

PROFESSOR PALFREY'S

FOURTH OF JULY

ORATION.

AN  
**ORATION**

PRONOUNCED

BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON,

ON THE

ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION

OF

**AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,**

JULY 4TH, 1831.

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BY JOHN G. PALFREY.

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BOSTON :  
PRESS OF JOHN H. EASTBURN.....CITY PRINTER.  
1831.

TO THE REV. MR. PALFREY.

Dear Sir; I have the honor to communicate the within copied vote, and to add my personal assurances of the great pleasure received from your Oration.

With great esteem, and respectfully,

Your Ob't Serv't,

H. G. OTIS.

City Hall, July 5, 1831.

CITY OF BOSTON.

*In Commo. Council, July 4, 1831.*

*Ordered,* That the Mayor and Aldermen be a Committee to present the thanks of the City Council to the REVEREND PROFESSOR PALFREY, for the eloquent, patriotic, and very appropriate Oration, this day delivered by him, and to request a copy thereof for the press.

Sent up for Concurrence,

B. T. PICKMAN, *President.*

*In the Board of Aldermen, July 4, 1831.*

Read and Concurred, and that the Mayor be requested to communicate the same.

H. G. OTIS, *Mayor.*

A TRUE COPY—ATTEST,

S. F. McCLEARY, *City Clerk.*

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TO THE MAYOR.

Dear Sir; I have the honor to send you a copy of the Oration pronounced yesterday by the appointment of the Board of Aldermen.

I receive with great sensibility the approbation of the government of my native city. And I am happy in another opportunity to repeat the assurance of the distinguished respect, with which

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN G. PALFREY.

Court Street, July 5, 1831.

## ORATION.

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I AM all unused, fellow citizens, to situations like that, in which, by your favour, I now find myself. I have no hope of duly meeting its demands. I should unhesitatingly have declined to yield myself to your call, had I not remembered that it ill becomes a dutiful son of Boston, to constitute himself the judge of the forms of service which it may require from him; and, if not with more diffidence, I should have met it with more reluctance, but that I felt too that for a son about to be dismissed from beneath the beloved family roof, there are ties which may well strengthen the obligations of duty, even when these are strongest.

Being here, I hope I shall not seem to misunderstand the tastes of my audience, or to go aside from the purposes of the occasion, if I take for the subject of some such superficial reflections, as I may make, the means to preserve the liberty which we are celebrating. We have often, fellow citizens, been addressed here with eloquent praises of that liberty; and this to good purpose, for so we have been led to a just and useful estimation of its worth. We have often listened to the eulogy of the wise and good men who made it ours; and reasonable and

profitable was it, that that topick should interest us as it has done ; for it is greatly for a people's security as well as honour, and for encouragement to future services which it may demand, that it should be, and appear, alive to the claims of its benefactors. But, if our liberty has a right to be praised, it has a right to be watched over. If to have given it, merits our gratitude, to secure it merits our concern ; and the very testimony, which, on the yearly returns of this day, we are accustomed to bear to its value, and to their good deserts who in the time of its peril were its steadfast and successful champions, requires of us to know and to be doing our own part in the same work, according to the different exigencies of the different time in which we live. Liberty once won, is not acquired once for all. Every page of that most melancholy book, the history of social man, would set us right if we should think so. It is too precious a thing either to be won at small cost, or to be kept with small pains. With us it may seem to be in little danger ; and undoubtedly there are good reasons, —I should rejoice to enlarge on them, but that I must be hastening to my subject,—for being gratified with its condition and prospects. But at no time is it any where in such great danger, as when it is supposed to be in none. The most threatening omen for it, is an impression of its complete security. The only way to keep it out of danger, is to allow that it may always be in danger, and be always observing whether and how it is so. He who would plot against it has no better thing to do, than to establish the persuasion of its being proof against all plots. It is the very trick of that portion of demagogues who would

make themselves tyrants,—if indeed this be a portion, and not the whole,—to persuade the people, while they attempt an invasion of their liberty, that, instead of being in danger, their liberty is but in the way to be extended. When Cæsar set his foot upon the neck of the Roman people, it was because, so far from being exposed, they then imagined themselves all powerful. While they were giving up their freedom, they pleased themselves with the thought of running riot in it. In elevating their favourite, they saw nothing but that they were having their own way. The time of the downfall of republics,—that is, when their death has been a suicide, and not taken at a foreign hand,—has commonly been the time when their confidence of safety was the most proud and rash; and that republic, fellow-citizens, bids the fairest for permanency, whose people, with the most cautious vigilance, are looking at threatening tendencies, to obstruct them before they shall have acquired an unmanageable growth, and, with solicitous prospective wisdom, are providing those further securities for liberty, for which uses may arise in the progress of time, in probable or possible crises of a peculiar nature, or, in general, in that matured condition to which the state seems proceeding.

Among means, which will perpetuate our liberty, if it be destined to live, do I not name a prominent one, fellow citizens, when I speak of *a hearty attachment in the people to the Union of these States*? I say nothing in disparagement of that admirable heroism of our fathers, which brought them so triumphantly out of the revolutionary struggle, when I remind you that it had provided but a very imperfect

and unstable foundation for our liberties, in all that it extorted from England in the treaty of 1783. I am by no means sure, that the most anxious time for patriotism did not then begin; for, as long as Americans were in arms against a common enemy, at least they were disarmed from mutual hostility. I am not sure, that the anticipation of the state, in which these provinces would be, at the end of a successful contest for independence, was not the chief discouragement to some, who, while they took a leading part in the earlier measures of resistance to the mother country, opposed or looked coldly on the declaration of the 4th of July, 1776. In our day, an Italian or South American state does, now and then, what it calls, recover its liberty; but what becomes of the recovered prize the next week, or year? or, at all events, seems likely to become of it the next generation? Look at the North American Confederation, as the war of independence left it, and see how much better were then the prospects of freedom in that quarter. Here were thirteen independent sovereignties, each with a population essentially enterprising and warlike, and now, from recent circumstances, all but universally furnished with arms, and trained to their use;—with separate interests, the mutually ruinous tendency of which, severally pursued, was clear even from the experience of the war itself, when, under an extraordinary excitement of patriotism, and under all pledges of mutual support, Congress had not been able to prevail on the states to lay a uniform duty, so as to avoid exasperating interference with each other's commerce, and supply the common purse to meet the common danger;—protected, for the most

part, against each other, by no natural boundaries ;— in their contiguity, their ancient relations and habits of intercourse, their full acquaintance with each other's weak points, their use of the same language, and the easy circulation through them, from one to the other, of whatever heated minds might throw out, offering every facility for mutual provocation ;— their own citizens themselves somewhat impatient of any government, from the irritating recollection of their late sacrifices to put down a bad one, and from the license of their seven years' exemption from any thing which could properly be called by the name ; so that, when even the state was disposed to be peaceable, it was far from certain that the citizen would be of the same mind. In such a condition of things, if something were not done to establish a common authority, and create common interests, what prudent man could imagine that amicable relations could long subsist between these states, or that republican institutions could long subsist within them ?

In the discussions, which ended in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, it is true that we may find fewer traces, than at first thought we might look for, of the kind of anxiety, to which I have referred. We may read more of such things,—important, no doubt, but of a different importance,—as the prospect of ship-builders' wages being raised,—a great consideration here,—by the exclusion of foreign tonnage under a federal government ;—of the need of a responsible treaty-making power to open advantageous markets for the products of the south ;—and of the benefits to the publick finances, and to all private industry, of a uniform rate of imposts.



We may find the citizen addressed more in respect to all his other interests, than to that of keeping his head upon his shoulders, and his house over his head. But still I can have no doubt, that what may be matter of the scantiest record, was then matter of far the profoundest feeling; that what was most upon the minds of the sages of the time, was that which, for the best reasons, was least upon their lips. For the best reasons, I say, for there were things which could not be discoursed upon by them so composedly or safely, as they may be in our own day of ease and safety. There are dangers too serious to be spoken of with any willingness; there are dangerous tendencies which are so aggravated by the very exposure, impending evils so unfit even to be brought into view as possible, feelings so intensely irritable, that it is mere imprudence to allude to them at all. Nay, the reality, so painfully anticipated, had shewn its front. In our own orderly Massachusetts, in less than four years after our right of self government was acknowledged, Shays in the western counties, and Shattuck in Middlesex, had stopped the courts with an armed force. If there was another state, which there was not, that might more naturally have been looked to than this for an example of good order, it was Virginia; but, when the company of patriots drawn together by the exigencies of the time, who, as events turned out, are to be regarded as having taken the first direct step towards the forming of the Federal Constitution, assembled for such deliberations in the hall of the father of his country at Mount Vernon, Virginia and Maryland were already involved in a sort of war of posts,

carried on between their respective custom-houses on the Potomack. It was not merely political wisdom, then, on the part of the patriots of '87,—they had perception for it, they had sight;—it was not merely with them anticipation and dread,—they had already for their authority the beginning of a dismal experience;—when it seemed to them, that, without some such change as they projected, there was nothing to keep these little republicks from presenting,—no one could tell how soon,—the most frightful scenes of carnage. Preying on one another, like so many clans of the savage times in Scotland, only on a larger scale, and without even the benefit of that ostensible common head, who did sometimes interfere there, when things were at the worst, and set all right with the right of the strongest, they would be going back together to destitution, anarchy, and barbarism;—or, protecting themselves, each against each, by foreign alliances, they would invite back the sceptre they had broken of colonial misrule;—or, marshalled into standing armies, they would enroll themselves for the conquering or the conquered slaves of a great domestick military despotism. One or another of these would be the end of the famous American Revolution.

Yes, fellow citizens; when, in God's good providence, the Federal Constitution was ratified, creating one government among these discordant sovereignties, patriotism, up to that time never relieved from alarmed suspense, drew deep its first tranquil breath. When the United States had under their safeguard the liberty of the several states, it began to hope, that that liberty was secure. It began to

hope this; and nearly fifty years of various trial, amidst all the perils of an age of unparalleled political experiments and vicissitudes, have now given it strong encouragement, that that hope was not vain.

But we hear of Americans, who, in this day, are calculating "the value of the Union." The phrase strikes us painfully, calculating people as we are; for our hearts have been accustomed to pronounce the Union altogether inestimable. But calculation is reason, and reason we have no right to shrink from. We will calculate it too then, and not complain that others should do so. But we will take care,—and would have them,—first to know the elements, and not do the sum all wrong, for want of a right statement to begin with. When we shall have measured, and set down, and added up, the tears and the blood of years or generations of furious civil war; and weighed the iron oppression, which, at the end, a foreign or domestick tyrant will have laid on us; and computed that vast debt of improvement, which this nation now seems destined, but will then have been forbidden to pay, to all the great interests of mankind; and numbered the dark ages, before the hopes of freedom, so signally defeated, will again revive; then we shall have come at the result of a calculation of the value of this Union.

Light men who talk of making this calculation, without a sober and a shrinking mind given to the process! Good and serviceable men, who teach such, or any whom they might mislead, the rules of a more practical arithmetick! Yes fellow-citizens; if the document, that proclaimed the dissolution of

our ties to England, was the first charter of American Independence, the Constitution of the union of these states together was its second ; and the man who in the time of the first access of that madness, which, as old maxims tell, goes before a people's ruin, speaks the weighty words, that maintain the conservative principles of that constitution, rebuke the restless spirit that would disturb them, and awake the sense and virtue of the people better to see and feel its worth, that publick servant I place, in the reverence of a patriot's heart, by the side of the authors of the declaration of fifty-five years ago this day.

What ! have we so little in possession, that we can afford to trifle, though but in word, with what keeps it ours ? we of the most prosperous and rapidly improving country, that the sun does,—I will say, ever did look down upon ? Do we owe the Federal Constitution so little, as to be patient to hear the experiment proposed of dispensing with its further benefits ? Did the thought of a collision between these states, when, in the language of their generous transatlantick advocate, they were yet “in the gristle, and not hardened into the bone of manhood,”—did the thought of collision between them then strike terrour to hearts not unused to confronting peril, and can we entertain the possibility of the tie that unites them being severed, now that New-York alone, and Ohio,—a state without a civilized inhabitant on the day which we are commemorating,—might shake the continent with armies, such as the whole embattled North and South could then scarcely have arrayed ?

It is true, fellow citizens, that our political machine is not a mere friction-roller, but that would not be a wise man's reason for falling out with it at once, and dashing it in pieces. If wisdom cannot quietly correct something of its grating, and patriotism bear with a little that may remain, what is there in wisdom and patriotism, that we should talk about them? Since there is no good without some balance and compensation,—because it was intended that there should be none, which might dispense intelligence and virtue from their proper work,—it is true, that even some of our principles of safety may be, in other aspects, principles of disturbance, demanding, as such, to be watched. That organization of state governments, for example, on which the framers of our institutions justly relied, to make the central government more secure, by relieving it from the odium of local administration, and, at the same time, committing this to the most competent and attentive care, may have, in an unguarded use, the different effect of weakening, by dividing, the sentiment of patriotism, fostering exclusive sectional interests, and embodying and embittering sectional prejudices and jealousies. But do we find in the system that which is on the whole unpropitious, or far otherwise? or, in the threatening part of it, is there any thing unmanageable, or is there any thing new? On the contrary, are the states nearly as foreign to one another now, as they were when they were wise enough to come together? and have the subsequent years of common experience done nothing to give them whatever of common feeling they then wanted? It is true, that perplexing and important questions arise

out of the different doctrines respecting state rights, and the amount of delegated power; and that the parties, which have contested them from the organization of the government to the present day, have been agitating a weighty controversy. It must needs have been, that any written document should leave some such questions to be determined subsequently, as experience and discussion should help to develop, and shew how to apply its principles. But it is also true, that the ground of debate has been continually narrowing, notwithstanding the extending relations of the country; and if our fathers, with such questions to divide them, as that upon slave representation, and the proportion of representation between the small states and the large, could still contrive to agree, we have little right certainly to call them our fathers, if such things as an Embargo, or a Tariff, or an Indian boundary treaty, will tempt us to think of setting up for ourselves again. Virginia, on one of those great questions of the old times, and on both Massachusetts, than whose example none was higher, set the example of readiness to conciliate, to compromise, nay to yield, which except to friends they never did. Was it noble to set the example, and is not the example always to find imitators? Is there any state above respecting that example? Is there any, which is not unspeakably interested in having it respected by all? Can there be any pretence of being consistent admirers of the spirit of the heroick times of our republick, if, with every thing,—every thing, honour as well as interests,—resting on the security of a good mutual understanding, every sense of present inconvenience, or sacrifice,—or

wrong, if it be so,—shall break out in reproach or menace? Is the jealous love of liberty, which we profess, to be fitly shewn in allowing ourselves, for every questionable, or slight, or temporary cause, to be provoked against the institutions which defend it? Is it carrying on the work of our fathers, to take up the idea, that we are to be finding, every half century, occasion to do what they did in 1776? In publick affairs, as well as private, is not good sense, as well as good temper, many times to be displayed in having faith in reason and reflection, and trusting that, if an apparent wrong have not been done, they will in due time make this manifest, or, if it have, that they will right it? Yes; such have been the views, whose prevalence, to an extent greatly honourable to our nation, has hitherto enabled the government to be peaceably carried on. Some questions, once of the most agitating character, that, for instance, of the constitutionality of a national bank, if still occasionally revived, may be considered as at length well-nigh disposed of by the progress of an enlightened publick opinion. Others, now in the condition where this once was, such as that upon internal improvements, have already been so far discussed, and the excitement upon them is so tempered, as the points in the controversy have been made fewer and clearer, that they, there is reason to hope, are to be brought, in the same way, to some issue, to meet the same general satisfaction. Upon questions of state jurisdiction,—on the one hand the august tribunal, where speaks the majesty of the nation's Justice, has had occasion to shew, as in a late memorable instance, that, bounding itself by the strict-

est limits of a guarded and defined authority, it would defend a feeble state, as long as this kept within the entrenchments of rule and precedent, against an urgent, and what is much more, an equitable and generous publick feeling ;—and, on the the other, the proudest members of the confederacy,—Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, New-York, Kentucky,—have already had and used opportunities to do the best service to the union, by yielding a dignified submission to the adjudication of its court ;—that sublime authority, the wonder of Europe, unparalleled among the institutions of the ancient or modern world, which,—as sensitive to all rights, as removed from all ambition, and inaccessible to all passion and clamour,—alike holds over the weakness of every part, or lifts against the power of the whole, the sacred shield of law ; which, while even an English Parliament is even in theory omnipotent, and, by one of its common acts of legislation, may make the English constitution what it will to suit any passing occasion, itself lays its fair book and its sheathed sword across the path of the whole executive and legislative powers of the state, and tells them and remands them, when, listening to the people's frenzy, they have transgressed the people's wiser will. Glorious creation of American wisdom ! Trustworthy security, while it stands, of American union, and of the freedom which that union shelters !

I leave the subject of attachment to the Union, which has been treated at an altogether unexpected length, to advert to the vast importance, if we would preserve our liberties, of *care to have the administration of the government in the proper hands.* The repub-



lick is always in peril, precisely in proportion to the number of citizens, who are not thoughtful and conscientious in giving their votes. It is not so much, that office affords opportunity for directly usurping an authority unknown to the laws. Such are the guards of our system, that,—at least for the present,—the highest magistrate would, in common times, have not much more power for this use, than he possessed simply as a popular citizen. But, that we need, for the institutions which protect our liberty, the guardianship and the service of such as heartily and intelligently hold them in esteem; and they would be endangered, as far as a sense of the unsatisfactory condition, into which, through bad management, they had brought us, should expose them, at any time, to contempt to distrust.

It was a saying of Elmer Ames, often repeated since by such as thought they had need of the consolation it afforded, that “of all people, the Americans could bear to be the worst governed.” This was of course a compliment to their power of self government, causing the demand for external coercion to be less with them than with others. In any other view, it would be extraordinary,—rather it would be inconceivable,—that the remark should admit of being sustained. A despot’s business is far easier to do, than that of a free people’s head. The government demanding the greatest wisdom to administer successfully, is that which is the simplest and most liberal in its principles. At the head of a great standing army and of an omnipresent police, and with the prerogative of seizing money wherever he could find it, one must be merely stupid, who

could not keep his own people in order, and foreign ambition in check. But an American ruler must be equal to the delicate work of balancing different interests to the satisfaction of all, where the dissatisfaction of any might disturb the publick quiet; and, on every great measure of administration, he must know and he must direct the publick sentiment, to proceed with any confidence, or to any good result; often to proceed at all. Mr. Jefferson well said that in respect to candidates for office, he should ask two questions;—"Is the man honest?" and, "is he capable?" The people will do well resolutely to repeat these questions after him. Even as to sterling honesty in political trusts, it is perhaps far from being, in any time, the common, and limited, and easy virtue, which to many it may seem; and as to capacity for the highest trusts, that certainly is a quality, or rather an assemblage of qualities, rare to be found, and by no means hastily to be attributed.

We have had in our high places, fellow-citizens, benefactors of this description. A prouder roll than that to which we point, no nation of the earth can boast. We want them,—that all will allow;—may it be our wisdom to seek, and our happiness to find them, still! We want rulers, at all times, sagacious, moderate, experienced, of that personal dignity which a sense of character imparts, deeply tinged with the spirit of the constitution, and thoroughly conversant with the interests and relations of the state, as well as moved to undertake publick office by views to its benefit and not to their own. For the evidence they have given of such qualifications, we must choose our publick servants, if we will be true to ourselves,

if we will not be conspirators against one another, if we will not take the risk of being parricides to our country. For the evidence we know them to have given of such qualities, we must elect them; and not under any less deliberate, or reasonable, or disinterested impulse. Gratitude even for their services in one walk, would be the last of reasons for summoning them to display their incompetency in another; and to distress their well wishers, and do harm, instead of the good they might have hitherto done, in situations for which their pursuits had not prepared them; and to blot a history, which else might have gone down among that of their country's worthies. In their haste, or their prejudice, or under the dictation of their party, or under irresponsible advice, or in the mere embarrassment of one who is in a strange situation where he knows not what to do, should they be deluded to make war upon the venerable institutions of the country, and on that which holds all together;—in the vanity of some impracticable project, should they be infatuated to propose to supersede the establishment, which sustains the nation's credit, and pledges its wealth to the preservation of its order;—though without ill design, yet in mere ignorance and helplessness, should they be led by ill counsel to violate treaty obligations of the most solemn kind, and so bring the world's lasting reproaches upon that fair fame of their country, for which the patriot loves it best, and which is the last thing he would relinquish for it;—should they, by only seeming to countenance the marshalling of a party for the sake of a division of the spoil, threaten universally and thoroughly to corrupt the publick virtue;—

should such a judgement ever befall, then, as a good and not yet despairing citizen, I should have but one prayer to the Ruler of nations. It would be, to have it befall in quiet times, when we might bear it, and recover from it, best. Then possibly it might even be found in the end a benefit. Once escaped, and perceiving to what a brink we had just been led by our inconsideration, we might prove to have taken a warning, which would be salutary, and secure us and ours through all time against a repetition of the like experiment. It would go upon the book of our history, and there it would stand for a useful beacon.

But, fellow citizens, I have no taste for this seemingly guarded form of language, into which I have fallen. I would no more imply that which I was unwilling to say, than be understood to be implying what I was not; and the day, which we are commemorating, might as well have been without its fame, if it left any reason why one should shrink from distinctly uttering his thoughts, when he knows them to be but the thoughts of a patriot's grieved solicitude. I do not aver, then, that any state of things, which has existed, or exists, is to be referred to causes like what in supposition I have been specifying. Honest and wise men think that it is so. Others equally honest and wise, I doubt not, may think otherwise. I do not undertake to settle the question, or to point to the source of the too notorious vice of the times. But all of us must needs allow, that there must be great fault somewhere, when the chief offices of government over twelve millions of freemen are making a mendicant tour about their wide territory; when foreign nations are

looking at the spectacle of our two highest dignitaries embroiled in what, to foreign eyes, at least, must appear the most undignified private quarrel; when, as the prints of this morning have told us, the late dissolution of the cabinet has been called, at a publick meeting of the administration's own friends, "an extraordinary measure," which "has shocked the publick mind," as well as "broken up the elements of party throughout the country;" and when every mail is bringing us fresh details of a drawing room feud, which many cannot help thinking to be the very thing, which has unhinged this lately simple, grave, manly American state. What I have referred to is unhappily before the nation, and before the world. It is impossible to be blind to it. The friends of the power that is, certainly quite as much as its opponents, must be concerned for its character and the country's. Something must be done; all voices are proclaiming it. It is impossible to bear that our dear country should long exhibit such a scene. Another two years like the two last, and how will our government stand in foreign estimation? and what will be the state of its extended and complicated business? and what will become of the momentous interests it should have been protecting? and how will it appear in our own eyes? and will all our citizens think it altogether as well worth preserving as they have done? I repeat it, they for whose character the publick is chiefly concerned, might be found, but for the mystery which is suffered to hang over the whole subject, to be more sinned against than sinning. But, however this may be, there is, or will be, a universal call, not so much from partizans, as from those who are

not so, for security against the repetition of such scenes of publick scandal;—security, whether from those whom the community has delighted to honour, or from others succeeding to their places;—but, at all events, security.

But it is not to any topick of temporary interest, important as these may be, that our attention, in this connexion, ought to be confined. The great consideration is the same at all times. Our liberty will promise to be safe, it will be respected by others, and prized and confided in by ourselves, as long as our government continues to be on the whole administered with discretion and dignity, and but a very little longer. The security that it will be so administered, is in the citizen's enlightened and conscientious exercise of his right of suffrage, with views to the publick good. So far from regarding the use of this great prerogative as an occasion for the indulgence of any caprice, a lover of liberty will go to the polls in a frame only less serious than that in which he goes to his devotions. The government, which, by considerations of fear or favour, interferes with his freest exercise of that right, is the last government which a free state can tolerate; and, were it possible that party combinations should be formed with a view to taking possession of the emoluments of office, whoever should lend himself to such a plot would have been aiding to bring in the most extensive, the most fatal, and,—because involving infidelity to the most honourable trust,—the basest and most profligate form of political corruption. No; as long as parties divide upon principles, there may be violence, and there may be danger; but as soon as they

are understood to array themselves for the chance of booty, so soon liberty may be understood to be set up to sale; and it will not be very long, before its prerogatives, at first parcelled out in such a market, will attract some single purchaser, who will think the monopoly worth the cost.

When I proceed to name, for another requisite security to our liberties, *a literature of our own production*, I may seem to be speaking, fellow citizens, of a necessity which can be but future, or, at all events, of a security, if it be such, which if not now enjoyed, is not to be procured by us who miss it; for a literature is not the growth of a generation. But, in consulting for the means of perpetuating political institutions, of course we cannot do less than look to the wants of future times; and, if there be any protection, which, from its nature, must be prospectively furnished, it demands, in early anticipation, the care of lovers of their country.

When foreigners speak of the poverty of the American mind, professing to judge from the scantiness of its fruits, I, for one, do not find, that the most painful emotion called forth for my country is that of wounded pride. Were that all, it might be scarcely worth our while to repel the taunt. We might care little to argue with them, that the mind has different honest and vigorous forms of action, all useful and all admirable; that a nation's choice among these forms will and ought to be determined by its own condition, and the nature of the subjects which are or appear of the first concern to it; and that, if they have done what they have had leisure to do in their own well-chosen walks, we would hope that we have not been

altogether idle, nor employed upon little matters. Certainly, if so disposed, we might maintain something of an argument of this sort. We might inquire whether the American mind has not been busy, and advantageously busy, and in a high department, in setting the vast machinery of an untried political system to work, and in laying the basis of all sorts of institutions for its preservation, and for sources of the various prosperity which we hope it is to protect. We might even go on to ask, if it be our questioners who make poems for exportation and for posterity, who it is that supplies principles and constitutions of government for foreign and lasting use. We should have something to say of what experience has shewn to be the effective operation of the American mind in the useful applications of social life. We might ask where the mechanick arts are more skilfully exercised; where the adventures of commerce are better arranged or prosecuted; where the business of the courts and of legislation is more ably transacted; in what country of the earth the desks of religious instruction are half as well filled. For not despicable achievements of inventive genius in a national life of a half century, we should have something to plead for the steamboat and cotton gin, the nail and card machines, and the art of engraving on steel. And if forced to the most disadvantageous ground for a new country, that of the fine arts, we should still have to inquire, where the father of the modern English school of painting was born, and where the artists came from, whose pencils, year by year, have been carrying away the palm at their own exhibitions.

But whether or not such a reply might do any



thing to silence others in their representations of our intellectual penury, it ought to do nothing towards satisfying ourselves. Not for an answer to them, but for great uses of our own, we do want a more worthy native literature. We want it, not for the little object of making us an admired, but for the vast object of keeping us a free people.

Our fathers, fellow citizens, loved liberty so intensely, partly, at least, under the influence of the sense of some, and the impending danger of others, of the evils, which the loss of liberty involves. If we love it, never having tried those evils, with most of us this may be, in no small part, because living so near to them, their recollections and sentiments are vividly transcribed upon our minds. Our sentiments upon the subject are their formation. But what is to ensure that our posterity will so love as to preserve it? Not experience of hardships which succeed its loss. That will come too late. The intelligent sense of its benefits, which their experience will impress, it is to be expected will do much to this end. The lessons of history, and observations on the inferior condition, and sympathy with the feelings, of those nations which want it, and are panting for it, will each do their part. The inherited, the in-born self-respect of republicans, and the contagion of the ever-present spirit of the institutions under which they live, and the habits of action which those institutions demand, will all, we may hope, have their place among such securities. But much also, to the same effect, it appears to me needs to be looked for, from such a state of the publick mind, in different particulars, as a native literature of the fit character will be the proper agent in maintaining.

We want a native literature, to unite the minds of this wide-spread people in a prominent common object of patriotick attachment and pride. It is striking to remark, how the little, which has been hitherto done in this way, has illustrated the effect of which I speak. Nothing, in fact, amalgamates and identifies a people like the common fund of the products of its intellect. A meritorious author belongs to no city, or state, but to the empire. As such he is praised abroad, as such he is claimed and honoured at home. And the strength of the bond of union, so supplied, is in proportion to the amount of that reputation, in which every citizen feels that he has an interest and a property.

We shall want,—perhaps we already want,—a native literature in the higher departments, to counteract and over-rule a less responsible periodical press. There is a powerful literature, that of newspapers, by which our whole people is addressed day by day. In all countries, it has shown more or less tendency to become unprincipled and licentious; to wrong the good citizen, and disorganize the state. A mighty engine in whatever hands, and happily with us often wrought by hands worthy to be trusted with it, still with us, as well as elsewhere, it has already been seen, on the whole, to need to be directed by much wiser and better men. As long as the encouragements, to the higher class of intellects, to devote themselves to this method of influencing publick sentiment, shall continue to be found to such an extent inadequate, we need the more, that, acting upon that sentiment through works of more form and character, so as to supply the principles and

mould the feelings by which cotemporary events and characters and opinions are to be estimated, they should protect the publick welfare against the formidable abuses of the ephemeral press. For this will scarcely fail to have done its part towards the mournful consummation, when our country shall be doomed to share the fate of so many other once prosperous republics. By law it may not be checked, except in its worst excesses. That would be contrary to our most cherished principles. That would be smothering liberty for fear of its being assailed. This instrument for affecting the publick mind does vast good along with much harm. To secure the good without the attendant evil is the problem ; and this a censorship of government certainly would not secure. We shall have the best assurance, I repeat it, of its being on the whole fitly used, and, at the same time, the best protection against its most mischievous misuse, in the supervision, and the guidance, and the apprehended rebuke, of a literature, which, looking to permanency, will court the approbation of the wise.

We want a native literature still more urgently, because a literature any where, to be good for any thing,—to have real freshness and power,—must be moulded by the influences of the society where it had its origin ; to reach a high reputation, it must have succeeded vividly to represent the beau idéal of that society ; and such a literature, with us, would of course have a republican tone throughout, and so, from the time when it offered to the mind its earliest nutriment, would exert, if an imperceptible, a mighty force to inspire it with the love of free institutions. For, whatever literature presents under those attrac-

tions which it knows how to lend, that it trains the mind to regard with enthusiasm ; that, it is sure of winning the heart to love.

How do we stand in respect to this influence? The danger to the institutions of one country from too free and partial an importation of the fashions and modes of thinking of another, has always been a subject of the intelligent patriot's anxiety ; and literature is the embodying of these fashions of life, and modes of thought. Cato the Censor, exaggerating a sound sentiment, told his son that the Romans would certainly be ruined as soon as they became acquainted with Greek. The Polish foreign minister, in a manifesto to the powers of Europe, has just complained of the Russians' divesting his nation of their nationality, by discouraging the use of their language ; but in what respect has a language the power of giving or taking away a national spirit, so much as in being a vehicle of literature? Who, then,—I repeat the question,—has the forming of the minds of the American people, through that literature which is their minds' daily bread? Who make the books, who think the thoughts, who breathe the feelings, which make our mind's chief company, and nurture, and impulse, from our minds' first consciousness to their decrepitude?

The answer is,—and it is a serious one,—The English nation performs that work for us. Serious, I say, by no means chiefly for so simple a cause, as that their expositions of the theory of government will thus come into our hands to unsettle our politicks. Such is not the danger. We should be fortified against influences of that direct kind, and

we could meet such expositions with better of our own. But the danger is, that in their works of reflection, and eloquence, and history, and poetry, and fiction, in all the contagion of sentiments presented in every variety of attraction which the beautiful forms of literature admit, they have the opportunity of an imperial sway over our spirits.

This subject,—it seems to me,—is one of paramount consideration. Of the many profoundly interesting specifications which belong to it, I will dwell on only one, which, I think, will not, when well weighed, seem fanciful. We may learn many good things from England, fellow citizens;—I should delight to pause to pay that tribute of respect to a noble nation, which would be offered in an attempt to enumerate such;—but the love of that truth, first named among those announced as self-evident in our declaration of independence, and a truth which lies at the basis of institutions, that need to be endeared to us,—the truth, namely, that “all men are created equal,”—love of this is not among the good things which England has to teach us. The opposite sentiment prevails there, to a degree which a simple American can scarcely believe, long after he has been used to witnessing it. There are other nations of Europe where office, simple power, may be more revered;—where the bayonet is more feared, than there;—this is a different thing;—but I suppose no other nation, at any rate in the more civilized part of that continent, is acquainted with a blind and subduing reverence for mere rank,—for the naked accident of birth,—which approaches so near to the East Indian idolatry of *caste*. No station is exempt from it, low more than high. Scarcely any mind,

however philosophical or however radical, entirely escapes it. Every body who can read, is familiar with the peerage book. Every where, one of the most frequent themes of discourse is found in the alliances of noble families. The drawing rooms of authors of the most heterodox political speculations are thought ill furnished, without a representative of the privileged classes for the honoured guest; and I have been struck with wonder, at remarking voices, on whose accents the reading world would hang, sink into a reverential tone, when a titled name was to be uttered, of no account beyond the boundary of the acres which went along with it. Of course this universal style of thinking, this caressed and most moving delusion, this all but instinct of the English mind, finds its way into books. It overspreads the whole field of English polite literature. History, song, the drama, are full of it. Nothing can succeed without recognizing it. Even religious novels, which,—if any thing might,—one would suppose, would furnish an exception, cannot do their work without its aid. Dunallan, who is to teach us all christian graces, must have the advantage of being a peer of the realm; and the defender of the protestant faith in Father Clement would want sufficient recommendations to this office, unless he belonged to the landed aristocracy. Who can doubt, that the literature, which makes our intellectual aliment, may awake a note which will not exactly chord with that of triumph in the institutions of equal privilege under which we live, when he considers how prodigious, within the last score of years, has been the influence of one mind,—that of Sir Walter Scott,—over the minds

of the American people? and with what a glory the magick of his genius invests this phantom of rank in the visions of the romantick spirit? I am not complaining of this character of the wonderful productions in question, as a fault in their author, either as such, or as a lover of his country. It is neither;—it is far otherwise. In the former relation, it became him undoubtedly to give them that character, availing himself to the utmost of the fit resources for excitement, for those who were to have the giving of his fame; and, in the latter, writing where he wrote, if he gave it them on set purpose, with a view to the effect of which I am speaking, he might,—I think he would,—be acting in this a patriot's worthy part; for the institutions of his country are to be served, are to be recommended, are to be secured, by the prevalence of that taste for artificial distinctions in society, which those works go to justify, and exalt, and confirm. Those institutions may be best in the abstract, for a society already constituted like the English. At all events, it may be much better to stand by them, than to have all thrown back into the elements, for the chance of superseding them with something, which might turn out, after all, to be no better, or to be worse. And, on either of these suppositions, he who does any thing to attach the people to them, does to the people themselves an eminently good deed. But, what may be one nation's meat, may none the less be another's poison.—Take the instance of the story of Woodstock, or the Cavalier, for a striking illustration of what I have now in view. No one ought to wonder, if it could be revealed to him, that that single tale has added a century's life.

to the monarchy of England. It was better worth a peerage in that view, than many a state service of which this has been the requital. Without the moral being obtruded, which would be unskillful, it is nothing less than the most artful plea for loyalty to the monarch's person. The obligation and attractiveness of this sentiment are brought out, in the most affecting situations, with all the writer's power, so that indiscriminating minds can scarcely escape the impression, that it is abstractly a noble one. It was not meant to be escaped. Not escaped, it will make the English reader a more devoted subject. But,—not escaped,—taking effect, and what may not have effect in the hands of genius?—what a false tone of feeling would be created in the cisatlantick reader, to whom men in this relation should be nothing, who owes no allegiance but to the state.—The remark is not, I repeat it, that the institutions strengthened by force of a sentiment which makes the key note of English literature, are bad institutions where they exist;—this consideration, well founded or otherwise, would not be to the point;—but that they are not ours, and would not be good for us; and therefore it can scarcely be eventually good that they should be made, by the power of fine writing, to take hold of our feelings and imaginations. May I call them without discourtesy, “flesh-pots of Egypt,” to be desired in their place, but to which it were best for us, who have come thence, not to be looking back?—Nor is it so much that there is danger of our preferences being thus positively won to those foreign institutions,—though certainly young and imaginative minds are ductile;—but that this antagonist current of feeling may qualify and tame the fer-



vent love, with which it greatly concerns the republick that every citizen should regard its own,—its own institutions, that involve far other principles.

It would be endless to pursue illustrations of danger, to which, in various ways, we may be exposed, by our almost exclusive use of a foreign literature,—and that too a foreign literature, let it be particularly observed, which comes much closer than any other could to our hearts, by addressing us in the moving idioms of our own mother tongue, and which speaks to our minds much the more intelligibly and effectively, for being the creation of a society, whose habits, in some respects, are liker to ours than are those of any other. Even the views, which I have attempted on one point, I am sensible have been too sparingly illustrated, to take any duly impressive,—I fear even, any sufficiently intelligible shape. But I am also persuaded that, if parents, finding their children falling in love with the ideal heroes of the impure portion of cotemporary English literature, may reasonably have been led to tremble for the honesty and happiness of sons, and the honour of daughters,—patriots too, remarking how the better portion of that literature, to which alone I have now referred, necessarily bears the impress, and conveys the feelings, of a society, of which monarchy and aristocracy are leading elements,—demanding of course to be invested with all fascinating associations which the genius of writers can lend,—must allow that it is not a literature, to which the discipline of American youth may safely be committed. It is, however, the literature which will be trusted with that discipline, which will do a great part in forming the sentiments and tastes of our young

people,—their sentiments and tastes, against which theories may not forever stand,—until we have a literature sufficiently extensive and attractive of our own to take its place. Its place may be taken,—in a great degree, at least,—by a native literature, even though this should not be of equal power; because, if at all able to sustain the comparison in other respects, it would have a great advantage in the circumstance of being native. I know not how or when such a literature in sufficient amount is to be produced; though to many I should seem justified in thinking, that the production is even now well begun. But I am sure it may reasonably be an object of a patriot's intense desire. If true to native inspirations, if true to hopes of honourable fame, if uttering its own American instincts, genius, working in such a literature, would fill us with the pride, which we ought to feel in our republicanism. The attractive models it would present would be those of the man who, fearing God, fears nothing else, the bodily manifestation of republican virtue, the citizen worthy to enjoy and uphold a free state. In my poor mind, there is no working man who is to do better work for this community, than he who toils at book work of the kind in question. The literature which can so serve the publick, merits the publick's best honours, when it has come, and its best encouragements and invitations now.

The more general leading remark, remaining to be made, is one, which indeed, in its proper applications, will cover the whole ground, and which none the less demands to be still repeated, for having become already so familiar to our ears. It is, that

*in intelligence and virtue, for constituents of the national character, is to be found the only sufficient preparation for every national crisis; that on these is the only safe reliance to be placed for a continued enjoyment of the liberty we now profess so to prize. It is for the people, under God, to preserve or to forfeit that liberty. There is no one to keep it for them against their will, if the thing supposed, indeed, were not in terms a contradiction. If not intelligent, what proper sense can they entertain of its worth? or, estimating, what ability would they have to secure it? If not virtuous, what will they long care about keeping it, except in some such form as must seal its doom, by making it intolerable to one another?*

An intelligent people! What is the power to match theirs, or lay a rude hand on the treasure which it holds? Whose is the stealthy step of treachery against them, to elude their never absent eye, their never sleeping vigilance? Our laws, fellow citizens, in their extreme, though not unwise caution,—for with such a stake the extremest caution is the wisest,—have said, equip the people to be their own defenders by putting a musket in every man's house. One might almost have thought it sufficient to the end, had they but said, put a spelling-book there. That done, the musket will scarcely have the use apprehended, but, when it has, the musket will be found there too, and a freeman's arm to point it. Our schools; these are our best armouries. They give to the American mind a competency to understand its rights, a keenly searching jealousy to watch, and nerve and resources to maintain them, as often as the need shall come.

But, when we speak of the essential safety of an intelligent people's freedom, it is of course of that safety in their freedom, which the strength of their intelligence will give, as long as they are also virtuous enough, to make sure of their intelligence being turned to this good account. And a well-instructed people, it is true, can scarcely, on the whole, and for a long time together, be other than well principled. But the remark does not hold good of individual men; and the very provisions for securing the national liberties by elevating the national mind, in the same degree afford opportunities to unprincipled individual talent for accomplishing itself, to take advantage, for the worst purposes, of some slumbering moment of the publick virtue; so that the more intelligence there is witnessed in individuals, the more virtue should be demanded of them too; and the more intelligence there is in the parts, the more virtue is needed in the whole. We have perhaps heard it said, fellow citizens, and that too as if it were a subject of satisfaction, that, with us, all the prizes of society are within the reach of talent. If without qualification this remark were just, there would be little reason why we should take satisfaction in the prospects of our country. Mere talent is precisely the thing which we may have most cause to dread. Adventurous, disposed to experiment, ambitious, proud, and impatient, from its nature,—its impulses,—for I am not now merely speaking of its power when already enlisted in any cause,—are every where a main element of disturbance of the publick peace. Accordingly the institutions of other nations are so arranged, as, by the influences of rank and wealth,

which favour what is established and proved, and do not wish to sink, to offset and counteract the influence, of talent, which is too apt to favour what is theoretical and new, and merely to care to rise. To such influences of talent we have little of arbitrary institution to oppose. We have little to depend on for security against them, except the pure public spirit which in the individual himself may restrain, or in the community may defeat them; a security no doubt far better than any or all others when possessed, but not altogether one of such compendious provision.

An intelligent and virtuous people! That is the only people capable of long maintaining a commonwealth; the only people incapable of abandoning its liberty, or of being deluded or forced to part with it. There is no more unquestionable truth of political science, than that the disorders of a depraved population, or the follies of a population unequal to the care of themselves, demand a despotism, and make it acceptable; that prevailing ignorance and vice are incipient slavery. Let these truths be graven on every citizen's mind, for they are truths for every citizen's constant government. As our means and our intercourse with foreign nations increase, let us guard against the invasion of that luxury, which has been the fall of so many a state, once boastful of its freedom. Let us endeavour to see, more and more, the essential dignity of the plainness, and moderation, and frugality, and fair-dealing, and public spirit, and mutual respect, which become us as republicans. There is no conquering men who are their own masters. There is no cheating men who

have looked closely into themselves. Let us shew, by our professed veneration, above all by our unambiguous practice, our sense of the worth of that religion, which is the one only trust worthy support for virtue, and, with virtue, for the state to lean upon. Might we be sure that the state would always cling to that support, we might be sure too that the state would be immortal.

Yes, fellow citizens; a wise observer of political causes and consequences, in speculating on the probable perpetuity of our freedom, would by no means ask, with the greatest concern, what armies we could bring into the field, or what funds into the treasury, but much rather what principles we had imbibed. It is knowledge and virtue, intellectual and moral power, which a discerning patriotism will prompt us to covet by way of its securities. We shall desire to see it distinguished, not only by the rectitude and wisdom of its internal and foreign administration, but by its advances in science and art, its well endowed and efficient institutions for preventing and redressing ills, to which flesh is heir, of every sort, and diffusing information suited to every condition; by the high tone of its publick sentiment, its temperance in prosperity, and firmness in reverses; by the purity of its domestick manners, and the spirit of order which every where pervades it. We shall wish to see it made to every man a happy country to live in, that so it may seem to every man a worthy country to defend. Therefore we shall each be ready with our wealth, if we have it, to relieve those individual wants, by which so much is subtracted from the publick welfare, and encourage that rising merit, which

may do the state good service. We shall be disposed to a liberal patronage of those establishments of learning and religion, by which, at least, the fortunes of coming generations are to be determined, while their characters are shaped. Especially strong, on all accounts, is the obligation to do this on the citizens of a community of precisely the form of our own, where religion and letters, peculiarly as the publick weal here depends upon them, are given over by the government, more than any where else, to the care of private munificence. It will pain and disturb us, if it must be, that in any, the most distant part of our country, or for ever so short a time, an ignorant or irreligious population should be growing up; and we shall not let this be, if we can do aught to help it. We shall each be prompt to render to our country, and to the free institutions which make us care to call it ours, the invaluable service of one republican's worthy example. We shall let all who see us, see one pattern of obedience to its laws; of gratitude to its benefactors; of conscientiousness in discharging the pecuniary debt, which we owe for its protection; of faithfulness, in practice, to its theories; of readiness to every service, by which benefit or honour will result to it; in one word, of matured principles and consistent and established habits of good citizenship. If the community will follow us in this course, it will have acquired the stablest security for its continued liberties; and all, of whom it is composed, will have followed or preceded us, when this is the spirit of each one; and, followed or not, this is our own part to do. The truest friend of liberty, in short, we shall remember,

is the most wise and virtuous man; and the country made up of wise and good, could scarcely ever, under any circumstances, cease to be free; never, under circumstances of external relation so propitious as are ours.

Bostonians! you will do your part towards keeping your country free. On some accounts, you regard American freedom as, to you, a peculiar charge. Who did more to win it? To whom then, rather, does special responsibility attach, for its character and preservation? Liberty, fellow citizens, is with you no dainty holiday word; but a word calling up solemn recollections, and inspiring the gravest thoughts. Your streets sent forth the brave, who won a never dying renown upon her earliest battle fields. Your dwellings were the scene of the privations, and the alarms, and the sorrows of the dismal revolution, that so strictly tried who were her friends. You can point, among your honoured men, to the living representatives of her earliest champions and martyrs. No where were the clear and full and ringing accents, with which she roused this people to their high destiny, sooner heard than in your halls. Here, you may say to the inquiring stranger, Otis argued against the writs of assistance. There, the provincial magistracy, as grave and wise as resolute and true, hung on the lips of the Adamses and Quincy. In the place whence now you are addressed, stood Warren, hedged around with British steel, to proclaim the wrongs of his bleeding country. Before the door where we just now entered, while, to cover the movement, the citizens were deliberating in town meeting within these walls, passed those



pioneers of the revolution, who did the first famous act in overt opposition to the oppressive taxation of the mother country; now, of course, a much diminished band, of whom, however, one honoured survivor, at least, is rejoicing with us his neighbours, in this commemoration.—Times since have changed. Years have been doing their mighty, their mysterious office. The germs of events have swelled and fructified. A small one has become a strong nation. In the quickening history we have met together to recall, a happier era for the world has now been shewn to have begun. The day we are keeping has become the day, that unites, that melts human hearts in the strongest and the widest sympathy of any in the calendar; for, without irreverently describing the event, of which its yearly return calls up the memory, as the greatest that ever affected human fortunes, one takes no hazard in asserting, that, among events of that precisely ascertained date, which permits the mind's associations to kindle, and teem, and crowd, and renew all the enthusiasm of some past time in the welcome of the present hour, it is, in this respect, altogether without a rival. The earlier history of freedom had been a history of frantick, bloody, and disastrous struggles, or, if of partial successes, then of perilous uses and rash confidence, and so finally of shameful defeats. The Fourth of July, 1776, introduced the time, in the developments of providence, when, the rights of the race coming to be acknowledged in behalf of all individuals comprehended in it, man might be and enjoy what his Creator intended that he should. Then were the great political doctrines mightily and auspiciously asserted, destined, in their course, to con-

vert man from the tyrant or the slave,—both basely dishonourable relations, though the latter the less so,—into the brother and friend of man. And therefore it is, or should be, that the cannon which greeted the first ray of that sun, that beamed this day on an American freeman's eye, had scarcely ceased to make their stern proclamation of his rising, when with us he had half climbed to his meridian tower ;—therefore, that the waves of the Atlantick beach this hour, from where they creep over the yellow sands of the tropick, to where they heave and beat against the rocks of our stormy northern boundary, are mingling the voice of their glad murmur, or their fierce roar, with the festival shouts of a rejoicing people. Therefore it is, that the since emancipated nations, gratefully mindful of what gave the signal for their freedom, commemorate the holiday of ours: and that in their loneliness, and perplexity, and all but despair, noble minds, in the dreariest corners of the abused earth, find the fainting hope of better times revived in them, and the spirit of a generous enterprize to dare and do and suffer all in the great cause re-kindled, by every return of this fourth day of July.

The history of that independence, which you so aided to win, is thus written, fellow-citizens, in large characters, on the world's book; and never will that record suffer your city to be an unnoticed place. Nowhere, throughout the wide empire, can it be this day unthought of. Nowhere, throughout the wide earth, where the great triumph of human nature is remembered, can it be forgotten, this day, of how much of the hard warfare that won it, this your home was the scene.

You will be looked to, then,—the country, the world, posterity, each with a confident voice will demand of you,—still to be found faithful to the liberty, to which you stand so pledged. You will not fail to be true to it in all needful services, according to the easier or more exacting circumstances of the passing time. If what I have this day remarked upon, are among the main services which now and in common times it needs, they are services which now, and in all such times, you will be mainly intent on rendering. You will cherish yourselves, and you will aim to spread and strengthen, a sense of the value of the Federal Union. You will cause it to be only necessary to know who are the most deserving candidates for office in this government, to know too who they are to whom your voices will be given. You will not be content, your “debt to Science and the Muse unpaid.” The cause of publick morals and instruction, in all its forms, will reckon you among its leading advocates. Among your dwellings, the priceless examples of an intelligent and disinterested publick spirit, and of a chaste and stainless private life, will be the examples infinitely harder to number than to find.

In the late noble rising of a wronged people, there has appeared one, who has widely spread a patriot’s fame under the quaint qualification of, “the provider of cannon;”—a proud title, under the circumstances; for cannon, at the moment, was what the liberties of his nation chiefly needed. May your city, Bostonians, merit, in all time, the name of provider of what the liberties of your country may best be served by,—of statesmen, scholars, and patriots, of an intelligent publick zeal, of a preserving publick and private virtue!