of the impossibility of agreeing amicably upon any line of partition, and the angry and vindictive feelings which would grow out of a forcible separation, there are to be found in our peculiarities of disposition and temperament as a people, many and fruitful causes of perpetual hostility. The people of this country are remarkable for their restless spirit of enterprise and competition, and if divided into separate nations, this spirit would inevitably lead to perpetually recurring difficulties and collisions, to be followed by cruel and destructive wars. Profiting by our jealousies and animosities, the nations of Europe would be constantly intermeddling in our affairs, until finally, through their intrigues and our jealousies of each other, we should be compelled to seek a refuge from our own contentions, either in a military despotism or a vile dependence upon a foreign power.

In view of these considerations — considerations in comparison with which all other political questions sink into insignificance — it is not strange the American people should have generally cherished an ardent attachment to the Union of these States. Our character abroad, our welfare at home, and the very existence of our free institutions, depend upon its preservation. It has raised the nation to power and fame. It has realized all, and more than all the hopes of its great founders; and if not shamefully and treacherously stricken down, is sure to bring about results in the not very distant future, before which all the glories of the past will fade away.

There is involved then, in the present tremendous struggle for the conservation of the Union, a cause as great and noble as ever stirred the hearts of patriots. Religion, civilization, freedom, and humanity — the voices of the dead — the voices of the living — and the voices of posterity, call upon us to repel the assaults of those who, false to their oaths, false to their country, and false to mankind, are now seeking its destruction.

Intimately associated with this feeling of attachment to the Union, of which I have spoken, there is another principle in which

Americans in general have heartily agreed. I mean, in a sentiment of *reverence and devotion to the Constitution of the United States*.

If the Union is the object of their first love, they know it can only be maintained by a faithful adherence to the federal compact. This instrument may have some defects, for we can expect to find perfection in no work of human hands. It encountered some difficulties and opposition at its birth, but its practical operation, as a system of government adapted to our peculiar situation and wants, was so happy and satisfactory, that it soon won the general favor and affection of the people, and has been for more than half a century justly regarded as a model government.

The more carefully it is studied, the higher will be our admiration of the wisdom, genius, and patriotism of the great men who devised it, and the stronger our determination to cling to it as the sheet anchor of our liberties.

To form an efficient system of government, republican in form, and adapted to a country of great extent and wide diversity of climate, embracing within its limits thirteen distinct and essentially sovereign States, greatly differing from each other in size, wealth, and population, whose customs, manners, and habits were so various, and whose interests were not precisely identical, was obviously a task attended with formidable difficulties.

The old Confederation was little more than a league or compact between the States in their corporate capacities, and, from the inherent weakness of the central power and want of means to enforce its authority, proved utterly inadequate to secure the objects for which a general government was required. The attachment of the people to their own local institutions and State sovereignties was an insurmountable obstacle to a consolidation of the States and the institution of a single central authority over the whole; and such a system, besides, was justly considered as not adapted to a nation of extensive territory and large population. One plan only remained, namely, a mixed system, combining, to a certain extent, the peculiarities of a federative republic and of a single consolidated government. It was upon this plan that the present Constitution of the United States was matured. It estab-

lishes an efficient national government inseparably connected with the State institutions, so that the two united form but a single system and one government. The powers of government are divided. The central authority within its jurisdiction is supreme. To it are confided those powers which appertain to commerce and foreign affairs, and those which more immediately concern the whole body politic, while the local and domestic concerns of the people are in general regulated by State legislatures.

The powers conferred upon the General Government are limited and specifically defined, and all powers not expressly granted or necessarily implied, are reserved to the States or the people. In this division or separation of the active powers of government, consists the great excellence of our system. If there were but one source of legislation in a nation so extensive as ours, the local interests and wants of the people would be frequently disregarded, and could not be properly provided for. Measures adapted to the situation and circumstances of particular States or sections would be wholly unsuited and unacceptable to others. This would necessarily lead to civil dissensions and disorders; and to guard against the dangers of anarchy, the government would require a degree of authority and energy dangerous to the liberties of the people. In the system under which we now live, these objections are entirely avoided, and it has proved admirably adapted to our peculiar circumstances. It rests, like our State governments, upon the sovereignty of the people, and recognizes them as the only legitimate source of all human authority. It is founded, says a judicious writer, "on the most popular principles and the most pure republican forms, yet adapted to any extent of territory, or any aggregate of population; which consists of numerous members, or separate republics, and at the same time of one people and one government; which embraces democratic principles without the evils of a democracy—republican principles without the difficulties or restrictions, either as to territory or population, of the republican form; and confederative principles without the evils of a confederacy; which is complicated without tardiness or discord; popular without anarchy; which affords the greatest security to the liberty of the citizen without weakness to the

government, and possesses sufficient energy without being dangerous to liberty." "It is," says La Fayette, "a vast monument raised to Liberty—a warning to the oppressor and an example to the oppressed throughout the world."

The experience of more than seventy years has clearly shown that this system of government is not only fully adequate to the purpose for which it was designed, but that it has also singularly commended itself to the favor and affection of the people. Under its benign operation our domain has been extended across the continent until it now stretches from sea to sea. From three millions of people we have multiplied to thirty millions. In navigation, commerce and manufactures and the application of science to the useful arts, our progress has been equally striking. The means of education have been everywhere bounteously provided. Everywhere industry has met with an adequate return, and plenty smiled at every fireside. In a word, there is no land under the broad canopy of heaven where the people have enjoyed so large a share of rational liberty, or been blessed with such plenteous prosperity as in the United States of America. We have had, it is true, our seasons of political excitement and contention. Often the clamors of party have been exceedingly fierce and violent. Sometimes the subjects of controversy have been difficult and delicate; but until the country was startled by the present rebellion, all our differences have been submitted to the quiet arbitration of the ballot, and the controversy has terminated at the polls.

Parties exist in some form in all governments, but in those of a popular character, party spirit assumes a peculiar virulence. It is fed by motives which never tire and passions which never cool. It is one of the prices which man must pay for the boon of freedom. So long as human nature shall continue what it is, and ambition, avarice and the love of power shall dwell in man's bosom, political warfare will never end. As a check or restraint against its excesses, we have resorted in this country to the form of written constitutions, in which the powers of government are strictly limited and defined. This is especially true of the Constitution of the United States. It is a delegation of power for

certain specific objects, the extent of which is explicitly defined, and the manner of its exercise prescribed.

It is obviously essential to the harmonious working of such a government, that the federal authorities should never assume the exercise of powers which the Constitution does not confer. Every departure from this principle tends to impair the confidence of the people in the value and durability of the federal system. All measures which look like an encroachment or aggression upon the reserved rights of the States are sure to excite popular jealousy, and frequently provoke passionate and acrimonious controversy. The institutions and laws of the different States, growing out of their reserved rights and powers, are wholly beyond the control of the general government. Not only is the right to intermeddle with them not given by the Constitution, but it was designedly withheld. Possessing no power over the subject, the General Government is released from all responsibility. It is, therefore, among its first duties to abstain from all such interference. Every violation of this principle is an infringement of the national compact, and if persisted in will have a fatal tendency to loosen and rupture the Union.

There is another principle, of scarcely less importance, which ought not to be lost sight of in the administration of our federal system. Its legislation should be just and equal in its effects upon all parts of the country. There should be no partiality or favoritism towards any section, but the whole nation should enjoy, as far as possible, in an equal degree, the benefits as it also bears the burdens of the government. Above all, the government should be administered in the same spirit which gave it birth. It was the result, says Washington, "of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable." If this principle shall ever be wholly discarded, our Union will be nothing but "a connection without harmony; a bond without affection."

The suggestions I have made respecting the nature and practical administration of our republican system would be obviously incomplete, without some reference to the remedy provided in case of any hasty, or, if you please, any willful departure by the

national legislature from constitutional limitations. It is not to be expected, considering the wide dissimilarity of views which prevail upon most public questions and the great and fertile sources of political contention in this age and country, that every act of Congress should be entirely perfect or free from constitutional objections. Infractions of the Constitution will sometimes occur; but the system of government framed for us by the sages of the Revolution is not so fatally defective as to have failed to provide for such cases an adequate and appropriate remedy. It has created an independent judiciary with power to pass upon all cases arising under the Constitution and Laws of the United States. If the constitutional validity of any law be doubted, here is a tribunal appointed for the peaceful settlement of the question. What greater security is it possible to provide—what more effectual protection can any one ask—against an invasion of fundamental rights?

The odious doctrines of nullification and secession have no foundation in the Constitution of the United States. They are at war with the very existence of free government. They are destructive of all political rights, and lead only to civil convulsions, anarchy, and despotism.

I have thus endeavored to delineate the main features of that fair fabric of republican government under which it is our happiness to live. Let us not estimate it too lightly. It has made America "the glory of all lands." It is the beacon light on which is fixed the eye of struggling humanity. It is our own glorious and precious birthright. Let it descend, as we have received it, to posterity.

In addition to those principles of devotion and obedience to the Union and the Constitution, to which I have adverted, there is another principle in our system equally well established and quite as important. It is that of *submission to the will of the majority when fairly expressed in the legal forms.*

Upon this topic I have not time to dwell. *Our* principle of government is the rule of the majority, and it is quite evident there is no other foundation on which republican government can rest. If we have bad laws, our remedy is to get them repealed; if bad rulers, to turn them out. An appeal from the ballot to the bullet,

to use the expression of the President, is a new principle lately imported into American politics. It is the putrid growth of Mexican and South American soils, and if suffered to take root will spread mildew, decay, and death throughout the land.

Fellow citizens, the topics I have now discussed are none of them new, nor can I pretend to have treated them in any novel manner. They cannot be regarded, however, as wholly inappropriate to the day, nor, in view of the present condition of our distracted country, as unworthy of consideration.

We are engaged in an eventful conflict. The national government is struggling to maintain an existence. A combination of eleven States is arrayed in open resistance to its authority. The object of the conspiracy is to subvert the Constitution, and, in the words of the lamented Douglas, "to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe."

The government had committed no aggression upon their rights — it had been guilty of no oppression — it had not even the power to harm them, if it had possessed the inclination. They asked of the government redress for no injuries, for they had suffered no injuries from it of which they could complain. They had enjoyed from its foundation, equally with us, all the advantages of the Union, and had sustained no more than their share of its burdens. They had been admitted to an equal participation in its administration, and had enjoyed a disproportionate share of its honors and emoluments. In shaping its policy, their views had been generally adopted, and in no instance had any measure of public importance been carried against their protest.

The pretexts for their rebellion are numerous. I have no time to discuss them. It is sufficient to say, that some of them are unfounded, many of them frivolous, and all of them fall far short of furnishing either justification or excuse for the atrocious conspiracy which has already bathed a continent in blood.

The nature and magnitude of the interests at stake, have been already indicated. It is a death struggle for Constitutional Liberty and Law. It involves the welfare of present and unborn millions, on the decision of which hangs the destiny of America, and in that the destiny of the world.

But let no man despond. There is strength as well as patriotism enough in the loyal people of this country to crush out this treason, and make its authors a warning example to lawless ambition to the end of time. There is nothing in our prospects which should depress our hearts or unnerve our arms. We have already accomplished much; and the war will go on until the American flag shall again wave over every foot of American soil.

The union will be preserved and the laws maintained and executed. "We will save it," to use the vigorous language of Webster, "for our own sakes — for the sake of the country — for the honor of free government — and even for the benefit of those who seem ready with ruthless hand to tear it asunder."

We wage against them no war of aggrandizement or aggression. We seek the destruction of no constitutional rights. It is a war for the integrity of our government — for the preservation of the Constitution, and the re-establishment of the Union.

Prosecuted in this spirit and for these objects, it will continue to receive, as it is now receiving, the hearty and courageous support of every true American. It will also receive, as we reverently believe, the favor of that divine and overruling Providence that "holds the nations in the hollow of his hand."

Let us then take courage. God did not create this fair land to be the theatre of unceasing anarchy and strife. The rebellion will be subdued; and the lost stars which have shot so madly from their sphere will yet glisten again in the glorious galaxy of the Union.

The nation's mission is not yet accomplished. The hand of a great destiny beckons us on. If just to ourselves, our future will be no less glorious than our past. The government will gather stability with age, and remote generations continue to rejoice in the return of this anniversary.

" Here, empire's last and brightest throne shall rise,
And peace, and right, and freedom, greet the skies."

"Star Spangled Banner," by THE BAND.

V. Poem, by GEORGE W LIAM PETTES, of Boston.

P O E M .

Hail! watchers on Ohio's tide,
Or where Potomac still is free,
Where proud Missouri's waters glide,
Where Narragansett seeks the sea;
With one accord your voices raise
O'er all this Land of Liberty,
And render thanks and prayer and praise
For this our day of Jubilee.

Give honor to our patriot sires,
Their history is our own, and Fame's;
They kindled Freedom's altar-fires,
Eternal glory gilds their names;
And twine a wreath to bind the brow
Of brothers now in battle's strife;
And wave the sacred cypress bough
O'er those whose country claimed the life.

Remember him, who left the home
Of luxury and love and power,
And hastened o'er the Atlantic's foam
To aid in Freedom's trial hour.
Oh! not till earth shall cease to move,
Till the last star of heaven has set,
Shall freemen's hearts forget to love,
To bless the name of Lafayette.

Then gather in the council hall,
Or 'neath the shade of spreading tree,
Or near the crystal waterfall,
Or in the vale, or on the lea;
And tell of deeds of zeal and might,
Of battles fought, of victories won,
And quaff in waves of ruby light
"The memory of Washington."

And this is Freedom's birth-place, and this day
Shall Freedom's votaries loyal homage pay
At her bright altars. Years in swift decay
Have passed, and told no foe in armed array.

When the brave heralds of our country's youth
Waved proud defiance in the name of truth,
To the red cross, whose signal on the sea
Was but another name for tyranny,
The Indian watch-fire cast its fitful gleam,
The Indian arrow spanned the crystal stream;
Then played the blaze about the cannon's mouth,
Then rang the trumpet-call from North to South.
Jasper the rescued flag once more unrolled,
And "duci strenuo" graced the gift of gold,
And lords, made noble on a princely plan,
Submissive bowed to Nature's Nobleman.

Then peace, the lotus-crowned, would reign alone,
But impious foes again approached her throne.
List, for on yon bright bay a quivering lip
Shall speak forever "Don't give up the Ship!"
Wreaths for *his* memory, bring flowers, choice flowers,
Who "met the enemy and they are ours."

And now the land by Heaven ordained to be
The home of art, the temple of the free,
Proud of her patriot wreaths, her conqueror scars,
Casts from her brow the brazen crest of Mars.
No flag shall menace now; no cannon's breath
Shall quick precede the messenger of death;
In her own realm her self-appointed lords
Shall share her honors, wear her rich rewards.

Franklin besought a spark to leave the sky
For he its rare material would spy;
Unlocked its casket with a bended wire,
And read his name in characters of fire.

Then darkness seemed to hover in the air,
As night glooms blacker in the rocket's glare ;
Inventive genius rent the shadowy robe,
And flung her electric net-work round the globe.

The mighty empire in one Union grew,
As States dependent, independent too.
Broad Indiana beckoned from afar,
And she whose banner wears a single star ;
But first on Ceres' robes, with pride elate,
Glowed the bright jewels of the Prairie State,
And elder sisters hailed their western queen,
Whose heart was noble as her fields were green.
Then, older grown, she learned their kind behest,
Welcomed the wanderer to the fertile West,
For on her shores the Stars and Stripes unfurled
Gleamed on the river that divides a world.

War once again. Alas ! a nation's life
Fears less from alien than from civil strife.
Men of the South, in bitter, burning hate,
Would crush old order, and a new create.
Rebellion rears her head, Secession waits
To march in triumph through the golden gates.
"To arms !" our chieftain calls, nor calls in vain,
Swiftly the columns haste to battle plain,
Art yields her votaries, Literature her sons,
Commerce her kings, Science her favored ones.
From yonder mountain crowned with winter's snows,
Where cataracts leap, where Mississippi flows,
The hosts advance, and solid phalanx deep
The martial step to Freedom's music keep.

Long have we sat beneath the tyrant's power,
Too meekly borne the insults of the hour ;
Hark to the echo of that fearful blow,
By Cataline dealt, received by Cicero.
Unlike the thunders which, from peak to peak,
Loud when at first from threatening clouds they speak,

Fall faintly, when the sun in radiant car
 Quells the harsh din of elemental war;
 Unlike the shouts of men, the cannon's roar,
 Whose deepest boom is lost upon the shore;
 The echo of that blow shall live for aye,
 Though thrones shall crumble, empires shall decay;
 Neptune's great ocean never can wash clean
 The scarlet drop which marks the tragic scene.

Shall freemen for their rights united stand?
 Shall peace and plenty bless our native land?
 We list the answer from New Hampshire's hills;
 With the true spirit broad Ohio thrills;
 Old Massachusetts lifts her lofty voice;
 Young Iowa's prairies in the notes rejoice;
 From Kansas plain the joyous echo rings,
 "Ours the *free* charter from the King of kings."

Break we the sterner rhyme, for there are words
 We fain would speak, and not to solemn chords;
 When once again old Britain calls "beware!"
 The jocund measure is our only wear.

Great country is England; great country is France;
 Too mighty to *join* in a popular dance;
 Since one or the other will certainly prance
 Out of the step, and betray by a glance
 Its envy of rival position.

So the royal displeasure is quietly nursed;
 Although on each other are favors disbursed,
 The one ardently wishes the other was cursed,
 For then the survivor would be the first
 In all European tradition.

Johnny Bull is a selfish old fellow at heart,
 Who never was known to take any one's part,
 Unless golden traffic was brought to his mart
 In payment for practice of gunpowder art —
 (A logic contemptibly rotten.)

He forgets all the speeches in Parliament made
Commending Columbia to stay the slave trade,
And, emerging at length from his deep ambushade,
Regards with a frown a peculiar blockade,
And contends that the negro is handsomely paid
To act as a prop where the timbers are laid,
Down which on the patent confederate grade
The South may deliver her cotton.

But Louis Napoleon sits in his chair,
And watches the lion who chafes in his lair,
And knots the red ribbons his eagles shall wear,
When quick at his bidding a message they bear
Whose purport may not be mistaken ;
You may scoff at some movements of his, if you please,
Of a retrograde order from Italy's seas,
But if he takes snuff every monarch shall sneeze ;
He's the first man in Europe by many degrees,
And should he decide to relinquish his ease,
And call on his neighbors to fall on their knees,
Some thrones would be terribly shaken.

Now it happened of late that some demagogues chose
To disturb our Republic's respectful repose,
And deal at its standard most desperate blows,
When the lovers of freedom in majesty rose,
And resolved by their votes wicked men to depose,
Which course made the scoundrels audacious ;
Their fingers were out of the treasury box,
And their influence gone, when the popular vox
Declared that these breakers of leagues and of locks,
These stealers and squanderers of national rocks,
Should be sent to their homes in the regions of Nox,
Far away from the people veracious.

Then Davis, the outcast, and Stephens, the rich,
And Beauregard, weak from the loss of a stitch,
And Maury, whose tow-line had taken a hitch,

And Pillow, exhumed from the dirtiest ditch,
 And Floyd, the great thief, and as many more *sich*
 As would join the degenerate faction,
 With the guns they had taken, the treasure they stole,
 Thought to take or to win the Confederate goal,
 At the loss of all honor, all valor of soul—
 (They think no more of these than they do of parole,
 Or of any commendable action.)

But the gallant McClellan is still in the field,
 And Burnside o'er Beaufort has lifted his shield,
 And Halleck a sword or a scepter can wield,
 And Butler makes laws which may not be repealed,
 Though spiced somewhat rich with reform,
 And our brothers are shouting, with victory elate,
 For this Day of the Free, for this Land of the Great,
 While officered bravely our staunch Ship of State,
 With Lincoln as captain, and Seward as mate,
 Shall triumphantly ride through the storm.

(Our zeal, for an episode opened the door;
 Be lenient, the spirit shall wander no more)—

Johnny Bull must be posted if we are at war,
 Not caring to know what contention is for,
 Not seeing the need of upholding the law,
 But only intent as to when his own paw
 May be prudently used in the tussle;
 So the London *Times*, pretending *per se*,
 Gets a suit of new clothes and a fresh L. L. D.
 All ready for him who is soon to be
 On his way to the Land of Liberty,
 Where men are brave, and speech is free,
 And nobody minds such toadies as he,
 Mr.— what d'ye call him—Russell.

“Now cotton is king,” says the London *Times*,
 “We are very sorry for slavery's crimes,
 And when it is dead we will ring our chimes,

But *now* we must keep a look-out for the dimes,
 You know the beginning of charity;
 So, Russell, go southward as soon as you can,
 And kiss every woman and hug every man,
 Who stand in their strength 'gainst the horrible plan
 Which puts on the shipment of cotton a ban,
 And if niggers are sold, you must hold up your fan,
 That you may not behold the barbarity."

Now the Western World will soberly hint
 That Russell may write, and the *Times* may print
 Whatever they please without measure or stint,
 (We have his last letter, there's nothing in 't
 Worthy of serious mention,)
 But if England seeks to make demand,
 Why Union men together stand,
 To cleanse and purify the land,
Her neighbor may desire a hand
 In the game of great pretension.

And the Western World will also say
 That if England cares to come this way,
We shall ask no aid in the deadly fray;
 The nations *may join her* in battle array,
 And shout their monarchic hosanna;
 We shall welcome their bayonets, one and all,
 For we've some dozen millions of men on call,
 Who are ready to fight and willing to fall
 'Neath their country's glorious banner.

But we hear in the future the century's knell,
 And Freedom was victor, and Tyranny fell
 Wherever the Angel hath written so well
 The deeds of Columbia's story.
 If Charity counseled no comment to save
 Of the traitor who filled an iniquitous grave,
 Still, still shall the record remember the brave,
 As forever the Star-Spangled Banner shall wave
 In ail its original glory.

Honor to all whose lyre or sword, or tongue
Hath told, or swiftly earned, or loudly rung
What just advancement claims. The world is young,
And her true love notes may be yet unsung.

I have no word for heroes. Let the deeds
Of him who lives, or dies, or fights, or bleeds,
Report him truly. Let the place he guards
Forever chronicle well-earned rewards,
As rugged rocks that belt the Grecian pass
Repeat the story of Leonidas.

Yet let me claim one little moment more,
Ere the poor labor of the bard is o'er,
So will I show two portraits, drawn from life,
And both of actors in unholy strife.

And first the recreant traitor — he you *know*.
Not he who rides and charges with the foe,
But one who uses place to give him aid,
Then skulks aside, of honest men afraid.
One of the pseudo-sentimental tools
Who jostle statesmen to make way for fools;
Who softly says, " 'T is pity that we fight,
And yet I *think* the North is in the right;"
Who talks of compromise, or peace, or both,
Holds truce with treason, heedless of his oath;
Commits more crimes than felons suffer for,
And drapes his vice in vesture of the law.

Spirit of Webster! Shade of patriot Clay!
Have Fame and Honor passed from earth away?
Do ye not grieve on yonder sounding shore
That vandal feet still press our Congress floor?

The smooth, glib small-talk of the southern beau,
Whose education is a mimic show,

Has caught our rustic colonels in command,
 Whose tender heads forgive the erring hand.
 Much partial lenity is shown to these,
 In place of orders, "Now, sir, *if you please*;"
 The covert insult which they use is passed,
 And among *gentlemen* their rank is classed.

He *cannot be a gentleman* who wars
 Against his country's flag of golden stars;
 He apes the gentleman, but in such shape,
 You miss the gentleman, and see the ape.

He is the gentleman, or rich or poor,
 When merit knocks who opens wide the door;
 Whose sacred word is treasure all untold,
 For word of his may not be bought with gold.
 Truth's beauteous ensign floats in honor's van,
 Her standard bearer, nature's gentleman;
 True in resistance to a tyrant's rod,
 True to himself, his country, and his God.

You have my portraits — in what light you will,
 One tells of crime and one of ignorance still.

And now the lyric close, with preface brief
 To note the moral of the added leaf.

The giant West is up in power;
 Quick at the word her hosts advance,
 And traitorous men shall rue the hour
 That saw them lift disunion's lance.
 Onward, to conquer or to die;
 Onward, disloyal foes to meet;
 We *will* not yield, we *cannot* fly,
 We *have no signal for retreat*.

Down with the rebel flag which mars
All sense of honor, love or pride;
Up with the glorious Stripes and Stars,
The Union shall have none beside.
The dastard ensign falls from high;
The trumpets sound the victor's call;
Our banner streams against the sky,
And Truth's bright sunshine hallows all.

Then sons of Columbia, we'll join in the song
Which rings from the hill-top
And sounds from the valley;
Let freemen united the echo prolong,
As around Freedom's altar
They cheerfully rally;
For its purport shall teach
That the right of free speech
Shall be sacred wherever her empire shall reach.
That her realm shall be glorious,
Her people be free,
And her flag shall be first
O'er the land and the sea.

Let the Czar of the Russias compel to his will
The serf who is stranger
To aught but oppression,
Though Hungary bleed, and though Poland is still,
We will not accept
The unholy aggression;
They shall yet break the rod,
And press Liberty's sod,
And the praise of true hearts shall go up unto God
From the realm that is glorious,
Whose people are free,
And whose flag shall be first
O'er the land and the sea.

To the greatness of truth, to its wealth, to its power,
Shall the wise and the good
Bend in meek veneration,
And earth's haughty boasters shall tremblingly cower
When the will of the freeman
Compels subjugation.

Then from eminence high
The arch traitor shall fly,
And the banner of truth be unfurled to the sky,
O'er the realm that is glorious,
Whose people are free,
And whose flag shall be first
O'er the land and the sea.

'Tis the power of the mind, whose majestical form
Clothed in virtue's bright garb
Hastens truth's consummation ;
Never daunted by faction nor stayed by its storm,
Marches on to the goal,
Of supreme judication.

Then arise in your might,
And be true to the right,
In the cause of our God and our country to fight ;
For the realm that is glorious,
Whose people are free,
And whose flag shall be FIRST
O'er the land and the sea.

VI. Benediction.

Guns were fired and bells rung at noon and sunset, and in the evening the celebration closed with a display of Fire Works from Michigan Park, upon the Lake Shore.