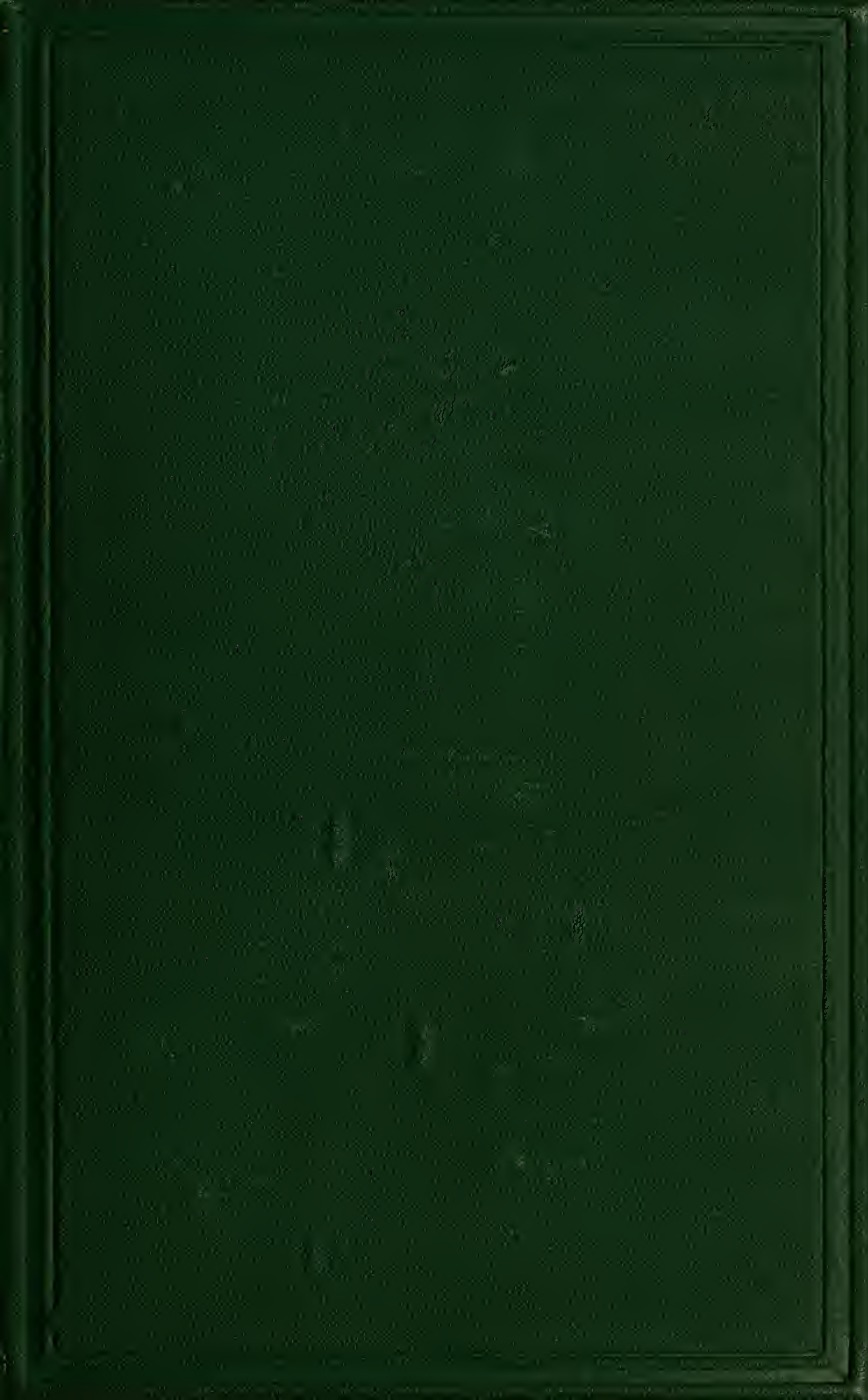

4 vols 15

ORATIONS AND SPEECHES.

ORATIONS

AND

SPEECHES

ON

VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

BY

EDWARD EVERETT.

VOL. II.

SEVENTH EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

This volume consists, for the most part, of addresses delivered since those contained in the first volume. The first four only are of an earlier date, and the fifth (a short speech on the Western Railroad) was originally included in the first volume. The first, second, and fourth are now for the first time published. At the time of their delivery respectively, they were hastily prepared, and it was not in my power, when the first volume appeared, to revise them with sufficient care for publication. I omitted the address before the American Institute of New York, on American manufactures, in the collection of 1836, on the ground that it might be thought to fall within the rule which I had adopted, and to which I still adhere, of excluding party politics. On further consideration, I have been led to think that the manner in which this subject is treated in this address, and in the oration at Lowell on the fourth of July, 1830, is not likely to be objected to on that ground, and that they are not out of keeping with the general character of the work.

I have admitted into this volume a selection from a much larger number of short speeches made at the table at public festivals, on various occasions. I have not, of course, done this in the belief that they can have much value, even with the partial reader, as literary compositions. I have thought, however, that they might have an interest of a different kind, some of them as containing allusions to historical events, and some from their connection with important public occasions and occurrences. Even the few sentences addressed to the Indian chiefs who visited Boston in 1837, and the short reply to the President of the Geographical Society in London, on the reception of the medal awarded to Dr Robinson for his standard work on Palestine, may be thought to derive sufficient interest from the occasions which called them forth, to justify their insertion.

The short speeches made in England were nearly all in reply to toasts, in which complimentary reference was had to the diplomatic body generally, or to the American minister, when he alone happened to be present. The usages of society (the same in this respect on both sides of the water) impose a certain character upon speeches made under such circumstances. A few obvious topics of remark are almost of necessity apt to be repeated. To attempt to avoid such repetition would be an unprofitable, probably an unavailing, exercise of ingenuity; but I hope it will be thought that I have not, in the speeches now alluded to, dwelt entirely in the commonplaces of such occasions. I have been the rather induced to admit them into the volume, and thus to give them a more permanent form than they might seem in themselves to deserve, in the

belief that this interchange of public courtesies between a foreign minister and the people among whom he resides is a valuable step in the advancing civilization of the present century. In former times, the public intercourse of a foreign minister was exclusively with the government or court to which he was accredited. At the present day, in England and in this country, he is a welcome guest on all public occasions not in their nature exclusively national. The change appears to me favorable to a good understanding between countries in more important respects. History furnishes instances in which the foreign relations of governments have been affected by the feelings and dispositions of the individuals charged with conducting them. I own it affords me pleasure to give what permanence I am able to these memorials — however slight in themselves — of acts of courtesy and manifestations of friendly feeling on the part of public bodies and individuals of highest consideration and worth, and of grateful appreciation on mine.

EDWARD EVERETT

CAMBRIDGE, *June*, 1850.

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ORATIONS AND SPEECHES.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

THE BOYHOOD AND YOUTH OF FRANKLIN.*

GENTLEMEN:

No subject for a single lecture seems to me more fairly comprehended within the province of a "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" than the biography of those who have been eminently useful to their fellow-men. Whatever may have been their sphere of action, the qualities which made them what they were are presented in the most attractive form, when woven into a narrative of their fortunes. It is often quite curious to see the first symptoms of character as developed in boyhood; and nothing is more interesting than to trace the great man step by step. In no way can lessons of discretion, perseverance, temperance, and fortitude be so well inculcated as in the historical delineation of an honorable career. This is especially the case when the young are to be addressed. Ethical and didactic writing of every kind is apt to be read with impatience and weariness by those who most need instruction; but biography is universally fascinating.

There are few individuals whose lives unite so great and various an interest as that of Benjamin Franklin. The humble position from which he rose, in an obscure colony, to wealth, station, fame, and commanding influence, in an inde-

* A Lecture delivered in Boston, before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, on the 17th of November, 1829, now first published.

pendent state, — the struggles of his curiously checkered early life; his brilliant scientific discoveries and celebrity as a philosopher; his great business talent and practical energy; his extraordinary skill in addressing the common sense of mankind with his pen; his great influence as a statesman, at a most critical period of the history of the country; his agency in bringing about political events of high moment; and his personal intercourse with the first characters of the time, at home and abroad, with other circumstances not to be enumerated here, — combine to furnish the materials of a biography possessing all the interest of a romance.

For us the narrative comes with the additional attraction that he was born in Boston, and that he derived his early and only education, scanty as it was, from our public schools — an obligation that he remembered in his will. It is true that, at a very early period in his life, he left our city, and saw it afterwards only as a visitor. But he never ceased to regard it with warm attachment; and, in a letter written to Dr Samuel Mather, but a few years before his death, he says, "I long much to see again my native place, and to lay my bones there."

I shall confine myself, on the present occasion, to the first years of Franklin's life. It would be impossible to run over his whole career to any valuable purpose within the compass of a single lecture. If I do not greatly mistake, his *boyhood and youth* will be found a very instructive subject of contemplation; and this is the topic to which I now invite your attention.

In reviewing the life of Dr Franklin, till he reached the age of fifty, we have the inestimable advantage of his *autobiography*, one of the most valuable specimens of this kind of writing contained in our language. It will furnish me nearly all the materials for the present lecture, and I shall often use his own words. I shall for this reason, before entering upon the narrative, ask your attention to a somewhat singular circumstance connected with the composition of this memoir.

The first part of this narrative has been very frequently

republished and widely circulated. As the introduction to a small collection of Franklin's miscellaneous writings, it forms a volume from which most persons, who do not make a study of his works, derive their knowledge of his life and character. The copy which I possess is entitled, the Works of Dr Benjamin Franklin, consisting of his Life, written by himself, together with Essays, humorous, moral, and literary, chiefly in the Manner of the Spectator.* The portion of Dr Franklin's Autobiography contained in this and the similar manual editions of his works is probably the specimen of his (supposed) writing with which the generality of readers are most familiar, and consequently, in popular estimation, the best known example of his style. It is therefore a somewhat curious fact that it is not, in the form in which it now circulates, from Dr Franklin's pen.

This first portion of the memoir, which brings his life down to the twenty-fifth year, was written in England in the form of a letter to his son. A copy of it was sent to a friend in France, (M. Le Veillard,) and it appeared in that country, in a French translation, as an introduction to a small collection of Franklin's Essays. An English translation, from this French version, was made in London for a similar collection published there shortly after Dr Franklin's death. It is this translation of a translation which continues to be reprinted in this country and in England, as the Life of Franklin, written by himself, and generally with a continuation by Dr Stuber of Philadelphia. The original memoir, as written by Dr Franklin, was first published by his grandson, Temple Franklin, in 1818; but the old retranslation continues to hold its place in popular use in this country and England.†

* Charlestown, printed by John Lawson for the principal booksellers in Boston, 1798.

† When this lecture was delivered in 1829, the fact stated in the text — although mentioned in the Preface to Mr Temple Franklin's edition of his grandfather's writings, and in several of the popular editions, especially the first which appeared in London — had, I think, seldom been adverted to. I have before me an English edition of the Works of Dr Benjamin Franklin, with his Life, published as late as 1844, which gives the retranslation, with Stuber's continuation. The late Mr Benjamin Vaughan of Hallowell, the

The French version I have never seen; the English is very well executed: but the easy and sometimes negligent, but always delightful, simplicity of Dr Franklin's original, often wholly disappears in this double translation. In the quotations which I shall make from the memoir, in the course of this lecture, I shall furnish you with specimens of both.

We have the satisfaction of knowing, as we narrate the life of Franklin, that he himself took an interest in the history of his family. He informs his son, in the outset of the autobiography, that "he had ever had a pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of his ancestors." He made a journey with him, for this purpose, to the village in England, where his family had been settled as far back as it could be traced; and he expressly mentions it as an inducement for writing the memoir, that his posterity may be desirous of learning and imitating the means by which he raised himself from poverty and obscurity "to a state of affluence and some degree of celebrity in the world."

The family of Dr Franklin, when he commenced his inquiries, had been settled for three centuries at the village of Ecton, in Northamptonshire, in England, the same county in which the family of Washington was established in the early part of the sixteenth century. The immediate ancestors of these great men, who performed so distinguished a part in the American revolution, and were born themselves in the opposite extremities of the colonies, must have lived at no very great distance from each other in the mother country. The families, however, both at the original seat in England and in this country, occupied very different stations in society. That of Washington belonged to the landed aristocracy of England, and some of them rose to eminence

venerable friend of Dr Franklin, (who was induced, in part by Mr Vaughan's persuasion, to continue the autobiography,) in a letter addressed to me shortly after this lecture was delivered, spoke of the fact in question as "a discovery;" which, however, it cannot be called.

Mr Sparks, in the Preface to his standard edition of Franklin's Works, (published in 1840,) gives a full account of the matter. He even informs us that, in a new collection of Franklin's Works, published at Paris, in 1798, the autobiography is translated back again into French, from the English retranslation.

in the army and the state. Franklin's ancestors lived on a freehold farm of about thirty acres; and it was their custom, from father to son, to eke out the frugal support derived from this little domain by the business of a smith, to which the oldest son was habitually brought up.

The grandfather of Franklin, towards the close of life, removed to Banbury, in Oxfordshire. He had four sons who grew up, — Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Josiah, — and our Franklin was the son of the youngest; being the youngest son of the youngest son, like his predecessors in the family for five generations.

It is a circumstance much more worthy of record, that the "humble family," as Franklin calls it, early embraced the reformed religion. They continued to be Protestants during the reign of Mary; and were sometimes in danger of persecution, in consequence of their zeal against popery. Franklin has preserved an anecdote of his ancestors in this connection, which discloses a state of things almost beyond belief at the present day, and which shows plainly enough the indissoluble connection between civil and religious liberty. "The family had an English Bible; and to conceal it, and place it in safety, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint stool. When my great-grandfather wished to read it to his family, he placed the joint stool on his knees, and then turned over the leaves under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the Spiritual Court. In that case, the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before." What happened in this way beneath the humble roof of the Franklins took place, no doubt, at the same time in hundreds and thousands of the homes of England. It is the policy by which infatuated rulers, in church and state, have at all times promoted the reforms they seek to stifle; and turned yeomen and artisans into martyrs, champions, and heroes.

The family of the Franklins adhered to the Church of England till about the end of Charles II.'s reign. By this time, the lessons learned by the Church in the time of her

tribulations were forgotten; and two thousand ministers were silenced in one day for non-conformity. The father of Franklin and one of his uncles adhered to their silenced pastors, and continued non-conformists to the end of their lives: the rest of the family remained of the Church of England. These circumstances are worth recording, for they determined the removal of the family to America. The non-conforming clergymen being forbidden by law to hold their "conventicles," as they were called, and being frequently disturbed at their religious meetings, some considerable men of their acquaintance determined tc emigrate to New England. The father of Franklin was induced to join them; and, in 1682, — sixty-two years after the settlement at Plymouth, — he removed to Boston with his wife and three children. Four children were added to the number after their arrival in America; and ten more were born to the father of Franklin in a second marriage. Benjamin was the youngest of ten sons; and, with the exception of two daughters, the youngest of the family. He was born on the seventeenth of January, (New Style,) 1706, according to the common tradition, in a house in Milk Street, which many persons present will recollect as standing nearly opposite to the Old South Church. It is known that this house was, at one period, the residence of Franklin's father; but, according to an account given by the historian of Boston, (Dr Snow,) Dr Franklin himself informed a person, who was still living in 1824, that he was born in a house which stood at the corner of Union and Hanover Streets, and was afterwards known as a public house, by the sign of the Blue Ball.

The father of Franklin, as we have seen, emigrated to America in 1682. The entire population of the British colonies was estimated, twenty years later, at two hundred and sixty thousand. In one hundred years from the time when his parents landed on this continent, Benjamin Franklin signed, at Versailles, the provisional articles of peace between the King of Great Britain and the United States of America, then containing a population of more than three millions.

The mother of Benjamin Franklin, the second wife of his father, was Abiah Folgier, of Nantucket, daughter of Peter Folgier, one of the first settlers of New England, and the head of a family in which an aptitude for scientific attainment, scarcely if at all inferior to that possessed by Benjamin Franklin, has been transmitted to the present day. These venerated parents lived together in humble thrift to a good old age, and, before they departed, witnessed the growing honors of their illustrious son. "I never knew either my father or mother," says he, "to have any sickness but that of which they died, — he at eighty-nine, and she at eighty-five years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription:" —

In the Original.

JOSIAH FRANKLIN
And
ABIAH his wife,
Lie here interred.
They lived lovingly together in wedlock,
Fifty-five years;
And without an estate, or any gainful employment,
By constant labor, and honest industry,
(With God's blessing,)
Maintained a large family comfortably;
And brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren.
Respectably.
From this instance, Reader,
Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,
And distrust not Providence.
He was a pious and prudent man,
She a discreet and virtuous woman.
Their youngest son,
In filial regard to their memory,
Places this stone.
J F. born 1655, died 1744. Ætas 89.
A. F. born 1667, died 1752. Ætas 85.

In the Retranslation.

Here lie
Josias Franklin
And
Abiah his wife:
They lived together with reciprocal affection
For fifty-nine years;
And without private fortune, without lucrative employment,
By assiduous labor, and honest industry,
Decently supported a numerous family;
And educated with success
Thirteen children and seven grandchildren.
Let this example, Reader,
Encourage thee diligently to discharge the duties
Of thy calling,
And to rely on the support of Divine Providence.
He was pious and prudent,
She discreet and virtuous.
Their youngest son,
From a sentiment of filial duty,
Consecrates this stone
To their memory.

The humble memorial dutifully erected by Franklin to his parents, in the Granary Burying-ground, being in a state of decay, it was replaced, a year or two since, by a substantial granite obelisk. On its eastern front the name of FRANKLIN appears in relief; beneath which a copy of the original inscription, engraved upon a suitable slab, is sunk into the face of the obelisk. It was on the occasion of the erection of this monument, that I was first led to notice the difference between the original inscription and the version contained in the common editions of the autobiography.

The brothers of Benjamin Franklin were all put as apprentices to various trades. Benjamin, at the age of eight years, was placed, in the year 1714, in the grammar school of Boston, — the venerable parent of the classical schools of the country, still existing in our midst, and never more prosperous

than at the present day. It was, at that time, under the care of the Rev. Nathaniel Williams. It was his father's intention, in placing him at this school, to devote Benjamin, as the tithe of his sons, to the church. His early readiness in learning to read, ("which," says he, "must have been very early, for I do not remember when I could not read,") and the opinion of all his friends that he would certainly make a good scholar, encouraged Franklin's father in the purpose of giving him a learned education. His uncle Benjamin approved the project so warmly, that he promised to give him, to set up with, the volumes containing the reports of sermons which he had taken in short hand, provided he would learn the character. Benjamin remained at the school less than a year; in which time, however, he rose gradually from the middle to the head of the class of that year, and thence to the class above; from which he was to have been still further advanced, at the end of the year.

By this time, his father's purpose in reference to his education was changed, in consequence, perhaps, of some change of his circumstances; for the other reasons assigned — viz., the narrowness of his means and his large family, with the little encouragement afforded in that line of life to those educated for it — must have existed, in equal force, the year before. In pursuance of this change in his destination, Benjamin, at the age of nine, was taken from the Latin school, and placed at a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr George Brownwell. "He was," says Franklin, "a skilful master, and successful in his profession, employing the mildest and most encouraging methods. Under him, I learned to write a good hand pretty soon; but I failed entirely in arithmetic."

Knowing, as we do, the general aptitude of Franklin for learning, and especially the clearness of his head, and the practical turn of his mind, it is surprising to hear him speak of failing in arithmetic — a simple study, in which, of all others, we should expect him to make early and easy progress, and in which a few years later he tells us he found no difficulty. We are inclined to do justice to the pupil at the

expense of the master, and to doubt whether Master Brownwell could have been, as far as arithmetic is concerned, a skilful teacher. It seems impossible that a mind like Franklin's, even at that early age, should have failed to comprehend the rules and operations of arithmetic, had they been presented with even moderate good judgment. Some meagre manual of arithmetic was probably put into his hands, and he was told "to do the sums;" without any attempt, on the part of the book or the teacher, to explain their principles, or open the mind of the pupil, by familiar illustration, to the power of figures, and the nature of arithmetical processes. With this mode of teaching it, Franklin is not the only one who has had cause to lament "that he failed entirely in arithmetic." How justly he states "that he learned to write a good hand" during his year's instruction by Mr. Brownwell, is matter of notoriety; and few points of a practical education are of greater importance. At ten years old, he was taken from this school to help his father in his business.

These two years of interrupted schooling, from the age of eight to that of ten, were all the regular education which Franklin ever received. It is an illustrious example how much can be done for the improvement of the mind, with the most scanty means when faithfully improved. Of the benefit which he derived from the Boston schools, Franklin himself, as I have already stated, retained to the close of his life a grateful recollection, evinced by a provision in his will by which his name will be embalmed in the hearts of the boys of Boston to the end of time. That provision must not be omitted on this occasion; it is in the following terms: —

"I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling * to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or the person or persons who shall have the superintendence and management of the said

* The principal of the fund is now (1850) $1000. A sum two or three times larger than its interest is required for the annual distribution of medals, and is liberally supplied from the city treasury.

schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest forever; which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools, for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools, belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet."

This provision immediately took effect. The fund was placed at interest, and has accumulated to twice its original amount, the whole of the income apparently not having at first been required for the annual distribution of medals. The first name on the record of the medallists is that of our respected fellow-citizen, Dr John Collins Warren, 1792.

At the age of ten, as we have already seen, Benjamin was taken from school to help his father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; a business to which he was not bred, but which he had taken up on his arrival in New England, because he had found that his trade as a dyer was in little request, and would not support his family. In this, his first occupation in life, our future philosopher, statesman, and ambassador, was employed in cutting wick, filling the moulds, attending the shop, and running errands. This business was not to the taste of the aspiring lad, who had a strong inclination for the sea, against which, however, his father declared. But living near the water, he was much in it and on it. He learned to swim well, and retained his fondness for this exercise for the rest of his life. He learned also to manage boats; and, when embarked with other boys, was commonly allowed to govern, especially (as he adds with some slyness) "in any case of difficulty." On other occasions, he was generally the leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes. One instance of these he was induced to leave on record in his autobiography, inasmuch as it shows an early projecting public spirit, though not then justly conducted. As it will furnish a striking example of the superior simplicity of Franklin's own style over that of the retranslation above described, I quote the account of this little effort of roguish engineering in both forms: —

The Original.

"There was a small marsh which bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which we used to fish for minnows. By much trampling we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there for us to stand upon; and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen had gone home, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and we worked diligently, like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, till we brought them all to make our little wharf. The next morning, the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which had formed our wharf. Inquiry was made after the authors of this transfer; we were discovered, complained of, and corrected by our fathers; and though I demonstrated the utility of the work, mine convinced me that that which was not honest could not be truly useful."

The Retranslation.

"The mill-pond was terminated on one side by a marsh, upon the borders of which we were accustomed to take our stand, at high water, to angle for small fish. By dint of walking we had converted the place into a perfect quagmire. My proposal was to erect a wharf that should afford us firm footing; and I pointed out to my companions a large heap of stones, intended for the building of a new house near the marsh, and which were well adapted for our purpose. Accordingly, when the workmen retired in the evening, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and by laboring diligently, like ants, sometimes four of us uniting our strength to carry a single stone, we removed them all, and constructed our little quay. The workmen were surprised the next morning at not finding their stones, which had been conveyed to our wharf. Inquiries were made respecting the authors of this conveyance; we were discovered; complaints were exhibited against us, and many of us underwent correction on the part of our parents; and though I strenuously defended the utility of the work, my father at length convinced me, that nothing which was not strictly honest could be useful."

This father, who succeeded so early in inculcating upon his hopeful son one of the great rules of practical morality, though in humble life, was no common man. He is admirably sketched in the autobiography. He had an excellent constitution, was of middle stature, was well set, and very strong. He could draw prettily, and was skilled a little in music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable, so that when he played on

his violin, and sung withal, as he was accustomed to do after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had some knowledge of mechanics, and on occasion was very handy with other tradesmen's tools. This taste and skill passed to his distinguished son. But his great excellence was his sound understanding, and his solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. It is true he was never employed in the latter, the numerous family he had to educate, and the straitness of his circumstances, keeping him close to his trade; but he was frequently visited by the leading men, who consulted him for his opinion in public affairs, and those of the church he belonged to, and who showed great respect for his judgment and advice. He was also much consulted by private persons when any difficulty occurred in their affairs, and was frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as possible, some sensible friend or neighbor, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic of discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. "By this means," continues Franklin, "he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table; whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind; so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters, as to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me. Indeed, I am so unobservant of it, that to this day I can scarce tell, a few hours after dinner, of what dishes it consisted. This has been a great convenience to me in travelling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites."

When Franklin's father taught his son this well-learned lesson of indifference to the pleasures of the table, he gave him, poor as he was, a better philosopher's stone, than was ever dreamed of by the alchemist. In the mean time, how-

ever, he was to learn a trade. Two years' trial at soap and candles but rendered this business the more disgusting, and increased the hankering for the sea, which the good father, however, still opposed. In the hope of finding among the other mechanical trades one which would strike the son's fancy, he was taken by his father to see the bricklayers, the joiners, the turners, and the braziers, but all apparently with no great effect. Some seeds indeed of mechanical ingenuity were sown, a fondness for tools encouraged, and so much skill in handling them acquired as to be ever after useful in life, not only in doing trifling jobs in the house, when a workman was not at hand, but in constructing machines for philosophical experiments, at the moment when their conception was fresh and warm. For a short time there is a prospect of a choice. The father has a nephew bred to the cutler's business in London, and just established in Boston. It is proposed that Benjamin shall be apprenticed to his cousin Samuel as a cutler. But the aspiring youth is designed by Providence to deal with weapons of a finer temper and a keener edge. There is no friendship in trade; Samuel demands an exorbitant fee for receiving his cousin as an apprentice, and the displeased uncle takes his son home again.

Benjamin, from his youth, had been passionately fond of reading, and all the money that came into his hands was laid out by him in purchasing books. The hereditary Puritanism of the family guided him to his first acquisition; but a better could hardly have been made. It consisted of the works of John Bunyan, in separate little volumes; and these, when thoroughly read, were sold to purchase R. Burton's Historical Collections, "small chapmen's books, forty volumes in all." As to the good father's little library, it consisted chiefly of books in polemical divinity — dry, unprofitable reading, most of which, however, Benjamin perused, and often regretted afterwards, that, at a time when he had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in his way. There was, however, among the father's books, a copy of Plutarch's Lives, which Benjamin read abundantly; and "I still think," says he, "that time spent to great advantage." No

doubt our hopeful little scapegrace who builds a wharf, in the night, with the stones laid up for a neighbor's house, and, preparatory to being whipped, "demonstrates to his father the utility of the work," was prepared to read the lives of the old Greek and Roman worthies to some advantage. They often took their neighbor's stones to build their own structures, and never failed, when necessary, "to demonstrate the utility of the work." Among the father's books were Defoe's Essay on Projects, and Cotton Mather's Essay to do good; "which," says the autobiography, "perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life."

This fondness for books at length determined the father for the trade of a printer, although he had already one son, (James) of that *profession*, for so Benjamin designates the calling of his choice. In 1717, James had returned from England with a press and types, to set up as a printer in Boston. This was a more attractive business than that of a tallow-chandler; but the desire for the sea still remained. To nip that passion effectually in the bud, the father was impatient to have Benjamin bound to his brother; a formidable affair in those rigid and summary times. Benjamin stood out for some time, but was at last persuaded, and signed the indenture when he was but twelve years old. He was to serve an apprenticeship of nine long years; but, as some compensation for this protracted term, he was to have journeyman's wages the last year.

These were somewhat hard conditions for a lad naturally impatient of restraint, and aspiring beyond his years. But the situation was not without its advantages. "I had now access to better books," and more of them, and from this time began with earnestness the work of self-education. The apprentice of the printer naturally became acquainted with the apprentices of the booksellers, and in this way a volume could be occasionally borrowed, which he was careful to return soon and clean. But a youngest apprentice, especially if but twelve years old, has not much leisure in the day for reading. "Often I sat up in my chamber," says

he, "reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening to be returned in the morning, lest it should be found missing." But he was not long compelled to pursue his youthful studies by stealth. Good Mr Matthew Adams, "a merchant, an ingenious, sensible man, who had a pretty collection of books," is a frequenter of the printing office. He perceives in the youngest apprentice the unmistakable signs of an ardent love of learning. "He took notice of me, invited me to see his library, and very kindly proposed to lend me such books as I chose to read." This friendly notice, and the books kindly placed within his reach, no doubt had a most important influence on the embryo philosopher and statesman. Worthy Mr Adams himself wrote "essays, which were received with marks of the public esteem at the time, and were reprinted in periodical miscellanies of later date." * Their memory has all but perished; but a single page in the autobiography has immortalized their writer as Franklin's first friend and patron.

About this time, that is, when our apprentice had perhaps reached his thirteenth or fourteenth year, he took a strong inclination to poetry, and wrote some little pieces. In this his brother James, "supposing it might turn to account," (alas for poor human nature!) encouraged him, and induced him to compose two occasional ballads. One was the *Light House Tragedy*, and deplored the shipwreck of Captain Worthilake and his two daughters; the other was a sailor's song, on the capture of the famous Teach, the pirate, commonly called Blackbeard. Franklin's mature judgment pronounced them "wretched stuff, in street-ballad style;" but the first, he says, sold prodigiously, the event being recent, and having made a great noise. Whatever the grown man, writing at the height of his fame, at the palace of a bishop, might have thought of them, the poor boy, at the time, had a right to be proud of his success. He composed them, set up the types from which they were printed, probably tended the press when they were struck off, and then, says he, "my

* Eliot's Biographical Dictionary.

brother sent me about town to sell them." They might well be called his works; but they are lost.

But there are dangers in success, especially to youngest apprentices. The prodigious sale of his ballads "flattered the vanity" of our boyish poet. Here the judicious and frugal parent stepped in. "My father discouraged me by criticizing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars." Not very cheering this: "Your verses, my little man, are pretty well for you; but, after all, they are but wretched stuff; and even if they were better, the chance is equal they will make a beggar of you. Throw away your pen, Benjamin, and stick to the composing-stick." Such was probably the substance of old Mr Franklin's Art of Poetry, shorter than Horace's, but, on this occasion, full as much to the point. "Thus," says his son, "I escaped being a poet, and probably a very bad one."

Not so with prose; and "as prose writing," says the autobiography, "has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how, in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I may be supposed to have in that way." It was in the following manner: Benjamin had become intimately acquainted with "another bookish lad about town, by name John Collins." With him he was in the habit of disputing on subjects suggested by their reading; and both being fond of argument, and very desirous of confuting each other, they began to contract a disputatious turn, which Franklin says he had already caught by reading his father's books of dispute on religion. He speaks of this as a very bad habit, making people extremely disagreeable in company, souring and spoiling the conversation, and producing disgusts and enmities. To this just condemnation of a disputatious turn, Dr Franklin adds the curious remark, that "persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and generally men of all sorts who have been bred at Edinburgh." In the course of their arguments, Collins and young Franklin fell upon the question, as to *the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and*

their abilities for study. Collins (and a graceless fellow he afterwards turned out to be, as might have been expected from this beginning) maintained that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. Benjamin took the contrary side, perhaps a little, as he states with candor, for dispute's sake. Collins seemed to get the better in the argument, rather from superior eloquence and a greater flow of words than by the strength of his reasons. This did not satisfy Benjamin, and as they parted, not to meet for some time, he wrote out his argument carefully, and sent it to his opponent. Collins rejoined in the same way, and three or four letters passed between them. These came to old Mr Franklin's knowledge, and without entering into the delicate subject of female education, he took occasion to talk to Benjamin about his manner of writing. The spelling and pointing (thanks to the discipline of the printing office) were superior to the antagonist's; but in elegance of expression, in method, and perspicuity, the advantage was greatly on his side. This the clear-headed father established by several instances, and the docile son "saw the justice of his remarks." The same prudent discipline, which had nipped a bad poet in the bud, fostered the germ of excellence in one of the best of prose writers. "I grew more attentive," says he, "to my manner of writing, and determined to endeavor to improve my style."

Chance threw in his way, at this moment, the guide and model of which he stood in need, — an odd volume of the Spectator, which he had never seen before. It had, in fact, been published but a short time, the first number having appeared on the first of March, 1711, and the last on the twentieth of December, 1714. Benjamin bought the odd volume, "read it over and over, and was much delighted with it." Nothing is more characteristic of the inborn good sense and sound taste of Franklin, brought up as he was in a family where the principal reading (and not much of that) was in the polemical writings of the Puritan divines, than to seize with instinctive avidity upon this odd volume of the Spectator, not yet known even at home as a standard work,

and which some chance had cast up on the shores of this distant and austere colony, like the trunk of a palm-tree drifted from the tropics to a colder region. But Addison was read and relished. Our youthful apprentice, his eyes already somewhat opened by his father's criticism, "thought the writing excellent, and determined, if possible, to imitate it."

With this view he took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiments in each sentence, laid them by for a few days, and then, without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, as fully as it stood in the author, and in any suitable words that occurred to him. "I then," says he, "compared *my* Spectator with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them." He felt, however, that he wanted a stock of words, or readiness in their recollection and use. He remembered his old poetical exercises: after all, it might not have been so bad to have kept them up; the continual search for words required by the measure or the rhyme would perhaps have taught variety and readiness in the use of language. But it is not too late to make the experiment; and some of the tales of the Spectator were translated into verse, and after a time, when the original was pretty well forgotten, turned back into prose. So, too, for the sake of learning method and arrangement of the thoughts, the above-mentioned hints were "jumbled into confusion," and, after some weeks, reduced to order before the process of recomposition began. "By comparing my work with the original," says the autobiography, "I discovered many faults, and corrected them; but I sometimes had the pleasure to fancy that, in certain particulars of small consequence, I had been fortunate enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think that I might, in time, come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious." Dr Blair has shown, in his Lectures on Rhetoric, that there was no arrogance in undertaking an occasional correction of the style of the Spectator, thrown off as it was in the haste inseparable from a daily publication.

The time allotted for these self-imposed exercises, and foı

reading, was at night, before work began in the morning, or on Sundays, when, it must be remarked with regret, he says, he contrived to be in the printing house, avoiding, as much as he could, the constant attendance at public worship, which his father exacted while under his care, and which he himself continued to consider his duty, though he could not afford time to practise it. It will be remembered, in extenuation of this error on the part of the studious youth, that the public services of religion were at that time protracted to what would now be thought an unreasonable and tedious length. But Franklin, it must be confessed, in reference to religion, contracted, in his early years, some loose notions, from reading the works of sceptical writers, such as Shaftesbury and Collins; a circumstance which, in the progress of the narrative, he admits and deplores.

At the age of sixteen, he learned one of the greatest lessons of prudential morality, — the inestimable importance of temperance, — which, at first, he pushed to extreme. Having met with a book written by one Tryon, which recommended a vegetable diet, he determined "to go into it." At that time, it was the practice for apprentices to board with their masters. James was unmarried, but boarded, with his apprentices, in another family. Benjamin's refusal to eat flesh occasioned inconvenience, and he was frequently chid for his singularity. Tryon's book came to his aid: he learned to prepare some of the dishes there recommended; to boil potatoes and rice, and make hasty pudding; and then proposed to his brother, that, if he would allow him weekly half the money which he paid for his board, he would board himself. The offer was instantly accepted; and our young Pythagorean found that he could sustain himself on half of his allowance. This was an additional fund for books; and it had another advantage. The sober apprentice staid at the printing house, while his brother and the rest went home to dinner. The solitary meal (often no more than a biscuit, a slice of bread, a handful of raisins, or a tart from the pastry cook's) was soon despatched. This left time for study, "in which," says he, "I made the greater progress, from that

greater clearness of head and quicker apprehension which generally attend temperance in eating and drinking;" for Franklin understood well — what is too often forgotten — that temperance belongs to both. Perhaps he carried it to a point which cannot be recommended for general imitation, in the degree of abstemiousness just described. It is impossible, however, to doubt, after the perusal of Franklin's biography, that his resolute temperance lay at the foundation of his success in life.

It was at this period, (about sixteen years of age,) that, having been on some occasion made ashamed of his ignorance of figures, he took up Cocker's Arithmetic and went through it himself, with the greatest ease, somewhat to the reproach of Master Brownwell's skill, of which we have spoken before. The difficulty may, however, really have been that the mind of the little boy, at nine years of age, had not yet ripened to a capacity for arithmetic. Now, too, he read one or two treatises of navigation, from one of which he derived some knowledge of geometry; and even ventured to take up Locke on Human Understanding and the Port Royal Art of Thinking.

While intent upon improving his language, he had met with an English Grammar, which contained at the end two little sketches of rhetoric and logic, with a specimen of a dispute in the *Socratic method*. He soon after procured a translation of Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, wherein there are many examples of the same method. He was charmed with it, adopted it, dropped his abrupt habit of contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer. Having, as has been already observed, imbibed some sceptical views, — though to what extent he does not inform us, — he employed this method of disputation as the safest for himself, and very embarrassing to those against whom he used it. He tells us that he took great delight in this method; that he practised it continually; that he grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, — entangling them in difficulties, out of

which they could not extricate themselves, — "and so," he adds, "obtaining victories that neither myself nor my cause always deserved." He continued this practice for some few years, but gradually gave it up, retaining only the habit of expressing himself with diffidence; never using terms of positive affirmation, like *certainly*, and *undoubtedly*; but such as, *I conceive*, or *I apprehend*. This practice he thought had been of great advantage to him, in inculcating his opinions and persuading men to concur with him in the measures he was desirous of promoting. The theory and practice of Franklin, in this respect, would be worth considering by those engaged at the present day in religious and political controversy. To vilify your opponent, and claim to yourself a monopoly of the argument and principle in the particular case, as well as of morality and religion in general, is too much the practice of many of our sects and parties.

On the seventh of August, 1721, James Franklin commenced the publication of the *New England Courant*, a weekly newspaper. It was the fourth paper published in British America, having been preceded by the Boston Newsletter, which began April seventeenth, 1704; by the Boston Gazette, fourteenth December, 1719, and the American Mercury, which began at Philadelphia, on the twenty-second of the same month of December, 1719.* James was dissuaded from this undertaking by some of his friends, who "thought one newspaper enough for America. At this time," (1771,) says Dr Franklin, "there are not less than twenty-five." At the present day, it has been estimated that there are from eighteen hundred to two thousand. But in a growing country there is always room for one more of any thing. James was determined not to be discouraged: another newspaper was wanted, and he was determined to print it.

This paper is somewhat remarkable in itself, and still more so in its connection with Franklin; the education of whose

* See Thomas's History of Printing in America, Vol. I. p. 308. In his autobiography, Dr Franklin, writing from memory, speaks of the *Courant* as the second newspaper published in America. He was probably misled by the circumstance, that his brother James for a while printed the *Gazette*.

boyhood was completed in its columns. We learn from the autobiography, and from the numbers of the Courant, — of which, however, unfortunately, a complete set is not known to be in existence, — that the publisher was assisted by a circle of ingenious men, who frequented his printing house, and amused themselves in writing little pieces for his columns. If the names of these ancient colonial wits are preserved, I am unable to repeat them: Matthew Adams, above mentioned, was no doubt one. Benjamin, the apprentice, listened to their conversations, as they met in the printing house, and to their accounts of the approbation with which their pieces from time to time were received; he listened, and was excited to try his hand among them. Being, however, still a boy, and an apprentice, doubting if his brother would admit into the Courant any thing he should write if he knew it to be his, he contrived to disguise his hand, wrote an anonymous paper, and put it by night under the door of the printing office. It was found in the morning, and communicated by James to the friends accustomed to write for him, when they made their usual visit. They read it, commented upon it in Benjamin's hearing, and he had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation. In their various guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character for learning and ingenuity. It may be doubted whether in after life, at the summit of fortune and renown, he ever passed a happier half hour than while he stood at the printing-frame and heard his anonymous essay commended. Encouraged by this attempt, he wrote several other pieces, and sent them to the press in the same way. He kept his secret till the fund for such performances was exhausted, and then divulged it. He rose a little in the estimation of the friends, but that did not quite please brother James, who thought it tended to make Benjamin vain, and was perhaps one cause of the differences which at that time began to exist between them.

These we must not pass over, although it is not pleasant to speak of the differences of brethren; but they had a decided influence over the whole course of Benjamin's life.

They seem to have begun in the relation of the two brothers in their trade. James was a master; Benjamin an indentured apprentice, — which in those times implied a good deal of menial service. James appears to have been a man of no little resolution, but, in other respects, of the common stamp; Benjamin was one of a thousand, with a mighty future opening in dim, unconscious vision before him. James exacted the same services from his brother that he would from any other apprentice; Benjamin thought he was degraded too much, and expected some indulgence. Their disputes were often brought before the father. The right of appeal might be doubted, and Benjamin generally gained his cause. Joseph is apt to prevail, when he pleads his own cause, and Jacob sits on the bench. But James could not wait for the tedious process of appeal, — perhaps he began to doubt the impartiality of the tribunal. Besides, he was passionate, and often beat Benjamin, which the latter took extremely amiss. Then there was the almost interminable indenture, but little more than half run out. "I was continually wishing for some opportunity," says the autobiography, "to shorten it, which at length offered itself, in an unexpected manner."

The Courant from a very early day showed itself quite free-spoken; it was no doubt thought by many impertinent. Venerable Dr Increase Mather subscribed for it, but seems to have dropped it in disgust with the third number. It was charged with being disrespectful to the civil authority and the ministers, loose in opinion on matters of religion, and abusive of private character. The freedom of the press was not understood in those days. A sharp controversy soon arose on the subject of inoculation for the small-pox. The Courant, though professing to be impartial, evidently leaned against the introduction of the startling novelty. The Mathers, father and son, recommended it with greater zeal and knowledge than discretion. It must be admitted that, contrary to what might have been expected, they were of what should have been the popular side. The Courant threw itself more on popular prejudice and opposition to innovation; although I believe modern science has gone round the whole

circle, and got back to the starting-point, with the doubt whether inoculation for the small-pox diminished, upon the whole, the number of its victims. Be this as it will, great bitterness was evolved in the controversy in 1721. The physicians, through their organ the Courant, opposed, the clergy from their pulpits defended, the practice. The passions of the people ran so high that some of the latter "received personal injury, others were insulted in the street, and were hardly safe in their houses." * A "*granado*" was thrown into one of Cotton Mather's windows, but providentially did no harm. On the twenty-fourth of January the venerable Increase Mather fulminated a denunciation of the Courant, in his own name, in the rival paper, the Boston Gazette. The close of this extraordinary anathema is in the following words: "I that have known what *New England* was from the Beginning, cannot but be troubled to see the Degeneracy of this Place. I can well remember when the Civil Government could have taken an effectual Course to suppress such a *Cursed Libel!* which if it be not done, I am afraid that some *Awful Judgment* will come upon this land, and that the *wrath of GOD will arise*, and there will be no remedy. I cannot but pity poor *Franklin*, [James,] who though but a *Young Man*, it may be *speedily* he must appear before the judgment seat of GOD, and what answer will he give for printing things so vile and abominable? And I cannot but Advise the Supporters of this *Courant* to consider the consequences of being *Partakers of other Men's Sins*, and no more countenance such a *Wicked Paper*."

The first notice taken by young Franklin of this denunciation was to reprint it with all its minatory capitals and Italics in the next number of his own paper. A formal reply, written with spirit and point, appeared a fortnight later, and contained, what was no doubt the most satisfactory vindication, the statement, that the Courant had received more than forty new subscribers in the course of the month.

* Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, p. 79.

What part, or whether any, was taken by Benjamin in these early troubles of the Courant, is not recorded. He was but a boy of sixteen, — a drudge in his brother's service, — not likely to have given the tone to these proceedings; but very likely, on sly occasion, to have pointed a stray sarcasm or aimed a saucy epigram at some distinguished mark. Graver proceedings were in train, in which the courageous apprentice was to bear a prominent part, and to find a way of escape from the burdensome indentures.

The thunderbolt of the offended patriarch fell as harmless at young Franklin's feet as the granado had at son Cotton's. It was behind the age. The Courant went on as usual, not merely in reference to inoculation, but to every other topic of public interest and concern. It was clever, bold, somewhat scandalous even, at times, not wholly free from coarseness, but well sustained by a club of wits behind the scenes. An intention evidently existed on the part of those in authority to lay the hand of power on the audacious journal. The occasion seized to execute this purpose was, it must be owned, of the slightest. A piratical vessel had appeared off Block Island, and the government of Massachusetts was requested by the government of Rhode Island to join in proper measures for the capture of the corsair. The Courant of June eleventh, 1722, contained an article dated at Newport, and giving an account of what was done there by way of fitting out vessels to cruise for the buccaneer, and ending with a single sentence, which certainly implies, in rather a sarcastic manner, that the government at Boston were taking matters quite leisurely. This was an unjust insinuation, inasmuch as it appears that an armed cruiser was impressed, manned by a hundred men, and was got ready to sail on the second or third day after the news of the pirate reached Boston.

For this offence, James Franklin was sent for, examined before the council, and acknowledged himself the publisher of the paper. A concurrent vote passed the two houses, that the paragraph in question was a high affront to this government, and the sheriff of Suffolk was ordered to commit the

printer forthwith to jail, where he remained till the end of the session.*

During his confinement, the paper was carried on by Benjamin, then but a little over sixteen years of age. Whether he was himself, at this time, called before the council, is not certain; but no one can doubt that these trying scenes, and the responsibility which devolved upon him, formed no small part of the discipline which prepared him for the great work of his after life. Notwithstanding their personal differences, the brother apprentice entered into his master's wrongs, and "made bold to give the rulers some rubs, which James took very kindly." The tone of the paper, however, during the imprisonment of the proprietor, was, of necessity, much subdued.

As soon as he was restored to liberty, the Courant resumed its accustomed boldness. The leading article of the next paper appeared with this motto, from a sermon of worthy Dr Hickeringill, (whose fame, but for this quotation, might hardly have reached us:) "And then, after they had anathematized and cursed a man to the devil, and the devil did not or would not take him, then to make the sheriff and the jailer take the devil's leavings." The following numbers teemed with pertinent extracts from English writers, and speeches in the English parliament, on the great principles of civil liberty, and the freedom of the press; and the twenty-ninth chapter of Magna Chartâ was reprinted, with Lord Coke's commentary at length. In a word, the result of this, as of most other attempts to restrain the liberty of the press, was to give it greater boldness and power.

I believe, however, that the Courant and its conductors have, on this occasion, had credit for one reckless speech which was never made by them. Mr Isaiah Thomas, the veteran historian of printing in America, having related the preceding incidents, proceeds to say, that the club, by which the Courant was supported, "then applied the *lash*, as it was termed, with the greater energy, especially to the governor

* See note at the end.

and some of the clergy." This expression is supported by the following note: "No. 52 [should be 53] has this advertisement: 'This paper, No. 52, [53,] begins the fifth quarter, and those that have not paid for THE LASH are desired to send in their money, or pay it to the bearer.'" But our youthful censors, or rather the ingenious wits who supported them, were bold and keen, not coarse. It seems to have been the custom in those days to pay the subscription to the newspapers quarterly. At the commencement of the new quarter, the Courant appeared with this advertisement: "This paper (No. 53) begins the fifth quarter, and those who have not paid for the *last* are desired to send in their money or pay it to the bearer." The venerable historian of printing mistook the old fashioned *ſt* for *ſh*.*

But it must be owned, that the lash, if not threatened in words, was pretty freely applied in fact. At the end of another six months, the printer was again in trouble. On the fourteenth of January, 1723, a piece appeared in the Courant on the subject of *hypocrisy*, containing severe allusions evidently to persons of authority or influence, not now, perhaps, traceable to the individuals aimed at. The printer was sent for, and questioned as to the author of the offensive piece. Benjamin also was probably, at this time, taken up and examined before the council; but though he did not give them any satisfaction, they contented themselves with admonishing him, and dismissed him. They made allowances for him as an apprentice, and consequently bound to keep his master's secrets.

Dr Franklin's account of these events, written from memory after a lapse of more than half a century, runs into one occurrence the incidents of June, 1722, and January, 1723, a portion of his narrative belonging to one occasion, and a portion to the other. This leaves it doubtful whether he himself was examined in June or January. Be this as it will, both branches of the General Court concurred in an act

* Thomas's History of Printing in America, Vol. II. p. 218. Compare the advertisement in No. 53 of the Courant with that in Nos. 52, 79, and 157.

which was approved by the governor, by which it was ordered that, in consequence of the irreligious and offensive character of the paper of the fourteenth of January, "James Franklin, the printer and publisher thereof, be strictly forbidden, by this court, to print or publish the New England Courant, or any pamphlet or paper of the like nature, except it be first supervised by the secretary of this province;" and in addition, he was required to give bonds to be of good behavior for twelve months. Our worthy fathers forgot that they were not the Long Parliament.

What took place in this emergency had better be related in the exact words of our apprentice, now lifted unexpectedly into a new and critical position, at the age of seventeen.

Original.

"On a consultation held in our printing office among his friends, what he should do in this conjuncture, it was proposed to elude the order by changing the name of the paper.* But my brother, seeing inconveniences in this, came to a conclusion, as a better way, to let the paper in future be printed in the name of Benjamin Franklin; and in order to avoid the censure of the assembly, that might fall on him as still printing it by an apprentice, he contrived and consented that my old indenture should be returned to me with a discharge on the back of it, to show in case of necessity; and in order to secure to him the benefit of my service, I should sign new indentures for the remainder of my time, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was: however, it was immediately executed,

Retranslation.

"In this conjuncture we held a consultation of our friends at the printing house, in order to determine what was to be done. Some proposed to evade the order* by changing the title of the paper; but my brother, foreseeing inconveniences that would result from this step, thought it better that in future it should be printed in the name of Benjamin Franklin; and to avoid the censure of the assembly, who might charge him with still printing the paper himself, under the name of his apprentice, it was resolved that my old indentures should be given up to me, with a full and entire discharge written on the back, in order to be produced on an emergency; but that, to secure to my brother the benefit of my service, I should sign a new contract, which should be kept secret during the remainder of the term.

* The order was not, as stated from recollection in the autobiography, "that he should no longer print the newspaper called the New England Courant," but that he should be strictly forbidden to publish that "*or any pamphlet or paper of the like nature.*" See the order in the Courant, No. 77.

and the paper was printed, accordingly, under my name, for several months.* At length, a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom, presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon one of the first *errata* of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me, though he was otherwise not an ill-natured man; perhaps I was too saucy and provoking."

This was a very shallow arrangement. It was, however, carried into immediate execution, and the paper continued in consequence to make its appearance for some months in my name.* At length, a new difference arising between my brother and me, I ventured to take advantage of my liberty, presuming that he would not dare to produce the new contract. It was undoubtedly dishonorable to avail myself of this circumstance, and I reckon this action as one of the first errors of my life; but I was little capable of estimating it at its true value, imbittered as my mind had been by the recollection of the blows I had received. Exclusively of his passionate treatment of me, my brother was by no means a man of an ill temper; and perhaps my manners had too much impertinence not to afford it a very natural pretext."

A questionable transaction, no doubt; wrong on all sides; youthful petulance anonymously indulged, and pushed beyond the fair limits of the liberty of the press; provoked authority illegally and oppressively exercised; and cunning caught in its own toils. The smallest part of the blame must be laid at the door of the youngest party; the shame and pain of the passionate beatings must be remembered in palliation; and the frank confession be accepted in atonement for the remainder of the offence.

And so finished the long apprenticeship before its still distant term was reached. It had, however, lasted five years, and in that time Benjamin had learned what proved to him a lucrative trade, had read widely, and with voracious appetite; had borne, not without fretfulness, the yoke of discipline; had

* Not only for some months, but for several years; probably as long as it was published at all. The last paper in the set which belongs to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and which is perhaps *unique*, is No. 253, for June 4, 1726, more than three years after Benjamin Franklin left Boston, but still bearing *his* imprint.

stood unsubdued before the presence of power, and on the threshold of a jail; and before he was fairly out of his boyhood, had assumed the responsibility of a man. This is not what one would choose beforehand as a desirable plan of education; but it is fit training for a bold part in difficult times.

When James found that Benjamin was determined to leave his service, he took care to prevent his getting employment in any other printing house in Boston, by going round and giving the poor boy a bad character with every master in town. No one would give him work. Such an unbrotherly act was no doubt justified in the opinion of James, as the means of bringing back Benjamin to the path of duty. But he knew not the spirit with which he had to do. Unable to find employment in his native town, he determined to seek it elsewhere; and thought of New York as the nearest place where there was a printer. Other considerations inclined him to leave his home. The course which he had pursued, in reference to his brother's paper, had made him somewhat obnoxious to the governing party; and the arbitrary proceedings of the assembly towards James led him to fear that if he staid, he might get into trouble. Besides this, he ingenuously confesses that his indiscreet disputations on religion had begun to cause him to be pointed at with horror by good people, as an infidel and an atheist. For these reasons he determined to remove to New York. They were not reasons, of course, to be approved by the judicious father, who now sided with James; and Benjamin was sensible that if he attempted to go openly, means would be taken to prevent him. His friend Collins accordingly undertook to manage his flight. An agreement was made with the captain of a New York sloop to take him on board; and reasons were assigned, discreditable as well as false, for keeping the transaction secret. The well-read books were sold to raise a little money; he was taken on board the sloop privately, had a fair wind, and in three days found himself three hundred miles from home, at the age of seventeen — a disgraced and fugitive apprentice, without any recommendation, or knowing

any person in the place, and with very little money in his pocket.

On this voyage to New York, Benjamin made an observation in natural history, which disturbed his theoretical objections against the use of animal food, and influenced his habits in this respect. The sloop was becalmed off Block Island, and the crew employed themselves in catching cod, of which they took great numbers. Up to this time, Benjamin had stuck to his resolution not to eat any thing that had had life. On this occasion the solemn reflection crossed his mind, that according to his master Tryon, (the writer already mentioned,) "the taking of fish was a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had nor could do us any harm that might justify this massacre." All this was reasonable; but human nature will vindicate itself. If you put down a hungry New England boy before a mess of fried codfish, with his appetite sharpened by the pure sea air, you must take the consequences. "I had formerly," says our philosophical young vagrant, "been a great lover of fish; and when it came out of the frying-pan, it smelt admirably well." But he did not, in this extremity, rush blindly and without reflection on the savory viands. He balanced, like a conscientious runaway, between principle and temptation. He recollected that, as he stood peering over the sailors when the fish were opened, he saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs. One may at any time see, in fishing on the Grand Bank, a fresh cuttle-fish taken from a newly-caught cod, and a small crab extracted from the cuttle-fish. Could the investigation be pushed further into the diminutive sidler, there would no doubt be found within his tiny maw some microscopical univalve, some cube root, as it were, of a mollusk; and so on indefinitely. How far Benjamin pushed his researches, he does not tell us; but this first lesson in natural history was not lost upon him. "If you eat one another," thought he, "I don't see why we may not eat you." So he dined upon cod very heartily, and continued afterwards to eat as other people, returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet.

As New York was but a small place in 1723, — not probably containing more than eight thousand inhabitants, — the means of getting employment for a friendless, runaway apprentice were not likely to abound.* His original passion for the sea was by this time done away, or it might now easily have been gratified. A voyage round Cape Cod, in a sloop, was likely enough to give our youthful fugitive some new ideas on that subject. Besides, he had another profession; and, conceiving himself a pretty good workman, he offered his services to a printer of the place, — old Mr William Bradford, — who, thirty years before, had established the first printing press in New York.† Old Mr Bradford had little to do and plenty of hands, and could give him no employment; but advised him to go to Philadelphia, where his son, also a printer, had lately lost his principal hand, and was likely to have employment for Benjamin. Philadelphia was a hundred miles off; but our stout-hearted adventurer has no time to lose, nor money to spare, in waiting for work. He starts in a boat for Amboy, leaving his "chest and things" to follow him round by sea. In crossing Staten Island Sound, they were struck by a squall, which tore their rotten sails to pieces, prevented their getting into the kill, and drove them upon the shore of Long Island. Here the surf prevented their landing, and compelled them to pass a weary night, supperless, sleepless, and drenched with rain. The wind abated the next day, and they made shift to reach Amboy before night, "having been thirty hours on the water without victuals or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum." In the evening, our

* The population of New York is stated at 8620, in 1731. See American Almanac for 1830.

† Dr Franklin, in the autobiography, writing in 1771, states that old Mr Bradford "had been the first printer in Pennsylvania; but had removed thence, in consequence of a quarrel with the governor, Geo. Keith." Bradford removed to New York in 1693, in consequence of a prosecution against himself and a certain George Keith, for a libel. *Sir William* Keith was first governor in 1717, twenty-four years after Bradford's removal. In the subsequent part of his narrative, Dr Franklin alludes to the errors which may have crept into it, in consequence of its having been written from memory and without the means of referring to his papers.

youthful traveller found himself very feverish, and went to bed; but having read somewhere that cold water drank plentifully was good for a fever, he followed the prescription. He sweat plentifully during the night, and the fever left him. Crossing the ferry the following day, he pursued the journey on foot towards Burlington, — a distance of fifty miles, — and where he was told that he would find boats that would take him the rest of the way to Philadelphia.

This was not quite so luxurious a mode of travelling as the litter of Marie Antoinette, in which he went from Paris to Havre in 1785; and Benjamin wished himself well back in the printing house in Queen Street, Boston, even at the risk of a beating from his passionate brother. It rained hard all day; he was soon thoroughly soaked, and, by noon, a good deal tired. He stopped at a poor inn, where he staid all night, beginning now (he confesses) to wish he had never left home. Nor was this the worst. He made so miserable a figure, that he was suspected of being a runaway indentured servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. He was, however, allowed to proceed without detention; and got to an inn in the evening, within eight or ten miles of Burlington. On arriving at Burlington the next day, (Saturday,) he finds that the regular boats for Philadelphia had just gone, and he must wait till Tuesday for the next chance.

This was sad news for a light pocket. Benjamin returned to an old woman, of whom he had purchased a stock of gingerbread to eat on the river, for the purpose of asking her advice. The good-natured soul proposed to lodge him till a passage could be had in some other boat. Foot-sore by the long journey, Benjamin accepted the offer. Learning that he was a printer, the gingerbread dame would have had him remain in Burlington and follow his business, "ignorant," says the narrative, "what stock it was necessary to begin with." More likely the kind old heart saw but too plainly how lightly the poor boy was stocked with the years and other needed outfit for venturing safely into the trials and temptations of the city. She gave him, however, a hospitable dinner of ox cheek, and would accept nothing but a pot of

ale in return. Luckily, as he was walking on the Delaware, in the evening, a boat came down the river going to Philadelphia, with several persons on board. They took him in; and, as there was no wind, they rowed all the day. At midnight, some of the company were confident they had passed the city, and would row no farther. They turned into a creek, and, landing near an old fence, helped themselves to the rails to make a fire, for it was a cold October night. In the morning, they found themselves in Cooper's Creek, just above Philadelphia; and reaching the city about nine o'clock, on Sunday morning, landed at Market Street Wharf.

Dr Franklin informs his son that he had been more particular in this description of his journey, and should be so of his first entry into Philadelphia, that he might compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure he afterwards made in that city. His best clothes had been sent round by sea, and he was in his working dress, — not certainly improved by the rain and the long journey on foot, — "dirty from being so long in the boat, the pockets stuffed out with shirts and stockings." He knew no one, nor where to look for a lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and the want of sleep, he was very hungry. His whole stock of cash was a single dollar and about a shilling in copper, which he gave to the boatmen for his passage. At first they refused it, as he had rowed with them from Burlington to Philadelphia; but Benjamin insisted on their taking it. *He was afraid they would think he was poor!* Walking towards the top of the street, he met a boy with bread. He had often made a meal of dry bread, and eagerly got a direction to the baker's. "I asked for biscuits, *meaning such as we had in Boston:* that sort, it seems, was not made in Philadelphia. I then asked for a threepenny loaf, and was told they had none." This was, indeed, to be in a land of strangers.

There was very good bread in Philadelphia, as there is now, capital. But the boy's

"eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away."

He would have liked a biscuit such as they have in Boston;

but, since *that sort* was not known in the benighted, distant province, "I told him to give me threepenny worth of *any* sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it; and, having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market Street as far as Fourth Street, passing by the door of Mr Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chesnut Street and Walnut Street, eating my roll all the way; and, coming round, found myself again at Market Street Wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in a boat with us, and were waiting to go farther. Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which, by this time, had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and was thereby led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers, near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round a while and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy, through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when some one was kind enough to rouse me. This, therefore, was the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia."

We have now reached the starting-point of Franklin's fortunes. Lower he could not well sink. He is without a lodging, an acquaintance, or a dollar, — in a strange city, three hundred and fifty miles from home. But, from this moment, (with the exception of a few crosses and slight mischances,) every step that he took was forward and upwards. We shall keep him company a little longer, but pass rather more rapidly over the road. He immediately sought and found employment with Bradford, the son, and Keimer, the two printers in Philadelphia, for each of whom he worked as they had business for him. Their establishments were miserably provided, — they themselves poorly skilled in the

art. Franklin, however, by his assiduity, contrived to earn some money, and took up his lodgings at Mr Read's, making now a better appearance in the eyes of his future wife than when she first saw him. He also formed an acquaintance with some young men of the town, who were lovers of reading, and with them he passed his evenings very pleasantly.

His friends in Boston (with the exception of Collins) were ignorant where he resided ; nor did he intend soon to return. An accidental circumstance led him to alter this purpose. He had a brother-in-law, Captain Holmes, who commanded a sloop in the coasting trade between Boston and the Delaware. He, being at Newcastle, and having heard that Benjamin was at Philadelphia, wrote a letter, informing him of the grief of his parents and friends, entreating him to return, and promising, on their behalf, that every thing should be accommodated to his satisfaction. Benjamin wrote him a letter in reply, thanking him for his advice, and stating the reasons for his departure, in such a light as to convince good Captain Holmes that he was not so much in the wrong as he apprehended.

Sir William Keith, governor of the province, was then at Newcastle ; and Captain Holmes happened to be with him when he received Benjamin's letter. The letter was shown to the governor, and read by him, who said the writer was evidently a young man of promising parts, and must be encouraged. Returned to Philadelphia, and in company with Colonel French, another person of influence, the governor called upon Benjamin while at work in Keimer's office, took him off to a tavern to taste some excellent Madeira with Colonel French, loaded him with compliments, advised him to set up for himself, and promised him the public printing. As the astonished youth expressed doubts whether his friends in Boston would assist him in such an undertaking, Sir William promised to write to his father, and set forth the advantages of the project. It was concluded over their Madeira that he should go to Boston in the first vessel.

Accordingly, about the end of April, 1724, seven months after his departure, he sailed for Boston, with ample and flat-

tering letters from the governor. He arrived in a fortnight, and all were very glad to see him, except brother James, who had not perhaps digested the original offence, and who was offended at Benjamin's genteel new clothes, watch, and pocket full of silver, somewhat ostentatiously displayed in the presence of his admiring journeymen. The cautious father was pleased, but not convinced, by Sir William's letters; Captain Holmes recommended the project, but in vain. It was out of the question for a boy of eighteen to set up for himself in a business requiring an expensive outfit. Accordingly, a civil letter of acknowledgment is written by the father to the governor, declining to accede to his proposal. He gave his consent, however, to Benjamin's return to Philadelphia, and dismissed him with much good advice to behave respectfully to the people there, and avoid lampooning and libelling, to which he thought him too much inclined. He encouraged him with the prospect, that, by industry and parsimony, he might save enough, by the time he was one and twenty, to set up for himself, and promised, if at that time he came near the mark, he would help him out with the rest. "This was all I could obtain, except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embarked again for New York, now with their approbation and blessing."

And here, at length, with his parents' blessing, we may safely leave him. To trace him with minuteness through the remainder of his career would require a volume. We can but glance at the subsequent events of his life, which was passed in almost unbroken prosperity and success. On his return to New York, on the way to Philadelphia, Governor Burnet, the son of the celebrated bishop of that name, having heard of him from the captain of the vessel which brought him from Boston, as a young man who had books in his possession, sent for him and treated him with kindness. This was the second colonial governor who, within a few months, had taken particular notice of him. As he was yet but a poor and friendless youth, he was justly flattered with this distinction. There seems to have been something about him,

from early youth, which attracted the notice and won the confidence of persons older than himself.

On reaching Philadelphia, he fell again into the hands of Sir William Keith, who seems to have been a light, inconsiderate person, addicted to making promises which he never thought of performing. Pretending regret that his father was not willing to set him up in business, he avowed the resolution of doing so himself. He directed Franklin to make out an inventory of the articles necessary to a printing office, promising to aid him in the purchase. The amount was one hundred pounds sterling. This, Sir William Keith informed him, no doubt truly enough, could be laid out much more advantageously in London, where also beneficial correspondences could be established. Letters of recommendation and credit were promised by the heartless great man. With these treacherous encouragements, Benjamin makes ready to sail in the Annis, the *annual* ship, and the only regular trader at that time between Philadelphia and London. The letters constantly promised by the governor were constantly delayed; and at length, when our youthful adventurer was actually embarked, Sir William had the almost incredible meanness to send him word that the letters of credit, with the rest of the governor's despatches, had been thrown into the letter-bag, and could be selected on the passage. Arrived in London, poor Benjamin found that no such letters had been written, and that it was the governor's habit and apparent amusement to make promises which he never intended to perform. Thus was he betrayed into the great world of London, without resources, without friends able to serve him, and dependent on his hands for support at the age of eighteen.

But he immediately went to work as a journeyman printer, and labored a year and a half in that employment with diligence and success. At the close of this period, he formed a connection in trade with Mr Denham, a merchant of Philadelphia, with whom he had become acquainted in London, who was about to establish himself in America on a large scale, and who made tempting overtures to Franklin to join

him. On leaving London, he remarks, that most of the time he had spent there he had worked hard at the printing business, and spent but little money on himself, except in seeing plays and buying books. His *friend* Ralph (not unknown as a voluminous writer on English history) kept him poor, and he returned home more improved in knowledge than in fortune.

On his return to Philadelphia, at the age of twenty, he commenced business as a trader with Mr Denham; applied himself diligently to his duty, studied accounts, and became expert in selling. This arrangement was of short duration. Franklin fell dangerously ill, as did also his friend and partner; and the latter, after lingering for some time, died. This circumstance broke up the establishment, and with it Benjamin's employment as a trader. He resumed the business of a printer, as foreman to Keimer, for whom he had worked on his first arrival in Philadelphia. After about a year passed in his service, he established himself as a printer, in partnership with a fellow-apprentice of the name of Meredith; and from that time forward — at first slowly, but at length with rapidity — he rose to full employment, consideration, wealth, and fame.

I shall not attempt to trace the narrative any farther; in fact, we have gone through the boyhood and youth of Franklin. The foundation is laid; temperance, untiring industry, a clear understanding, a cheerful temper, and resolute purpose will do the rest. The first decisive upward step was the establishment of a newspaper, in which all his training in the office of the Courant came immediately in play. A pamphlet, on paper currency, soon followed; the first of that series of publications to which — and by means of his happy style of prose composition — he owed, in his own opinion, his advancement in the world. Soon the foundations of a public library are laid. Anon, through the humble pages of an almanac, Poor Richard begins to utter his oracles of simple wisdom, and to carry instruction to every fireside in the colonies. The office of postmaster of Philadelphia is soon conferred upon him, the first of a long series of public

trusts, uniformly discharged with success and credit. Projects for a city watch and a fire company evince the practical — at all times the prevailing — cast of his mind; while the plan of a philosophical society shows that the taste for public utility is united with a fondness for scientific research. The foundations are now laid by him for an institution for education, which eventually grows up into the University of Pennsylvania. At this stage of his career, the experiments by which the identity of the electric fluid and lightning is satisfactorily established place his name among the most distinguished in science. But science is only his recreation. He enters political life as a member of the assembly, and takes a leading and efficient part in the public business, civil and military, in difficult times. His great capacity for affairs soon points him out for almost the only civil office, before the revolution, which required a comprehensive view of the whole country — that of postmaster-general for America. In 1754, he is a member of the Congress at Albany, and proposes there a plan for a union of the colonies. Honors, at length, begin to reach him from abroad. He is chosen a member of the Royal Society of London, and, going to England as the agent of Pennsylvania, he is welcomed to the highest scientific circles. He returns to his own country, fills the speaker's chair of the assembly of Pennsylvania, but is soon sent back to England, the agent — the envoy, in fact — of half a dozen colonies. Here he is thrown, by events, into the position of representative and champion of his country, during the long and anxious struggle which sprung from the ministerial plan of American taxation. When the war broke out in 1775, he was already sixty-nine years of age, but entered, at that advanced period of life, with the alacrity of a youth, on a career substantially untried. To the station of minister of the United States to the court of France, he carried a European reputation of the highest order, and an influence over the public mind in England not probably possessed by any other man. Associated with Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, he negotiates, in 1778, the treaty of alliance with France, and, in company with John

Adams and John Jay, signed, in 1783, the definitive treaty of independence and peace with Great Britain. Once more, and for the last time, returned to his native land, at the age of eighty, he fills, for three years successively, the highest office in the state of Pennsylvania. His last appearance in public life was as a member of the convention for forming the constitution of the United States. Although his age and its infirmities prevented his taking a very active part in the business of that body, a few short speeches made by him are preserved, which attest the soundness of his mind. Among the most significant is that with which he prefaced his motion for daily prayers in the convention, an extract from which will show that, although he had formed, in early life, loose notions on points of Christian doctrine, he was firmly grounded on the great basis of all practical religion. An extract from this speech will furnish an appropriate close of the present imperfect sketch.

After commenting on the fact that the convention had been four or five weeks in session, without making any valuable progress, Dr Franklin proceeds as follows: —

"In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers, in this room, for the divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God *governs in the affairs of men!* And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel: we shall be divided by our little partial, local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest."

NOTE.

See Page 27.

As the precise causes of the arrest and imprisonment of James Franklin have not, I believe, hitherto been stated, I have examined the manuscript records of the General Court for the month of June, 1722, for the purpose of ascertaining them. The incident is one of considerable curiosity in our domestic history, and the following detail may therefore be interesting to the reader.

In the month of May, 1722, a piratical vessel appeared off Block Island, and made some captures. Information of this event was sent by the governor of Rhode Island to Governor Shute at Boston, and by him communicated to the Council on the 7th of June. The report was, that a pirate brigantine of two great guns and four swivel guns, and of fifty men, was off the coast, and had captured several vessels. In the defenceless state of the American coasts and waters, this was an event well calculated to cause alarm, though not one of infrequent occurrence.

The news from Rhode Island was immediately referred to a joint committee of the Council and House of Representatives, who reported on the same day, "that it would be of service to the government and of security to trade, that a large sloop of seventy or eighty tons, or some other suitable vessel, *should be immediately impressed*, and manned with one hundred men, and suitable officers to command the same, to be equipped with six great guns, and a sufficient quantity of all warlike stores, offensive and defensive, with provisions suitable for the said number of men for one month, to cruise between the capes or elsewhere, where the captain-general shall see cause to go in quest of a pirate brigantine expected to be on our coast, or any other vessel that they shall have suspicion of."

This report was forthwith adopted; the same committee was instructed to carry its recommendations into effect; and the treasurer was ordered to furnish the necessary supplies.

No time seems to have been lost in executing these measures, for we find from the records of the court, that on the next day (8th June, 1722) the House of Representatives passed the following resolve:—

"Whereas this court has resolved that a suitable vessel, manned with a hundred men, to be well furnished and equipped with all warlike stores, offensive and defensive, shall be despatched and sent out with all possible expedition to reduce and suppress a piratical brigantine now infesting our coast, — for the encouragement of that expedition under Peter Papillon,

"*Voted*, That the captors shall be entitled to the piratical vessel they shall take, and all the goods, wares, and merchandises that shall be found on board, belonging to the pirates, so far as is consistent with the acts of parliament in such case made and provided.

"And for further encouragement, that they be paid out of the public treasury the sum of ten pounds per head for every pirate killed, or that shall be taken, by them, convicted of piracy, and shall also be entitled to the common wages of the port; and in case any man on board shall be maimed or wounded in engaging, fighting, or repelling the pirates, he shall be entitled to a bounty suitable to the wounds he or they shall receive, to be allowed and paid out of the public treasury of this province."

It seems from these resolutions that a certain Captain Peter Papillon, at that time outward bound for Barbadoes, had been immediately engaged to command the vessel sent out against the pirates, which was named, as appears from subsequent proceedings, the "Flying Horse."

On the 9th of June, the sum of one hundred pounds was ordered to be advanced to Captain Papillon, to be paid to his men on account of their wages. On the same day, a petition was presented to the General Court by Philip Bunker and others, praying "that they may be allowed to proceed on their fishing, and call at Nantucket as they go along, to give intelligence of the pirate; *notwithstanding the embargo*."

As it does not appear from the records of the court that any embargo was laid; as no notice of any embargo appears in the Courant for this week, but, on the contrary, vessels appear to have cleared out as usual at the custom-house; this petition of Philip Bunker needs further explanation.

On Monday, June 11th, in the Courant which appeared that day, there was an article dated Newport, Rhode Island, June 7th, containing an account of the appearance of the pirate off Block Island, and of the prompt steps taken at Newport to send out two vessels to cruise against him. The article then concludes with this remark: —

"We are advised from Boston, that the government of the Massachusetts are fitting out a ship to go after the pirates, to be commanded by Captain Peter Papillon, and *'tis thought he will sail sometime this month, wind and weather permitting*."

The same paper, under the Boston head, announced that above a hundred men had been enlisted, and that the vessel would probably sail that day.

But the insinuation of tardiness in the conclusion of the pretended article from Rhode Island, seems to have been taken in very ill part. On the

12th of June, the following singular proceedings were had in the General Court: —

"Tuesday, 12 June, 1722. Present in Council,
"His Excellency, SAMUEL SHUTE, Esqr, Govr.

"William Tailer, Samuel Sewall, Penn Townsend, Nath'l Norden, Add. Davenport, Thos. Hutchinson, Thos. Fitch, Edmund Quincy, Adam Winthrop, Jona. Belcher,	Esqrs,	Isaac Winslow, Edward Bromfield, John Cushing, Benj'n Lynde, Jona. Dowse, Paul Dudley, Sam'l Thaxter, Charles Frost, Spencer Phips,	Esqrs.

"In Council, the board having before them a paper called the New England Courant, of the date of June 11th, 1722, and apprehending that a paragraph therein, said to be written from Rhode Island, contains matter of reflection on this government,

"*Ordered*, That the publisher of said paper be forthwith sent for to answer for the same, and accordingly James Franklyn, of Boston, Printer, was sent for, examined, and owned he had published the said paper.

"In Council, the board having had consideration of a paragraph in a paper called the New England Courant, published on Monday last, relating to the fitting out a ship here to proceed against the pyrates, and having examined James Franklyn, printer, who acknowledged himself the publisher thereof, and finding the said paragraph to be grounded on a letter, pretended by the said Franklyn to be received from Rhode Island,

"*Resolved*, That the said paragraph is a high affront to this government.

"In the House of Representatives, read and concurred, and

"*Resolved*, That the sheriff of the county of Suffolk do forthwith commit to the gaol in Boston the body of James Franklyn, printer, for the gross affront offered to this government in the Courant of Monday last.

"In Council, read and concurred; consented to [by the governor.]"

In virtue of this resolution, James Franklin was arrested under a speaker's warrant, and confined in the stone jail.

This summary power of punishing persons deemed guilty of contempts, though perhaps now exercised for the first time in America in a matter pertaining to the liberty of the press, was borrowed from the parliamentary law of England, where it is not yet obsolete. Pending these proceedings against Franklin, three "Bridgewater men" were imprisoned in the same way, for obstructing the surveyors appointed to run a boundary line under an order of the General Court.

The records of the General Court contain the following entry the next week: —

"In Council, 20th June, 1722, a petition of James Franklyn, printer, humbly shewing, that he is truly sensible and heartily sorry for the offence he

has given to this court in the late Courant, relating to the fitting out of a ship by the government, and truly acknowledges his inadvertency and folly therein in affronting the government, as also his indiscretion and indecency when before the court, for all which he intreats the court's forgiveness, and praying a discharge from the stone prison where he is confined by order of the court, and that he may have the liberty of the yard, he being much indisposed and suffering in his health by the said confinement; a certificate of Dr Zabdiel Boylston being offered with the said petition.

"In the House of Representatives, read, and

"*Voted*, That James Franklyn, now a prisoner in the stone gaol, may have the liberty of the prison house and yard, upon his giving security for his faithful abiding there.

"In Council, read and concurred; consented to,

"Samuel Shute."

An attempt was made in the Council to follow up their blow by an order which passed that body, providing that "no such weekly paper [as the Courant] be hereafter printed or published, without the same be first perused and allowed by the Secretary, *as has been usual*." This order, however, was not at this time concurred in by the House. It is given at length in the *History of Printing*, together with the proceedings of the following January, when such an order passed both branches. See Thomas's History of Printing in America, Vol. II. pp. 220, 221.

What the Council meant by the phrase "as has been usual," is not so clear. It was omitted in the order as it finally passed both houses, in January, 1723.

FOURTH OF JULY AT LOWELL.*

Fellow-Citizens:

I have cheerfully complied with the request received from you a short time since, that I would address you on this great national festival. A considerable part of my time, since I was honored with your invitation, has been necessarily devoted by me to fulfilling a previous engagement. I therefore appear before you this morning under circumstances creating some claim to your indulgence.

It seemed, however, to me that this was peculiarly the occasion when a man ought to be ready and willing to appear before his fellow-citizens with little or no preparation. It is, in fact, eminently the day for short notice. It could not well be shorter than that which our fathers had to gird on the harness for the great conflicts which led to the declaration of independence. Rarely, in the course of human affairs, is shorter notice of important events given than that which called the citizens of Middlesex to arms on the nineteenth of April, 1775. Their deeds were not those of veteran armies manœuvring for whole campaigns under skilful generals. The very name which they gave themselves is their best description. They were *minute men;* — they held themselves ready to move without any notice; — and their marching orders came at last from the alarm-bell, at midnight.

I might go a little farther, and say, fellow-citizens of

* Delivered at Lowell, on Monday, the 5th of July, 1830, and now first published. A lecture before the Charlestown Lyceum was delivered by the author, on the anniversary of Governor Winthrop's landing, the preceding week.

Lowell, that your town itself, in its very existence, affords signal authority for doing things at short notice. If, on the fourth of July, 1820, — ten years ago only, — a painter had come to the confluence of the Merrimack and Concord Rivers, and sketched upon his canvas the panorama of such a city as this, and pronounced that, in ten years, such a settlement would be found on this spot, it would have been thought a very extravagant suggestion. If he had said, that, in the course of forty or fifty years, such a population would be gathered here, with all these manufacturing establishments, private dwellings, warehouses, schools, and churches, he would have been thought to indulge a bold, but pleasing, vision, not, perhaps, beyond the range of probability. The Roman history contains a legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, who, having prolonged their slumbers to the unusual extent of two hundred and seventy years, were a good deal bewildered, when they awoke, to find a new emperor on the throne, strange characters on the coin, and other very considerable innovations. A person who should have gone to sleep in one of the two farm-houses which, ten years ago, stood on the site of Lowell, would have found greater changes on waking.

Finally, my friends, without wishing to run down the idea, I may remark, that our whole country has taken her present position in the family of nations on very short notice. Our history seems a great political romance. In the annals of most other states, ancient and modern, there is a tardiness of growth, which, if our own progress be assumed as the standard of comparison, we hardly know how to explain. Greece had been settled a thousand years before she took any great part on the theatre of the world. Rome, at the end of five centuries from the foundation of the city, was not so powerful as the state of Massachusetts. It is not much short of two thousand years since the light of the ancient civilization — such as it was — began to dawn on Great Britain. Its inhabitants have been a Christianized people for nearly fifteen centuries; and I have read in a newspaper, this morning, an extract from an English print, in

which we are informed that turnpike roads and canals have been introduced into that country for seventy years: and this is mentioned as a long time. It is not one hundred years since the mail coach was first introduced into that country; and yet in this and all similar enterprises we know that our brethren in England are far before the rest of the European world.

What do we witness in this country? Compare our present condition with that of this then barbarous wilderness two centuries ago. With what rapidity the civilization of Europe has been caught up, naturalized, and, in many points of material growth and useful art, carried beyond the foreign standard! Consider our rapid progress even in the last generation, not merely in appropriating the arts of the old world, but in others of our own invention or great improvement. Take the case of steam navigation as a striking example. It has been known, for a century or more, that the vapor of boiling water is the most powerful mechanical agent at our command. The steam engine was brought near to perfection, by Bolton and Watt, sixty years ago; and it is not much less than that time since attempts began to be made to solve the problem of steam navigation. Twenty years ago, there were steamers regularly plying on the North River and Staten Island Sound; but so lately as eleven years ago, I think, there was no communication by steam between Liverpoo and Dublin, or between Dover and Calais; nor did the use of steamers spread extensively in any direction in Europe till they had covered the American waters.

Take another example, in the agricultural staple so closely connected with the industry of Lowell. The southern parts of Europe, Egypt, and many other portions of Africa, and a broad zone in Asia, possess a soil and climate favorable to the growth of cotton. It is, in fact, an indigenous product of Asia, Africa, or both. It has been cultivated in those countries from time immemorial: the oldest European historians speak of its use. It is, also, an indigenous product throughout a broad belt on the American continent; and was cultivated by the aborigines before the discovery of Columbus. Al-

though it was the leading principle of the colonial system to encourage the cultivation in the colonies of all those articles which would be useful to the manufactures of the mother country, not a bale of cotton is known to have been exported from the United States to Great Britain before the revolution. Immediately after the close of the revolutionary war, attention began to be turned to this subject in several parts of the Southern States. The culture of cotton rapidly increased; and, since the invention of the cotton gin, has become, next to the cereal grains, the most important agricultural product. It is supposed, that, for the present year, the cotton crop of the United States will amount to one million of bales — five times, I presume, the amount raised for exportation in all the rest of the world.

Take another example, in commerce and navigation, and one peculiarly illustrative of the effect, on the industry of the country, of the political independence established on the day which we commemorate. The principles of the colonial system confined our trade and navigation to the intercourse of the mother country. The individuals are living, or recently deceased, who made the first voyages from this country to the Baltic, to the Mediterranean, or around either of the great capes of the world. Before the declaration of independence, the hardihood and skill of our mariners had attracted the admiration of Europe. Burke has commemorated them in a burst of eloquence which will be rehearsed as long as the English language is spoken.* But though he exclaims, "No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries, no climate that is not witness to their toils," the commerce and navigation of the colonies are scarce worthy of mention, in comparison with those of the United States. All that Burke admired and eulogized is inconsiderable, when contrasted with what has

* Speech on Conciliation with America. "Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry (the whale fishery) to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people — a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone, of manhood."

been achieved, in this respect, since the declaration of independence.

Nor is the progress less remarkable which has been made since that event in the interior of the continent. The settlement of our western country is a marvel in human affairs. This great enterprise, as we know, languished under the colonial government. For this there were many reasons. The possessions of France, with powerful native tribes in her alliance, stretched along the frontier, from the Gulf of the St Lawrence to that of Mexico. A certain density of population along the coast was, of necessity, a condition precedent to the settlement of the region west of the Alleghanies; and when this subject attracted the attention of the mother country, the extension of the plantations beyond the Ohio was forbidden, for reasons of state. With the declaration of independence, — notwithstanding the burdens and discouragements of the war of the revolution, and the hostility of the formidable tribes of savages who sided with Great Britain, — the hardy column of emigrants, with Daniel Boone at their head, forced its way over the mountains, and conquered and settled Tennessee and Kentucky. As soon as the pacification of the north-western tribes and the surrender of the British posts made it practicable, the enterprising youth of New England, and, among the foremost, those of Essex and Middlesex, in this state, took up the line of march to Ohio; and now the three states which I have named, which, before the revolution, did not contain a regular white settlement, are inhabited by a population equal to that of the thirteen colonies at the beginning of the revolutionary war.

This astonishing growth has evidently not only been subsequent to the declaration of independence, but consequent upon its establishment, as effect upon cause; and this both by a removal of specific obstacles to our progress, which were imposed by the colonial system, and by the general operation of the new political order of things on the mind and character of the country. The reason why England has long excelled every other country in Europe, in the extent of her available resources, and in the cultivation of most of the

practical arts, is to be found in those principles of constitutional representative government, in that parliamentary freedom and popular energy which cannot exist under any form of despotism. The still more complete establishment of similar principles here, I take to be the chief cause of a still more accelerated march of improvement. It is usual to consider human labor as the measure of value. That which can be got by any one without labor, directly or indirectly performed, as the common daylight and air, has no exchangeable value. That which requires the greatest amount of labor for its production, other things being equal, is most valuable. But there is as much mere physical capacity for labor dormant in a population of serfs and slaves, or of the subjects of an Oriental despotism, as in an equal population of the freest country on earth; as much in the same number of men in Asia Minor, or the Crimea, as in Yorkshire in England, or Middlesex in Massachusetts. But what a difference in the developments and applications of labor in the two classes of population respectively! On the one hand, energy, fire, and endurance; on the other, languor and tardiness: on the one hand, a bold application of capital in giving employment to labor; on the other, a furtive concealment of capital where it exists, and a universal want of it for any new enterprise: on the one hand, artistic skill and moral courage superadded to the mere animal power of labor; on the other, every thing done by hand, in ancient, unimproving routine: on the one hand, a constantly increasing amount of skilled and energetic labor, resulting from the increase of a well-educated population; on the other, stationary, often declining numbers, and one generation hardly able to fill the place of its predecessor.

It is the spirit of a free country which animates and gives energy to its labor; which puts the mass in action, gives it motive and intensity, makes it inventive, sends it off in new directions, subdues to its command all the powers of nature, and enlists in its service an army of machines, that do all but think and talk. Compare a hand loom with a power loom; a barge, poled up against the current of a river, with a steamer breasting its force. The difference is not greater

between them than between the efficiency of labor under a free or despotic government; in an independent state or a colony. I am disposed to think that the history of the world would concur with our own history, in proving that, in proportion as a community is under the full operation of the encouraging prospects and generous motives which exist in a free country, precisely in that proportion will its labor be efficient, enterprising, inventive, and productive of all the blessings of life.

This is a general operation of the establishment of an independent government in the United States of America, which has not perhaps been enough considered among us. We have looked too exclusively to the mere political change, and the substitution of a domestic for a foreign rule, as an historical fact, flattering to the national vanity. There was also another consequence of very great practical importance, which, in celebrating the declaration of independence at Lowell, ought not to pass unnoticed. While we were colonies of Great Britain, we were dependent on a government in which we were not represented. The laws passed by the Imperial Parliament were not passed for the benefit of the colony as their immediate object, but only so far as the interest of the colony was supposed to be consistent with that of the mother country. It was the principle of the colonial system of Europe, as it was administered before the revolution, to make the colonies subserve the growth and wealth of the parent state. The industry of the former was accordingly encouraged where it contributed to this object; it was discouraged and restrained where it was believed to have an opposite tendency. Hence the navigation law, by which the colonies were forbidden to trade directly with any but British ports. It is not easy to form a distinct conception of the paralyzing effect of such a restraint upon the industry of a population like ours, seated upon a coast which nature has indented with capacious harbors, and with a characteristic aptitude, from the earliest periods of our existence as a community, for maritime adventure.

The case was still worse in reference to manufactures.

The climate of the northern and middle colonies is such as to make the manufacture of clothing one of the great concerns of civilized life. Apart from all views to the accumulation of wealth, the manufactures of wool, (and of late years of cotton,) of iron, leather, and wood, are connected with the comfortable subsistence of every family. And yet to all these branches of industry, except so far as they were carried on for household consumption, not only was no legislative favor extended by the home government, but they were from time to time made the subject of severe penal statutes

In this respect there was an important difference in the condition of the northern and southern colonies. The industry of the latter was encouraged; bounties were offered for the cultivation of some of their staples; the growth of a rival article, in the case of tobacco, was prohibited in the mother country; and a free market opened to all the agricultural produce, and the raw materials of manufacture, which the colony could export. The Northern States were hardly able to feed themselves. They had no agricultural produce to give in exchange for foreign manufactures; and that species of industry which was so peculiarly necessary, not so much to their prosperity and growth as to their subsistence, was inhibited by act of Parliament.

Accordingly, when the country entered upon the condition of independent political existence, of the three great branches of human industry, its agriculture had been fostered and patronized; its navigation, though subject to restraint, still vigorous within the permitted limits; and in the department of the fisheries, as we have seen, carried on with such boldness and success as to attract the admiration of the world: but its manufacturing interests were suffering under the effect of a century of actual warfare, and the loss of all the skill which would have been acquired in a century's experience.

The establishment, therefore, of a prosperous manufacturing town like Lowell, regarded in itself, and as a specimen of other similar seats of American art and industry, may with propriety be considered as a peculiar triumph of our political independence They are, if I may so express

it, the complement of the revolution. They redress the peculiar hardships of the colonial system. They not only do that which was not done, but which was not permitted to be done before the establishment of an independent government.

It is no part of my present purpose — in fact, I conceive it would be out of place on an occasion like this — to discuss the protective policy which has been extended to the manufactures of the country as far as it has been made a party question. It will, however, I think, strike every one that the view I am now taking of the subject is peculiarly appropriate to the fourth of July; and it is only in this connection that I propose to treat the subject. It is well known that the sagacious and intelligent persons, who have been principally concerned in establishing the manufactures of Massachusetts, have never been friends of what has been called a high tariff policy; and that all they have desired, in this respect, was, that after a very large amount of capital had, under the operation of the restrictive system, as it was called, and the war of 1812, been led to take this direction, and had grown up into one of the most important interests of the country, it should not be deprived of that moderate protection which might be accorded to it under the general revenue laws of the Union, and which was necessary to shield the American manufacturer against the fluctuations of the foreign market, and the effect of a condition of the laborer in foreign countries, to which no one can desire to see the labor of this country reduced.

Without, therefore, going at all into the merits of such a system, as a matter of political controversy, I have thought it appropriate to the occasion to point out, in a summary way, the connection of the growth of our manufactures with the independence of the country; and I believe it would not be difficult to show that no event, consequent upon the establishment of our independence, has been of greater public benefit.

Let us consider, first, the addition made to the capital of the country, by bringing into action the immense mechanical power which exists at the falls and rapids of our streams.

Could the choice have been given to us, for the abode of our population, of a dead alluvial plain of twice the extent, every one feels that it would have been bad policy to accept the offer. Every one perceives that this natural water power is a vast accession to the wealth and capital of a state. The colonial system annihilated it, or, what was the same thing, prevented its application. To all practical purposes, it reduced the beautiful diversity of the surface — nature's grand and lovely landscape gardening of vale and mountain — to that dull alluvial level. The rivers broke over the rapids; but the voice of nature and Providence, which cried from them, "Let these be the seats of your creative industry," was uttered in vain. It was an element of prosperity which we held in unconscious possession. It is scarcely credible how completely the thoughts of men had been turned in a different direction. There is probably no country on the surface of the globe, of the same extent, on which a greater amount of this natural capital has been bestowed by Providence; but a century and a half passed by, not merely before it began to be profitably applied on a large scale, but before its existence even began to be suspected, and this in places where some of its greatest accumulations are found. If a very current impression in this community is not destitute of foundation, the site of Lowell itself was examined, no very long time before the commencement of the first factories here, and the report brought back was, that it presented no available water power. Does it not strike every one who hears me, that, in calling this water power into action, the country has gained just as much as it would by the gratuitous donation of the same amount of steam power; with the additional advantage in favor of the former, that it is, from the necessity of the case, far more widely distributed, stationed at salubrious spots, and unaccompanied with most of the disadvantages and evils incident to manufacturing establishments moved by steam in the crowded streets and unhealthy suburbs of large cities?

Of all this vast wealth bestowed upon the land by Providence, — brought into the common stock by the great partner

Nature, — the colonial system, as I have observed, deprived us; and it is only since the establishment of our own manufactures that we have begun to turn it to account. Even now, the smallest part of it has been rendered available; and what has thus far been done is not so much important for its own sake as for pointing the way and creating an inducement for further achievements in the same direction. There is water power enough in the United States, as yet unapplied, to sustain the industry of a population a hundred fold as large as that now in existence.

I do not wish to overstate this point, or to imply that it was owing to the restrictions of the colonial system that such a town as Lowell had not grown up in America in the middle of the last century, or at some still earlier period. There were not only no adequate accumulations of capital at that time, but those inventions and improvements in machinery had not been made, which have contributed so much to the growth of manufactures within the last fifty years. There is something, however, quite remarkable in the eagerness with which our forefathers, at a very early period, turned their attention to manufactures. Our colonial history contains very curious facts in reference to this subject; and it is not to be doubted that, if no legislative obstacles to the pursuit of this branch of industry had existed, and it had received the same kind of encouragement which was extended to the staple agriculture of the plantation colonies, a very different state of things would have existed at the revolution. Such certainly was the opinion entertained in England; for such was the principle of the whole legislation of the mother country. The great and sagacious statesmen who ruled her councils for a century would not, under all administrations, have persevered in a course of policy towards the colonies, manifestly arbitrary in its character and extremely vexatious in its operation, if they had not been persuaded that, but for this legislation, successful attempts would be made for the development of manufacturing industry.

Connected with this is another benefit of the utmost importance, and not wholly dissimilar in kind. The population

gathered at a manufacturing establishment is to be fed, and this gives an enhanced value to the land in all the neighboring region. In this new country the land often acquires a value in this way for the first time. A large number of persons in this assembly are well able to contrast the condition of the villages in the neighborhood of Lowell with what it was ten or twelve years ago, when Lowell itself consisted of two or three quite unproductive farms. It is the contrast of production with barrenness; of cultivation with waste; of plenty with an absence of every thing but the bare necessaries of life. The effect, of course, in one locality is of no great account in the sum of national production throughout the extent of the land. But wherever a factory is established this effect is produced; and every individual to whom they give employment ceases to be a producer, and becomes a consumer of agricultural produce. The aggregate effect is, of course, of the highest importance.

This circumstance constitutes that superiority of a domestic over a foreign market, which is acknowledged by the most distinguished writers on political economy.

"The capital which is employed," says Adam Smith, "in purchasing in one part of the country, in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country, generally replaces by every such operation two distinct capitals, that had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. When it sends out from the residence of the merchant a certain value of commodities, it generally brings back in return at least an equal value of other commodities. When both are the produce of domestic industry, it necessarily replaces, by every such operation, two distinct capitals, which had both been employed in supporting productive labor, and thereby enables them to continue that support. * * * The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces too, by every such operation, two distinct capitals; but one of them only is employed in supporting domestic industry. * * * Though the returns, therefore, of the foreign trade of consumption should be as quick as those of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but one half of the encouragement to the industry or productive labor of the country.

"But the returns of the foreign trade of consumption are very seldom so quick as those of the home trade. The returns of the home trade gen-

erally come in before the end of the year, and sometimes three or four times in the year. The returns of the foreign trade of consumption seldom come in before the end of the year, and sometimes not till after two or three years. A capital, therefore, employed in the home trade, will sometimes make twelve operations, or be sent out and returned twelve times, before a capital employed in the foreign trade of consumption has made one. If the capitals are equal, therefore, the one will give four and twenty times more encouragement and support to the industry of the country than the other." *

It is a familiar remark, of which all, I believe, admit the justice, that a variety of pursuits is a great advantage to a community. It affords scope to the exercise of the boundless variety of talent and capacity which are bestowed by nature, and which are sure to be developed by an intelligent population, if encouragement and opportunity are presented. In this point of view, the establishment of manufacturing industry, in all its departments, is greatly to be desired in every country, and has had an influence in ours of a peculiar character. I have already alluded to the fact that, with the erection of an independent government, a vast domain in the west was for the first time thrown freely open to settlement. As soon as the Indian frontier was pacified by the treaty of Greenville, a tide of emigration began to flow into the territory north-west of the Ohio; and from no part of the country more rapidly than from Massachusetts. In many respects this was a circumstance by no means to be regretted. It laid the foundation of the settlement of this most important and interesting region by a kindred race; and it opened to the mass of enterprising adventurers from the older states a short road to competence. But it was a serious drain upon the population of good old Massachusetts. The temptation of the fee simple of some of the best land in the world for two dollars an acre, and that on credit, (for such, till a few years ago, was the land system of the United States,) was too powerful to be resisted by the energetic and industrious young men of the New England States, in which there is but a limited quantity of fertile land, and that little of course

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. II. pp. 135, 136, Edinburgh ed. 1817.

to be had only at a high price. The consequence was, that although the causes of an increase of population existed in New England to as great a degree, with this exception, as in any other part of the world, the actual increase was far from rapid; scarcely amounting to one half of the average rate of the country.* The singular spectacle was exhibited of a community abounding in almost all the elements of prosperity, possessing every thing calculated to engage the affections of her children, annually deserted by the flower of her population. These remarks apply with equal force to all the other New England States, with the exception of Maine, where an abundance of unoccupied fertile land counterbalances the attractions of the west.

But this process of emigration has already received a check, and is likely to be hereafter adequately regulated by the new demand for labor of every kind and degree, consequent upon the introduction of manufactures. This new branch of industry, introduced into the circle of occupations, is creating a demand for a portion of that energy and spirit of acquisition which have heretofore carried our young men beyond the Ohio, and beyond the Wabash. Obvious and powerful causes will continue to direct considerable numbers in the same path of adventure; but it will not be, as it was at the commencement of this century, almost the only outlet for the population of the older states. In short, a new alternative of career is now presented to the rising generation.

There is another point of importance, in reference to manufactures, which ought not to be omitted in this connection, and it is this — that in addition to what may be called their direct operation and influence, manufactures are a great school for all the practical arts. As they are aided themselves, in the progress of inventive sagacity, by hints and materials from every art and every science, and every kingdom of nature, so, in their turn, they create the skill and furnish the instruments for carrying on almost all the other pursuits. Whatever per-

* From 1820 to 1830, although some check had been given to emigration from this state, the rate of increase of the population of Massachusetts was sixteen and one half per centum; that of the whole United States thirty-two and four fifths.

tains to machinery, in all the great branches of industry, will probably be found to have its origin, directly or indirectly, in that skill which can be acquired only in connection with manufactures. Let me mention two striking instances, the one connected with navigation, and the other with agriculture. The greatest improvement in navigation, since the invention of the mariner's compass, is the application of steam for propelling vessels. Now, by whom was this improvement made? Not by the merchant, or the mariner, fatigued by adverse winds and weary calms. The steam engine was the production of the machine shops of Birmingham, where a breath of the sea breeze never penetrated; and its application as a motive power on the water, was a result wrought out by the sagacity of Fulton from the science and skill of the millwright and the machinist. The first elements of such a mechanical system as the steam engine, in any of its applications, must be wanting in a purely commercial or agricultural community. Again, the great improvement in the agriculture of our Southern States, and in its results one of the greatest additions to the agricultural produce of the world, dates from the invention of the machine for separating the seed from the staple. This invention was not the growth of the region which enjoys its first benefits. The peculiar faculty of the mind to which these wonderful mechanical contrivances of modern art owe their origin, is not likely to be developed in the routine of agricultural operations. These operations have their effects on the intellectual character, — salutary effects, — but they do not cultivate the principle of mechanical contrivance, which peoples your factories with their lifeless but almost reasoning tenants.*

I cannot but think that the loss and injury unavoidably accruing to a people, among whom a long-continued exclu-

* At the time this Oration was delivered, a few miles only of railroad had been built in the United States, and the locomotive engine was hardly known. It need not be said that this application of the steam engine furnishes a still more striking illustration of the benefits conferred on every other interest by the mechanical skill which is not likely to be acquired except in the service of manufactures.

sive pursuit of other occupations has prevented the cultivation of the inventive faculty and the acquisition of mechanical skill, is greater in reference to the general affairs and business of life than in reference to the direct products of manufactures. The latter is a great economical loss, the nature and extent of which are described in the remarks which I have quoted from the great teacher of political economy; but a community in which the inventive and constructive principle is faintly developed is deprived of one of the highest capacities of reasoning mind. Experience has shown that the natural germ of this principle — the inborn aptitude — is possessed by our countrymen in an eminent degree; but, like other natural endowments, it cannot attain a high degree of improvement without cultivation. In proportion as a person, endowed with an inventive mechanical capacity, is acquainted with what has been already achieved, his command is extended over the resources of art, and he is more likely to enlarge its domain by new discoveries. Place a man, however intelligent, but destitute of all knowledge in this department, before one of the complicated machines in your factories, and he would gaze upon it with despairing admiration. It is much if he can be brought, by careful inspection and patient explanation, to comprehend its construction. A skilful artist, at the first sight of a new machine, comprehends, in a general way, the principles of its construction. It is only, therefore, in a community where this skill is widely diffused, and where a strong interest is constantly pressing for every practicable improvement, that new inventions are likely to be made, and more of those wonderful contrivances may be expected to be brought to light, which have changed the face of modern industry.

These important practical truths have been fully confirmed by the experience of Lowell, where the most valuable improvements have been made in almost every part of the machinery by which its multifarious industry is carried on. But however interesting this result may be, in an economical point of view, another lesson has been taught at Lowell, and our other well-conducted manufacturing establishments,

which I deem vastly more important. It is well known that the degraded condition of the operatives in the old world had created a strong prejudice against the introduction of manufactures into this country. We were made acquainted, by sanitary and parliamentary reports, detailing the condition of the great manufacturing cities abroad, with a state of things revolting to humanity. It would seem that the industrial system of Europe required for its administration an amount of suffering, depravity, and brutalism, which formed one of the great scandals of the age. No form of serfdom or slavery could be worse. Reflecting persons, on this side of the ocean, contemplated with uneasiness the introduction, into this country, of a system which had disclosed such hideous features in Europe; but it must be frankly owned that these apprehensions have proved wholly unfounded. Were I addressing an audience in any other place, I could with truth say more to this effect than I will say on this occasion. But you will all bear me witness, that I do not speak the words of adulation when I say, that for physical comfort, moral conduct, general intelligence, and all the qualities of social character which make up an enlightened New England community, Lowell might safely enter into a comparison with any town or city in the land. Nowhere, I believe, for the same population, is there a greater number of schools and churches, and nowhere a greater number of persons whose habits and mode of life bear witness that they are influenced by a sense of character.

In demonstrating to the world that such a state of things is consistent with the profitable pursuit of manufacturing industry, you have made a discovery more important to humanity than all the wonderful machinery for weaving and spinning, — than all the miracles of water or steam. You have rolled off from the sacred cause of labor the mountain reproach of ignorance, vice, and suffering under which it lay crushed. You have gained, for the skilled industry required to carry on these mighty establishments, a place of honor in the great dispensation by which Providence governs the world. You have shown that the home-bred virtues of the

parental roof are not required to be left behind by those who resort for a few years to these crowded marts of social industry; and, in the fruits of your honest and successful labor, you are daily carrying gladness to the firesides where you were reared.*

The alliance which you have thus established between labor and capital (which is nothing but labor saved) may truly be called a *holy alliance.* It realizes, in a practical way, that vision of social life and action which has been started abroad, in forms, as it appears to me, inconsistent with the primary instincts of our nature, and wholly incapable of being ingrafted upon our modern civilization. That no farther progress can be made in this direction, I certainly would not say. It would be contrary to the great laws of human progress to suppose that, at one effort, this hard problem in social affairs had reached its perfect solution. But I think it may be truly said, that in no other way has so much been done, as in these establishments, to mingle up the interests of society; to confer upon labor, in all its degrees of cultivation, (from mere handiwork and strength up to inventive skill and adorning taste,) the advantages which result from previous accumulations. Without shaking that great principle by which a man calls what he has *his own*, whether it is little or much, (the corner stone of civilized life,) these establishments form a mutually beneficial connection between those who have nothing but their muscular power and those who are able to bring into the partnership the masses of property requisite to carry on an extensive concern, — property which was itself, originally, the work of men's hands, but has been converted, by accumulation and thrift, from labor into capital. This I regard as one of the greatest triumphs of humanity, morals, and, I will add, religion. The labor of a community is its great wealth — its most vital concern. To elevate it in the social scale, to increase its rewards, to give it cultivation and self-respect, should be the constant aim of an enlightened patriotism. There can be no other

* See note at the end.

basis of a progressive Christian civilization. Woe to the land where labor and intelligence are at war! Happy the land whose various interests are united together by the bonds of mutual benefit and kind feeling!

But it is time, fellow-citizens, that I should close. On Monday last, at the request of my friends and neighbors of Charlestown, I addressed them on the anniversary of the landing of Governor Winthrop, in 1630 — the date, as it may with propriety be considered, of the effective settlement of Massachusetts. That was a day consecrated to hallowed recollections of olden times. We dwelt upon the sacrifices and privations of our ancestors while engaged, slowly and painfully, in laying the foundations upon which we have built. It is quite noticeable, that, within thirteen years from that time, the manufacture of cotton, of hemp, and of flax received considerable attention in this region;* and that, as early as 1645, a legislative grant of very ample privileges, to encourage the manufacture of iron, was made to a company, headed by Governor Winthrop's son. Those were the days of faint and feeble beginnings. How different the train of associations awakened by the spot where we are now assembled! But ten years only ago, and Lowell did not exist: the soil on which it stands was an open field. These favored precincts, now resounding with all the voices of successful industry, — the abode of intelligent thousands, — lay hushed in the deep silence of nature, broken only by the unprofitable murmur of those streams which practical science and wisely applied capital have converted into the sources of its growth. The change seems more the work of enchantment than the regular progress of human agency. We can scarcely believe that we do not witness a great Arabian tale of real life; that a beneficent genius has not touched the soil with his wand,

* "Our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, (whereof we had store from Barbados,) and of hemp, and flax; wherein Rowley, to their great commendation, exceeded all other towns." — *Winthrop's Journal*, Savage's edition. Vol. II. pp. 119, 212.

and caused a city to spring from its bosom. But it is not so Your prosperous town is but another monument to the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers. It has grown up on the basis of the national independence. But for the deed which was done on the Fourth of July, 1776, your streets and squares would still be the sandy plain which nature made them.

NOTE.

See Page 64.

The history of our manufacturing establishments, for the twenty years that have elapsed since the foregoing address was delivered, has furnished ample confirmation of the general principles advanced in it. The "Lowell Offering," a journal conducted by the female operatives of that city, has been justly regarded, in this country and in Europe, as a production of the highest interest, both literary and moral. A considerable portion of it was reprinted in London, under the significant title of "Mind among the Spindles."

While these sheets are passing through the press, a letter has appeared in the newspapers, giving so graphic a description of the formation of a New England manufacturing village, that I am tempted to quote a portion of it, as an instructive commentary upon the views which I have taken in the preceding pages. It is dated Clintonville, Mass., February 4, 1850, and signed C. W. Blanchard.

"Allow me," says the writer, "to give a sketch of the rise, or, rather, creation, of one of these villages — the one I now live in.

"About a dozen years ago, in an adjoining town, a young man, about twenty years of age, got it in his head that he could make a power loom for weaving coach lace. He had no money; but his brother, a year or two older, who was an operative in a small factory in the neighborhood, had accumulated a few hundred dollars, and, having full faith in his brother's genius, lent his assistance. The young man succeeded with his loom. People came to look at it, and approved it. Boston merchants and capitalists came and saw that it would pay; and they took stock in it. The young man, encouraged by success, and having his faculties sharpened by exercise, went to work upon a loom for weaving figured counterpanes. This succeeded also. Next he tried his hand at an ingrain carpet loom. That went to Lowell, and, consequently, did not help to build up this place, (except inasmuch as it increased confidence in his abilities,) although it is making employment for a thousand persons there. Afterwards he got up a gingham loom, which was equally successful. Well, he determined that his machines should be operated here. Capital was ready to pay the bills, for it saw a prospect of large returns; and this man and his brother, the operative, went to work. They built a machine shop, in

order that their work might be done under their own inspection. Then they built machinery, and put up mills; and, within the last six years, nearly two millions have been invested here under their direction. A village of three thousand inhabitants has sprung up in the midst of what was, eight years ago, woods and barren sheep pastures. But how?

"As soon as it was known that work was to be done here, and money paid for it, Yankee enterprise pricks up its ears and starts. The carpenters, bricklayers, stone masons, iron founders, machinists, flock in. In their train follow tailors, shoemakers, butchers, bakers, and shopkeepers. Some are young and poor, just commencing business; others are older, and have got a thousand or two of dollars. But they can do better here than at home. Those who have children of a suitable age put them at work in the mills, as places occur for them, a portion of the year. Then the farmers all about the neighborhood — the citizens who do not come themselves — the doctors, lawyers, and ministers, even — find their girls and boys have got the factory fever. The wages are so good, and paid every four or five weeks, too; — sisters, cousins, acquaintances are going; — if they should n't happen to like, they can come home again; — in short, they *must* go to the factory, and will! Occasionally, some of the parents, who are not getting along quite as well as they wish, come over to see what the prospect is. They find 'it's handy to meetin',' (we have three or four churches;) 'schoolin's so much better 'n 't is up our way,' (we have five or six schools, primary, grammar, and high,) that they determine they will move to the factory village and take a boarding-house, so as to be with their children, and enjoy the advantages of a larger community. The persons who came first, meantime, are getting rich, and men of note. They are being elected representatives, selectmen, or filling other respectable stations; but they see no impropriety in their children spending a portion of their time in the factory. They send them to school three, six, or nine months in the year, and the remainder of the time keep them at work. The young folks much prefer the mill to the work about house at home. Their brothers, cousins, lovers, friends, or acquaintances are their overseers; and their fellow-operatives are of the same character. And thus our factory village springs up, and thus its mills are filled, — a large proportion of the operatives, however, always belonging to homes in the neighboring towns or states, whence they come to spend a year or two in the mill, and then return to marry some early acquaintance, or, marrying at the village, establish themselves in a new home."

AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.*

MR PRESIDENT, AND

GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE:

YOUR annual fair has again presented the public with a most gratifying spectacle. We have passed in review the numerous specimens of the useful arts collected in your exhibition, and have seen the high degree of perfection to which the mechanical ingenuity of the country has been brought. Much that is required for the comfort or convenience of man, — the implements of his various pursuits; much that is admirably adapted to save labor, economize time, and increase production; and much which, rising above the physical wants and services of our nature, is connected with the refined and elegant arts of life, — is arranged in beautiful order in your hall. We have contemplated and admired the display; and, more than all, we have reflected with pride and pleasure that it is all the production of our neighbors and fellow-citizens, whose intelligent explanations have added not a little to the interest of the exhibition.

Let us pause for a moment upon this interesting spectacle. Of what are these curious machines, instruments, and fabrics composed? They are wrought from the lifeless elements that surround us, — from the inanimate growth of the forest or the field, — from the shapeless masses of the quarry and the mine, — and from the spoils of the inferior animals, — iron, clay, wood, leather, cotton, wool; — dull, unorganized matter. It is this which has been fashioned into machinery and

* Address delivered before the American Institute of the city of New York, at their fourth annual fair, October 14, 1831.

enginery, and into various fabrics of ornament and use, which seem but little inferior to the mysterious organization of the living muscle, limbs, and skin.

And whence are the power and skill that have produced this new creation? What exalted spirit has endowed the lifeless stocks and stones with these wonderful properties? Who has gathered together the dry, opaque sand and alkali, and transformed them into the beautiful medium which excludes the air and admits the light; and cut and polished them into an artificial eye, which never aches nor grows dim; which penetrates millions and millions of miles beyond the natural vision into the depths of the heavens, and, on the other hand, reveals the existence of whole orders of animated beings, that are born, and live, and die within a drop of dew? What magician has touched the fibres of the cotton plant, the fleece of the sheep, the web of an unsightly worm, and converted them into the most beautiful and useful tissues; and who, out of a few beams of wood, and bars of iron, and pounds of lead, has constructed the all-powerful engine, that diffuses knowledge over the earth; and speaks with a voice which is heard beyond mountains and oceans, and the lapse of ages?

This magician, this exalted spirit, this (may I say it without irreverence,) this creator is man; man, operating not with mystic power and fabled arts, but with the talents skilfully cultivated, with which he himself — fashioned as he is from the dust beneath his feet — is endowed by his Creator. The philosopher's stone, which has converted these lifeless substances into food and clothing, or the instruments of procuring them, — the alchemy, which has transformed these rough and discordant elements into the comforts of human life, — is the skill of rational man.

But how is this skill obtained? A hundred or two of miles from this spot, within the limits of the state of New York, may still be seen remnants of a branch of the family of man, — once covering, with a thin and needy population, this entire continent; possessed of all the powers which belong to the human race, but without any of the improvements

which constitute the happiness and glory of social life; sheltered only by a wretched hovel and the most inartificial clothing from the elements; dependent on the constantly recurring labors of the chase for a scanty supply of food; and totally destitute of the arts which lie at the foundation of the growth, wealth, and refinement of civilized communities. Yet these are men like ourselves.

It is these ingenious and useful *arts*, — the product at once and the cause of civilization, — acting upon society and themselves in turn, carried to new degrees of improvement and efficiency by social man, till they have been brought to the state in which we find them in these halls, — it is *these* which form the difference between the savage of the woods and civilized, cultivated, moral, and religious man. It is art which produces and perfects art. It is, then, not merely a display of ingenuity that we witness; not merely an exhibition of productive industry, or a promise of public wealth; but it is the fruit and assurance of the civilization of the human family. In these curious engines, machines, implements, and products, although there is a vast deal which has been struck out of late years, there is also a great deal, of which the contrivance is coeval with the ancient dawnings of improvement, and something which has been added by almost every succeeding age. These arts are now, as they have been in every age, a representative of human civilization; and the moral and social improvement of our race, and the possession of the skill and knowledge embodied in them, will advance, stand still, and fall together.

The object of your society, then, gentlemen, is, by the promotion of the useful arts, to promote the improvement and welfare of man — the most liberal object which, individually or collectively, we can pursue. You aim to awaken, to guide, and to reward the industry of your fellow-citizens, by this beautiful and commodious display of its products, and by the honorary premiums which you have assigned to some of its most successful efforts. The past success of your labors encourages you to persevere. The useful arts have been brought to a point of excellence among us, within a few

years, equally unexpected and creditable. Their condition is now such, as to assure you, and all who coöperate with you, in any part of the country, for their further cultivation and advancement, that you are laboring on a fruitful soil, and with the best hope of an ample harvest. Invited by you, a short time since, to take a part in this agreeable festival, I have thought I should best discharge the duty assigned me, by some remarks on the general principles by which the useful arts of life, in their several chief departments, may be most successfully cultivated and made productive of national prosperity; and by a sketch of the history of the mechanic and manufacturing industry of the country, before and since the revolution.

Your society, gentlemen, was incorporated "for the purpose of encouraging and promoting domestic industry in this state, and in the United States, in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the arts." The legislature of New York evidently had in view, in thus stating the object of your institution, the great subdivision which it is common to make in describing the industrious pursuits.

It is usual to divide the industry of a country into the three great branches of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. There are, of course, some important pursuits, such as mining and the fisheries, which do not exactly fall under either head. It is the great business of agriculture to produce the food to be consumed by the community, and a part of the materials used for manufactures. The manufacturer works up the raw materials and natural products of domestic and foreign growth into various fabrics and articles for the use of man; and commerce carries on the necessary exchanges between the farmer, the manufacturer, and the consumer, in different parts of the country, and between the whole community and foreign countries. That country is the most prosperous, which, under good laws and a wise administration of them at home, and in the enjoyment of an intercourse, on liberal principles, with foreign nations, possesses these three branches of industry in their due proportion to each other; so that all flourish together, and neither languishes that the rest may thrive.

These three great branches of industry are all, in the highest degree, important, and entitled to the favorable regard of the whole community. If we wish to form comparisons between them, (which, however, ought not to be done, without recollecting that they are very intimately connected together, and dependent on each other,) we should pronounce agriculture the most important branch, manufactures the next, and foreign commerce the least important of the three. It was calculated, four years ago, in Great Britain, that the annual value in money of the grain grown in that country (including wheat, oats, barley, rye, and pulse) was one hundred and twelve millions of pounds; and of cattle, sheep, hides, wool, butter, cheese, and poultry, about as much more; making together more than a thousand millions of dollars. At this rate, the whole national debt of Great Britain, vast as it is, would not equal four crops. If we suppose the population of the United States to amount to thirteen millions, and allow half a dollar a week as the entire expense of the agricultural produce consumed as food and clothing by each individual, it will amount to near three hundred and forty millions per annum. Besides this, there is the food consumed by domestic animals; there is the agricultural produce consumed for other purposes than food and clothing; and there is the entire accumulation, or what is raised and not consumed: an aggregate, I presume, of one thousand millions of dollars.

The value of the manufacturing industry of the country is less easy to estimate; but it is vastly great. Articles scarcely thought of, in taking a general view of the occupations of the country, can be easily shown to amount, in the aggregate, to a prodigious sum. It has been lately calculated, that the manufacture of hats in the United States amounts to thirteen millions of dollars annually, and that of boots and shoes to twenty-six millions. This would make the amount of hats equal to more than half the export of the great staple of cotton; equal to twice the rice and tobacco exported; and to twice the amount of the entire sugar crop. The article of boots and shoes at twenty-six millions of dollars would

exceed the average of the exportation of cotton, for the last twelve years.

The amount of our foreign commerce, as consisting in the export of domestic produce, is not greatly over sixty millions of dollars. This is, of course, the product of agriculture and manufactures; and bears but a small proportion to the domestic consumption.

It was probably the consideration of facts like these which led Adam Smith to the following train of remarks: —

"The capital that is acquired to any country, by commerce and manufactures, is all a very precarious and uncertain possession, till some part of it has been secured and realized in the permanent improvement of its lands. A merchant, it has been said very properly, is not the citizen of any particular country. It is, in a great measure, indifferent to him from what place he carries on his trade; and a very trifling disgust will make him remove his capital, and with it all the industry which it supports, from one country to another. No part of it can be said to belong to any particular country till it has been spread, as it were, over the face of that country, either in buildings or the lasting improvement of lands. No vestige now remains of the great wealth said to have been possessed by the greater part of the Hanse towns, except in the obscure histories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is even uncertain where some of them were situated, or to what towns in Europe the Latin names given to some of them belong. But though the misfortunes of Italy, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, greatly diminished the commerce and manufactures of the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, those countries still continue to be among the most populous and best cultivated in Europe. The civil wars of Flanders and the Spanish government, which succeeded them, chased away the great commerce of Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges. But Flanders still continues to be one of the richest, best cultivated, and most populous provinces in Europe. The ordinary revolutions of war and government easily dry up the sources of that wealth which arises from commerce only. That which arises from the more solid improvements of agriculture is much more durable, and cannot be destroyed but by those violent convulsions occasioned by the depredations of hostile and barbarous nations, for a century together; such as happened for some time before and after the fall of the Roman empire, in the western provinces of Europe." *

As the prosperity of a nation depends on the existence, in a due proportion to each other, of these different pursuits, it is the great problem in political economy how this state of

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. II. p. 202.

things can be brought about. To this the general answer is obvious: By free institutions of government, — laws affording security to property, — and the diffusion of education and useful knowledge. Under these propitious influences, the inhabitants of any given country will be most likely to take up and pursue those branches of industry for which, as a whole or in its separate parts, it is best adapted, by the quality of the climate and soil, other natural advantages, and the various causes which affect the character of a people.

Of these abstract principles, there are certain modifications in practice, which proceed from the division of mankind into nations, — the necessity of securing, at all events, the national independence and safety, — and promoting, in the highest possible degree, the national strength and resources. This necessity of living in nations is partly real, — that is, founded on descent from a common stock, and required for the happiness of the different families of man, — (it being found, by experience, that all mankind cannot live under one government,) and it is partly founded on certain generous and noble feelings, which we call patriotic, and which impose an obligation not less imperious on all liberal natures. These principles of national origin, feeling, interest, and pride modify the laws of mere public economy. They require, for instance, at times, the establishment of a new and separate government. In 1775, on economical principles, it was madness for our fathers to go to war for the sake of independence. It would have been infinitely cheaper for that generation to remain under the British government than to incur, first, the expense of the war; and, second, of all the establishments following a state of independence. To every independent state it is absolutely essential to possess, at home, the means of naval and military defence. Ships of war might be hired, certainly they could be bought, abroad; and mercenary troops may be obtained for money. But the honor not less than the safety of a country requires, that, at whatever cost, naval and military establishments, and every thing required for them, should be formed and produced at home. It is accordingly admitted, even by writers opposed to all restrictions on trade, that the manufacture of fire-arms, gunpowder, and other mu-

nitions of war, ought to be established in a country, although it might cost less, in time of peace, to import them. On the same ground, and in order to rear up a navy, a discriminating tonnage duty has been defended by some in this country unfriendly to other protecting duties.

But the principle evidently goes much farther. It requires that all the branches of industry manifestly necessary for the subsistence, comfort, and efficient action of the greatest possible number of people should be introduced and supported. Such, to name a single instance, is the manufacture of common clothing, such as is required for troops and the body of the population. The letters of General Washington, in the revolutionary war, show the calamitous straits to which the army was reduced, for want of clothing — an article for which they were principally dependent on France. It is the opinion of competent judges that the enhanced price of clothing, during the war of 1812, amounted to a larger sum than has been paid for duties on imported cloths from that day to this. And in general it is to be borne in mind, that the legislation of the country ought to be calculated on the occasional recurrence of war and an interruption of commerce with foreign countries, — on whom we ought not, therefore, to depend for the necessaries of life. Finally, on the same principle, whatever is necessary for the increase of the country in population, wealth, and general prosperity, — as an independent community, — by a division of labor, an adequate circulating medium, and a conversion of natural into active capital, must be effected, as far as possible, by judicious laws protecting the industry of the country against the hostile effects of foreign legislation.

Such are the leading principles of a system calculated to produce the highest possible prosperity and growth of a country. All civilized countries have adopted most of these principles, and almost all the whole of them. Whenever any essential feature of the system has been neglected, the pernicious consequences have been visible. Thus, in Turkey, Persia, and other parts of the East, a despotic government and general insecurity have almost destroyed industry, and reduced external and internal trade to a very low point.

China, a country populous and industrious beyond example, is kept poor and barbarous by severe restraints on commercial adventure and the want of a legislation calculated to build up a commercial and national marine.

In descending to the particulars of the laws, which it may be necessary to enact in any country, for the purpose of building up and protecting the arts and industry of the people, they must depend partly on the legislation of foreign countries, and partly on the state of things at home. It is commonly considered that it would be an advantageous intercourse to exchange, without restriction, the products of agriculture in one country for those of manufacturing industry in another. But if the foreign manufacturer refuse to be fed by the agricultural produce of the customer who consumes his fabric, it is absolutely necessary, by a judicious legislation, to rear up a class of domestic manufacturers who will make the exchange.

The necessity of such a legislation is further made manifest by considering the nature of many of the manufacturing arts. They require great experience in constructing machinery, — a great outlay of capital, — and practice in all the various processes required for the production of the fabric. How much of this skill is required can be estimated by any person who will visit a cotton mill, and, commencing from the machine shop, trace the progress of the factory from the first revolution of the lathe, by which the spindle is turned, to the completion of the building; and from the opening of the bale of cotton to the packing up of the bale of cloth. This skill is just as necessary to carry on a manufacture as the machinery or the power that moves it. It is plain that it must take some time to acquire it; and, till it is acquired, the infant manufacture cannot possibly sustain a competition with those establishments which possess the skill. So certain is this, that it has been stated by one of the most popular writers on political economy in Great Britain, at the present day, that it is impossible that the United States should enter into competition with England, in the cotton manufacture, because Great Britain has the start of us in the

requisite skill. When we reflect on the infinity of detail in the business of a great manufacture, — in the contrivance, construction, and management of the machinery; the preparation of the raw material and the processes for working it up; and what an essential difference in the result, on a large scale, is produced, by a very small advantage, in any of the parts, — it is obvious that, unless there were some protection against foreign competition, in its infancy, no manufacture previously well established in one country could be introduced into another. Accordingly, I believe it may be asserted as a proposition, without exception, that there is no example of a complicated manufacture, already existing in one country and introduced into another, under a system of unrestrained commerce and without legislative protection.*

Such protection is necessary to prevent the condition of the laboring population in one country from regulating the condition of the same class in all other countries connected with it. It is scarcely necessary to state, that as the laboring

* Mr Huskisson, in his celebrated speech of 1825, contrasts the wonderfully rapid growth of the cotton manufacture in England, in the absence of extraordinary legislative encouragement, with the much slower progress of the woollen manufacture, which had been the object of innumerable protecting laws. There is no doubt that some of these laws were rather injurious than beneficial in their operation on the woollen manufacture; but the cases are by no means parallel. It is unquestionable that, at the period when the woollen manufacture was introduced into England, it could not have supported the competition of the Flemish manufacture without legislative protection. The rapid growth of the cotton manufacture in England was owing to the improvements in the machinery and to the steam engine. This machinery was invented in England; she had consequently the start of all other nations in the skill embodied in it. The same substantially holds of the steam engine; and a monopoly of the discoveries and improvements in both was secured, as far as it was possible or necessary to do it, by penal enactments against the exportation of machinery. If the cotton manufacture, with improved machinery, had been as well established in France, before it was attempted in England, as the woollen manufacture was in Flanders in the fifteenth century, — and if, *under these circumstances*, the cotton manufacture had arisen and flourished in England, without legislative protection, — Mr Huskisson's contrast would have authorized the inference which he draws from it. There are, however, other points of dissimilarity in the cases of the two manufactures.

population, in all countries, forms the mass of the community, and as their labor must be the chief source of the public wealth, the prosperity of the country depends on the condition of this part of the population. Where the laborer receives a generous portion of the products of his toil and skill, the country is prosperous; and it languishes where his share is mean and inadequate. In most of the countries of Europe, the wages of labor are depressed to the point of a bare subsistence. It is impossible, therefore, *other things being equal*, that the industry of any other country should, without protection in the outset, enter into competition with that of Europe, till its labor is ground down to the same standard. It has been the object of the economical system of the United States to secure to the labor of the country a just and equitable, but not an extravagant, portion of the products. Of this last evil, however, there is the less danger, as it must of necessity be checked by competition. The moment a branch of industry is overpaid, it is thronged till the compensation falls to the average of other pursuits.

These principles apply to all countries, but with modifications appropriate to each. The situation of our own country is peculiar. The settlements on our coast commenced at a period when the south and west of Europe were in a highly improved condition, when many of the arts of life were greatly advanced, and several of the great manufactures firmly established, skill acquired, and capital largely accumulated in that region. Had other circumstances admitted the establishment of manufactures in this country, these alone would have prevented it. But in addition to this, were the scantiness of the population and the abundance of land, giving a value to labor absolutely incompatible with the pursuit of manufactures.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, necessity forced upon the first settlers of this country, at a very early period, some attention to manufactures. The colony of Massachusetts was founded in 1630. Between that year and 1640 there was a great and steady influx of settlers; and the first and most profitable object of pursuit was the raising of pro-

visions. We can scarcely conceive of the state of industry in a community to which there is every year added, by emigration, a number of individuals equal to the existing population. Such, however, for a few years, was the case in New England. So great was the demand for provisions, that cattle sold as high as twenty-five pounds sterling a head. In 1640, the republicans got possession of the government in England; persecution for religious non-conformity ceased, and with it the influx of emigrants to this country. Cattle fell immediately to about five pounds sterling a head. The effect was distressing, but it put the sagacious colonists upon new resources. The account of this, contained in the early historian of the colony, is so strongly characterized by the simplicity of elder times, and illustrates so pertinently the state of things in which it becomes necessary to resort to manufactures in a country, that I shall venture to read an extract from the author who relates it.* After describing the check put to emigration, he goes on as follows:—

"Now the country of New England was to seek of a way to provide themselves with clothing, which they could not obtain by selling cattle as before, which now were fallen from that huge price forementioned, first to fourteen pounds and ten pounds a head, and presently after, at best within the year, to five pounds a piece; nor was there at that rate a ready vent for them neither. Thus the flood which brought in much wealth to many persons, the contrary ebb carried all away out of their reach. To help them in this their exigent, besides the industry that the present necessity put particular persons upon, for the necessary supply of themselves and their families, the *General Court made order for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth*, which, with God's blessing upon man's endeavor, in a little time stopped this gap in part, and soon after another door was opened by special Providence. For when one hand was shut by way of supply from England, another was opened by way of traffic, first to the West Indies and Wine Islands, whereby, among other goods, much *cotton wool* was brought into the country from the Indies, which the inhabitants learning to spin, and breeding of sheep and sowing of hemp and flax, they soon found out a way to supply themselves of [cotton,] linen and woollen cloth."

In 1645, an iron foundery was established at Lynn, in the state of Massachusetts; but the same historian tells us that,

* Hubbard's New England, Chapter XXII. See also a curious allusion to this fall in the price of cattle in Cotton's "Seven Vials," p. 26 of Second Part, 6th Vial

"instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use, there was hammered out nothing but contentions and lawsuits." In the same year, the General Court of the colony granted to a company, — of which Governor Winthrop's son was the head, — as an encouragement to undertake the iron manufacture, three thousand acres of land, a monopoly for twenty-one years, the liberty to use any place containing ore in the public domain not already granted, a tract of land three miles square in the neighborhood of each establishment, and freedom from taxation.* These liberal acts of encouragement show the necessity which was felt, in the very infancy of the country, of giving a legislative protection to manufactures.

But to understand the history of the industry of the country, (a history more important than that of its mere politics,) we must bear in mind that America was a colonial possession, and that the growth and welfare of the mother country was the avowed object of colonial policy. Great Britain, if she wished America to prosper, wished it to be on he principles, not of national, but of colonial prosperity; to furnish her such agricultural products as she did not raise herself, to employ her shipping, and to consume her manufactures. As it soon appeared that the Dutch, at that time the most expert navigators in Europe, were getting possession of no small part of the carrying trade of the world, and pursuing a profitable commerce with a part of the colonial possessions of Great Britain, the navigation law of 1650 was passed, under the auspices of Cromwell. It was among the few laws of the commonwealth which were reënacted at the restoration. The object of this law — in the opinion of Sir William Blackstone "the most beneficial for the trade and commerce of these kingdoms" — was, in the words of the same accomplished jurist, "to mortify our sugar islands, which were disaffected to the Parliament, and still held out for Charles II., by stopping the gainful trade which they then carried on with the Dutch, and at the same time to clip the

* Winthrop's Journal, Savage's edition, Vol. II. p. 213.

wings of these our opulent and aspiring neighbors."* Although aimed particularly at the West Indies, this law of course extended its provisions to all the other British colonies, and among them to those established on the American coast. By them, however, it was generally resisted as an encroachment on their rights. Ineffectual attempts were made for a century to enforce it; and in this struggle were sowed the seeds of the revolution.

Nor did the humble attempts of the colonies in manufactures fail to awaken the jealousy of the mother country. Sir Josiah Child, although a more liberal politician than many of his countrymen, in his discourse on trade, published in 1670, pronounces New England "the most prejudicial plantation of Great Britain;" and gives for this opinion the singular reason, that they are a people "whose frugality, industry, and temperance, and the happiness of whose laws and institutions, promise to them long life, and a wonderful increase of people, riches, and power."

In the speech from the throne to the British Parliament, on the nineteenth of October, 1721, it is observed that "the supplying ourselves with naval stores upon terms the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve the care and attention of Parliament. Our plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength; and if, by due encouragement, we could be furnished from thence with naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but, by employing our own colonies in this useful and advantageous service, divert them from setting up and carrying on manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great Britain."

These suggestions show the opinions entertained by the government at that time. After many fruitless attempts on the part of the ministry to keep down the enterprise of the

* Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. I. p. 418.

colonies in those branches of industry which were disallowed by the laws of trade, the House of Commons took up the subject, and in 1731 called upon the Board of Trade and Plantations to make a report "with respect to any laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on in the colonies, detrimental to the trade, navigation, and manufactures of Great Britain." In the result of this inquiry it appeared, that among other branches of manufacture for domestic supply, hats were made in the colonies in considerable quantities; and had even been exported to foreign countries. In consequence of this alarming discovery, the law of 5 George II. c. 22, was passed, forbidding hats or felts to be exported from the colonies, or even "to be loaded on a horse, cart, or other carriage for transportation from one plantation to another." Nor was this all: in 1750, a law was passed by the Parliament of Great Britain, which I must needs call a disgrace to the legislation of a civilized country. It prohibited "the erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge, to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel, in the colonies, under penalty of two hundred pounds." Every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace was declared a *common nuisance* which the governors of the provinces, on information, were bound to abate, under penalty of five hundred pounds, within thirty days! *

It has been, within a few years, stated by Mr Huskisson, and with truth, that the real causes of the revolution are to be found, not in the irritating measures that followed Mr Grenville's plan of taxation, but in the long-cherished discontent of the colonies, at this system of legislative oppression. Accordingly, the first measures of the patriots aimed to establish their independence, on the basis of the productive industry and the laborious arts of the country. They began with a non-importation agreement, nearly two years before the declaration of independence. This agreement, with the

* For these and other interesting facts on the same subject, see Pitkin's Political and Civil History of the United States, Vol. I. p. 100, &c.

exception of the addresses to the people of America and Great Britain, was the only positive act of the first Congress that met at Philadelphia in 1774, and it is signed by every member of that body. The details to which it descends are full of instruction. The seventh article provides that "we will use our utmost endeavors to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their numbers to the greatest extent;" and the eighth, that "we will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially those of wool."* Such were the measures thought important by our fathers at that critical and solemn moment of preparation for the establishment of an independent government.

The policy indicated by these resolutions was, of course, favored by a state of war. All regular commercial intercourse with Great Britain was interrupted, and the supply of prize goods, which took its place, was casual and uncertain. We had as yet formed no connections in trade with other countries; nor, if we had, could their manufactures have found their way across the ocean, amidst the cruisers of the enemy, at any other than high prices. Fresh impulse was accordingly given to what few manufactures existed before the revolution, and new ones of various kinds were attempted with success. One of the earliest of these was the manufacture of nails, upon which Lord Chatham had placed his memorable prohibition. It is within the memory of man, that the first attempt to manufacture cut nails, in New England, was made in the southern part of Massachusetts, in the revolutionary war, with old iron hoops for the material, and a pair of shears for the machine. Since that period, besides supplying the consumption of the United States, — estimated at from eighty to one hundred millions of pounds, and at a price not much exceeding the duty, — machines of American invention for the manufacture of nails have been introduced into England; and I find, by the Treasury Report just published, that one and a half millions of pounds of nails were

* Journals of the Old Congress, Vol. I. p. 33, edition of 1800.

exported from the United States to foreign countries during the past year.

On the return of peace, in 1783, the influx of foreign goods, in many respects prejudicial to the country, proved in the highest degree disastrous to its mechanical and manufacturing industry. The want of one national government, and the division of the powers of government among thirteen sovereignties, made it impossible, by a uniform revenue system, to remedy the evil. The states generally attempted, by their separate navigation laws, to secure their trade to their own vessels; but the rivalry and selfish policy of some states counteracted the efforts of others, and eventually threw almost the whole navigation of the country into foreign hands. So low had it sunk in Boston, that in 1788, it was thought expedient, on grounds of patriotism, to get up a subscription to build three ships; and this incident, proving nothing but the poverty and depression of the town, was hailed as one which would give renewed activity to the industry of the tradespeople and mechanics of Boston! The same class of citizens and the manufacturers in general in the state of Massachusetts, petitioned the government of that state to protect their industry by bounties, imposts, and prohibitions. This prayer was granted, and a tariff of duties laid, which in reference to some articles — that of coarse cottons, for instance — was higher than any duty laid by Congress before the war of 1812.

But the state of the country rendered these laws of little avail. Binding in Boston, they were of no validity in Rhode Island; and what was subject to duty in New York might be imported free into Connecticut and New Jersey. The industry of the country was brought down to a point of distress unknown in the midnight of the revolution. The shipping had dwindled to nothing. The manufacturing establishments were kept up by bounties and by patriotic associations and subscriptions, and even the common trades were threatened with ruin. It was plain, for instance, that, in the comparative condition of the United States and Great Britain, not a hatter, a boot or shoe maker, a saddler, or a

brass founder, could carry on his business, except in the coarsest and most ordinary productions of their various trades, under the pressure of foreign competition. Thus was presented the extraordinary and calamitous spectacle of a successful revolution wholly failing of its ultimate object. The people of America had gone to war, not for names, but for things. It was not merely to change a government administered by kings and ministers, for a government administered by presidents, and secretaries, and members of Congress. It was to redress real grievances, to improve their condition, to throw off the burden which the colonial system laid on their industry. To attain these objects, they endured incredible hardships, and bore and suffered almost beyond the measure of humanity. And when their independence was attained, they found it was but a piece of parchment. The arm which had struck for it in the field, was palsied in the workshop; the industry which had been *burdened* in the colonies, was *crushed* in the free states; and, at the close of the revolution, the mechanics and manufacturers of the country found themselves, in the bitterness of their hearts, independent — and ruined.

They looked round them in despair. They cast about for means of relief, and found none, but in a plan of a voluntary association throughout the continent, and an appeal to the patriotism of their fellow-citizens. Such an association was formed in Boston, in 1787 or 1788, and a circular letter was addressed by them to their brethren throughout the Union. The proposal was favorably received, and in some of the cities zealously acted upon; but, unsupported by a general legislation, its effects must at best have been partial and inadequate.

But before the inefficiency of this measure had been discovered by experience, a new and unhoped for remedy for their sufferings had been devised. The daystar of the constitution arose; and of all the classes of the people of America, to whose hearts it came as the harbinger of blessings long hoped for and long despaired of, most unquestionably the tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers hailed it with the

warmest welcome. It had in fact grown out of the all-pervading inefficiency and wretchedness of the revenue system, which had been felt in ruin by them, more than by any other class. The feelings with which it was regarded by the "tradesmen and manufacturers of New York," will appear from their letter, in reply to the circular of the association in Boston, to which I have already alluded. The following sentence may be quoted as an expression of their views: —

"The legislature of our state, (New York,) convinced of the propriety of cherishing our manufactures in their early growth, have made some provisions for that purpose. We have no doubt that more comprehensive and decisive measures will in time be taken by them. But on the confederated exertions of our brethren, *and especially on the patronage and protection of the general government*, we rest our most flattering hopes of success.

"In order to support and improve the union and harmony of the American manufacturers, and to render as systematic and uniform as possible their designs for the common benefit, we perfectly concur with you on the propriety of establishing a reciprocal and unreserved communication. When our views, like our interests, are combined and concentred, *our petitions to the federal legislature will assume the tone and complexion of the public wishes, and will have a proportionable weight and influence.*" *

Such were the feelings and hopes, with which the laboring classes of the country in general, particularly the manufacturers and mechanics, looked forward to the adoption of the federal constitution. In the state of Massachusetts, it is admitted, that the question of adoption was decided, under the influence of the association of tradesmen and manufacturers already mentioned. In the convention of that state, the encouragement of manufactures, by protecting laws, was declared in debate to be a leading and avowed object of the

* This interesting document, which bears date 17 Nov., 1788, and which has not been quoted, so far as I am aware, in the present discussions of the subject, may be found in *Carey's American Museum*, Vol. V. p. 4.

constitution.* As it was successively adopted in other states, triumphant processions of the tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers, with the banners of their industry, and mottos expressive of their reliance on the new constitution for protection, evinced, in the most imposing form, and in the presence of vast multitudes, the principles and the expectations of the industrious classes of the community. Processions of this kind were had in Portsmouth, in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, and in Charleston; and the sentiment which animated and inspired them all, was expressed in the motto inscribed upon the banners of the manufacturers in Philadelphia: "*May the Union Government protect the Manufactures of America!*"

Forty-three years have since passed, and it is now earnestly maintained, and that by intelligent persons, that the federal constitution thus adopted, under the influence of the mechanics and manufacturers, (who knew that by the new government the power of protecting their pursuits was taken from the individual states, who had before held and exercised it,) confers no power on Congress to protect the labor of the country, and that the exercise of such power is unconstitutional. When we consider the control over public sentiment possessed by the associated mechanics and manufacturers of our large towns, and the slender majorities by which, in some states, the constitution was adopted, it is not too much to say, that if such a conception of its powers had then prevailed, it never would have been ratified.†

A quorum of the House of Representatives, under the new constitution, was formed, for the first time, on April first, 1789. In one week from that day, Mr Madison brought forward the subject of the revenue system, as the most important which required the attention of the national legislature.

* See note A, at the end.

† The constitution was ratified—

By Pennsylvania	on the 13th Dec.	1787,	by a vote of 46	to 23.
" Massachusetts . .	6th Feb.	1788, ...	187	" 168.
" New Hampshire .	21st June	"	57	" 46.
" New York . . .	26th July	"	30	" 25.

Pending the discussion of this subject, and three days after it commenced, a memorial was presented "from the tradesmen, manufacturers, and others of the town of Baltimore, in the state of Maryland, praying an imposition of such duties on all foreign articles, which can be made in America, as will give a just and decided preference to the labors of the petitioners, and that there may be granted to them, in common with the other manufacturers and mechanics of the United States, such relief as to the wisdom of Congress may seem proper."* This was followed up, the next day, by a petition from the shipwrights of Charleston, South Carolina, stating "the distress they were in, from the decline of that branch of the business, and the present situation of the trade of the United States, and praying that the wisdom and policy of the national legislature may be directed to such measures, in a general regulation of trade, and the establishment of a proper navigation act, as will relieve the particular distresses of the petitioners, in common with those of their fellow-shipwrights, throughout the Union."

Thus the first two memorials presented to the Congress of the United States were for protecting duties on American industry; and of these memorials, one was from Baltimore, and the other from Charleston, South Carolina!

A few days after, a similar memorial came in from New York, "setting forth that, in the present deplorable state of commerce and manufactures, they look with confidence to the operations of the new government, for a restoration of both, and that relief which they have so long and so ardently desired; that they have subjoined a list of such articles as can be manufactured in New York, and humbly pray the countenance and attention of the national legislature thereto."

Numerous other petitions of like purport were shortly after presented, and in pursuance of their prayers, as well as from the crying demands of the public service, the first impost law was passed, at an early period of the session. It was, with

* See note E, at the end

the exception of the law prescribing the oaths of office, the first law which was passed under the new government. In the long debate which arose, at different stages of its progress, the idea was advanced, by members from every part of the country, that Congress was bound to lay duties that would encourage its manufacturing industry; and I do not recollect that a suggestion appears in the reported debates that they did not constitutionally possess the power. Mr Madison thus expressed himself on the subject: "The states that are most advanced in population, and ripe for manufactures, ought to have their particular interest attended to in some degree. While these states retained the power of making regulations of trade, they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions. By adopting the present constitution, they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands. They must have done this with the expectation that those interests would not be neglected here." And again, "Duties laid on imported articles may have an effect which comes within the idea of national prudence. It may happen that materials for manufactures may grow up without any encouragement for this purpose. It has been the case in some of the states. But in others, regulations have been provided, and have succeeded, in producing some establishments, which ought not to be allowed to perish from the alteration which has taken place. It would be cruel to neglect them, and turn their industry to other channels; for it is not possible for the hand of man to shift from one employment to another without being injured by the change. There may be some manufactures which, being once formed, can advance towards perfection without any adventitious aid; while others, for want of the fostering hand of government, will be unable to go on at all. Legislative attention will be, therefore, necessary to collect the proper objects for this purpose."* Such were the principles on which this law was supported; and when it finally passed, it was stated, in the

* Lloyd's Debates, Vol. I. pp. 24 and 26.

preamble, to be "for the support of government, the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

The benefit of the protecting principle of the law was not confined to the manufactures of the Middle and Northern States, but was fully extended to the agricultural products of the south. A heavy duty was laid on the foreign manufactures of tobacco, (the only form in which that article could compete with American tobacco,) and it was supported by Roger Sherman, on the ground that the importation of such an article ought to be prohibited. This was a tax on the labor employed in the manufacture and on the consumption of the article for the benefit of the planter. The same is true of the duty laid on indigo, then a prominent article of southern produce, and still heavily burdened with a tax, which falls upon the consumers and manufacturers of cloth. A high duty was laid on hemp, an article of prime necessity to the navigating states; and, in favor of such a duty, it was alleged, by southern members of Congress, "that their lands were well adapted to the growth of hemp, and that its culture would no doubt be practised with attention." But the most interesting case of these protecting duties is that of the duty laid on cotton, for the sake of *introducing* its culture into the United States. This is a subject on which I have lately dwelt at some length, in a debate in Congress, but which is too important to be omitted here.

The household manufacture of cotton at the north was, as we have seen, almost coeval with the settlement of the country; but the manufacture on a large scale, and by improved machinery, did not take place till shortly before the adoption of the constitution. At that period, cotton mills were erected in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and other places, and considerable duties were laid by the legislatures of some of the states for the encouragement of this new and highly important branch of industry. The cotton used for these establishments was all imported, principally from the West Indies. Though it had been raised for a long time in the Southern States, it seems to have been exclusively con-

sumed in domestic use, and none was exported.* No suspicions were entertained that the soil and climate of the Southern States were particularly adapted to the culture of this beautiful staple. When a little cotton had found its way to Liverpool, in a vessel from the United States, in 1784, it was there considered as an unlawful importation, on the ground that it could not have been the growth of the United States. When the law imposing duties on imports, to which we have alluded, passed the House of Representatives, certain articles, especially some of the raw materials of manufactures, were left duty free, and among them cotton. In the Senate, a duty of three cents per pound was laid on this article, not to encourage and protect, but to create, the culture of it in the United States, as appears from the language of one of the members from South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, on the same subject, who declared that "cotton was *in contemplation*," as an article of produce, by the planters of South Carolina and Georgia, "and that *if good seed could be procured, he hoped it might succeed*." † On this *hope* the duty was imposed; and a tax, amounting probably to eight or ten per centum, was laid upon the raw material of the infant manufacture at the same time that the duties laid on the imported fabric, by some of the state laws, were reduced. On the fifth of December, 1791, General Hamilton, by order of the House of Representatives, made his famous report on manufactures, in which he states, "that the present duty of three cents per pound on the foreign raw material was undoubtedly a very serious impediment to the manufactures of cotton;" and that "a repeal of it is indispensable" for the prosperity of the manufacturers.‡ It was, nevertheless, not repealed. Thus, in the infancy of this important manufacture in the Northern and Middle States, struggling as it was, under a reduced duty, against the

* Kalm states, in his travels, that cotton seed was imported from the south to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and attempts made to cultivate it in the latter states.

† Mr Burke. Lloyd's Debates, Vol. I. p. 79.

‡ Report on Manufactures, pp. 72 and 73, edit. of 1827.

machinery of Arkwright and Watt, a heavy burden was laid upon the raw material, to enable the planters of the Southern States to explore the tropics, from the West Indies to the Philippines, in search of a species of cotton seed which would thrive in their climate. For four or five years this duty pressed on the manufactures of the Northern and Middle States, both household and by machinery. There was not a pound of cotton spun — no, not for candlewicks to afford light to the humble industry of the cottage — that did not pay this duty to the southern planter for four or five years. In 1794, when Mr Jay negotiated the treaty with Great Britain, it does not seem to have been known to that distinguished statesman that cotton was raised for exportation in the United States, and he accordingly admitted it among the articles not to be exported from the United States in American bottoms. Even as late as 1796, I find in the journals of Congress that a petition from the proprietors of a cotton mill, on the Brandywine, who prayed for the repeal of the duty on the raw material, and the increase of that on cotton goods, was rejected by the committee of commerce and manufactures, on the grounds that the existing duty afforded sufficient protection, and that "to repeal the duty on raw cotton imported would be to damp the growth of cotton in our own country." *

I would not be understood as ascribing the prodigious extension of the cotton culture to the imposition of this duty. I quote the facts of the laying of that duty, the reasons assigned for it, the neglect to repeal it when the repeal was declared indispensable, and the grounds stated for its continuance, for the purpose of showing the opinions entertained by southern members of congress, on the subject of protecting duties. I know very well that the vast extension of the cotton culture is owing to other causes, — to the newly-

* The committee who made this report consisted of the following gentlemen: Mr Swanwick, (of Pennsylvania,) Mr Smith, (of South Carolina,) Mr Coit, (of Connecticut,) Mr Blount, (of North Carolina,) Mr Sewall, (of Massachusetts,) Mr Parker, (of Virginia,) Mr Dent, (of Maryland.) — *American Senator*, Vol. I. p. 315.

invented machinery for spinning and weaving, and to the vast quantity of fertile land brought under cultivation in the Southern and South-western States.* Till the invention of the saw-gin, however, the duty was strictly a protecting duty; and such, I am inclined to think, it has again become. It is now a duty of from twenty to forty per centum on the cheap and common cottons. The most ordinary and the finest qualities are imported into Great Britain from other countries than the United States, and form from a fifth to a fourth of their consumption. There is nothing but the protecting duty which prevents the same being done in this country; where, even under this duty, some foreign cotton is imported and wrought up.

I have gone over these few facts in the history of our industry, in order to illustrate the positions that the chief practical evil of our former political dependence on Great Britain was the restraint imposed upon the labor of the country by the colonial system; and that the first thought and effort of our fathers, in organizing an independent government, was to encourage and protect the mechanical arts and manufactures of the country; which the rather needed encouragement and protection, as it was these which had borne the full weight of the colonial yoke. Our commerce and navigation had been subject, indeed, to the restraints of the navigation law, which, however, — partially enforced as it was, — allowed a considerable scope to the commercial enterprise of our citizens. Our fisheries were the wonder of Europe; our trade in lumber and naval stores important. Our agriculture was, in some branches, even the object of bounty on the part of private associations and of the crown. Liberal premiums were awarded for the exportation to England of silk, indigo, and other southern staples. The cultivation of tobacco was forbidden in England, by highly penal enactments, for the sake of securing a monopoly of that article to the southern colonies.† It was against the manufacturing and mechanical arts of the Northern and Middle

* See note B, at the end. † See note C, at the end.

States that the decree went forth. These were proscribed from the outset.

The present manufacturing system of the United States may be considered, partly as the result of the revenue laws of 1789, which remained without essential changes till the embargo of 1807, and partly as the effect of that and the other restrictive measures, and of the war which followed them. Those branches of industry, which are commonly called the mechanic arts, received, for the most part, though not without exception, an ample protection under the former laws: manufactures on a large scale, requiring great capital and skill, owed their existence to the total interruption of commerce. In the combined result, a very large amount of American capital was, at the peace of 1815, found invested in manufactures. It was the prevalent opinion of the statesmen of that day, and those of the south among the foremost, that this capital ought to be protected; and the success which had attended some of the manufactures, on a large scale, had produced some change in the public opinion, as to the capacity of the country to support them. At this period, however, and for several years after, it is well known that the current of opinion ran strongly against the protection of manufactures, by high duties, in the commercial parts of the Union. By slow degrees, the manufacturing system has won its way to greatly increased favor, even in those parts of the country where our commerce principally centres.

The question, both as one of principle and fact, is better understood by the lights of experience. It is now recollected, that our navigation, at the moment of its extreme depression, was raised up under a system of protecting duties. The obligation of protecting capital, invested under the pledge of the public faith, against foreign legislation and the ruinous fluctuations of the foreign market, is felt. Every evil predicted as likely or certain to follow from the manufacturing system has failed to take place. High prices were foretold. The acquisition of skill, and the perfection of machinery, have enabled the manufacturer to afford his fabrics at greatly reduced, but not unprofitable, prices. A defal-

cation of the revenue was predicted. The revenue, instead of falling off, has steadily sustained itself; and instead of being obliged to resort to direct taxes, which it was supposed, as late as 1824, both by friend and foe, we should have to do, we are now threatened with a national crisis, proceeding from an overflowing treasury. Our manufacturing establishments, instead of proving seminaries of vice, as was apprehended, are honorably distinguished for order and morality, as I know from my own observation of the largest in the United States. It was said that the grass would grow up between the paving stones of our principal commercial cities. It is not so in Boston. You best know how it is in Pearl Street, Wall Street, and Broadway. Our commerce and navigation have suffered no diminution. Our ship-yards are in a state of the most profitable activity; our coasting trade and internal commerce have greatly increased, and a general prosperity pervades the country.

One drawback only, and that much to be regretted, exists to the general satisfaction which this state of things is calculated to inspire; I allude, of course, to the dissatisfaction pervading a portion of the planting states, in which the laws passed for the protection of American industry are deemed unconstitutional, and severely oppressive upon their interests. I certainly shall not at this hour engage in a constitutional argument; but I may observe that, under a written constitution of government, almost every measure is likely to be represented, by its opponents, as unconstitutional. Few prominent measures of the government, from its organization, have failed to be so considered, by those opposed to them. The funding system and the assumption of the state debts; the Bank of the United States; the British treaty; the alien and sedition laws; the purchase of Louisiana; the embargo; the use of the militia in time of war; the system of internal improvements; the provisions of the judiciary act; and the protection of manufactures, have been successively opposed as unconstitutional. It is, however, an important fact, that this last measure — the protection of manufactures — has but of late years been opposed, on that ground. By the first Con-

gress, and many succeeding Congresses, I have proved above that it was not so regarded; and I have already attempted to show that, but for the firm belief and ardent hope that the federal constitution would protect and encourage the manufactures of the United States, it would never have been adopted.

With the opinion, however, which now prevails at the south, that the application of the revenue system to the encouragement of manufactures is unconstitutional, it is natural that it should be viewed with particular hostility, as the supposed cause of the depression that exists in a portion of the south. That it is not the real cause of this depression, I firmly believe; and such is asserted to be the fact by some of the most intelligent citizens of the Southern States. But it would be gratifying to find reasons to believe, that, as a whole, the planting interest in the country is not excluded from a participation in its general prosperity; and such, I am strongly inclined to believe, as well as hope, is the fact. Such is certainly the inference which we should draw from the last census. The state of Louisiana, whose industry is divided between the great staples of cotton and sugar,* regards the present modification of the revenue system as the source of her prosperity, and has lately been asserted by the best authority to be in a very prosperous condition. Georgia has, within a year or two, been declared, on equal authority, to be in a state of almost unexampled prosperity. The state of Tennessee has within a few days been pronounced, by her chief magistrate, in a condition of "eminent prosperity." "At no former period," says he, "has the general welfare of our citizens been more obvious and satisfactory." The depression which for some years has fallen upon the staple of cotton, has not, it is believed, extended to that of rice; a proof, as it would seem, that it cannot be the effect of the tariff, which would operate on rice as unfavorably as on cotton; and even the culture of cotton itself, low as the price

* What would be the effect on the cotton-planting interest, if, by a repeal of the tariff, the capital and labor employed on sugar should be turned into cotton?

has sunk, there is good reason to think, is still, with thrift and economy, a profitable branch of industry.*

But it is high time to draw these reflections to a close; which I cannot do, without reverting to the agreeable occasion which has called us together. If any one had before doubted of the efficacy of a system of legislative protection, it would seem that he might be convinced, by this display of the perfection of the American arts, not one of which, in some stages of its progress, could have sustained itself against the competition of Europe. And should any political catastrophe, now inconceivable, replace the state of things which existed before the revolution, the consequences of such a downfall would be chiefly visited on this healthful industry and these productive arts. In that calamitous event, the culture of our southern staples would again, if necessary, be stimulated by premiums and bounties. Our fisheries would be encouraged, as a nursery of seamen for the navies of the mother country. Our navigation would again be allowed to roam, discontented and daring, between the Antilles and Cape Finisterre; while the iron arm of the colonial system would fall on our mechanics and manufacturers. The hum of business in our workshops would cease; the tilt-hammer and the furnace — where you are daily forging the mute giants which Labor has harnessed to her cars — would be broken down as nuisances; the walls of our capacious factories be left tenantless to crumble; and the soil of the villages which support them, and which they support, — like the soil of captured Jerusalem, — would be turned with the ploughshare, and sowed with salt.

Every part of the country would, of course, be involved in the wide-spread ruin; but none so soon, and none so utterly, as this magnificent metropolis, — this vast centre of the commerce, the manufactures, and the agriculture of the country, — this mighty heart, where the great pulses of its industry beat, — to which the life blood of two thirds of the Union flows up by a thousand channels, to be again propelled

* See note D, at the end.

to the farthest villages in the west. New York was not always what it is now. The revolution found your city small, and almost stationary. The return of peace cut off the only existing resource, that of the subsistence of the forces of the enemy, which occupied it. The influx of foreign fabrics, and the navigation laws of Europe, confirmed its depression. The mechanics and manufacturers of New York grasped at a general government with the eagerness of desperation. In the federal and state conventions, which framed and adopted the constitution, they were heard by one of the most persuasive voices that ever spoke through the lips of man — the voice of the illustrious Hamilton, the first great champion of American manufactures. With the adoption of the constitution, the breath of life was breathed into the industry of New York; and we have beheld her since, with equal pride and admiration, starting up, with a new principle of existence, and making but one bound to the throne of the western commercial world. There may she long sit — firm, enlightened, and liberal; not forgetting, in the season of her wealth and power, the arts by which her infancy was nourished.

NOTES.

Note A, p. 88.

"Our manufactures are another great subject, which has received no encouragement by national duties on foreign manufactures, and they never can by any authority in the old confederation. The very face of our country leads to manufactures. Our numerous falls of water and places for mills, where paper, snuff, gunpowder, iron works, and numerous other articles, are prepared, these will save us immense sums of money, that would otherwise go to Europe. The qnestion is, Have these been encouraged? Has Congress been able, by national laws, to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities, as are made from such raw materials as we ourselves raise? It is alleged that the citizens of the United States have contracted debts, within the last three years, with the subjects of Great Britain, for the amount of near six millions of dollars, and that consequently our lands are mortgaged for that sum. So Corsica was once mortgaged to the Genoese merchants for articles which her inhabitants did not want, or which they could have made for themselves; and she was afterwards sold to a foreign power. If we wish to encourage our own manufactures, to preserve our own commerce, to raise the value of our lands, we must give Congress the powers in question." — *Judge Dawes's Speech in the Massachusetts Convention, which adopted the Constitution. Elliot's Debates*, Vol. I. p. 76.

Note B, p. 94.

The cotton saw gin is thus mentioned in the Report of a committee of the House of Representatives, at the first session of the 12th Congress, June 12, 1812: —

"We need not abandon our country to seek for examples, where a nation has been benefited and enriched by the genius of her citizens. We could specify many instances of the kind. On this occasion, however, we will content ourselves with a consideration of that of Mr Eli Whitney, a native of the state of Massachusetts. It is to his cotton gin that many of the United States owe their wealth and comforts; and but for this, or some equivalent instrument, poverty, barrenness, and waste would infest an extensive and valuable portion of the country. The opinion of Judge Johnson, an inhabitant of South Carolina, is too appropriate to be omitted. In deciding the case

of Whitney *vs* Carter, he proceeded: 'With regard to the utility of this discovery, the court would deem it a waste of time to dwell long upon this topic. Is there a man who hears us, that has not experienced its utility? The whole interior of the Southern States was languishing, and its inhabitants emigrating, for want of some object to engage their attention and employ their industry, when the invention of this machine at once opened views to them which set the whole country in active motion. From childhood to age, it has presented us a lucrative employment. Individuals, who were depressed with poverty and sunk in idleness, have suddenly risen to wealth and respectability. Our debts have been paid off; our capitals increased, and our lands trebled in value. We cannot express the weight of obligation which the country owes to this invention; the extent of it cannot now be seen.'"

Note C, p. 94

"The growth of one colonial staple in Britain was, it seems, dreaded with more appearance of reason, by the friends of the colonists. The cultivation of tobacco was rapidly increasing; and lest the planters of Maryland and Virginia might be forced to turn their industry from this to some other employment, the statute 15 Car. II. c. 7, commonly called the Navigation Act, confirmed and increased the penalties which had been imposed upon this culture by 12 Car. II. c. 24. In spite of the tax of £10 per rood, the trade of tobacco planting was found to be sufficiently profitable. So the legislature, in order to show clearly that the law was intended to be prohibitory, and not fiscal, gave the justices of the peace 'power to pluck up and utterly destroy all tobacco planted in England and Ireland,' by 22 and 23 Car. II. c. 26." — *Brougham's Colonial Policy*, Vol. I. p. 242.

Note D, p. 98.

Confirmation of the opinion expressed in the text may be found in the following authorities: —

1. "And what, sir, is the oppression we feel? As far as I can judge, we are more prosperous and happy than any other nation on earth. We are at peace with all the world. Our commerce, we are told by our own governor, (Governor Hamilton,) is increasing; 'that old channels have been widened, and new ones opened to our trade.' The planter procures for his cotton the Liverpool prices, after deducting costs and charges. Our great staples are as high as they were prior to the tariff law of 1824. The most deluded do not pretend that the Liverpool market has been affected by our tariff." — *Speech of Hon. D. E. Huger, in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, in December*, 1830.

2. "There is at this time an uncommon degree of prosperity in our country. Wherever I have been, throughout the Northern, Middle, and Western States, labor, capital, and skill are now employed with the greatest activity and enterprise in all the channels of industry. Every where we meet the external and visible signs of the influence they diffuse. It affords me great pleasure to be

able to congratulate you on the condition of our own state. I speak particularly now of the cotton region of Louisiana.

"We have suffered a great depression in the price of our staple; one of the most extraordinary revolutions of property, and one of the severest trials. Within a short period, cotton has fallen to *one third* of its former price, — yet you have sustained the shock. There has been, in consequence of your foresight and prudence, no distress or sacrifice; your fortunes have steadily advanced, capital is still productive, property in demand, money abundant, and credit and confidence unlimited.

"I am much surprised at this, *after having heard and read so much of the distress in the Southern States. How is this, that two countries very similar, with like productions, with the same people, and living under the same laws, present such different results?* Have we a kinder soil, a more genial sun, greater enterprise, or more industry, or more economy? They have indeed some advantages; they are nearer the markets, nearer the sources of supply, labor cheaper, and the price of the staple article higher by the difference of freight. How is it *that they are sinking in utter and irretrievable ruin, while we* [in Louisiana] *are in a comparatively flourishing condition?*

"The depression in the south has been ascribed to the operation of the tariff; but those laws act equally upon us; and we cannot comprehend how they exert the mysterious and extraordinary influence attributed to them. The decline in the price was for a time imputed to the tariff. It was supposed to be effected by some indirect means, beyond the reach of common observation. But this, I believe, is now abandoned. It is known that the price fell with the increasing production: *it was the excess of supply pressing on the demand for consumption; it was the natural effect of a redundant market.*

"We have heard also of a new theory, by which it is maintained that the producers, and not the consumers, pay all the duties, and that therefore the cotton interest is taxed with two thirds of all the revenue! This struck us at first by its boldness and originality. It had the merit of being a cause which, if true in principle, would adequately account for all the evils, whether real or imaginary, ascribed to the tariff; but the fact not being true, the theory has been exploded; and we have returned to the old opinion, that in reality the consumer, whoever he is, and wherever he may be, pays all the duties levied upon all the articles he buys, and that therefore they fall very equally upon all; and consequently the duties of twenty millions, paid to the government, are levied upon all the people, and drawn from all the labor of the country, amounting to many hundred millions; and not upon the mere producers of the articles that enter into foreign commerce, which do not exceed sixty millions.

"But it has been said, the tariff is most unjust and oppressive, and is producing the most fatal effects upon the south. Let us see how this stands with us. The price of cotton has fallen; but so has every thing else, and from the same cause. The taxes are necessarily high, to defray the expenses of government, and discharge a heavy public debt; but then all contribute according to their means.

"In regard to ourselves, we know that the whole expenses of our plantations do not exceed one third of the value of the crops; that is, less than three cents a pound, and that the residue is profit upon the capital employed. That *half of this amount of expenses is for articles made in the United States, and*

not included in the tariff, and not in any way affected by it. The other half is composed of articles that are embraced by it, and furnish a fair example of the general operation of those laws. The whole of them have fallen, since the tariff of 1824, from 25 to 50 per centum in value ; some of them, especially cotton goods, are cheaper than in England, and fairly compete with them. Others, *such as cotton bagging, which constitutes a considerable item of expense, is now made in the Western States, of a quality superior to the foreign, at sixteen cents, and to which it is reduced by our own competition.* This article, together with the cordage, is now so low that it fully reimburses the planter, by the weight, for all the cost. Upon the remainder of the articles we may perhaps pay 25 per centum ; but the prices are continually falling. We must contribute our quota to the government in some form; could we expect to pay less upon the amount of our property or our revenue, or could we pay it in a more convenient form? Or *can we complain when we look to the protection it affords, and the effect of that security upon the value of our labor and our property?* Besides, in the present regulated state, we are secure from great fluctuations, as the market is well supplied, at a fair and steady price, which will not be materially affected during a war." — *Speech of the Hon. J. S. Johnston, Senator of the United States from Louisiana.*

3. "In casting a glance at the present condition of our state, it is gratifying to observe its eminent prosperity. The rapidity of its recent growth, the important relative position it has attained among its sister states, the fertility of its soil, and the industry and enterprise of its citizens, afford abundant cause for grateful reflection and mutual congratulation. At no former period has the general welfare of our citizens been more obvious and satisfactory. With a rich profusion of the necessaries and comforts of life, the hand of labor is now uniformly rewarded with an adequate return. Poverty and distress are unknown, except as the result of indolence or crime, or of some peculiar casualty, from the effects of which relief is almost instantly attainable." — *Message of Governor Carroll to the Legislature of Tennessee, 19th September,* 1831.

4. "An intelligent citizen of Charleston, who has had considerable opportunities of ascertaining the real situation of the state, and has made minute inquiries on the subject, writes me as follows: —

"'The distress, said to be prevalent in South Carolina, has, as far as I can learn, been very much exaggerated, and the opinions expressed by several highly respectable gentlemen, with whom I have conversed on the subject, would induce a belief that it does not exist to any great extent. The planters in the upper section of the state, by pursuing a wise system of economy, have, I am informed, got out of debt, and are thriving and prosperous; and although in what is termed the low country, appearances are not quite so flattering, *this has been occasioned by circumstances wholly unconnected with the tariff.*'" — *New Olive Branch,* No. XXV. *New Series,* No. XIII.

The governor of South Carolina, in a speech to "the State Rights and Free Trade Association," on the 1st of August of the present year, names a gentleman in South Carolina, "whose patrimonial wealth has been *vastly augmented by his own improvements in the culture of one of our staples,* the results of which have proved a common benefit to us all."

5. As far as the relative increase of the population in the different parts of the country is a test of their comparative prosperity, the following table shows that there is no foundation for the opinion, that the Northern and Middle States are "fattening on the spoils" of the Southern.

INCREASE PER CENT. OF THE POPULATION OF THE DIFFERENT STATES FROM 1820 TO 1830.

State	Per cent.	State	Per cent.
Maine	33.898	South Carolina	15.657
New Hampshire	10.391	Georgia	51.472
Massachusetts	16.575	Kentucky	22.056
Rhode Island	17.157	Tennessee	62.044
Connecticut	8.161	Ohio	61.998
Vermont	19.005	Indiana	132.087
New York	39.386	Mississippi	81.032
New Jersey	15.563	Illinois	185.403
Pennsylvania	28.416	Louisiana	40.665
Delaware	5.487	Missouri	110.380
Maryland	9.712	Alabama	141.574
District of Columbia	20.639	Michigan	250.001
Virginia	13.069	Arkansas	113.273
North Carolina	15.592	Florida	———
Average per centum	32.392.		

NOTE E, p. 89.

The following is the memorial from Baltimore, referred to page 98, and being the first memorial presented to Congress, under the new constitution, I have thought it worth copying *in extenso*: —

"*To the President and Congress of the United States, the Petition of the Tradesmen, Mechanics, and others, of the Town of Baltimore, humbly showeth,* —

"That since the close of the late war, and the completion of the revolution, your petitioners have observed, with serious regret, the manufacturing and trading interests of the country rapidly declining, while the wealth of the people hath been prodigally expended in the purchase of those articles, from foreigners, which our citizens, if properly encouraged, were fully competent to furnish.

"To check this growing evil, applications were made, by petitions, to some of the state legislatures: these guardians of the people in several of the states interposed their authority; laws were by them enacted, with the view of subduing, or at least diminishing, the rage for foreign, and of encouraging domestic manufactures; but the event hath clearly demonstrated, to all ranks of men, that no effectual provision could reasonably be expected, until one uniform efficient government should pervade this wide-extended country.

"The happy period having now arrived when the United States are placed in a new situation; when the adoption of the general government gives one sovereign legislature the sole and exclusive power of laying duties upon imports; your petitioners rejoice at the prospect this affords them, and America,

freed from the commercial shackles which have so long bound her, will see and pursue her true interest, becoming independent in fact as well as in name; and they confidently hope that the encouragement and protection of American manufactures will claim the earliest attention of the supreme legislature of the nation; as it is a universally acknowledged truth, that the United States contain within their limits resources amply sufficient to enable them to become a great manufacturing country, and only want the patronage and support of a wise, energetic government.

"Your petitioners conceive it unnecessary to multiply arguments to so enlightened a body as the one they have now the honor of addressing, to convince them of the propriety and importance of attending to measures so obviously necessary, and indeed indispensable, as every member must have observed and lamented the present melancholy state of his country; the number of her poor increasing for want of employment; foreign debts accumulating; houses and lands depreciating in value; trade and manufactures languishing and expiring. This being a faint sketch of the gloomy picture this country exhibits, it is to the supreme legislature of the United States, as the guardians of the whole empire, that every eye is now directed; from their united wisdom, their patriotism, their ardent love of their country, your petitioners expect to derive that aid and assistance which alone can dissipate their just apprehensions, and animate them with hopes of success in future, by imposing on all foreign articles, which can be made in America, such duties as will give a just and decided preference to their labors, and thereby discountenancing that trade which tends so materially to injure them, and impoverish their country; and which may, also, in their consequences, contribute to the discharge of the national debt, and the due support of government.

"Your petitioners take the liberty to annex a list of such articles as are, or can be, manufactured in this place on moderate terms; and they humbly trust that you will fully consider their request, and grant them, in common with the other mechanics and manufacturers of the United States, that relief which, in your wisdom, may appear proper."

Here follows, in the original, a list of articles manufactured in the city of Baltimore and state of Maryland, which it does not seem necessary to copy.

Just one week after the above petition, another was presented to Congress from citizens of New York, from which the following is extracted: —

"Your petitioners conceive that their countrymen have been deluded by an appearance of plenty; by the profusion of foreign articles which has deluged the country; and thus have mistaken excessive importation for a flourishing trade. To this deception they impute a continuance of that immoderate prepossession in favor of foreign commodities, which has been the principal cause of their distresses, and the subject of their complaint.

"Wearied by their fruitless exertions, your petitioners have long looked forward with anxiety for the establishment of a government which would have power to check the growing evil, and extend a protecting hand to the interests of commerce and the arts. Such a government is now established. On the promulgation of the constitution just now commencing its operations,

your petitioners discovered in its principles the remedy which they had so long and so earnestly desired. They embraced it with ardor, and have supported it with persevering attachment. They view with the highest satisfaction the prospects now opening and adorning this auspicious period. To your honorable body the mechanics and manufacturers of New York look up with confidence, convinced that, as the united voice of America has furnished you with the means, so your knowledge of the common wants has given you the spirit to unbind our fetters, and rescue our country from disgrace and ruin."

A few days afterwards, another petition was presented from the inhabitants of Boston, of which the following is an extract: —

"Your petitioners need not inform Congress that on the revival of our mechanical arts and manufactures depend the wealth and prosperity of the Northern States; nor can we forbear mentioning to your honors that the citizens of these states conceive the object of their independence but half obtained till those national purposes are established on a permanent and extensive basis by the legislative acts of the federal government. Unless these important branches are supported, we humbly conceive that our agriculture must greatly decline, as the impoverished state of our seaports will eventually lessen the demand for the produce of our lands.

"Your petitioners formerly experienced the patronage of this state legislature, in their act laying duties and prohibitions on certain articles of manufacture, which encourages your petitioners to request that heavy duties may be laid on such articles as are manufactured by our own citizens, humbly conceiving that the impost is not solely considered by Congress as an object of revenue, but, in its operation, intended to exclude such importations, and, ultimately, establish these several branches of manufacture among ourselves."

ANECDOTES OF EARLY LOCAL HISTORY.*

The Massachusetts Historical Society was founded in the year 1791. Its declared objects were the "preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations, conducing to mark the genius, delineate the manners, and trace the progress of society in the United States," and "the collection of observations and descriptions in natural history and topography, together with specimens of natural and artificial curiosities, and a selection of every thing which can improve and promote the historical knowledge of our country, either in a physical or political point of view." The number of resident members was at first limited to thirty; but it has since been extended to sixty. In 1794, the society received an act of incorporation from the legislature of the commonwealth.

In pursuance of the designs of its foundation, the society immediately applied itself to the collection of a library and of a cabinet of natural history, and of objects of art, illustrative of the history and antiquities of the country. For two years after the formation of the society, it held its meet-

* A Lecture delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society on the 21st of October, 1833; now first published.

For a full and satisfactory account of the Historical Society, see the accurate memoir of Rev. Dr William Jenks, in the seventh volume of the third series of the Collections. See also, for much information on the history of the society, and a very instructive and eloquent commentary upon its labors and objects, a discourse on the semi-centennial anniversary of the incorporation, delivered by Mr John G. Palfrey, 31st October, 1844, Collections, Vol. IX. p. 165, Third Series.

ings in the office of Judge Minot, (one of its most active founders,) in Spring Lane, in Boston, and afterwards successively in an upper room in Faneuil Hall, and in an apartment of what was originally the "Factory," a large building, situated in what is now called Hamilton Place, and at that time in the occupation of the Massachusetts Bank. After the erection of Franklin Place, the upper hall over the archway was liberally placed at the disposal of the society, and there its library and collections were deposited, and its meetings held till the last year, when it obtained a permanent and much more eligible location in the second story of the building lately erected by the Savings Bank.

The library contains a collection, not very large, but of great value, of books, manuscripts, and newspapers. Very important materials, both for our early and revolutionary history, are to be found upon its shelves; and, during the period of forty years since it commenced its operations, it has unquestionably rescued from destruction no small portion of the valuable papers now in its possession. It is the ardent desire of the society to make it more and more a rich repository of authentic original materials for the history of the country; and it earnestly invites all those who have materials of that description in their hands to confide them to its care. In the archives of a public institution they are likely to escape many of the dangers to which private collections are exposed, and they may be rendered available to students of history far more conveniently than while they remain the property of individuals.

At the close of the revolutionary war, there was a strong impression upon the minds of many of the intelligent and public-spirited individuals of that day, that special efforts ought to be made to acquire and diffuse a knowledge of the natural history of the country, which had just been introduced as a new member into the family of nations. This object was deemed so important by the elder President Adams, that he proposed, as an amendment to the draft of the constitution of the state, a section which, among other things, makes it the duty "of legislatures and magistrates, in

all future periods of this commonwealth," to encourage private societies and public institutions for the promotion of "agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and *a natural history of the country.*" So much importance was attached to this amendment by President Adams, that, in a letter written in the latter part of his life, he expressed the wish that it might be placed upon his monument as an epitaph. It was no doubt in conformity with the same prevalent feeling, that the founders of the Historical Society, of whom President Adams was one, made provision for the department of natural history as one of the objects of the society. It was of course soon found, by experience, that there is no close connection between the political and the natural history of the country; and the latter branch of inquiry has not been cultivated by the members of the society as such.

In order to diffuse the knowledge of the materials collected for the history of the country, and to put them effectually beyond the reach of accident, the society, on its first establishment, commenced the publication of a monthly historical magazine, which, however, was soon changed, in its form, to that of a volume, appearing at irregular intervals, but averaging, from the commencement of the series, more than a volume every two years. Of this publication, twenty-three volumes have appeared.* Their contents are of a miscellaneous character, — historical, biographical, and topographical, — illustrative of the history, both of the aborigines and civilized inhabitants of the country, from the earliest periods to the present time. They contain a great amount and variety of materials of much value, and they are absolutely indispensable to the student of American history. I regret to add, that this unassuming and highly meritorious publication has received little or no patronage from the general reading community.

Among the members of the society, who have passed from

* The thirtieth volume was published in the course of the past year (1849.)

the stage, there are several who have, in separate publications, made important contributions to the history of the country. President Adams's Defence of the American Constitutions, published before the formation of the society, is one of the most important of the works connected with the political history of the United States. Governor Sullivan wrote a valuable History of Maine, and offered it to the public "as a testimonial of his ardent desire that the Historical Society" (of which he was an original member) "might fulfil the objects of its institution." Judge Minot published two interesting volumes of a continuation of the History of Massachusetts, the first of which appeared in 1798, the last not till after his decease in 1802. He also wrote a history of Shays' insurrection. Dr John Eliot, besides numerous contributions to the society's Collections, has left a permanent memorial of his researches in local history, in the Biographical Dictionary of New England. From the elegant pen of Mr William Tudor, the founder of the North American Review, we have a very valuable Life of James Otis, in addition to other productions of historical interest. But I presume that, among the deceased members of the society, who have distinguished themselves as writers of history, the first place will, by general consent, be awarded to Dr Jeremy Belknap, one of the most efficient of the founders of the society, its first secretary, and, for a long time, one of the most diligent contributors to its Collections. Besides the American Biography, and other smaller works, the History of New Hampshire, by this amiable, intelligent, and patriotic writer, is inferior to none of our local histories.

It would be, for obvious reasons of delicacy, improper to comment upon the works of living members of the society. I cannot, however, forbear to allude to the American Annals of the Rev. Dr Holmes, (of which the first edition appeared in 1805, and a second in 1829, and which had, in the interval, been reprinted in England;) to the edition of Winthrop's Journal, by Mr James Savage; of Morton's Memorial, by Judge Davis; of Prince's Chronology, by Mr Nathan Hale;

and to several important works, connected with the history of the country, by Mr Jared Sparks.*

With a view to promote the original objects of the institution, and in the hope of doing something to gratify the prevailing taste for the study of our local history, the society has undertaken the experiment of a course of lectures, to be delivered by its members the ensuing season. The nature of the case excludes any attempt at unity of plan, except that the lectures will have for a common object the history and antiquities of the country. We make the attempt from a sense of duty, as members of a society consecrated by its institution to the preservation and transmission of the memory of the past. We do it in the feeling that the fondness for this kind of knowledge rests in some of the best and deepest of our moral sentiments. There is no man of any cultivation who does not take some interest in what was done by his forefathers; who does not desire to obtain some knowledge of what took place in former times, on the spot where he was born; and to trace the fortunes of the race to which he belongs, and of the races which preceded it, and with which his own is in any way connected. This feeling is not the exclusive growth of civilized life. The aboriginal tribes of our continent, who have no monuments to guide their minds in looking back to the history of the past, — to give precision and life to their recollections, — manifest a strong attachment to the spot where they and their ancestors have for generations been seated, though it is but an opening in the woods, or a carrying place round the falls of a river. All their rude learning, if it can claim that title, consists of vague traditions of the tribe; and where some progress has been made towards a written record, as in the historical paintings of the Aztecs, similar traditions are almost the only thing attempted to be thus embodied in a sensible form.

This interest in the lives, characters, and exploits of our ancestors forms no small part of the sentiment of patriotism. It is natural, generous, and unselfish. It is not only pardon-

* See note at the end.

able, but it is our duty to indulge it. We should defraud the good men of other times of the best part of their reward, and we should thus take away one of the strongest incentives to good conduct, if we did not, on every suitable occasion, take a pride and a pleasure in commemorating them. If we neglect this duty, we war against the strong instinct of our nature, to which I have alluded, and which is the great moral compensation for contemporary prejudice and injustice. Horace has but enunciated a law of human societies, when he tells us that the legendary heroes of Rome and of Greece

> "Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
> Speratum meritis."

But time and a dutiful posterity redress the wrong. Extinctus amabitur. There is no jealousy nor envy in death. In fact, nothing but time can fully develop all the value of great deeds, and unfold the strength of great characters. The interest of events which have come to pass in any quarter, in one generation, depends much upon the consequences that may flow from them on the same spot in after times. An illustrious posterity throws its light backward upon small beginnings, and makes them significant and honorable. The sea-beaten rock of 1620 becomes, in two centuries, an altar of patriotic worship.

This attachment and veneration for the past is a very important element in the life and fortunes of a people. The last few years have witnessed a most striking example of its practical influence in the world. We behold even now, in progress, the organization of a civilized and Christian government in Greece. This part of Europe had been, for four centuries, surrendered to the yoke of a semi-barbarous despotism; a political slavery of the most degrading and intolerable character. Within the last ten years that yoke has been broken. The Greeks, by the simple force of this patriotic enthusiasm, encouraged and sustained by the sympathy of the civilized nations of the world, — a sympathy resting itself on no other foundation than the recollections of the glorious past, — raised up a more successful opposition to the

Ottoman power than the colossal empire of Russia had done for a century; and has succeeded at last in compelling the great powers of Europe, somewhat against their own will, and notwithstanding the most deplorable misconduct and imprudences on the part of the Greeks themselves, to establish a constitutional government in Greece, under a Christian prince.

But it would take me far from the object of this address to extend these remarks into a dissertation on the importance and reasonableness of what may be called the historical sentiment. My only wish in making them is to throw out a passing justification of the zeal with which our local history has been cultivated for the last generation; and to intimate an apology beforehand for what I fear you will think the somewhat insignificant character of some of the topics of the present lecture, the remainder of which will be devoted to some miscellaneous anecdotes of our early history.

The name given to our native state by the founders of the colony — Massachusetts Bay — is worthy a few moments' consideration. The first company of emigrants to New England — the founders of Plymouth — landed, it is true, in what we should call Massachusetts Bay; but the name at that time was taken in a narrower, though rather indefinite, application. Captain John Smith, whose romantic adventures form so interesting a chapter in the early history of the country, had passed along the north-eastern coast in 1614, and learned the names given by the Indians to some important tracts of country and conspicuous objects along the shore. But in preparing maps of the coast for the published account of his voyage, as far as New England is concerned, he drew upon his own taste and fancy. Of Indian names I think there are none. Some of the names proposed by Smith were highly grotesque. Cape Ann received from him the rather unmusical name of Cape Tragabigsanda, in honor of a Turkish lady to whom the gallant captain, having been taken prisoner of war, had been sold, and under whom he half intimates his slavery passed into a captivity of a gentler

kind. Prince Charles changed this uncouth name into Cape Anna, in honor of his mother.

Of that part of the coast which was occupied by the Indians, called the Massachusetts, Captain Smith thus speaks: "The country of the Massachusits, which is the paradice of all those parts, for here are many iles planted with corne, groues, mulberries, salvage gardens, and good harbors; the coast is, for the most part, high clayie sandy clifts; the sea-coast, as you pass, shews you all a long, large corne fields, and great troupes of well-proportioned people."* In 1621, the company established the year before, at Plymouth, was alarmed at some reports of hostilities meditated against them by the Massachusetts Indians, and sent up a party to explore the bay. They came to anchor, it is supposed, at the foot of Copps' Hill, in Boston, and were so much pleased with the appearance of the country, that Governor Bradford closes his account of the expedition with the remark, "They came safely home before noon the day following, with a considerable quantity of beaver, and a good report of the place, *wishing we had been seated there.*"† In a year or two afterwards, a commencement was made of a settlement in this region; and when the next great effort took place for the establishment of a colony in this part of America, MASSACHUSETTS BAY was selected for its site.‡

This name was derived from the tribe of Indians which occupied the shores of the inner bay. They were one of the five principal tribes found by the English in that portion of the continent which lies east of Connecticut River, and south of the Merrimack. These five tribes were the Pequots, the Narragansetts, the Pokanokets, the Massachusetts, and the Pawtuckets. The ancient historian of the Indians, Gookin, describes the Massachusetts in the following terms: —

* Smith's General History, Vol. II. p. 194, Richmond Ed.

† Prince's Chronology, Hale's edition, p. 198.

‡ See, in the first volume of this collection, the Address delivered in commemoration of Governor Winthrop's landing, on the subject of the Massachusetts generally. See Drake's Book of the Indians, Book II. chapter ii. and iii.

"The Massachusetts being the next great people northward, inhabited principally about that place in Massachusetts Bay, where the body of the English now dwell. These were a numerous and great people. Their chief sachem held dominion over many other petty governors, as those of Wessagussett, (Weymouth,) Neponset, (Quincy,) Punkapog, (Stoughton,) Nonantum, (Newton,) Nashua, (Lancaster,) and some of the Nipmuck people, as far as Pokomtacook, (Deerfield,) as the old men of Massachusetts affirmed. This people could in former times arm for war about three thousand men, as the old Indians declare. In *anno* 1612 and 1613, these people were also sorely smitten by the hand of God with the same disease before mentioned, which destroyed the most of them, and made room for the English people of Massachusetts colony, which people this country and the next, called Pawtucket. There are not of this people left *this day* above three hundred men besides women and children." *

The epidemic which proved so destructive to the Massachusetts Indians, and not less so to the Pokanokets and Pawtuckets, was naturally regarded by our pious forefathers as a providential preparation for their arrival. "Thereby," says the venerable historian of the Indians just cited, "divine Providence made way for the quiet and peaceable settlement of the English in these nations. What this disease was which so generally and mortally swept away not only these, but other Indians, their neighbors, I cannot well learn. Doubtless it was some pestilential disease. I have discoursed with some old Indians that were then youths, who say that the bodies all over were exceedingly yellow (describing it by a yellow garment they shewed me) both before they died and afterwards." This account may deserve consideration, in reference to the controverted question concerning the domestic or foreign origin of the yellow fever.

I do not know that it is precisely ascertained where the Massachusetts Indians had their principal station. Hubbard says, "Att or neare the mouth of Charles River, where used to be the general rendezvous of all the Indians, both on the south and north side of the country." † According to Hutch-

* Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, first published from the original manuscript in the first volume of Mass. Historical Collections, pp. 148, et seq. Gookin's dedicatory epistle to Charles II. bears date 7th December, 1674.

† General History of New England, in Mass. Hist. Collections, Vol. V. p. 32, Second Series.

inson, their great sachem, who was reverenced by all the plantations of Indians round about, had his principal seat upon a small hill or rising upland, in the midst of a body of salt marsh in the township of Dorchester, near to a place called Squantum." * Our conjectures would be better guided to the spot, in the absence of positive information, if we were certain of the signification of the word *Massachusetts*. In Josiah Cotton's Vocabulary we read, "Massachusetts, an hill in the form of an arrowhead." This authority is respectable, but not of the very highest order. His manuscript is dated 1707 and 1708, at which time it may be feared the language was but little spoken. His father, however, had been a fellow-laborer of Eliot, in that ever-memorable work of evangelical industry, the translation of the Bible into the native language of New England. *Chusett* (Wachusett) no doubt signified *mountain*; but I am not aware that it appears from the Vocabularies that *Mas* or *Massa* signified *arrow*. The only word for *arrow* in Roger Williams's Key is Caù-quat, the same word which appears in Eliot's Bible as Kóuh-quot.† I have sometimes been disposed to conjecture that *Massachusetts* signified the *great hill* or *hills*. The Blue Hills in Milton were called, says Hutchinson, "Massachusetts Mount," and Captain Smith speaks of "the High mountaine of Massachusetts." The element *mss*, or *mch*, variously pronounced with

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. I. p. 460. What Smith calls *Chevyot Hills* on his map had, according to Hutchinson, before been called *Massachusetts Mount*. They evidently compose what Smith calls the "High mountain of Massachusetts."

† Since this address was delivered, I find the following authority of Roger Williams: "I had learnt that the Massachusetts was called so from the Blue Hills, a little island thereabout." This is from a letter dated 18th June, 1682, in the Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. IV. p. 208. I am indebted for the reference to this passage to Dr Young's learned and valuable Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 224. It is true that, in identifying the *Massachusetts* with the Blue Hills, we do not settle the meaning of the aboriginal term. But from the extent and broken character of those hills, it would seem more likely that the word should signify "great or high hills" than "hills in the form of an arrow-head." But *judicent peritiores*. I may add that the words for *arrow* in Father Rasles's Vocabulary, and in that of Zeisberger, bear no resemblance whatever to *Mas* or *Massa*.

all the vowels, signifies *great*, throughout the entire family of the Delaware languages.

The original mode of writing the venerable name of our native state was various. In the charter it is written with two *aliases*, the bay being described as "a certayne bay there, commonly called Massachusetts, *alias* Mattachusetts, *alias* Massatusetts Bay;" and where the word is used without an *alias*, *Mattachusetts* seems to be the form preferred. The style of the company is declared to be "the governor and company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England." Eliot, the highest literary authority, writes the word as it is written at the present day. Roger Williams speaks of the Massachuseûck. On the silver shillings coined in the colony in 1652, we find Masatusets. But the most singular form of spelling the word which I have noticed, is found in a letter of Richard Cromwell, written to the General Court of the colony during his brief administration, in which he asks their good offices in favor of "Henry Sewall of Rowley, in Messey-Tusick Bay in New England." *

Before quitting the subject of the *Massachusetts*, it may be observed that the language of that branch of the aborigines of this continent is perhaps better understood than any of the native dialects. The grammar and several other smaller works of the apostle Eliot, the Vocabulary of Josiah Cotton, and, above all, the entire translation of the Bible by Eliot, — a work of matchless labor and perseverance, — furnish the means of a thorough acquaintance with the language as spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants of this part of Massachusetts. Roger Williams's Key exhibits the dialect — not materially different — of the Narragansett tribe. Jonathan Edwards's Observations on the language of the Muhhekaneew (Mohegan) Indians present the same language in the form in which it existed in the interior of New England, and Father Rasles's Vocabulary of the Norridgwock tribe enables us to institute a comparison with a dialect of a more distant family.

* Hutchinson, Vol. I. appendix No. XII. The General Court, in an address to Oliver Cromwell in 1654, call themselves "the General Court of the Massatusets."

All these languages are but branches of the Great Delaware tongue, of the more southern varieties of which there are numerous vocabularies and translations by the Moravian missionaries. Among all these works of aboriginal literature, — monuments of races once numerous and powerful, and now rapidly disappearing from the face of the earth, — Eliots's Bible stands unapproached for magnitude and value.*

Although the settlements in America were made under royal charters, and of course with the sanction of the crown, those of New England were early regarded with an unfavorable eye at court. The religious opinions of the principal persons in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts were sufficient, considering the inseparable connection of religious and political parties at that day, to make these infant communities an object of suspicion and jealousy on the part of the government. At a time when the kingdom was on the eve of a revolution, which had its origin, in no small degree, in the spirit of non-conformity with the church of England, it was not to be wondered at that an infant republic like Massachusetts, which was founded by a company of nonconformists, should be an object of dislike. We accordingly find that attempts were made to vacate the charter almost as soon as it was granted. Governor Winthrop had not been more than six years in the country, before a writ of *quo warranto* was brought against the colony.

The circumstance, however, that the colony was composed of persons belonging to the unpopular, and for a considerable

* Eliot's Grammar, Dr Edwards's Observations, Roger Williams's Key, and Cotton's Vocabulary, have all been published, the last named for the first time, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The works of Eliot, Edwards, and Cotton have been enriched and illustrated by our learned associate, Mr John Pickering, who is now (1833) carrying through the press, under the auspices of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an edition of the hitherto unpublished Vocabulary of Father Rasles.

Within the past year, (1849,) a very valuable collection of manuscripts, principally in the Delaware language, was presented to the library of Harvard College by Chief Justice Lane of Ohio. They were obtained by him from the Moravian Brethren at Gnadenhütten, in that state.

period the oppressed, party, was in one respect highly favorable to its increase. It became, in consequence, a place of refuge for the great body of the English non-conformists. In this way the circumstance alluded to was the mainspring of the prosperity of New England. So great were the hardships which the first comers endured, that nothing short of the compulsion that existed at home would have procured them any recruits. Had Charles I. been well disposed towards New England, the embarrassed condition of his government would have prevented his doing much for the encouragement of the colonists. While it was really out of his power to help them materially with kindness, the principles of his government were daily driving very substantial people to a land where they could enjoy liberty of conscience. For the same reason that emigration almost ceased when the royal government was subverted, it may well be doubted whether the first adventurers would not have been left to languish without any reënforcements, had the change taken place some years sooner.

But it was in the power of Charles I., could he and his advisers, with prophetic foresight, have anticipated the march of events, to make the distant and insignificant colonies the means of averting the great catastrophe at home. The leaders of the disaffected party were of course drawn by all their sympathies towards New England. Without any consideration of the struggles of domestic parties, the enterprise of the founders of the American colonies must have taken strong hold of the imagination of such men as Cromwell and his associates. It was the visible extension of the kingdom of Christ, — a great new realm brought within the fold by the labor and adventure of friends and brethren. In an age like that in question, when the minds of men were highly exalted on questions of this kind, there would of course be a strong predisposition on the part of the ardent and enthusiastic to join in this work, and to abandon the Old England for the New. In the year 1635, there was a considerable emigration of men of this character to New England, among them Sir Henry Vane and Hugh Peters, both leaders in the

commonwealth, and eventually victims in its cause. The early writers have preserved a tradition that many more were disposed to come of persons of note, but that they were prevented by the express orders of the crown, and among them Pym, Hampden, Haslerigg, and Cromwell himself.

That the crown interfered to prevent the emigration which was going on in 1637, is certain; for the royal proclamation and order in council to that effect are preserved. The proclamation sets forth that "the king's most excellent majesty has been informed that great numbers of his subjects have been and are transported every year into those parts of America which have been granted by patent to several persons, and there settle themselves, some of them with their families and whole estates, among which numbers there are also many idle and refractory humors, whose only or principal end is to live as much as they can out of the reach of royal authority." The proclamation goes on to forbid all "subsidy-men" (that is, as I suppose, all tax payers) from emigrating without leave of the commissioners of the plantations; and all under the degree and value of subsidy-men were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, and procure a certificate from the parish minister of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church of England. The next year eight vessels bound for New England, with many passengers on board, were arrested by order of the crown, and the passengers required to be landed. Afterwards, on the intercession of the merchants and owners interested in the vessels, and of the passengers, they were allowed to proceed. But on the first of May, 1638, an order of council was issued, enforcing the provisions of the proclamation of the preceding year; and assigning as the reason his majesty's knowledge of "the factious disposition of a great part of the people of the plantation of New England, and how unfit and unworthy they are of any support or countenance from hence, in respect of the great disorders and want of government among them."*

* Hazard's State Papers, Vol. I. pp. 421, 422, from Rymer and Rushworth.

Now, had the king and his council pursued precisely the opposite course, — had they allowed all the discontented to emigrate, and strictly forbidden them to return, without permission, — what a change might not have followed in the history of Great Britain! The heart of Cromwell, in particular, was evidently set upon expatriation. The immediate foundation of the great civil war and revolution in England was laid in the Remonstrance of the House of Commons, in 1641, which contained, according to Lord Clarendon, "a very bitter representation of all the illegal things which had been done from the first hour of the king's coming to the crown to that minute; with all those sharp reflections upon the king himself, the queen, and council."* This document was, in fact, intended by the popular leaders as a general appeal to the country. The debate upon it, in the House of Commons, began at nine o'clock in the morning, and continued till after midnight, without interruption, and "with much passion." "Many," says Clarendon, "withdrew from pure faintness, and disability to attend the conclusion." When it passed, it was carried by a majority of only nine. Cromwell, on going out of the House, at two o'clock in the morning, said to Lord Falkland, "that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had, the next morning, and never seen England more; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution." Lord Clarendon, after mentioning this anecdote, observes, "So near was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance."* One of the biographers of Cromwell, repeating this remark, adds, "Near it, indeed; for if zeal for the church or duty to the king could have kept ten more of those, who made such strong professions of both, from their suppers and their beds for a few hours, all the consequences of that fatal night had been prevented."†

After the commonwealth had been established, and Cromwell, under the name of Protector, had made himself in

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 451, Boston edition.

† Biographia Britannica, art. *Cromwell.*

reality a dictator, he retained his favorable opinions and kind feelings towards New England. He was led, in consequence, however, to propose a course of policy which, if he had carried it through, would have given a severe check to the prosperity of the settlements here; if indeed it had not broken them up. After the conquest of Ireland, in order to secure the obedience of that country, to hasten its advancement in civilization, and facilitate the administration of government, the Protector wished to introduce and establish there a sound and orderly population of the English stock, on which he could rely; and for this purpose turned his thoughts to New England. He was exceedingly desirous that the people here should emigrate to Ireland; and the inhabitants of the New Haven colony, then distinct from Hartford, were disposed to remove; but, on further consideration, abandoned the project. After the conquest of Jamaica, Cromwell renewed his instances with great earnestness, and particularly with the people of Massachusetts, to remove to that island. He caused a letter to be addressed to the General Court of the colony on the subject, and pressed it in personal conferences with Captain Leverett, a New Englander, who had been a commissioner in his service in Nova Scotia. Cromwell urged this removal upon them with many specious arguments. He told Captain Leverett that he "did apprehend the people of New England had as clear a call to transport themselves from thence to Jamaica, as they had from England to New England, in order to bettering their outward condition, — God having promised that his people should be the head, and not the tail." The answer of the General Court to his proposals, dated Boston, twenty-fourth October, 1656, is preserved. They decline, principally on the ground of the unhealthiness of the climate; but with the strongest professions of duty, they declare that, if they have no other opportunities of advancing his highness's service, they shall never cease to remember him in their prayers. A few of the principal inhabitants embraced the proposals of the Protector. Among these was Mr William Vassall, who was one of the patentees named in the charter. He laid the

foundation of several large estates in Jamaica, which have remained in his family till the present day.

New England was never in a more prosperous condition, before the revolution, than it was at the period of which I am now speaking. The civil administration remained undisturbed in the hands of Mr Endecott, as governor, from 1655 to 1660. The trade of the colony to all parts of the world was unrestricted. The navigation act prohibited foreign vessels from trading with the colonies; but not having as yet provoked a retaliation on the part of foreign countries, nor having been applied by the mother country vigorously to New England, our vessels went not only to the foreign West India Islands, but to the ports of Holland and France. There was no custom-house at home, the expenses of the government being raised by a direct tax upon the several towns. The government of Cromwell, as far as the New England colonies were concerned, was gracious and paternal. It was the only period, from the first settlement till the revolution, when every thing, both at home and abroad, may be considered as in a prosperous state.

Among the gratifying proofs of the prosperity of the country, and of the liberal temper of the people, it may not be uninteresting to mention that on occasion of the great fire in London, in 1666, collections were made through the colony for the relief of the sufferers. The amount collected in our own town happens to be on record; it was one hundred and five pounds sterling — a sum which, considering the scantiness of the population and the value of money at that time, must be allowed to be at least a hundred fold as large as the same nominal sum at this day. Hutchinson well remarks upon the magnitude of the contribution, if other towns gave in the same proportion.

Among the indications, not only of the commercial prosperity of the colony, but of the reliance which the colonial government felt in the good will of the ruling powers at home, we may mention that the colony of Massachusetts went so far as to establish a mint for the coinage of silver. There was no currency, before this time, except the Euro-

pean coins which may have found their way across the Atlantic, unless we choose to give the name of currency to the *wampum*, or *wampumpeage*, (as it is more properly called,) of the Indians. As this actually served the purpose of coin among some of the native tribes, and the use of it was borrowed from them by the settlers, it may merit a moment's notice. This currency appears to have been first in use among the Indians of the Mohawk and other western tribes, who were more advanced in civilization than our New England Indians, who received it from them. *Peage* was the name of the substance, which was of two kinds — black and white. *Wampum*, or *wompum*, is the Indian word for *white;* and as the white kind was the most common, *wampumpeage* got to be the common name of this substance, which was usually abbreviated into *wampum*. The black *peage* consisted of the small round spot in the inside of the shell, which is still usually called in this neighborhood by its Indian name of *quahog*. These round pieces were broken away from the rest of the shell, brought to a smooth and regular shape, drilled through the centre, and strung on threads. The white *peage* was the twisted end of several small shells, broken off from the main part.* These portions of shell, thus strung, were worn as bracelets and necklaces, and wrought into belts of curious workmanship. They thus possessed an intrinsic value with the natives, for the purposes of ornament; and they were readily taken by them in exchange for their furs. When wrought into belts, they had an extensive use among the Indian tribes, as presents at the negotiation of treaties; and for this purpose they were wrought in such a way as to furnish a guide to the memory in retaining and transmitting the traditions of the tribe. They were originally, therefore, a mere article of merchandise, as, in fact, is also the case with gold and silver; but being, for the reasons named, esteemed of value generally by the Indians, they were made use of by the Dutch, in New

* Gould's Report on the Invertebrata of Massachusetts, art. *Venus Mercenaria*, (quahog,) p. 86.

York, as a currency. The Indians of Block Island learned the use of them from the Dutch; the Narragansetts from the Block Islanders, and the English settlers from them. As soon as they began to be used as currency, they acquired a conventional value. Six of the white beads, or three of the black ones, made an English penny, and a fathom length was rated in the gross at five shillings sterling. The process of coining was, as we have seen, exceedingly simple. Roger Williams, in describing the *quahog*, calls it "a little thick shell-fish, which the Indians wade deep and dive for; and after they have eaten the meat there, (in those which are good,) they break out of the shell about half an inch of a black part of it, of which they make their Suckauhock or black money, which is to them precious."* This currency may be compared with the *cowries*, or small shells, used by the native races of Africa, for the same purpose. When the commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1645, made peace with the Narragansetts, they imposed upon them, among other conditions, a fine of two thousand fathoms of wampum. The Indians considered this as a very heavy burden, and it was not till after the lapse of five years, and sending several times to demand it, that the whole was paid up.†

It will easily be supposed that money of this kind was liable to considerable abuse; though one would think it would be cheaper to manufacture it in an honest way than to counterfeit it. We have, however, a somewhat curious document on record, — a petition of Mr Dunster, the president of the college, to the commissioners of the United Colonies, — which will show the extent to which the frauds on this primitive currency were carried: —

"Upon the motion of Mr Dunster, president of the College at Cambridge, consideration was had upon payments made and received in *peage*, whether white or black. The commissioners were informed that the Indians abused the English with much false, bad, and unfinished peage; and the English traders, after it comes to their hands, choose out what fits their market and

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* Key into the English Language, Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. III p. 224

† Hutchinson's History, Vol. I. p. 134.

occasions, and leave their refuse to pass to and fro in the colonies; which the Indians, who best understand the quality and defect of the peage, will not willingly take back. Whereupon (though they see not, at present, how to propound a full reformation in all particulars, without much difficulty and inconveniency) yet they [the commissioners] commend it to the several General Courts and plantations, within the United Colonies, that no peage, neither white nor black, be payed or received, but what is strung, and in some measure strung suitably, not small and great, uncomely and disorderly mingled, as formerly it hath been. And they further offer it to the consideration of the said General Courts, whether they think not fit to provide, that if, hereafter, any of the Indians, in payment, be found to offer peage unto the English, made of stone or other unallowed matter, or to tender dyed peage for black, that it be forthwith broken, or some other course taken to convince them of the deceit, and to suppress it as the said courts shall think meet." *

This proposition, however, was negatived by the courts.

But this currency was, of course, too rude to answer the purposes of an extensive commerce. The trade of the New England colonies was, as I have observed, very considerable at this period, and especially with the West Indies. A portion of the returns was made in bullion. The West India seas, at this time, also swarmed with pirates or buccaneers; and as there was no custom-house, and no Court of Admiralty, in New England, it is greatly to be feared that some part of the spoils, made by these freebooters, found a market in this part of the country, in the form of silver bullion. The growing trade of the inhabitants, rendering a currency desirable, and the material being supplied in the manner alluded to, the General Court took into their hands, without the least scruple, this branch of the prerogative, and took order for the erection of a mint, and the coinage of shillings, sixpences, and threepences. At first, it was directed that the coins should have nothing but the letters N. E. on one side, and the Roman numerals, XII., VI., and III., on the other. But it was soon after ordered, by the General Court, that the shillings should have, on one side, a pine-tree, with the word MASATVSETS around it; and, on the other, the words, NEW ENGLAND, AN. DOM., running round the

* Hazard's State Papers, Vol. II. pp. 124, 135.

exterior; and, in the inner circle, the year 1652, and the Roman numeral XII. Although this coin continued to be struck for many years, the date of 1652 was never changed upon the shilling. The shillings of this coinage are occasionally still met with in circulation; but those of the lower denominations are much more rare. It is probable that, at first, none but shillings were struck. I am led to this opinion, by a petition of the ferrymen, between Charlestown and Boston, which is preserved on the files of the General Court of the colony for 1662, in the following words: —

"To the honored magistrates and deputies now assembled in General Court at Boston, this 8th 3 mo., 1662, the humble petition of Francis Hudson and John Burrage humbly sheweth: That whereas your petitioners are, by God's providence and your allowance, employed for the transporting persons over the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown, do now of late find great inconvenience and loss to ourselves, viz., in the want of small money for change, by such persons as do pass over the ferry, so as that many times we are forced to trust those whom we carry over, and many times never have our pay, but do our labor for nothing, which is more than we can bear, and is very uncomfortable in many respects; therefore, our humble request is, that you would be pleased to consider of some way, and give order accordingly for the coining of twopences and fourpences, the which will be as for us, so for others, upon such occasions, very convenient change, by which great trouble and loss will be prevented."

The court deemed this request reasonable, and passed the following order: —

"It is ordered by this court, and the mint-master is hereby, in coining of the first bullion that comes to his hands, to coin twopences of silver, in proportion according to the just value and alloy of moneys allowed here, to answer the occasions of the country for exchange; that is, the first year fifty pounds, in such small money for every hundred pounds by him to be coined; and for after time, twenty pounds in like money annually, for every hundred pounds that shall be coined. This order is to continue in force for seven years, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

The General Court appear to have been rather improvident in making their contract with the master of the mint, John Hull. "He was the son of a poor woman in Boston, but

dutiful to and tender of his mother, which Mr Wilson, his minister, observing, pronounced that God would bless him, and although he was then poor, yet he should raise a great estate." The General Court contracted with him to coin the money of the fineness of the new British sterling currency; and for all charges of the process, they allowed him to take fifteen pence out of every twenty shillings, or six and a quarter per centum. As this probably was at the expense of the individuals who took their bullion to the mint, it must have been a considerable impediment to the coinage. The court became sensible that they had allowed too much, and offered Mr Hull a sum of money to release them from the contract, which he declined to do. He left a large personal property, and one of the best real estates in the country. It was commonly reported, says Hutchinson, that Mr Samuel Sewall, who married his only daughter, received with her, as her portion, thirty thousand pounds in New England shillings.

An amusing anecdote of this currency is contained in the memoirs of Thomas Hollis, to the following effect: "Sir Thomas Temple, brother of Sir William Temple, resided several years in New England during the commonwealth. After the restoration, when he returned to England, the king sent for him, and discoursed with him on the state of affairs in the Massachusetts, and discovered great warmth against that colony. Among other things, he said they had invaded his prerogative by coining money. Sir Thomas, who was a real friend to the colony, told his majesty that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the king. On one side of the coin was a *pine-tree*, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. Charles asked what tree that was. Sir Thomas informed him it was the royal oak which preserved his majesty's life. This account of the matter brought the king into good humor, and disposed him to hear what Sir

Thomas had to say in their favor, calling them "a parcel of honest dogs." *

Of the memorable incidents of the earlier period of the Massachusetts history, the fatal delusion relative to witchcraft, is among the most celebrated. The extent to which this delusion proceeded in Salem has given a prominence to the tragical occurrences which took place there; but whatever reproach attaches to its prevalence must be shared by other portions of Massachusetts. In point of fact, it is well known that no exclusive reproach can with justice be cast upon any part of New England on account of a delusion which equally prevailed in the most enlightened countries in Europe, and received the countenance of the most learned and intelligent men and upright magistrates. But the subject of witchcraft, as connected with the Salem trials, as well as the history of this and kindred superstitions and delusions, has been so ably treated by Mr Upham, in his lectures on this subject, that I shall wholly pass over those parts of it which have fallen under his consideration. It may interest you, however, to trace the earlier progress of this delusion in New England.

As early as 1645, the first suspicion of witchcraft arose at Springfield, on Connecticut River. Several persons were supposed to be under an evil hand, and, among the rest, two of the minister's children; and great pains were taken to prove the facts against some persons charged with the crime, but without success.† The first execution for witchcraft in New England took place in Charlestown, in 1648. The name of the sufferer was Margaret Jones. No detailed account is preserved of her imputed misdemeanors, nor of the facts by which they were pretended to be proved. Governor Winthrop informs us, in his Journal, that she was proved to have such a malignant touch, that whosoever she touched,

* Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. VII. p. 229, First Series. On the whole subject of the Massachusetts currency, a very learned work was published by Mr J. B. Felt, in 1839, being an enlargement of two lectures delivered by him before the Massachusetts Historical Society.

† Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 16.

man, woman, or child, with any affection of displeasure, was presently taken with deafness, vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness. The poor woman, it seems, was a medical practitioner, in a small way, and one of the proofs of her witchcraft was that, though she used simple medicines, her patients got well. Her husband seems to have shared her bewitching powers. Shortly after her execution, he endeavored to procure a passage to Barbadoes, in a vessel of three hundred tons, which lay at anchor off Charlestown, bound for that island, with one hundred and eighty tons of ballast in her hold, and eighty horses on board. The owners of the vessel refused to take the husband of a witch as a passenger, and it was immediately observed, that this vessel, without any visible cause, began to roll, as if, according to the words of the historian, it would have turned over. This phenomenon, continuing, was reported to the magistrates then sitting in Boston, and being imputed by them to the diabolical agency of Jones, a warrant was issued to apprehend him. As the officer was passing over the ferry with his warrant, and the vessel was still rolling violently, some one in the ferry boat jestingly asked the officer whether he, "who could tame men, could not tame the vessel." He replied that he had that in his pocket which would perhaps tame the vessel and keep it quiet, and exhibited the warrant for arresting Jones. At this moment, the vessel ceased rolling, and righted herself, after having been violently in motion for twelve hours. Jones was apprehended and thrown into prison, and from that time the ship "never moved in that kind any more." * It does not appear, however, that Jones was executed. About the same time, it is stated that a woman was executed at Cambridge, and another at Dorchester, for the crime of witchcraft; but no particulars — not even the names of the parties — are preserved.

In 1655, a most extraordinary case of imputed witchcraft occurred in Boston, — the victim, Mrs Ann Hibbins. Her husband, who died the year before, had been the colony

* Hubbard, in Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. VI. p. 530, Second Series.

agent in England; had for several years filled the office of assistant, and was a merchant of note in Boston. In the latter part of his life he met with heavy misfortunes, among others a loss of five hundred pounds, by the carelessness of a shipmaster. These misfortunes appear to have been felt with peculiar severity by his wife. According to Hutchinson, "they increased the natural crabbedness of his wife's temper," discomposed her mind, and made her turbulent and discontented. Her strange and unusual carriage raised a cry against her. Her behavior brought her under church censures, and caused her to be excommunicated; and this probably not improving the quality of her temper, recorded by the historian, she fell at last under the suspicion of being a witch, and as such was brought to trial. The jury found her guilty; but the magistrates, who, at that period, acted as judges, refused to accept the verdict. But the popular fanaticism was not, in this manner, to be defrauded of its prey. The case went to the General Court, popular clamor prevailed, she was declared guilty by the deputies, and executed, — a violation of the forms of justice not less detestable than of its substance. It is to the credit of the magistrates that they had rejected the verdict of the jury; and there were not wanting others, in the community, who accounted her innocent, and who undertook to trace the marks of an offended Providence against those who were forward in bringing her to trial. She was a member of the first church in Boston; and though she was excommunicated from its fellowship, Mr Norton, the minister, appears to have thought her innocent of witchcraft. He declared at his own table, some years afterwards, in the presence of a company of friends, that "the wife of a magistrate had been hanged as a witch because she had more wit than her neighbors." On being asked to explain his meaning, he said that Mrs Hibbins had seen two persons who had persecuted her, talking together in the street, and had guessed they were talking of her. This happened to be the fact, and was set down as a proof positive that she was in league with the devil. She

was confined for some time in prison; made a will, disposing of her estate; appointed some of the principal gentlemen of the colony the executors of her will, and expressed the hope that they would see her decently buried. She was executed in June, 1656. Other similar cases occurred between this period and the year 1692, when the great tragedy was enacted at Salem, the last occasion on which blood was shed under the influence of this cruel fanaticism. But as late as 1720, an instance of pretended witchcraft occurred at Littleton, in this state, differing in nothing but the absence of a tragical close from the Salem delusion. The parties pretending to be bewitched afterwards removed to Medford, and the whole fraud was detected and exposed by the confession of the chief agent, mainly by the sagacious interference of the Rev. Mr Turell of that place, whose interesting account of it has been preserved, and is well worth perusal.*

In contemplating this sorrowful page in the history of our ancestors, we must bear in mind that, as I have already intimated, no peculiar reproach attaches to them. They acted, on this occasion, upon principles which all professed, and in which the sincere in all parts of Christendom reposed an undoubting faith. Circumstances have given to these melancholy transactions an unfortunate notoriety. It has attracted the public attention, both in this country and Europe, partly for the reason that this, and the persecution of the Quakers, stand out in dark relief on the annals of New England. In the older countries of the world, the most dreadful tragedies — the horrors of the Inquisition, the Sicilian vespers, the massacre of St Bartholomew's eve, the fires of Smithfield — are hardly signalized in the long line of strange and cruel incidents which fill the annals of Europe down into the eighteenth century. For ages, there seems to have been no sense of the worth of human life; no mercy for human suffering. Before we undertake, in the self-sufficiency of a greatly improved age, to reflect upon the errors of our fathers,

* Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. X. p. 6, Second Series.

we should carefully consider in what our superiority over them in these matters consists, and then inquire from what it proceeds.

In respect to the abstract question of witchcraft and sorcery, I am not prepared to say that this enlightened and intelligent age, either in this country or Europe, is so much in advance of the New England of the seventeenth century, as is generally supposed. It does not become us, at a period when respectable persons from Boston, Salem, and all the neighboring country, have been in the habit of resorting in large numbers to the town of Lynn, to obtain a knowledge of the future from the bottom of the teacup of the Norna of High Rock,* to be very uncharitable towards our credulous ancestors, on account of the witchcraft delusion. The real difference — and it is an all-important one — lies in the general intelligence of the age, in that universal and effective diffusion of an enlightened common sense, which prevents people from carrying their abstract opinions of any kind into cruel and revolting practical operation.

This general good sense and enlightened public opinion, by which doctrinal notions are kept from a wild and dangerous interference in the affairs of life, is mainly the fruit of that system of education for which the first settlers of New England made a provision as liberal, considering their scanty means, as it was novel in the practice of the world. The very men who allowed these dark clouds to overshadow them, — whose domestic life was saddened, whose personal characters were rendered austere and gloomy, by intolerance and superstition, — organized that system of school and college education, from which so much of the general intelligence of the community in all after time has proceeded; and to the final influence of which, — as far as local causes are concerned, — we owe it that our domestic and social existence is not as gloomy as theirs. The year before the first witch was hung at Charlestown, a law was passed providing for a public school in every town containing fifty families, and a

* Lewis's History of Lynn, p. 208.

grammar school in every town of twice that size; and Harvard College was founded ten years earlier.

I have already observed that the period of time to which the incidents alluded to in this lecture principally belong, was, upon the whole, one of general prosperity. There were trials and troubles at home and abroad, but the infant colony was increasing in numbers and wealth.

Among the branches of industry which were prosecuted most successfully, at an early period, was that of ship-building; and Medford appears to have been the place where it first commenced.* This was one of the places first settled by Governor Winthrop's company. Their original design was, to build a fortified town on some convenient spot, as the general place of residence for their party. On becoming acquainted with the state of things after their arrival, they found that this course would be attended with no advantages in reference to safety against the Indians, and that it would probably retard the progress of settlement. There were also difficulties in fixing upon a suitable place for the town. The design of building it was therefore for the present abandoned, and Governor Winthrop's company, dividing themselves into small parties, settled at different places within the limits of their patent. The Mystic River, rather than the Charles, appears to have been considered by them as forming the middle line of their new colony. Governor Winthrop established himself on the right bank, at the place now called the Ten Hills, where he undertook to bring a large landed estate into cultivation; the property of which, till the last generation, remained in his family. The opposite bank of the river, or that part of Medford bordering upon Malden, was appropriated to Matthew Cradock, Esq. This gentleman was one of the patentees named in the charter. He was an eminent merchant in London, and contributed a larger amount of money towards the furtherance of the enterprise than any other individual. He was chosen the first governor of the company

* This portion of the present lecture was prepared on occasion of its delivery before the Medford Lyceum.

early in 1628, and when the royal charter first passed the seals. At this time, the plan of transferring the charter and the government to America had not been thought of; and while Mr Cradock was chosen governor of the company in London, Mr Endecott was chosen governor of the plantation, which was commenced the same year at Salem. After the resolution was taken to remove the charter to America, these two offices were merged in one, and Mr Winthrop was elected governor, both of the company and the plantation. Governor Cradock never came himself to America, although it would seem he must have intended to do so. Hutchinson's remark relative to the establishment, which was begun on his account, is rather obscure. It is in the following terms: "Medford and Mistick were then distinct places, though not so at present. At Medford, which I take to have been a small village at the lower part of Mistick River, (now called a Neck of Land, where a creek also ran into Charles River,) it was intended a settlement should be made for Mr Cradock, and the people he was sending and had sent over. Here, by his agents, he built several vessels of burden." * If, as Hutchinson states, Medford and Mistic were the names of different places, the distinction did not last long. Mistic was probably the name given to Mr Cradock's estate, from the river upon which it was established; and Medford — or, as it was originally written, Meadford — was the name given to the chief settlement, somewhat farther up, and nearer to the place where the river was, at that time, passed by *fording* — the circumstance which gave it this appellation.

An incident, of itself of a trifling nature, is preserved in the early historian of New England, which shows the inconveniences to which our ancestors in Medford were exposed in consequence of this hazardous manner of crossing the rivers, before they had been able to build bridges. In the month of "May, 1644, one Dalkin and his wife, going home to Medford or Mystick, after the sermon on the Lord's day, and passing over at a ford, where (the tide not being fallen enough

* Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 22

for them comfortably to pass over) the woman was carried away by the stream, and crying out, her husband not daring to help her, the dog in the house near by came running out, and seeing something stir in the water, swam to it, so as she, catching hold of his tail, was thereby drawn to the shore and saved her life." *

Although Medford was among the first spots which attracted the notice of the colonists, it did not for many years grow into the importance which might have been expected from its fine natural position. You perceive, from the anecdote just mentioned, that the inhabitants had to cross the river to go to church; — probably to Cambridge. There was no settled clergyman in the place for nearly a century, although the church had been supplied by candidates for the ministry. Mr Porter was settled in 1712, and was the first minister ordained in the town. Mr Turell succeeded him in 1724, and almost an entire century, from that period, was covered, in nearly equal portions, by the ministry of Mr Turell and his late venerable successor, Dr Osgood. In the first tax which was assessed on the colony, Medford paid three pounds out of fifty; which was the same that was paid by Salem. But when, in 1632, permission was given to the several towns to choose two members to form a House of Representatives, no mention is made of Medford. Wood, an English traveller, who saw the country in 1633, gives the following interesting account of Mr Cradock's farm, at the lower part of the town. "Mystic (now Medford) is seated by the water side very pleasantly. There are not many houses as yet. On the west side of this river the governor hath a farm, [Ten Hills,] where he keeps most of his cattle. On the east side is Mr Cradock's plantation, where he hath a park impaled, and keeps his cattle, till he can store it with deer. Here he likewise is at charge building ships. The last year one was on the stocks of one hundred tons; that being finished, they are to build one of twice her burden."

The first vessel built in New England was also built at

* Hubbard, Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. VI. p. 427, Second Series.

Medford. She was built for Governor Winthrop; was launched on the fourth of July, 1631, and was called the "Blessing of the Bay." Thus early were the banks of the river, on which Medford stands, selected as an eligible place for that industry, for which it has never ceased to be distinguished, and which gives it so high a reputation, at the present day, throughout the commercial cities of the Union. In launching his vessel on the fourth of July, Governor Winthrop had the good fortune to mark, by anticipation, the anniversary of the greatest event in our political history; as he had already signalized the seventeenth of June, by landing, for the first time, on that day, within view of the heights of Charlestown. In calling the first vessel built upon our waters the "Blessing of the Bay," he seems to have had a presentiment of the future importance of the navigating interest, as a source of the public prosperity. It suggests to us, as the proper moral with which I conclude the present lecture, that the seeds of a thousand blessings, of which we are reaping the rich fruits, were sowed in that day of small things, of which we have this evening been recalling a few of the traditions.

NOTE.

See Page 111.

Besides those named in the text, the following members of the Massachusetts Historical Society may be mentioned as the authors of valuable works, principally of an historical nature; some of which have taken a place in the standard literature of the English language. I ought to state that there is also a class of members who, by liberal donations to the society, and by taking an active and intelligent interest in its business affairs, have done much to promote its efficiency.

President John Quincy Adams, *Historical Discourses on Monroe, Madison, and Lafayette*, and various works connected with the constitutional and political history of the country.

Rev. Timothy Alden, *Collection of Epitaphs*, 5 vols. 12mo.

James T. Austin, *Life of Vice-President Gerry*, 2 vols. 8vo.

George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 3 vols. 8vo.

Rev. William Barry, *History of Framingham.*

Francis Bowen, editor of the *North American Review*, author of several lives in Sparks's *American Biography*, and of two courses of lectures before the Lowell Institute, *On the Application of Moral and Ethical Science to the Evidences of Religion*, 8vo.

Alden Bradford, *History of Massachusetts*, 3 vols. 8vo., and other historical works.

Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, *Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1809*, *Sermons*, 2 vols. 8vo., and several articles in the *Monthly Anthology.*

Rev. William T. Budington, *History of the First Church in Charlestown*, 8vo.

Peleg Chandler, *American Criminal Trials*, 2 vols. 8vo.

Rufus Choate, *Discourse before the New England Society in New York*, and *Speeches.*

Rev. George E. Ellis, several lives in Sparks's *Biography*, and *History of the Battle of Bunker Hill.*

Rev. William Emerson, *History of the First Church in Boston*, 8vo.

Alexander H. Everett, editor of the *North American Review;* author of *Lives of Patrick Henry and General Joseph Warren*, in Sparks's *Biography;* of

Europe, by a Citizen of the United States; and *America, by the Author of Europe*, 2 vols. 8vo.; and *New Ideas on Population*, 8vo.

Rev. Joseph B. Felt, a *History of the Massachusetts Currency*, 8vo.

Rev. Dr Francis, *History of Watertown*, and *Life of John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians.*

Rev. Dr Freeman, author of a considerable portion of the eighth volume of the *First Series of the Society's Collections*, and of a volume of *Sermons.*

Rev. Dr N. L. Frothingham, several Biographical and other Discourses.

Richard Frothingham, Jun., a *History of Charlestown*, now in progress, and a *History of the Siege of Boston*, 8vo.

Rev. Dr William Greenwood, *History of King's Chapel*; *Sermons*, 2 vols. 8vo.

Francis C. Gray, *Oration on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Birthday of Washington*; *Letter to Governor Lincoln, in Relation to Harvard University.*

Rev. Dr Thaddeus M. Harris, *Natural History of the Bible*; *Tour to the North-western Territory*, 8vo.; *Life of Oglethorpe*; and numerous discourses.

Dr Thaddeus W. Harris, *Report on the Entomology of Massachusetts*, 8vo.

George S. Hillard, *Life of Captain John Smith of Virginia*, in Sparks's *Biography.*

Rev. Dr William Jenks, *Comprehensive Commentary on the Bible*, and other works.

President Kirkland, *Life of Fisher Ames*; *Memoir of Adams and Jefferson.*

Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 8vo.

Solomon Lincoln, *History of Hingham.*

William Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 8vo., and editor of the *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, 8vo.

Nahum Mitchell, *History of Bridgewater*, 8vo.

Dr John G. Palfrey, editor of the *North American Review*, and author of several Historical Discourses, and *Lectures on Jewish Antiquities*, 2 vols. 8vo.

Rev. Oliver W. B. Peabody, *Memoir of Rev. Dr William O. B. Peabody*, 12mo.

John Pickering, editor of *Father Rasles's Dictionary of the Abnaki Language*, of *Eliot's Indian Grammar*, of a *Memoir on the English Language in America*, of a *Greek Lexicon*, and other works.

William H. Prescott, *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 3 vols. 8vo.; of the *Conquest of Mexico*, 3 vols. 8vo.; of the *Conquest of Peru*, 2 vols. 8vo.; *Miscellanies*, 8vo.

President Josiah Quincy, *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jun.*, 8vo.; *History of Harvard University*, 2 vols. 8vo.; *Memoir of Samuel Shaw*; 8vo.

Lemuel Shattuck, *History of Concord*, 8vo.; *Statistics of Boston*, 8vo.

Dr Caleb Snow, *History of Boston*, 8vo.

President Jared Sparks, editor of the *North American Review*, of the *Library of American Biography*, and author of several articles in it; editor of the *Works of Washington*, 12 vols. 8vo., and of the *Works of Franklin* 10 vols. 8vo., with a Life of each; author of the *Life of Ledyard.*

Mr Justice Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 3 vols. 8vo., and various other standard legal works.

William Sullivan, *Letters on Public Characters*, 2 vols. 12mo., and several other works.

George Ticknor, a *History of Spanish Literature*, 3 vols. 8vo.

Charles W. Upham, *Life of Sir Henry Vane*, in Sparks's *Biography; Life of Hugh Peters; History of the Witchcraft Delusion; Memoir of Sir George Downing;* and several Historical Discourses.

Daniel Webster, *Orations and Speeches*, 3 vols. 8vo.; *Diplomatic Papers*, 8vo.

Daniel A. White, *Memoir of the Hon. John Pickering*, and other public addresses.

Rev. Peter Whitney, *History of the County of Worcester.*

Robert C. Winthrop, *Oration before the New England Society of New York*, other Addresses, and Speeches in Congress.

Joseph E. Worcester, various works in Geography and Philology, *Gazetteer*, 2 vols. 8vo.; *Dictionary of the English Language*, 4to.

Rev. Dr Alexander Young, *The Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 8vo.; *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 8vo.; *Discourse on President Kirkland; Discourse on Dr Bowditch.*

Rev. Dr John Pierce, of Brookline, who died last summer, bequeathed to the Historical Society his manuscript Diary, in eighteen volumes, with other valuable manuscripts.

In making out the preceding list of resident members of the Historical Society, who have appeared before the public as authors, I have had the friendly assistance of the Rev. Dr Young. It has, however, been prepared while the foregoing lecture was passing through the press, and is, I fear, less complete than it ought to be. It may be added, that many of the persons named in the list have been contributors, some of them frequent contributors, to the periodical journals, and to the transactions of the scientific and literary societies.

I am unwilling to close this note without expressing an emphatic opinion of the usefulness of the Historical Society, and commending it to the liberal patronage of the community. The importance of an institution expressly devoted to the preservation of the memorials of the past, cannot be too strongly stated. The dearest interests of men are in some degree connected with its operations. The strength of attachment with which we cherish the fundamental principles of our political system, is not without its dependence upon an enlightened study of their history. The safest practical basis of civil liberty lies in its intimate union with the whole mass of the social traditions which make up our existence as a body politic.

But, for the efficient action of an institution like the Historical Society, ampler pecuniary resources than it now possesses are requisite. The small annual assessment of three dollars each, paid by its members, is its only regular income. The sale of the volumes of the Collections, valuable as

they are, has never paid the expense of their publication. An occasional legacy, like that so liberally bequeathed by the late Governor Gore, with subscriptions solicited in cases of emergency from public-spirited individuals, have enabled the society thus far to sustain itself, and to become possessed of its present commodious premises. But a moderate fund for the support of a librarian, and for other incidental expenses, is absolutely necessary. It is unreasonable to expect of any person well qualified for the office, to discharge gratuitously the confining and laborious duties of librarian. No small part of the usefulness of the institution consists in the facility of access to its collections. But it is obvious, that, if the doors are kept open to all students of history who wish to examine those collections, (which of late years has been the case,) a moderate provision should be made for the support of a librarian. It is unjust that the important services of such an officer should be performed, as they are by the present learned incumbent, (Rev. Joseph B. Felt,) for a merely nominal compensation. Neither ought an institution of this kind to be solely dependent on donations for the increase of the library.

THE WESTERN RAILROAD.*

Mr Everett observed that nothing would have induced him to present himself, at so late an hour, but his engagement to the committee charged with the preparations for the present meeting. The gentlemen who had preceded him had exhausted the subject, and his fellow-citizens in this vast assembly, satisfied, he was well persuaded, with what they had heard, were now desirous, by an earnest and unanimous vote, to prepare for action. But he had been requested to address them on the subject, and he was sincerely of the opinion that, next to the great questions of liberty and independence, the doors of Faneuil Hall were never thrown open on an occasion of greater moment to the people of the city and the state.

But, sir, continued Mr E., I do not approach this subject of an enterprise which promises great benefits to the community, with feelings of despondency in reference to our present condition. I would, on the contrary, speak the language of confidence, hope, and self-assured resource. The people of Massachusetts, and the citizens of Boston, as the capital of the commonwealth, have been favored with as large a share of blessings as ever fell to the lot of any people; — and the greatest of all these blessings is the sagacity with which they

* Speech on the subject of the Western Railroad, delivered in Faneuil Hall, 7th October, 1835. The object of the meeting was to take measures to complete the subscription to the capital stock of the railroad, to the amount of two millions of dollars. The object was effected; and in the course of the ensuing winter, an act passed the legislature of Massachusetts, authorizing an additional subscription of one million of dollars, on behalf of the state.

are accustomed to perceive what industry, and energy, and enterprise can do, to supply that which nature leaves to the coöperation of man. For carrying on the foreign trade and the fisheries, we have every thing that the heart of man can desire; — for agriculture, we have the soil and the climate best adapted, not to the raising for exportation of the great agricultural staples, but for the support of a frugal and industrious yeomanry; for manufactures, we are by this last circumstance admirably prepared, as we are, in most other respects, able to compete, in many branches of manufacturing industry, with any other people on earth. In short, sir, we want nothing but what we are able ourselves, with enterprise, energy, and the wise application of capital, to acquire; — and I have greatly mistaken the character of the people of Massachusetts, town or country, if any *such* wants remain long unsupplied. On the contrary, it is their peculiar characteristic, by the use of capital, by energy, and enterprise, not merely to supply what are commonly called natural defects, but to open mines of wealth, where others see only the marks of barrenness.

This trait of our character strikes all observers. It was observed by the president of the United States, (General Jackson,) on his visit to this part of the country a year or two since, that what struck him most in New England, were the marks of plenty and comfort on a soil which, in some places, seemed little else than a mass of rocks. It is even so; and if (over no small part of our beloved native state) Nature, like an unkind step-dame, when her children ask for bread, has given them a stone, they have, by their frugality, industry, and enterprise, turned the very stones back into bread. I speak literally. The gentleman from Springfield, before me, (Hon. George Bliss, president of the Senate,) was good enough to send me a pamphlet this morning, from which it appears that thousands of tons of the marbles of Berkshire are sent to Philadelphia, and sold to advantage, although their own quarries lie within sixteen miles; and the City Hall in New York is chiefly built from the same Berkshire marble. In like manner, the granite from the quarries of Quincy, by

the almost magical virtue of three miles of railroad, is now building up the stately piles of New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. Look at the outside of Cape Ann, — Sandy Bay, Pigeon Cove, Halibut Point, and Squam, — a region where the very genius of sterility has taken up his abode, if there is such a genius, (there ought to be, for nothing so sharpens the ingenuity of man,) — and behold it converted, in the same way, through the industry, energy, frugality of its substantial population, and the judicious application of capital, into a region of thrift and plenty!

But the great thing wanting to the prosperity of Massachusetts is COMMUNICATION WITH THE WEST. The internal commerce of this country is prodigious; and of all that part which is accessible to us, on the present system of communication, we have an ample share. With the south we have, in our freighting and coasting trade, every thing that can be asked. With the south-west, in reference to all that portion of commerce which is calculated to seek the route by sea to New Orleans, we have nothing more to desire; — and the intercourse already established, in this way, with the whole region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, is most extensive, various, and mutually profitable. In ascending the Mississippi and its tributaries, in 1829, on which occasion I was successively on board several boats, I continually saw casks, packages, and bales, containing articles of merchandise of various kinds from New England. A distinguished gentleman of Pittsburg told me there was a regular battle between the Boston nails and the Pittsburg nails, on the Ohio River; the Boston nails coming all the way round, and the Pittsburg made on the spot, from Juniata iron; and that, though the Pittsburg nails sometimes fought their way down the river to Louisville, the Bostonians at times had driven them up as far as Wheeling. I was informed, by a respectable trading house in Pittsburg, that they had, in the year preceding, imported two thousand barrels of pickled mackerel; and I think I did not enter a public house in the west to take a meal, morning, noon, or night, without seeing a pickled mackerel on the table. I remember, a year or two ago, that

one of my neighbors from Charlestown, who had emigrated to the north-west corner of Arkansas, — a spot not then even laid out into counties, — told me that in that remote region, — the last foothold of civilization, where you have but one more step to make to reach the domain of the wild Indian and the buffalo, — a settler did not think himself well accoutred without a *Leominster axe.* But give him that, give him, sir, that weapon which has brought a wider realm into the pale of civilization than the sword of Cæsar or the sceptre of Justinian, give him a narrow Yankee axe, — he'll hew his way with it to a living, in a season; though I shrewdly suspect, without the least disparagement of emigrants from other quarters, that after sending the Yankee axe into the country, the best way to give it full effect would be to send a little Yankee bone and sinew to facilitate its use.

But, sir, though by the way of New Orleans we have a considerable trade with the south-west, there is a vast region which that channel does not reach. A direct communication is greatly wanted. This is THE *want*, which is daily becoming more serious, and must be supplied. The destinies of the country, if I may use a language which sounds rather mystical, but which every one, I believe, understands, — the destinies of the country run east and west. Intercourse between the mighty interior west and the sea-coast is the great principle of our commercial prosperity and political strength. Nature, in the aggregate, has done every thing that could be desired to promote this intercourse, and art has done much to second her; but as far as the single state of Massachusetts is concerned, the course of the rivers from north to south, and of the mountains between which they flow, deprives us of the share of the benefits of this intercourse which we should otherwise enjoy. And this operation of natural causes has been aided by several important works of artificial communication, enumerated in the able report of the committee. The consequence is, that a very considerable part of the territory of Massachusetts has its commercial interests in one direction, and its political and social relations in another; so much so that, as we all, I am

sure, heard with pain, from the distinguished gentleman from Springfield, (Mr Calhoun,) the feeling of State pride, which ought, of all feelings that end in temporal affairs, to be among the dearest and deepest in the bosom of a Massachusetts man, was daily growing weaker among the people of one of the most intelligent and substantial portions of the state.

This commercial alienation has gone to a length which I suspect the citizens of Boston are not generally aware of. The entire region west of the hills of Berkshire communicates with New York through the Hudson, and the whole valley of the Connecticut, in and out of Massachusetts, communicates with Long Island Sound. I am afraid to say in how large a part of Massachusetts I think a complete non-intercourse reigns with the capital; but I will state to you a fact that lately fell beneath my personal observation. Having occasion, last week, to go to Deerfield, I took the north road from Worcester, through Templeton, Athol, and the country watered by Miller's River. If there is a spot in Massachusetts where one would feel himself intrenched, shut up, land-locked, in the very bosom of the commonwealth, Athol Green, surrounded with its rising grounds, is that spot. And what, Mr President, do you think I saw? We had scarce driven out of the village, and were making our way along through South Orange and Erving's Grant, when I saw two wagons straining up a hill, — the horses' heads to the east, — the wagons laden with crates, casks, and bales of foreign merchandise, which had come from Liverpool, by the way of Hartford, from New York! I hold that, sir, a little too much for a Massachusetts man to contemplate without pain.

Now, Mr President, this is the matter which we wish to put to rights. We do not wish to deprive New York of any portion of her legitimate trade; but to regain our own. Such is the object of this meeting: to open a great route of communication between the East and the West, by means of a railroad from Boston to Albany, which, with lateral routes, afterwards to be constructed, shall replace Boston in its natural position towards the trade of the interior.

And here, perhaps, we shall be met by the general vague objection, that it is impossible, by artificial works, to divert commerce from its *great natural channels.* Abstractions prove nothing. There are two kinds of natural channels — one sort made directly by the hand which made the world; the other, constructed by man, in the intelligent exercise of the powers which his Creator has given him. It is as natural for a civilized man to make a railway or canal, as for a savage to descend a river in a bark canoe, or to cross from one fishing place to another, by a path through the woods.

The city of New York, no doubt, owes much to the noble river that unites her to Albany; but she owes vastly more to her great artificial works of internal communication. The Hudson and the Mohawk, of themselves, unaided by art, so far from gathering in the commerce of the far west, would not monopolize that of one half the region west of Albany, within the state of New York. How far is it from the head waters of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, in Otsego Lake, to the Mohawk? From fifteen to twenty miles! I have stood on the high grounds, that overlook Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, at a season of the year before the Hudson was open, and seen the rafts, the flatboats, the canoes, the *bateaux*, the craft of undescribed shapes and unutterable names, following each other, on the broad bosom of the Susquehanna, from morning to night, bearing the produce of the interior of New York to a market in Chesapeake Bay! The same holds of the south-western corner of New York, which naturally is drained by the tributaries of the Ohio. I recollect that at New Orleans I saw a flat-bottomed boat, loaded with shingles. I asked its steersman whence he came. He answered, from Olean. Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to confess that, at that time, I did not know where Olean was. I found, to my astonishment, it was a settlement in Cattaraugus county, New York, on the Alleghany River, a hundred and seventy or eighty miles north-east of Pittsburg! But, sir, to bring this wandering commerce back to herself, New York has constructed her great artificial works. In this respect, Massachusetts is natu-

rally little, if any, worse off than New York. If New York has a great navigable river, Massachusetts has, what New York wants, a vast sea-coast. What both wanted was a great line of artificial communication, running inward to the West. New York has constructed hers, and has other mighty works of the same character in progress; and all that Massachusetts needs is, by a work of very moderate extent, not merely to recover the trade of her own territory, but to acquire a fair share, a large, a growing share, of the commerce of the boundless west.

This, sir, is the object; to take our share, at some seasons of the year the first share, at all seasons a proportionate share, of the whole business, not merely of the interior of the state of New York, but of that almost interminable region farther west, which now derives its supplies from the city of New York. A great object surely; to a commercial eye in this community, the greatest that can be proposed. This, I repeat, is the object; and now what are the means which must be employed to effect it? *What are the means? What are we to do?* Are *we* to construct a canal from Albany to Buffalo? *No*, it is made, and with it the Champlain Canal to the north, and the numerous lateral works, on either side of the Erie Canal; as those which communicate with the Oneida and Ontario Lakes on the north of the line; with the Seneca, the Cayuga, and the Crooked Lakes on the south; the Chemung and the Chenango Canals, also on the south, and designed to rescue the commerce of that region from the grasp of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, and the extensive artificial works, with which Pennsylvania has strengthened it. Are *we*, perhaps, for the more rapid transportation of passengers, obliged to construct a railroad, parallel to the canal, from Albany to Buffalo? *No*, it is done in part, and the rest is doing.* Are we, by great and expensive works, to open the far and mighty west beyond Buffalo?

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that since this speech was delivered, the Albany and Erie Railroad has been completed, and many lateral and subsidiary works constructed in the state of New York.

Not a mile of it, by land or water. Nature and man have done, or are doing it all. The great lakes stretch westward, the grand base line of operations. Then comes in, first, the Ohio Canal from the mouth of the Scioto to Cleveland, wholly across the state. A parallel line of communication in Ohio, by canal and railroad, through the Miami and Mad River country to Sandusky Bay, comes next; the canal, to Dayton, or beyond, is finished, the railroad begun. Indiana, in the noble tier of the North-western States, comes next, with her projected canal to connect the Wabash with Lake Erie; and Illinois follows, with a similar communication, undertaken with the patronage of Congress and the state, to unite the Illinois River, and through it the Mississippi, with the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. All, all is done or doing. The country, by nature or art, is traversed, crossed, reticulated, (pardon me, sir, this long word; the old ones are too short to describe these prodigious works,) with canals and railroads, rivers and lakes. The entire west is moving to meet us; by water, land, and steam, they ride, they sail, they drive, they paddle, they whiz, — they do all but fly down towards us. They are even now gathering at Albany, a mighty host, with all their goods, looking over into good old Massachusetts, desirous, eager to come. They have sent these most respectable gentlemen, as a deputation, to ask if we will take them. They have dug their own canals, built their own railroads, come at their own charges; and there they are, an overshadowing army, waiting to hear if we are willing they should make a peaceful crusade, a profitable inroad into our domain, bringing the fruits of their industry, and taking ours in return. I, for one, sir, am prepared to go and meet them, and I am sure my fellow-citizens are of the same mind.

But is there *nothing* left for us to do? Next to nothing, sir. I am almost ashamed to state how little, when I consider how long the work has remained undone. It is not to open a railroad from our western frontier to Albany. That is doing by the citizens of New York. Charters of incorporation have been obtained from Albany and from Hudson to West

Stockbridge, and the work is, I believe, commenced; and another charter is solicited from Troy to the same point. That piece, therefore, is provided for; it is about forty miles. On the other end of the line, from Boston to Worcester, forty-two miles, the railroad is in full operation. All that remains for us now to do is to complete this little part which lies between Worcester and Stockbridge. This is the question: Shall we make this little piece of road for the sake of giving to Massachusetts, to Berkshire, to Old Hampshire, to Worcester, to Middlesex, to Boston, to our whole manufacturing, commercial, fishing interest, the benefit of a direct connection with the illimitable west? Shall we make these few miles of railroad for the sake of setting down every western trader, from Lake Erie to the head waters of the Missouri, who wants a bale of domestic goods in Commercial Street, Kilby Street, or Liberty Square? Don't talk of reaching to Buffalo, sir; talk of the Falls of St Anthony and the Council Bluffs. Sir, if we had been told that we must construct the line of artificial communication the whole way, we should have thought that (could we possibly command the capital) the benefits which would flow from the expenditure would well warrant the outlay. New York has practically shown that she thinks so; and the western country, which is looking to us to take up and complete our small part of the work, may well apply to us the words of the servant of the Syrian captain, "If the prophet had bid thee do *some great thing*, wouldest thou not have done it?"

Suppose these hundred and eighteen miles (for that is all which remains) completed, — how shall we stand? Albany, and every point of the United States west of it, and communicating through it with the Atlantic, are equidistant from New York city and Boston. Remember that, Mr Chairman: when we are discouraged by the comparison of natural and artificial means of communication, let us bear in mind that, by nature, it is no *farther* from Boston to all this field of business, — this world of population and trade, — than from New York. Secondly, let us reflect that, the distance being equal, it will be travelled in one case by a river, navigated by

steamboats; in the other, by railroad cars, moved by locomotive steam engines. In speed, the advantage in favor of the latter may be taken at one third, which will be decisive as to passengers, other things being equal. For merchandise, the river will have an advantage in freight, not overbalancing the advantage of an additional market, and that the first market for all that part of business of which Boston is the natural emporium. This will be the state of things while the river is open. While, for three or four months, at least, of the year, the river is closed, the railroad will monopolize the travel and the trade; and Boston will be New York. I am as far, however, from thinking, as from wishing, that New York should be injured. As for destroying the commerce of New York, it will be destroyed when the Atlantic Ocean evaporates, and the Hudson River dries up. It will be no detriment to her that the commercial world behind her should be in full exercise and healthy action in the winter season, rather than lie dormant and torpid; and with her advantageous position, both for foreign and domestic trade, whatsoever benefits her neighbors, and particularly whatsoever benefits the great interior behind her, will benefit her. It would be of no advantage to New York to have Boston droop and decline. The main centre of trade is always benefited by the prosperity of every other seat of business.

Sometimes, sir, the best mode of judging of the value of a work is to ask how we should be affected by its loss, if, after possessing it, it should be taken away. Suppose we had at this moment a navigable river from Boston to Albany, or a canal, and it should, by some convulsion of nature, sink or dry up, — would it not be thought the direst of calamities? Suppose we had a railway, — a natural railway, — a level ridge from Boston Bay to the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson, laid down by the hand of Providence, and ready for use; and the philosophers had been able, by their tables and instruments, to predict some great catastrophe which would destroy it, and had foretold the day when the earth would open and swallow it up, — should we not regard it almost as the day of approaching doom, and be ready to open

our churches, and fall on our knees, and implore a merciful Providence to avert the calamity? And how does the case differ, sir, in a practical point of view, between the loss of a great blessing, proceeding from an overwhelming natural convulsion, and its want, arising from our own neglect and apathy?

Sir, I have almost done. I have trespassed too long on your patience; but I will add a few words more on another aspect of the question; one to which, *in this place*, in Faneuil Hall, although it is a view of the subject remote from financial questions, I may, in common with the gentlemen who have preceded me, with propriety allude. The great political basis of all our prosperity is *union;* the great political danger that menaces us is *disunion.* All else can be borne if we can avoid this calamity; and if this is fated to befall us, all our other blessings will turn to dust and ashes. The rapid growth of our country, the prodigious population and resources of single sections, tend to disunion. I am sorry to say that, on the floor of Congress, I have heard calculations of the capacity of individual states to support themselves as independent governments. I know of nothing so well adapted to counteract the centrifugal tendency as to increase the facilities for intercourse. They will prove not merely avenues of business, but pathways of intelligence and social feeling. They will make the distant near, and the many one, for all the purposes of defence, strength, and good neighborhood. It is the great prerogative of science and art, applied to the business of life, to conquer the obstacles of time and place; to redress the wrongs of nature. By promoting the rapid circulation of knowledge, the prompt communication of intelligence, we shall carry on and perfect the noble work HERE begun by men, some of whose portraits are now looking down upon us.

No subject, after the liberty of his country, lay nearer to the heart of Washington than the opening of a great line of communication between the east and west. It was the very first subject to which he turned his attention, at the close of the revolutionary war. I hold in my hand an ex-

tract from a letter, written by the father of his country, in 1784. I would not, while the bell is ringing for nine o'clock, obtrude with any lighter authority on the audience. But who will not listen to the counsels of Washington, on the question before us?

"I have lately," says he, "made a tour through the Lakes George and Champlain, as far as Crown Point; then, returning to Schenectady, I proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Schuyler, crossed over to Wood Creek, which empties into Oneida Lake, and affords a water communication with Ontario. I then traversed the country to the head of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, and viewed the Lake of Otsego, and the portage between that lake and the Mohawk River at Canojoharie. Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, and could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence which has dealt his favors to us with so profuse a hand. *Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them!*"

Such, sir, is the voice of him whose sagacity in all the civil concerns of life was equal to his patriotism in council and conduct in the field; and to this affecting prayer of Washington, who can deem it irreverent to add, *Let all the people say*, Amen!

ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF SPRINGFIELD.*

Mr Everett, after returning his thanks for the honor done him by the chair and the company, and expressing his gratification at learning, from the eloquent orator of the day, (Judge Morris,) what he was ignorant of before, that a person of his own name and family (Richard Everett) was one of the first settlers of Springfield, went on to observe, that he felt, at all times, a peculiar satisfaction in attending a celebration of this character. I rejoice, sir, he remarked, in the recurrence of these anniversaries, at which the dust is swept from the sepulchres of past times, the stone rolled away from their moss-grown graves, and the venerable forms of the departed, the dead saints of ancient days, in the eye of a patriotic imagination, walk forth, in dim procession, like the ancestral forms of a Roman funeral pageant. We seem to see reproduced to us the dark and serious visages of the fathers of the republic, the modest countenances and sober costume of the matrons, the timid maiden, the bounding, athletic youth, all in visible presentment, as when they lived and moved upon the scene of actual existence. I regard such a celebration as a noble day of recompense for the tribulations of other times. Would not William Pynchon, sir, on the very day when his book, smitten with the heavy rebuke of the fathers of church and state, was ignominiously burned on Boston Common, have felt his heart cheered and his spirit soothed, even under the infliction of that stigma, could he have foreseen that, when near two centuries should

* Delivered at the public dinner, on the 25th of May, 1836, in commemoration of the first settlement of Springfield, Mass.

have passed, on an occasion like this, amidst thousands of an admiring posterity, his name would be repeated with respect, gratitude, and veneration, as the great founder of what we behold around us! Could I hope, sir, that, after the lapse of two hundred years, my humble name would be remembered with kind feelings by those who shall come after us, as one who had sought to promote the public good, I should deem any labor, care, and sacrifice, as cheaply encountered for such a recompense.

If to the moral interest of the festival which has called us together, you add the attractions of nature, at this pleasant season of the year, and in this beautiful region, you will not wonder, sir, at our readiness to leave the noisy streets and smoky atmosphere of the city for a visit to the banks of this most lovely river. A well-known poet, (Joel Barlow,) a native of our sister state, which bears its name, has exclaimed, in the most beautiful lines of a long work,

> "Thy stream, my Hartford, in its misty robe,
> Plays in the sunbeams, belting far the globe;
> No watery glades through richer valleys shine,
> Nor drinks the sea a lovelier wave than thine!"

I confess, sir, I cannot behold this enchanting prospect, I could not perform the commodious, rapid, and agreeable journey by which it is now approached, without my heart melting within me at the thought of the trials and sufferings of our fathers, the hardships of the wilderness, and the perils of the savage foe which they were called to face, amidst these to us so peaceful and charming scenes.

Sir, the emigration to the banks of the Connecticut was a bold and hazardous step. At the time when it was taken, I believe the learned orator of the day will tell us, that Concord, in Middlesex county, was the most western settlement in Massachusetts, and that was barely commenced. It is always, of course, dangerous to march in the advance of civilization; to place yourself on the outposts of society, in the neighborhood of uncivilized Indians; but the settlers of Springfield, by a brave bound, plunged into the midst of a

savage country. They were but a hundred miles from the plantations of the coast; but powerful bands of Indians occupied the intermediate space. For all purposes of relief and succor, they might as well have been at a distance of a thousand miles from Boston. Such was the difficulty of crossing the pathless wilderness which lay between them and the coast, that a man may now go from Boston to New Orleans, by way of Pittsburg, (I have done it myself,) a distance, I presume, of twenty-five hundred miles, in about as many days as it took some of the first settlers to reach the banks of the Connecticut River.

I think we see, in the settlement of this river, an early — perhaps the earliest — indication of that larger and more courageous spirit of adventure which characterizes the country. It was a work of the highest daring to cross the ocean and settle the Atlantic coast of the continent; and we should have thought that this would have been deemed sufficient at least for the enterprise of one generation. The commencement being made on the coast, it would have seemed natural — almost necessary — that the colonists should cling together on the verge of the strange continent, and leave their little commonwealth to increase by gradual expansion, planting a village or a hamlet this year a few miles in advance of last year's boundary. But not so. The worthy fathers at Dorchester, Newton, and Watertown, soon found themselves, in their own quaint language, "straitened." They had heard of the noble river of the west, and of the fertile regions which stretched beyond it, —

> "Sweet fields beyond the swelling flood
> Stand dressed in living green," —

and they gave themselves no rest, night nor day, till they had gone forth to possess them.

The early writers have described to us their pilgrimage through the wilderness. There are few traits of colonial adventure to be compared with it. It was not merely the youthful and vigorous huntsman, breasting his way through

the tangled forest, scattering wild flowers and dew-drops, as he broke through the thicket. They went in a company, the aged and the young, the women and the infants. Their flocks and their herds yielded them sustenance, and their weary progress was cheered with the voice of their spiritual leader, and the melody of anthems resounding through the solemn aisles of the forest. Sir, even in this little history of their journey to the river, we retrace the most important feature of the character of the Pilgrims. I am persuaded that, often as our forefathers have been spoken of as religious men, full justice has hardly yet been done to the topic. It is not merely that in their enterprises, conduct, and the ordinary business of life, they acted as becomes religious men. This may be affirmed of a portion of mankind, in all ages, and under every form of civil society. But there is something, in the Pilgrim settlers of New England, which lies much deeper than this. I consider the strong religious sense which animated them as the true historical basis of the forms and institutions of civil society, which they organized and transmitted to us. Born the subjects of a monarchy, accustomed to an hereditary nobility and a splendid hierarchy, they put every thing at once upon a footing of a broad downright political and religious equality. Why? under what influences? Men do not, like DIVINE POWER, create worlds out of nothing. They modify the existing, and renovate the ancient. Where did our fathers find the elements, out of which they constructed the social edifice? They found them in the BIBLE; in the spirit of that religion which levels to the dust all human distinctions; and teaching us that there is no respect of persons with God, furnishes the great and true basis of a well understood and honestly applied equality among men.

It does not, of course, belong to me, nor to this place, to enter into a discussion of this or any other subject. I cannot, however, forbear to observe, that I have lately looked through the work of an intelligent French traveller, M. de Tocqueville, a gentleman sent by his government to explore the condition of the penitentiaries in this country. He professes himself a Catholic, and is consequently not likely to be under

the influence of any prejudice in favor of the prevailing religious character of the country. But he remarks that it was *this* which most arrested his attention; and after studying our country — its government, its character, its parties, its manners — with more care than any other foreigner with whose writings I am acquainted, and commenting with much freedom and occasional severity upon them, he comes to the conclusion that there is a more widely diffused and operative sense of religion in the United States than in any other country, and that this is the true basis of their political system. He states it as an extraordinary contrast, that in most of the states of Europe, religion, so far as it subsists, is mainly upheld by its alliance with the state, and is considered, in consequence, by the mass of the people, as one of their burdens, and as one of the first things from which a deliverance is to be sought by means of a revolution; while in America, on the other hand, it is found to form the real secret of the firmness of the political system; and that, amidst so many apparent tendencies to fluctuation and change, an efficient principle of stability here exists in the generally diffused influence of religious belief and religious institutions on the public mind.

I think this discriminating observation of the French traveller does us no more than justice. How much of the predominant religious character described by him is to be referred to the influence and example of our forefathers, — the men who settled New England, — the men of whom we this day commemorate some of the most meritorious, — I need not say. Sir, they were very remarkable men; men of sterling worth. They had some faults, principally those of the age in which they lived; but take them together, the world has not seen their superiors among uninspired men. Their work has stood, because it was laid on a sound basis. Sir, it will stand yet for ages, for it was founded on the rock of ages. They have achieved that which will not die. They established principles, they set examples, they founded systems of government, which will serve as models to the end of the world. The race of men has taken hold of this inheritance of liberty, and

will not let it go. All that now exists may be changed and subverted: in the eloquent language of the orator, New England may cease to be the abode of civilized men; revolutions may sweep the country, as if yonder river should rise and swell, and wash away the prosperous settlements it now beautifies and enriches; but it is impossible that what has been done for the cause of human liberty and happiness, by the fathers of New England, should ever perish. If prostrated here, it will revive in other regions and happier times. The plan of a representative republic, which they devised, will go down, with the Scriptures, from which its principles are drawn, to the latest posterity, as the application, made by the Pilgrim fathers, of divine wisdom to the political affairs of men.

I beg leave to offer as a closing sentiment, —

OUR FATHERS — THEIR FAULTS WERE THE FAULTS OF THE AGE IN WHICH THEY LIVED; THEIR PIETY, FORTITUDE, AND LOVE OF LIBERTY WERE THEIR OWN. TIME, WHICH DESTROYS ALL THINGS, SHALL STRENGTHEN THEIR WORK AND HALLOW THEIR MEMORY.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MILITIA.*

Mr Commander:

I am sensible to the honor done me by the chair, and the company, and I beg leave to make my grateful acknowledgments. The toast just given does me no more than justice, in anticipating my best efforts for the promotion of the welfare of the militia system. I embrace also with pleasure the opportunity to declare my entire sympathy with that feeling of respect for the work and the memory of our fathers, to which we owe the perpetuity of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." I have always considered this feeling as one of the safeguards of the republic; as one of the best correctives of the violence of the selfish and party passions of the day. To cherish and strengthen this respect for the principles of our fathers, has been one of the chief objects I have proposed to myself in life; and one in the accomplishment of which I have spared no effort, within my humble sphere of influence.

Perhaps, sir, there is no subject, in regard to which their principles are better entitled to respect, than the military defence of the country. The more I turn over the pages of our early colonial history, the more I am struck with the all-pervading traces of a sort of providential watchfulness for the security of civil liberty, and in nothing more than in this important respect. I need not repeat what is so well known to all who have read the early history of the colony, that it was left to itself, — a handful of pious adventurers, self-exiled to the distant and savage shore, — shut out by the ocean

* Delivered at the anniversary dinner of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 6th June, 1836.

from the civilized world, — open through the fearful pathways of the forest to the inroads of fierce and remorseless tribes of savages, spurred forward to the work of destruction by the subjects of the French monarchy, the hereditary foes of England. In this state of things, nothing could have seemed more desirable than the presence of a military force, a regiment, at least, of British troops, scattered up and down in New England, to preserve the feeble settlement from destruction. It might have been thought that our ancestors, from the instinct of self-preservation, would have importuned the mother country for some such protection; especially under the commonwealth, when the civil and military power had passed into the hands of men whose religious and political opinions harmonized with their own. Whether our fathers desired it or not, it might have been thought that the government of England, royal or republican, would have looked after its own interests in this quarter. It would have seemed natural that the king of England would not have been wholly indifferent to the secure possession of these colonies, and that Cromwell, after thundering with his fleets through the West Indies, and capturing Jamaica, should take measures to hold fast to the continent. We all know what the colonial system of England in modern times has been. Wheresoever the British jurisdiction is established, in either hemisphere, from the rocky towers of Corfu to the burning latitudes of Hindostan and Australia, the British flag is its symbol, and the hiding-place of its power is within dark and frowning tiers of artillery. They never pretend to hold a foreign colony by any other tenure than an ever-present military force. Their government is as mild and paternal, perhaps, as a colonial government can be; but from the rock of Gibraltar round to the rock of Quebec, it compasses the globe with an iron belt of glittering bayonets; it speaks in the voice of the morning drum, and stalks with the nightly sentinel along the battlements of impregnable castles.* What

* Although not conscious of intentional plagiarism, I must have been indebted for these sentences to a well-known soul-stirring passage in one of Mr Webster's speeches in the Senate of the United States, Vol. II. p. 254.

an escape for the British colonies that form the United States! Had this system, which seemed equally required by the interest of the mother country and the safety of the colonies, been introduced here at the foundation, — had a battalion of English troops been stationed from the first on Boston Common, — who cannot perceive that the republican spirit and manners of the country never could have been formed? No, sir, we not only grew by the neglect of the mother country, as Colonel Barré said in the House of Commons, but such neglect was absolutely necessary to the growth of liberty. For this reason, all solicitation of aid from the mother country. was studiously avoided. They never asked for a man A patriotic militia, amounting sometimes to a draft of almost every able-bodied man in the community, was the dependence of our fathers, in peace and in war. With this, they fought through the Pequot war and King Philip's war. With this, they went to the aid of the British forces in the wars on the frontier. With this, they conquered Louisburg, and shared in the glories of Quebec. Thus they grew up, a really warlike people, wholly unused to standing armies; so that, when the British system, after the Seven Years' war, was changed, when regiments of troops were encamped on Boston Common, when fourteen ships of war were moored in Boston Harbor, with springs on their cables, and broadsides ready to open on the town, — the spectacle carried no terrors to a brave population, who had learned the secret of their own power, and readily joined in the appeal to the God of battles.

Times are now changed. We have grown up into a great people. A sum of human interests and blessings of untold amount, an incalculable moral and social treasure, is committed to our charge. With the advantages of a powerful state, we have its duties and its exposures. We are subject to insults from abroad and disorders at home. The cloud of foreign war has just rolled away. Had it burst, how would it have found this great and rich metropolis? Without one gun mounted for its defence. I suppose it is pretty generally admitted that a foreign enemy, even so polite a one as

France, would pay but little respect to the white staff of our sheriff, though he should go with all his constables, and read the riot act in their hearing. Whether these same peaceful emblems are adequate to sustain the majesty of the law, when threatened in moments of popular convulsion, we can all judge. Then, sir, there are two resources for protection and safety, in the first outbreaking of war, and in times of civil commotion. One is, a well-organized, patriotic militia, — ever present, rarely seen, — quartered among us, not in camps and forts, but at the fireside, in the counting-room, the workshop, the place of business: this is one. The other resource is, a standing army, encamped on Boston Common, or stationed on Castle Island. One or the other we must have. And the man who sets himself to ridicule the militia, to exaggerate the defects of the system, to embarrass its administration, to bring it into discredit, wishes one of two things: he either wishes the country to be wholly exposed to insult from abroad, and a prey at home to anarchy, to mob law, club law, and a general scramble; or he wishes to see a flagstaff planted in front of the State House, a couple of cannon pointing down State Street; to hear the morning-gun at daybreak, and to hold the exercise of his daily rights as a citizen at the discretion of a military commander.

In a free country, this is a pretty serious alternative. I have, sir, for the last six months, thought much and deeply upon it. It has been my duty to do so; and I have come to the conclusion that, if we intend to hand down unimpaired to our children the inheritance of republican liberty, which we have received from our fathers, — if we mean that the civil shall control the military arm, alike in peace and in war, in prosperous and adverse times, — the militia must again receive the respect of the community.

I give you, sir, as a toast, —

A Well-organized, Efficient, and Patriotic Militia — In time of peace, the bulwark of the law; in war, the basis of defence: — May it be restored to the public favor.

THE SEVENTEENTH OF JUNE AT CHARLESTOWN.*

After the reading of the sixth regular toast, complimentary to Mr Everett, that gentleman rose, and, after making his acknowledgments to the chair, proceeded to observe, that the day celebrated was not merely dear and memorable to the citizens of Charlestown, but to all who love liberty throughout the world. The position occupied by Charlestown, in reference to Boston, marked it out as the theatre of the great and glorious tragedy which has been this day described, and which was the necessary opening of the revolution. Boston, in 1775, was the great *place of arms* of the British government in America. The extreme south being very thinly settled, the political and geographical centre of the English dominions, from Charleston, S. C., on the right, to the St Lawrence on the left, was in Massachusetts Bay. Boston was at that time as large a town as any in British America; and may I not add, that the nature of the surrounding population, and the materials which it afforded for raising a patriotic army, formed another very strong inducement to the British government to strengthen themselves at this point? Hence the commencement of the revolution found the beautiful city before us strongly garrisoned, its heights frowning with batteries, the island which commands the inner harbor occupied by a regiment, and numerous vessels of war lying broadside to the town. It seems more like romance than history, that it is but sixty-one years ago this

* At a public dinner on the 17th of June, 1836, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill.

day since upon those peaceful waters which now hardly separate us from the metropolis, crossed as they are by the busy avenues of commerce, a hostile ship of war lay moored between Boston and Charlestown, showering her thunderbolts on our devoted hill-tops and streets. But, situated as Charlestown was, the advanced post of the continent, startled into arms by the events of the nineteenth of April, it became of necessity the first sternly-contested battle-field.

And here I may observe, that nowhere was the infatuation which prompted the expedition of the nineteenth of April more severely regretted than at London. It appears from the papers appended to one of the volumes of Mr Sparks's invaluable Collection of the Writings of Washington, that the British ministry were disgusted at their governor for having committed the woful mistake of that day, and called him from his post. But the mistake *was* committed, — a mistake like that which the Persians committed at Marathon, — one of those mistakes which affect the fortunes of nations for thousands of years. The royal forces are driven back to Boston, the country aroused from one extremity to another, and the head-quarters of an army, nominally large, but really fluctuating, unarmed, and unprovided with munitions, established at Cambridge. It would be as superfluous and unbecoming, as it would be difficult, to attempt to add any thing of essential interest to the narrative to which you have already listened to-day. But even the slightest details connected with such occurrences are curious. I received the evening before the last, from the secretary of state, a few original letters, principally of General Ward, the commander-in-chief of the army at Cambridge, dated on or about the seventeenth of June, 1775, just discovered in a neglected corner of the State House, among the papers in the public archives, which, by an order of the General Court, are undergoing a thorough examination. They are of no great intrinsic importance, but they throw some light on the state of the army and the incidents of the day.

The first is from General Ward, of the twelfth of June, (five days before the battle,) and relates to quartering the

troops at Cambridge, the delivery and repair of arms, and the procuring of horses. The second letter is two days later. It contains distinct indications of the contemplated movement. The third is of the fifteenth of June, and sounds still more distinctly the note of preparation. It announces the momentary expectation of action, and relates principally to the preparations of cartridges. The fourth is from the secretary of General Ward, of the same name. It breathes still more strongly of the air of Bunker Hill. It is a requisition for *intrenching tools*, and is of the sixteenth of June. Sir, as I hold this original order in my hand, I can almost fancy I perceive the fresh earthy smell of those ever memorable intrenchments; that I can see Colonel Prescott, in the homely garb in which he has been described to us, with a three-cornered hat on his head, and a cane in his hand, tapping along on the top of that redoubt, at the gray dawn. I can almost hear the broadside of the Somerset, as it comes booming over the waters, when the morning lifts up the curtain of darkness and mist which had covered the midnight labors of the patriotic band.

The next letter is a treasure, for its author's sake. It was written by Putnam, on the immortal seventeenth; but written at Cambridge, and before he went down to the battle. Here is the veteran's signature, of which I will only say it is somewhat doubtful whether it was made with a goose-quill, the point of a cutlass, or the handle of a pickaxe. It announces the arrival of eighteen barrels of powder from Connecticut.

A letter from the chairman of the committee of safety, calling for four fleet horses, on the day of the battle, to carry intelligence from the scene of action to head-quarters at Cambridge, and two brief letters from General Ward, of the day after the battle, pressing for "all the ordnance and ordnance stores *that can be obtained by man*," close the list. These papers, as I said, sir, are of no great historical value, but they are authentic relics of the great day; they are the work of the men and the bodies of men which controlled its

movements. They throw some light on the condition of the army, and furnish additional illustration of the fact, well understood before, that it was miserably deficient in the means of war. They tend in the same degree to heighten our veneration for the great and patriotic men, who, thus destitute, plunged into the contest. But we shall imperfectly read the lesson of history if we stop here. It is true the colonies were destitute of the materials of war; but they possessed, particularly in this part of the country, a great amount of military experience, acquired in the French war, which had been brought to a close only twelve years before; and, for two or three years previous to the rupture, the militia of New England had been assuming a high degree of organization, which was at length completed. Let us then learn a lesson of preparation, as well as gratitude, from the history of the day. One of the most eminent and experienced statesmen of the country (Mr John Q. Adams) has lately declared, in his place in Congress, that a fourfold contest with England, Mexico, and the Indian and the African races at the south, is among possible — nay, among probable — events. I have no means of measuring this probability not equally possessed by every person who hears me; but this I must plainly say, that if these predicted wars overtake the country, great and prosperous as it is, they would find it, in some respects, not so well prepared as the revolution found our fathers. A longer interval of peace must have diminished the comparative amount of military experience; and if this cloud of manifold war should burst suddenly, it would find that time-honored institution, the militia of the country, almost broken down. Yes, the broad shield which then covered the land, at the commencement of hostilities, is broken and cast away! Yes, the militia, the once honored, and now derided, militia, — to which we owe the undying memory of Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill, and Bennington, and Saratoga, — is sinking, under an unmerited weight of opprobrium and ridicule, into the dust. I pray Heaven, sir, if the dark days must overshadow the country,

we may not in this have cause to regret that we are so very much wiser than our fathers. I offer, sir, as a concluding sentiment, —

THE MILITIA: — LET NOT THE ARM OF PUBLIC DEFENCE, WHICH THIS DAY STRUCK FOR INDEPENDENCE, BE PALSIED BY THE NEGLECT OF THOSE WHOSE LIBERTIES IT MAINTAINED.

HARVARD CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-STUDENTS:

It is known to you all that a sudden and highly afflictive dispensation of Providence has prevented our distinguished fellow-student, [Harrison Gray Otis,] who had been designated to preside over your festivities, from occupying this place. Feeling a double portion of the regret which you all feel at this sorrowful occurrence, and called unexpectedly to take the place of one so eminently gifted with all that is adapted to kindle and promote the spirit of the day, I have no resource but to throw myself unreservedly upon your kind feelings. I derive great satisfaction, as I cast my eye along the tables and consider the nature of the occasion, from the reflection, that it never could be of less consequence how the duties of the chair might be performed.

Of the numerous historical festivals of the time, I know of none better calculated than this — few so well — to awaken a deep interest. We have commemorated, within a few years past, the settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts, — the foundation of towns and cities. We have made our pilgrimage to the plains of Lexington and Concord, and to the heights of Charlestown, — the scenes of memorable events; but we have come up to-day to our intellectual metropolis, — the beautiful Mount Zion of the mind, — the joy of the whole land. We come to worship before that pure orb of moral and mental illumination, in which the beams of eternal

* Delivered at the public dinner on the 8th September, 1836, in commemoration of the close of the second century from the foundation of the University at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

truth were gathered for the guidance of our fathers at the origin of the colony; and from which, I trust, they will ever shine out, to lighten and warm our children.

Yes, brethren, it is the birthday of our *alma mater*, that happy name with which the children of the university of Cambridge, in England, — as old Ainsworth tells us, — were accustomed to designate the place of their education, and which our fathers brought over and bestowed on the infant college they had founded here : —

> ——— " parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis
> Pergama, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum."

It is the birthday of the genial parent who folded us in her arms, and carried us in her bosom; and not us alone, but all who, for two hundred years, have drawn the pure milk of intellectual life and truth from her maternal breast.

Brethren, there were some recollections of the early history of the college which I intended to recall to you, but our worthy president has taken all that ground from beneath me. He has reaped the field, and left nothing for the gleaner. In fact, it is an occasion when, oppressed by the multitude of thick-coming fancies that crowd upon the mind, one is far less inclined to speak than to muse. An ingenious Italian writer * has constructed a kind of philosophical romance on the idea, that the whole Roman world of ancient times, the emperors, consuls, and tribunes, the poets, the orators, the great and wise of every generation, had appeared to him, in shadowy conclave, at the newly discovered sepulchre of the Scipios, and wandered under his guidance over the ancient and modern city. As the long procession of the alumni swept through the academic grounds this morning, extending from one extremity of the time-hallowed precincts to the other, one could almost fancy that he saw also the mighty congregation, the three thousand, of the departed, (with old president Dunster at their head, starting from the tomb in yonder graveyard, in which, as you told us, Mr President, it

* Verri, le notti Romane.

was his dying request to be deposited,) returning to take their station in front of the train. They dwelt in yonder halls, they walked these pleasant fields, their minds were trained up under the influences which still seem to hover in the very air; is it much to fancy they had come back to join us in these festivities?

Yes, brethren, but little less than five thousand four hundred alumni have received the honors of Harvard College. It has stood for more than six generations, by far the oldest institution of this character in the United States. It has stood unchanged, except to be enlarged and improved, and has reared its modest head amidst the storms which convulsed alike the mother country and the colonies. Neither the straits and perils of the infant settlement, nor the harassing Indian and French wars, nor the political vicissitudes, the sectarian feuds, the neglect, the indifference, or hostility of the parent country towards America, the trials of peace or of war, essentially obstructed the steady course of its usefulness. It has adapted itself, in each succeeding period, to the wants and calls of the age, as they have been felt and understood; and has sent out generation after generation, in the various professions, in the active and contemplative callings, in the higher and the humbler paths of educated life, to serve and adorn the country. The village schoolmaster, the rural physician, lawyer, and clergyman, — ministers all of unambitious good, — not less than those whom Providence calls to the most arduous and responsible posts, have been trained within its walls. They have come up here for instruction, have received it, have gone forth, and have passed away; the children have occupied the halls which the fathers occupied before them, and both have been mingled with the dust; and here the college, which guided them all till they were ready to launch on the ocean of life, still stands like a pharos founded on a sea-girt rock. The moss of time gathers on it; the waters heave and break upon its base; the tempest beats upon its sides; but in vain. Sometimes its lofty tower is reflected fathom deep in the glassy summer sea, and sometimes covered with the foaming surge, which combs and curls from the

foundation, and breaks in a vaulting flood over its summit. Unquenched and steady it shines alike through the tempest and the zephyr. Convoys sweep by it, guided by its beams to fortune or disaster, but its light never wavers. The hand that kindles it fails, but another and another renews its beams. Useful alike to small and to great, the poor fisherman marks its friendly ray from afar, as he shoots out at dusk to try the fortune of a lonely evening hour upon his favorite ledge; and the mighty admiral descries it, through the parting thunder-clouds of midnight battle, and fearlessly braces his straining canvas to the gale.

There is always danger, in the enthusiasm of such an occasion as this, of making extravagant overstatements. I desire to avoid the error; but I think it neither overstated nor extravagant to say, that we commemorate to-day the first occasion on which a people ever taxed themselves by law to found a place of education. I think this is true. Certainly the ancient world furnishes no precedent, in all its monarchies or republics. In modern times, both before and for some time after the reformation, places of education were appendages to the church, founded and endowed by princes, prelates, or benevolent individuals. If there is such a thing as a precedent of a foundation like that commemorated this day, it must, of course, be in England. I must appeal to gentlemen around me, better versed than I am in the parliamentary history of that country, to say, whether, before the year 1636, they know of such a thing as a grant of money by the British House of Commons, to found or endow a place of education. I think there is no such grant before that period, nor till long after; and I therefore believe it is strictly within the bounds of truth to say, that the General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which met on the eighth of September, 1636, (the date which has determined the day of our present celebration,) is the first body in which the people, by their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education. I am inclined to think that then and there this auspicious precedent was established, of making the support of education a public charge; and I ask

whether, from the days of Lycurgus to the present hour, the history of government records an incident better worthy of commemoration.

It was the practice of the ancient historians, in giving an account of important deliberations, to represent, in the form of speeches, ascribed to the principal personages, the arguments which might have been adduced in favor of, or against, the measures adopted. The question of an appropriation for founding the college, the event which we this day celebrate, was for some considerable time before the General Court, but no account has reached us of what was said on either side. It is not difficult, however, to conceive what would be the general line of argument of such a man, for instance, as Governor Winthrop, to whom the president, in his discourse, has justly assigned the first place in the list of the leaders and benefactors of the colony. The chief magistracy this year was intrusted to the youthful stranger, Sir Henry Vane. Winthrop was the deputy governor, and, as the representatives did not occupy a separate chamber till 1644, the venerable founder of the colony may be easily supposed, as to the substance, to have addressed both branches of the primitive little legislature somewhat as follows: —

"Men, Brethren, and Fathers: The matter of founding a college is beyond question one of the most important which hath engaged our attention since the hand of God conducted us to these uttermost corners of the earth. Hitherto, what we have done hath mostly had respect either to the bodily safety and comfort, or the social ordering, or the spiritual edification of this present generation of planters, that is to say, of ourselves. But a higher object demandeth our care. These houses which we have builded will decay; these pious teachers that now minister to us, bright and shining lights though they be, will go down to the dust, and we shall be gathered by their side. What, then, shall be the condition of our children, and our children's children, when pastor and parent are gone, if we fail to provide for their training up in good learning and the knowledge of God's word?

"Doth it seem to you, men and brethren, a great work to

build up a house of learning in the midst of these deep forests? I grant it to be so, especially in the present exhausted condition of this poor colony, and while a war betwixt us and the heathen is raging. But the parent, though he be starving, spareth a part of his last loaf, that his hungry babe may have bread on the morrow; and yonder poor Indian woman, whom I discern through the window as I speak to you, will strip the blanket from herself to cover her freezing child. Let us, of the frugal means which the good God hath yet left us, lay the foundation, and doubt not that benefactors will rise up, when they are least looked for. That Being, whose prophet smote the rock, and made it flow with a living stream, is able to open a spring of beneficence, even in this thirsty wilderness.

"Doth any one deem, that to erect a seat of science is to go about a work beyond the decency of the day of small things in which we live, and savoring of the bravery of an old and abundant state? It were so, if we thought to rival the spacious cloisters and lofty towers of our *alma mater*, in old England; but not, while we seek only to provide for our children those modest means of education which beseem an infant commonwealth. There goeth forth ordinarily, in human affairs, a small beginning, even in the greatest work. There was a time when Oxford and Cambridge, the twins of learning at home, were struggling into existence by the care of our fathers, albeit at that time under the cloud of a corrupted church, in ages long past. If we now lay the corner stone of a college, however humble, on a right foundation of piety and truth, now, blessed be God, dispensed among us uncorrupt and sincere, think not, men and brethren, I speak the language of extravagance, if I foretell the day, when stately edifices will rise within the enclosure of our modest school; when libraries and cabinets will open their treasures in these precincts, now scarcely safe from the beasts of the forest; when Nature, tortured in our laboratories, shall confess her hidden mysteries; when, from the towers of our academy, the optic tube, lately contrived by the Florentine philosopher, shall search out the yet undiscovered secrets of

the deepest heavens; when a long line of those here formed to the service of God and mankind shall stand recorded in our catalogue. Yea, brethren and fathers, of a truth I can foresee the day when, after the lapse of centuries, a venerating posterity, on some festival consecrated to the memory of its founders, shall gather together, and with solemn prayers, and grave discourse, and decent festivities, heap blessings on our names. When that day shall come, though hundreds of years shall first have passed, the clods shall press more lightly on my bosom, as I shall rest in mine house of clay.

"Besides, men, brethren, and fathers, consider, I pray you, the work we have undertaken. It is to build a pure commonwealth on the rock of truth, on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. We have no mines of gold to tempt adventurers, as hath befallen in the Spaniard's colonies, southward of Virginia; neither doth our commerce, though hopefully prospering, yield the abundant returns of the Spice Islands. But there seemeth a well-grounded persuasion, that this our New England hath, in these last days, been reserved to a great work. Even certain of the heathen poets appear to have entertained a foreboding of its discovery; and Seneca speaketh of the latter ages, when Oceanus shall loosen his bonds, and a vast continent be discovered. To that long-hidden region the hand of God hath guided us, to found a Christian republic, and establish a pure church. And think you, brethren, there can be any other foundation laid than that is laid — the knowledge of all useful truth, and the apprehension of the word? Trust me, there cannot; and this seat of learning, which you propose to found, is not so much advisable as necessary. It is the appointed means of carrying on the great work we were sent hitherto to accomplish. Your harvests may fail, and the coming year will supply the want. Fires may consume your dwellings, and the forest will yield in abundance the materials to replace them. Even a portion of our young men may fall beneath the tomahawk of the savage, and the loss, although most grievous, (as Pericles justly observeth in the funeral oration

over the Athenians, who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, and which, in the second book of Thucydides his History, is ascribed, I know not if truly, to that famous popular chieftain,) may yet be restored. But, if the light of learning shall go out; if the study of God's word among us shall perish; if, as these pious fathers one by one are taken away, none shall rise up in their stead, — it will bring a slowly creeping distemper upon the land, and will strike a wound into New England's heart which can never be healed.

"On the other hand, let us found the college now, in the infancy of the colony; let no space, no, not for a day, be interposed, in which ignorance can gain a foothold; let sound human learning, and the study of the Scriptures of truth, go hand in hand with the growth of the state; and I tell you, men and brethren, the feeble plant will take root and flourish. Though sown in weakness, it shall be raised in power. A succession of the learned and pious, the great and the good, shall here be trained up, to make glad the cities and churches of the Lord. Prosperous times may follow, and your sons shall adorn and promote the prosperity of the land. Dark and adverse days may succeed, but the prudent counsellor and the eloquent orator shall not fail; and, so long as New England or America hath a name on the earth's surface, the fame and fruit of this day's work shall be blessed. Men, brethren, and fathers, I have done."

Such, however presumptuous the attempt to embody them, were the motives and the principles on which the college was founded. It was an institution established by the people's means for the people's benefit. If, in any other quarter of the globe, it has been objected to seats of learning, that they nourish a spirit of dependence on power, such has never been the reproach of our *alma mater*. Owing much, at every period before the revolution, to the munificence of individuals in the mother country, it never was indebted to the crown for a dollar or a book. No court favor was ever bestowed, and no court lesson ever learned. Generation after generation went forth from her lecture-rooms, armed in all the pan-

oply of truth, to wage the battles of principle, alike under the old charter and the new; and, when the fulness of time was come, and the great contest approached, the first note of preparation was sounded from Harvard Hall. Yes, before the stamp act was passed; yes, before committees of correspondence were established throughout the colonies; before Otis had shaken the courts with his forensic thunders; before a breath of defiance had whispered along the arches of Faneuil Hall, — a graduate of Harvard College announced in his thesis, on commencement day, the whole doctrine of the revolution. Yes, in the very dawn of independence, while the lions of the land yet lay slumbering in the long shadows of the throne, an eaglet, bred in the delicate air of freedom which fanned the academic groves, had, from his "coigne of vantage" on yonder tower, drunk the first rosy sparkle of the sun of liberty into his calm, undazzled eye, and whetted his talons for the conflict. Within the short space of twenty-three years, there were graduated at Harvard College six men, who exercised an influence over the country's destinies, which no time shall outlive. Within that brief period, there went forth from yonder walls, James Otis, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Josiah Quincy, — besides Samuel and John Adams, "*geminos, duo fulmina belli.*"

Yes, fellow-students, if our college had done nothing else than educate Samuel Adams, who, in 1743, on taking his second degree, maintained the thesis, that it is lawful to resist the chief magistrate, if the state cannot otherwise be preserved; or James Otis, who, by his argument on writs of assistance, in the words of one* well authorized to express an opinion, "first breathed the breath of life into the cause of American freedom;" or John Hancock, the patriot merchant, who offered his fortune as a sacrifice to the country, and placed his name first to the Declaration of her independence; or John Adams, the "colossus who sustained the Declaration" in debate; or Josiah Quincy, (your honored father, Mr President,) who, in 1774, wrote to his countrymen from

* President Adams the elder.

London, "that they must seal their testimony with their blood;" or Warren, who, on yonder sacred heights, made haste to obey that awful injunction; — had Harvard College done no more than train up any one of these great men to the country's service, what title could it need to the world's gratitude and admiration? But not on one, or all of these, does the fame of our *alma mater* repose. A hundred kindred spirits in every calling, in every part of the land, in ancient and modern days, alike assert their claim to her spiritual lineage, and form the crown of her glory: —

> "Felix prole virûm; qualis Berecynthia mater
> Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
> Læta deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes,
> Omnes cœlicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes."

It is not, brethren, I own, without peculiar emotions that I join in this happy celebration. A quarter part of a century is this year closed, since my classmates and myself were dismissed from these venerable shades. In that period, one third part, nearly, of our number have closed their mortal career, and we have all passed that culminating period of life, from which its end becomes daily, and for the most part rapidly, more visible. During the whole of this period, with scarce an interval, it has been my good fortune to sustain some official connection, more or less intimate, with the university, and to receive the most signal proofs of its confidence. I deem myself eminently favored of Providence, on this illustrious anniversary, that I am permitted, before this great and enlightened concourse of her children, to lay the honors, with which the unmerited kindness of my fellow-citizens has crowned me, as an offering, at her venerable feet. May God prosper her in all aftertimes, as she has hitherto been prospered; and a century hence, when we, who now unite in these high festivities, shall long have passed away, — long after every tongue heard this day shall be hushed, and every eye that glistens around me shall be closed, — then may our children's children come up with joy, and grateful honors, and still warmer devotion, to celebrate another jubilee!

I give you, fellow-students, as a toast, —

OUR ALMA MATER; MATURE IN YOUTH, VIGOROUS IN AGE, ILLUSTRIOUS ALWAYS:

> "In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
> Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
> Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt."

THE SETTLEMENT OF DEDHAM.*

Mr President and Gentlemen:

I cannot but be sensibly affected by the kind notice you are pleased to take of me. The occasion is one which must interest every reflecting mind. No one can witness what we behold at this moment, or hear what we have heard this day, without being highly gratified; but the toast which has been announced must prepare you for my saying that, though personally a stranger to almost all present, I take more than a stranger's interest in the celebration. My ancestors, from the very first foundation of Dedham, in 1636, were established here, and, like the great majority of the people, in the unambitious condition of cultivators of the soil. The name of the first of them, who has been so kindly remembered by the orator of the day, in his most appropriate, eloquent, and instructive discourse, is found in the list of the original settlers of the place. In the second generation, I have just perceived in one of the interesting ancient parchments, which have passed around the table, that another of the name was one of the four commissioners who, in 1686, received a confirmation of the Indian title of the town from the grandson of Chickatawbut, of whom it was originally purchased. My own honored father was born and grew up to manhood here, in the same humble sphere; and as I came back to-day, fellow-citizens, to breathe among you the native air of my race, I must say that, with the greater experience I have of the cares and trials of public station, the more ready I am to

* Delivered at the public dinner, 21st September, 1836, the anniversary of the settlement of Dedham.

wish that it had been my lot to grow up and pass my life in harmless obscurity in these peaceful shades, and, after an unobtrusive career, to be gathered to my sires, in the old Dedham graveyard, where

> "Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
> The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

But not to dwell any longer on what is merely personal to an individual, let me say, sir, that I regard a festival like this not only as highly interesting, but exceedingly significant and instructive. It is often said by superficial writers in Europe, that our systems of government are a mere experiment, the mushroom growth of yesterday; and from this assumed fact of their recent origin, their short-lived duration is foreboded. To this reproach let the expressive answer be given, in the golden ciphers blazoned on the front of the pulpit this day, (1636,) and tastefully wreathed in evergreen on the arch which adorns yonder lawn. The mushroom growth of yesterday! Sir, this is a centennial, a second centennial anniversary. Our institutions, political, civil, and social, are not of yesterday; they are substantially two hundred years old. Their foundation is not laid on modern straw or stubble; it goes down to the lowest stratum, — the origin of the colony, — the primitive rock. We have, I trust, in all things where it was needful or practicable, kept pace with, and even gone beyond, the improvements of the long intervening period; but as all the substantial elements of our rights and liberties were implanted by the fathers, so in all things there has been a measured progress, and a slow ripening towards maturity. The federal constitution, and the constitutions of the states, which have most attracted the notice of Europe, are indeed the work of the last generation; but the great principles on which they are founded are coeval with the country. You might as well call the great oak-tree in front of Mr Avery's house, in East Street, the growth of yesterday, because its broad expanse of foliage has put forth the present season; whereas its acorn was deposited generations ago, and its trunk has braved the blasts of two centu-

ries. The wonderful progress and development which have taken place in the country in the last forty years, and nowhere, perhaps, more than in Dedham, are but the spreading branches, the waving foliage, the ripened fruit from that germ, which was planted in tribulation and watered with tears. Here in Massachusetts, more than two centuries ago, while the people yet abode in those log houses, which were alluded to by the orator, and constructed by each man for himself, (for artisans as yet there were none,) with the Indian in the neighboring swamp, and the wolf at midnight before the threshold, there was a solid framework of representative government, a well-compacted civil society; there were laws, and tribunals to enforce them; there were schools, and provision for their support; there was a college, generously endowed by public and private liberality, of which Mr Allen, your first minister, was one of the first overseers; and there was meet provision for the maintenance of public worship, and the dispensation of the gospel. All this is two hundred years old among us, and I trust in Heaven that before it ceases from among us it will be two thousand.

I derive from the age of these our institutions (and surely they are the life and soul of the body politic, — that which gives to outward forms their power and value) an argument in favor of their permanence. They will not go down with to-morrow's sun, for they did not spring up yesterday. They were not reared by our hands, and when we perish they will survive us. They guided and animated our fathers, and carried them through dark and trying times, and I have a cheerful hope that, for long generations to come, they will guide and direct our children.

Sir, I mean no empty compliment when I say, that, taking the character of your ancient town as it appears in history, or even in the instructive summary which the orator has given us of it, it seems to me an admirable specimen of the true New England character. We may take a distinction in this matter. In first breaking the way in the arduous enterprise of settling a new country, especially under the discouraging circumstances in which our ancestors were placed, it

was perhaps unavoidable, that some harsh and repulsive traits should be found on the part of some of the leaders; and in point of fact, such traits are found in the characters of some of the chief men at Boston and Salem. But I do not find them here. The settlers of Dedham appeared — to use a homely phrase — singularly disposed to keep out of hot water. They left the harassing controversies of the day to their brethren at the northern part of the colony. There was but one topic on which they warmed into passion, and that was Liberty. When that was in peril, they were wrought to a noble frenzy. If a poor Quaker was to be scourged at the cart-tail, as the orator told us, they waited in Dedham for orders from the metropolis: but when a usurper was to be prostrated; when the country people were to rush to town "in such heat and rage" as to make the Boston folks tremble; when a bold champion was required, to burst into Mr Usher's house, to drag forth the tyrant by the collar, to bind him, and cast him into the fort, — then Dedham is ready with her intrepid Daniel Fisher, — the son of the proscribed speaker of the same name, — "a second Daniel," as the orator well expressed it, "literally come to judgment!"

But this was the overflowing of popular feeling at a crisis. In ordinary times, the name they wished to give their settlement, CONTENTMENT, though of a somewhat puritanical sound, well expresses their character. But though they were contented with their condition, it was not a stupid contentment. They had not "the flagrant stupidity" — to use the quaint combination of ideas which the orator quoted from your revolutionary records — to set at nought all efforts at improvement. Theirs was a rational contentment, a thoughtful contentment, pretty busy in trying to better their condition, that they might have more to be contented with. Not to speak of the great enterprise of settling Deerfield, they set an example, in the very infancy of the town, of an enlarged and liberal policy of improvement, in constructing the canal which unites the waters of the Charles with those of the Neponset, and this, as we were told by the orator, as early as 1639. Why, sir, this communication used to be spoken of

as a wonderful natural phenomenon. It has turned out to be an artificial work, executed by the order of the town, three years after the settlement. Well may it be called Mother Brook, first as it is of all the thousand works of internal improvement, which have spread their network over the country, bringing art to the aid of nature, and calling science to minister to the comfort and prosperity of man. It is a pleasing proof of the good judgment with which the work was projected, that it still serves the purpose for which it was originally designed, and is the seat of activity, industry, and productive power, contributing essentially to the prosperity of Dedham. Without taking up more of your time, sir, I beg leave to propose as a closing sentiment, —

Our Fathers: — In their piety and humility contented with a little, may their posterity, to whom they have bequeathed a heritage of the richest blessings, be contented and grateful in its enjoyment, and faithful in its transmission!

THE CATTLE SHOW AT DANVERS.*

After some remarks on the nature and objects of cattle shows, and the beneficial influence which had been exerted by them on the state of the husbandry of this part of the country, Mr Everett proceeded substantially as follows: —

The benefit which has accrued to our farmers from these exhibitions cannot be estimated in dollars and cents, or measured by the figures employed to state an increase of agricultural products. A few more tons of hay from your meadows; a few more bushels of corn or potatoes from your tilled lands; a better stock of animals for the dairy, the fold, or the pen, — would add something, it is true, to the public and private wealth of the country; but if nothing further came of it, it would be a matter in which neither the patriot nor the Christian could take a very deep interest.

But when we consider that the class of husbandmen is numerically the largest in the community, and that on their condition it has been found, in the experience of the whole world, that the social, political, and moral character of countries mainly depends, it is self-evident that whatever improves the situation of the farmer feeds the life-springs of the national character. In proportion as our husbandmen prosper, they not only enjoy themselves a larger portion of the blessings of life, but society is kept in a healthy state, and they are enabled to make ampler provision for the education and establishment of their children, and thus leave behind them a posterity competent not only to preserve and assert, but to augment and improve, their heritage.

* On the 28th of September, 1836.

It will accordingly be found that the great differences in the political condition of different countries coincide directly with the different tenure on which the land is held and cultivated. It is not that in one country the government is administered by an elective president; in another by a limited monarch; in another by an absolute despot. These things are not unimportant; because forms have a tendency to draw the substance after them. But a far more important question, in deciding the political condition of different countries, is, *How is the land held?* The orator has told us what is the case in many parts of Europe; but there are countries where the case is still worse. There are countries where the land — the whole of it — is claimed to be the property of an absolute despot, — rather a chief of brigands than a sovereign, — who once or twice a year sends out his armed hordes to scour the territory; to sweep together, without the shadow of law or pretence of right, whatever they can lay their hands on; leaving the wretched peasant little else than what he actually grasps with his teeth. Such is the system introduced into some parts of Hindostan by their Mahometan conquerors, and it had the effect of breaking down the civilization of countries once refined, learned, wealthy, and prosperous, into a condition very little better than that of the North American savage. Contrast this with the system on which our lands are held and occupied, in pursuance of which, as a general rule, it is divided into small farms, the property of those who till them, who have every inducement and facility to better their condition, and who feel themselves on an equality with their fellow-citizens in every other pursuit. It is plain that over such a population no government could exist but one like that beneath which we live, in which the people are the direct source of power. Where this is the case, it is equally plain that whatever improves and raises the condition of husbandmen, tends directly to sustain and fortify the social fabric.

A very celebrated ancient poet exclaimed, "O, too happy farmers, did you but know your blessings!" If this could be said of the farmers of Italy, at the close of the civil wars, —

subjects of an absolute prince, and a part of them only the owners of the land they tilled, — it may well be repeated of the husbandmen of New England, the proprietors of a soil which furnishes a competence of all the good things of life, and the possessors of an amount of blessings never surpassed, if ever equalled. Not among the least of these privileges is the rich birthright of patriotic recollections which has come down to us from our fathers, and of which no portion of the country has more to boast than the ancient county of Essex. It is no flattery to say that the county of Essex is a distinguished part of the state. It would be easy, within the limits of this single county, to find, in the history of other times, bright examples of all the traits of character and conduct which promote the prosperity and honor of nations in peace and in war. From the early contests with the Indians and French, — from the times when the "Flower of Essex" fell at "Bloody Brook," down to the close of the revolution, — the fathers and forefathers of those I have the honor to address, contributed a full share of the counsel and treasure, the valor and blood, by which the cause of the country was directed, sustained, and carried through triumphant.

Need I go beyond the limits of the town of Danvers? Is it not enough to recall the time, not yet beyond the memory, I am sure, of some whom I see before me, when a regiment of royal troops was here encamped, a sort of prætorian band, to guard the residence of the royal governor? Need I do more than remind you of the morning of the nineteenth of April, 1775, when your sires, at the sound of the bell in yonder church, hastened together, a portion of them under the command of your venerable fellow-citizen near me, (General Gideon Foster,) and rushed, rather than marched, to the field of danger, — sixteen miles in four hours, — flying into the jaws of death, as rapidly as fear commonly lends men wings to fly from it; and contributing, this single town, this one little town — O, prodigality of noble blood! — one sixth of the entire loss of that eventful day. Need I, my friends, for the most touching recollections, go beyond the walls of yonder ancient church, consecrated, as it was, by the strange

spectacle, (at the memory of which your tears were called forth afresh, on last year's return of the great anniversary,) — the sight of four of your brave sons, wrapped in their bloody shrouds, — the honorable wounds which they had received in their country's cause still freshly flowing? Could I before this audience, on such a theme, be wholly mute, would not the gray hairs of the veteran leader of that heroic band, who is now before me, (General Foster,) rebuke my silence, and put a tongue in every echo of this building, which would cry out and shame me!

Yes, fellow-citizens, if any thing could make your native land, your homes, your firesides more dear to you, it must be these recollections to the precious blood by which they were redeemed. If any thing were wanting to inspire you with a passionate attachment to the blessings you enjoy, it would be the thought of the inestimable price at which they were purchased.

Nor let us forget, if we have a patriotic ancestry to be proud of, and if we have privileges to enjoy, we have also incumbent duties to perform. The great principles of republican liberty are exposed to danger in peace, as well as in war. Prosperity not less than trial, may sap the foundation of the social fabric; and there is at all times less danger from a foreign foe, than from party passion, individual selfishness, and general apathy.

It will not, of course, be expected of me to enlarge upon the duties which devolve upon our husbandmen, with a view to guard against the dangers of this kind which surround us. I can but glance at the topic. But I may say, that the first and most important duty of the husbandman is to endeavor to preserve, and, if it may be, to strengthen, the broad foundation laid by our fathers in a deep religious principle. Surely there is no class of the community, whose daily pursuits ought to furnish greater nourishment to the sense of religious things. The reflecting mind, it is true, beholds traces of a higher wisdom and goodness in every step of every walk of life; but the husbandman, who drops a seemingly lifeless seed into the cold, damp earth, there in great part to decay,

— who sees the vital germ in a few days pierce the clod, rise into the air, drink the sun's rays and the dews of heaven, shoot upwards and expand, array itself in glories beyond the royal vesture of Solomon, extract from the same common earth and air a thousand varieties of the green of the leaf, the rainbow hues of the petals, the juicy or the solid substance of the fruit, which is to form the food of man and his dependent animals, — I say, the intelligent husbandman, who beholds this, seems to step behind the veil which conceals the mysteries of creative power, and sit down (if I dare so speak) in the laboratory of Omnipotence.

Connected with the cultivation of the religious principle, and the natural fruit of it, we look to our husbandmen for a high moral sense. The worst feature in the degradation of many foreign countries is the moral condition of those who till the soil, showing itself in the extreme of intemperance and the kindred vices. No man can fully understand this, who has not witnessed it. In the general moral character of our population, we are warranted in saying, that it might serve as an example to the world. I know not the country on earth in which a concourse could be assembled of a better character than that which is brought together in this town to-day, and might be assembled, on any similar occasion, in any town in Massachusetts. We look to our husbandmen, by precept and example, to sustain, and, if possible, to elevate this sound state of morals in the community.

Lastly, that I may say a single word on a subject on which the orator has preceded me, — it is a great and just boast of the Pilgrims and their descendants, that they made early and ample provision for education. Farmers of Essex, hold fast to that boast. I had rather, for the appearance, — if I must choose between them, — see the country dotted all over, at its cross roads, with its plain little village school-houses, than have the high places of a few large towns crowned with the most splendid fabrics of Grecian and Roman art. I had rather, for the strength and defence of the country, — if I must choose between them, — see the roads that lead to those school-houses thronged with the children of both sexes, salut-

ing the traveller as he passes, in the good old New England way, with their little courtesy or nod, than gaze upon regiments of mercenary troops parading upon the ramparts of impregnable fortresses. Ay, for the honor of the thing, I had rather have it said of me, that I was, by choice, the humblest citizen of the state, making the best provision for the education of all its children, and that I had the heart to appreciate this blessing, than sit on a throne of ivory and gold, the monarch of an ignorant and barbarous empire on which the sun never sets. Husbandmen, sow the seed of instruction in your sons' and daughters' minds. It will grow up and bear fruit, though the driving storm scatter the blossoms of spring, or untimely frost overtake the hopes of autumn. Plant the germ of truth in the infant understanding of your children; save, stint, spare, scrape, — do any thing but steal, — in order to nourish that growth; — and it is not too much to say, that it will flourish when that overarching heaven shall pass away like a scroll, and the eternal sun, which lightens it, shall set in blood!

THE IRISH CHARITABLE SOCIETY.*

Mr President:

I rise, agreeably to usage, to make my acknowledgments to yourself and the company for their kind notice. I deem it an honor to have been invited to be present on this occasion, and I regard it a very auspicious circumstance for Massachusetts, that a festival like this can be celebrated in her capital, with such demonstrations of cordial feeling and good will on the part of such a company as I see around me. I have been, in truth, sir, highly interested in the exercises of the day. I had a general knowledge of your society, from the reports of the proceedings of former anniversaries; but I was ignorant that its existence dated so far back; covering, in fact, nearly one half of the entire period since the settlement of the country. I must own, too, sir, that before hearing your judicious and eloquent discourse, I had not sufficiently reflected on the importance of such an institution as this, in a national point of view. No public man, it is true, in America, can have failed to perceive the vast importance of the subject of emigration, in various aspects. I have ever thought the condition, circumstances, and wants of those who land on our shores from Europe, deserving more consideration than has been yet paid to them. They not only afford scope for the most meritorious efforts of philanthropy, but they have important bearings on the welfare both of America and Europe. But I perceive from your discourse, sir, that this and kindred societies are actually necessary, if I

* Speech made at the public dinner of the Irish Charitable Society of Boston, on the 17th of March, 1837, being the hundredth anniversary of that institution.

may so express myself, to enable the new world to fulfil its destiny. By the destiny of the new world, I mean the office assigned it by Providence in promoting the advancement of civilization, the progress of freedom, and the moral improvement of our race.

It is justly remarked by the learned historian of the Roman empire, that one of the circumstances which rendered the condition of its subjects more completely wretched than that of the victims of tyranny in any other age or country was, that they had no escape. The empire of the Romans, he observes, filled the world; and when that empire fell into the hands of a single person, the world became one dreary prison for his enemies. He contrasts this condition of things with that of the modern world, and regards the division of Europe into a number of independent states, connected, however, with each other by a general resemblance of religion, language, and manners, as productive of the most beneficial consequences to the liberty of mankind. A modern tyrant who found no restraint in his own bosom, or from his own people, would soon find it from the example of his fellow-rulers, the dread of censure, the advice of his allies, the fear of his enemies. The objects of his displeasure might fly to other countries, and there find refuge, new fortunes, perhaps the means of revenge. I shall not, certainly, question the truth of these judicious reflections; but a very limited acquaintance with the modern history of Europe will teach us, that something more is required in order to the full protection of the victims of oppressive government. The international system of a considerable part of Europe tends to a sort of confederacy of monarchies. You cannot travel from one country to another without a passport. This may be given or refused at pleasure; and the minister or consul of every power resident at any intermediate court, near which the fugitive has to pass, may refuse to countersign the passport. In this way a man may be hunted from Archangel to Lisbon.

But besides this, in Europe what is to be gained by change of place, to any class, except those who possess a great amount of easily transferable wealth? The old world is full

of inhabitants, or at least the land is all appropriated; the professions and the trades are full, and a hungry competition keeps out intruders. There are political orders, religious establishments, deep-rooted prejudices, national feuds, every where prevalent; and a man, jostled or forced out of the spot where he was originally planted, particularly if known as a man of liberal opinions, is apt to find elsewhere in Europe neither place, sympathy, nor good will. This checks all ardent efforts at improvement against the interest or pleasure of the governments. To afford then, at once, a full and fair scope for the noble principle of our natures which aspires to improve our condition; a refuge for those who fail in the sometimes perilous attempt; a spot where good may be achieved without the painful necessity of pulling down the bad; where the blessings of nature and bounties of Providence may be enjoyed without struggling with others for what they hold by prescription and claim as right, — it pleased Heaven, at the moment of the great movement in Europe, occasioned by the invention of the art of printing, to rend away the mighty veil of waters that concealed the western world.

Hither, at all periods since its discovery, the longing hearts of the friends of liberty and the victims of oppression have been turned. The persecuted Puritan found refuge in New England, and the persecuted Catholic in Maryland, at the same moment. As perhaps there is no spot on earth which has suffered more from misgovernment than Ireland, none where there is more passionate attachment to liberty, so perhaps there is no country from which a larger emigration to America has taken place. It is difficult to say whether the cause of humanity and improvement is the greatest gainer on the part of those who emigrate, or of their friends left behind, and still struggling in the good cause. An imbittered and exasperated state of public feeling, forever hovering on the verge of rebellion, however righteous the cause of warfare, is unfavorable to human improvement or happiness. But such a state exists, wherever all outlet and escape are cut off. I am persuaded that the cause of liberty is much more effectually

served in Europe by the reflection back from this country of the light of liberal institutions, by the spectacle of general prosperity shared by those who have turned their backs on the hardships and oppressions of older countries, than it could possibly have been had the iron wall of the European confederacy never been broken down, and the friends of freedom been hemmed in, to struggle, to suffer, and to sink, without the possibility of a refuge in case of disaster. You have also stated to-day, sir, that the progress of reform in your native country was impeded by the explosion of 1789; and it is beyond question that, if it is to make sure and rapid advances, it must be in the paths of peace, and under the genial reaction of public sentiment from this country.

But now, sir, comes a practical difficulty. In the prodigious extent of emigration which is constantly taking place, particularly under the circumstances which occasion much of the emigration from Ireland, there is much present suffering, much want of guidance, much need of encouragement. The emigrant lands on our shores a stranger; often a friendless, destitute stranger. You have sketched the picture, sir; it needs no attempt at coloring from me. If he does not stoop to pick up the dollar at his feet, it is not always under the egregious delusion, of which you told us, that farther on there is a bag of gold. Sometimes it is because his heart is sick at the thought of those at home, who struggle in vain for a shilling to procure their daily bread. He has come to a land of promise, and of performance, too; but the performance comes later, and promises will not always buoy up the wounded spirit. I know what it is, as well as you, my friends, to be a stranger in a distant land; I can catch a glimpse at the emigrant's feelings, though, as your worthy president told us, to be realized in all their force they must be felt. I can conceive that, of all mortal men, he most needs protection, counsel, and aid. He is a stranger on a remote shore; he has separated himself from his native home, and has not yet acquired a new one in the land of his adoption; its opportunities and its blessings exist but in vision; its strangeness is heavy upon him. He cannot, at

the first bound, lay hold of the promised advantages. He thinks not yet of acquiring blessings for himself; his first thought is to implore an exile's blessing "on the land of his forefathers." The language of his bosom is —

> "Buried and cold, while my heart chills its motion,
> Green be thy fields, sweetest isle of the ocean;
> And thy harp-stringing bards sing aloud with devotion,
> Erin, mavourneen, Erin go brah!"

I do not pretend, sir, to speak the native dialect of your country — the venerable relic of the great Celtic language; I fear my pronunciation wounds the ears of the company, but I perceive, from their response, that it has touched their hearts.

Now, sir, in this state of the emigrant's feelings, an association like this steps in; spreads out its wings over the stranger; extends to him, possibly, some little pecuniary aid, if circumstances require and admit it; cheers him with the voice of sympathy; points out to his inexperience the safe path; and sends him on his way encouraged and rejoicing. It would be as unnecessary as it would be in me intrusive, to go more particularly into the subject of the agency of such societies; but I hope I have not wholly failed to explain my meaning, when I stated that I deemed them actually necessary to enable the new world to fulfil its destiny. I will no longer intrude upon the politeness of the company, except to offer, with your permission, the following sentiment: —

OUR FELLOW-CITIZENS OF IRISH BIRTH AND PARENTAGE: — MAY THE ADVANTAGES WHICH THEY ENJOY IN THIS COUNTRY SOON BE SHARED BY THEIR BRETHREN BEYOND THE SEA.

IMPROVEMENTS IN PRISON DISCIPLINE.*

I rise, Mr President, in compliance with the request made to me on behalf of the society, that I would say a few words on this occasion. Much rather would I leave the exalted strain of devotional poetry which has just been sung, — the prisoner's hymn, as it might well be called; much rather would I leave the statements of the reverend chaplain, who has immediately preceded me, and particularly the touching letter with which he closed, to produce their effect upon the audience, uninterrupted by any remarks of mine. But having promised to take some part in these exercises, I must throw myself, for a short time, on your indulgence, in submitting a few remarks on the following resolution: —

> "*Resolved*, That the improvements in prison discipline are justly to be considered among the most interesting achievements of Christian philanthropy in modern times; that this society is entitled to the thanks of every friend of humanity for its successful efforts in the cause; and that unabated exertions ought to be made still further to mitigate the severity of the penal law, as far as is consistent with the ends of public justice."

The resolution, sir, covers a part of the ground so ably occupied by the reverend chaplain of the prison, and the chairman of the board of inspectors on my right, (Mr Adan,) in his highly instructive address; and to avoid repeating what has been so pertinently said by those gentlemen, I shall confine myself chiefly to principles of a general nature, but such as lie at the foundation of the Prison Discipline Society.

* Remarks made at the annual meeting of the Prison Discipline Society in Boston, 30th May, 1837.

Before I proceed, however, sir, I beg leave to say a word in reference to the condition of the state's prison at Charlestown. However great our interest in the general subject of prison discipline, we must naturally have peculiarly at heart the institution in our immediate neighborhood. I listened with great satisfaction to the very handsome manner in which this institution was spoken of in the report of the secretary. No one is better qualified to give an opinion; from no one is a favorable opinion more valuable. I believe it is not improper for me to say, in this place, that all the official opportunities I have had to become acquainted with the state and management of the prison, have led me to the same results. It is known to the public that a rigid and searching inquiry was instituted into the state of the prison last winter, by the legislature, and that their report was entirely satisfactory to its friends. I believe its management, in all respects, to be excellent; and that its prosperous condition, as set forth in the report of our secretary, is owing to the fidelity and intelligence, the mingled resolution and tenderness, of the warden, giving a character to the entire administration of the discipline by himself and his associates; to the devoted labors of the chaplain; to the wisdom and vigilance of the board of inspectors, to whom the commonwealth is under great obligations, and whose respected chairman has already enchained the attention of the present audience. Considerable improvements are much needed in some of the prison buildings; but with the management of the institution, the public have reason to be more than satisfied.

The resolution I have had the honor to send to the chair speaks of the improvements which have taken place in prison discipline, as among the most interesting achievements of Christian benevolence in modern times. To justify this remark, we need but to reflect a moment on what prisons were, before these reforms were introduced. I think it may be said, without exaggeration, that within the walls of many of them, the capacity of the human victim to endure suffering was put to its severest test. What prisons in many places *must* have been, cannot better be inferred than from the just re-

mark which fell from the chairman of the board of inspectors, in reference to the state's prison at Charlestown; that only nine years ago, that prison, situated as it is in the very heart of Massachusetts, within the circle of the metropolis of New England, within the daily sight of so many intelligent, humane, and conscientious persons, was nevertheless a spot where the enemy of mankind seemed to have erected his throne, and to rule with unresisted sway. If this was the condition of our prison only nine years ago, what must prisons have been before the modern reforms had any where been proposed? in foreign countries, less favored than our own in the general intelligence of the people? and under despotic governments, accustomed to regard the prison mainly as an instrument of the police, or of political power? The best thing, perhaps, that could be said of the old prisons was, that they were not much relied on as places of punishment for the more ordinary crimes. Except for political offences, they were principally employed as places of detention before trial; although in this capacity, owing to the tardy pace of justice, they served, to a deplorable extent, as schools of corruption and vice.

The researches and writings of Howard first awakened the attention of the civilized world to this subject. Suggestions were made by him, tending to most of the reforms which have since been adopted; but no improved *system* was contrived, and little done by any government to effect an improvement in prisons, upon principle. About the same time, however, that the researches of Howard were made, a strong disposition evinced itself in many parts of Christendom to mitigate the severity of the penal code, to lessen the frequency of capital punishments, and to dispense with cruel inflictions on the person. This disposition was encouraged in England, by the practice of transporting convicts to penal colonies. All this formed a preparation in the public mind for the infinitely more important step in the march of improvement, that of converting prisons into places of moral reform — into what is implied in the name of *penitentiaries*. It has been well said that words are things. In this single word *peniten-*

tiary, applied to prisons, a great revolution, a physical and a moral revolution, was effected. A physical revolution, because the idea of a reform in the character of the convict, required that the place of confinement, instead of being, as it was formerly, a pestiferous den of guilt and shame, not more dangerous to morals than to life and health, should become a comfortable abode for a human being. Accordingly this is the first feature of the new system which strikes the observer: and I appeal to you, Mr Secretary, whose means of observation are so ample, whether, in the case of three fourths of the inmates of our improved state's prisons, they do not probably, for the first time in their lives, on entering the walls, pass a night on a clean bed, in a well-ventilated apartment, perfectly sheltered from the elements, cool in summer and warm in winter, well clad, with plenty of wholesome food, and if ill, kindly nursed and skilfully attended. All this has been effected without burdensome expense to the state; on the contrary, at a vastly less expense, as was so well shown by the secretary in the case of the Wethersfield prison, than that at which the old prisons were supported. It has been effected without impairing the security of prisons as places of confinement; on the contrary, they have become much more secure; and it has been effected, also, (what would seem at first paradoxical,) without diminishing the terror with which they were regarded as places of punishment. Thus, without sacrificing any other object, a vast amount of human suffering has been relieved, by improving the physical condition of prisons.

But the moral revolution was the great object. On this subject I wish to speak without exaggeration; for overstatements are apt to be made, under the influence of a too sanguine benevolence. But if we would avoid extravagance on the one side, we must be reasonable in our expectations on the other. Let a parent or guardian undertake to reform a child or ward, who, but for a year or two, has been led astray, and he will probably learn from experience how much can reasonably be expected, in the way of reformation, from such persons as usually fill our prisons. But a negative reformation, if I may so express myself, must, at all events, for the

time, take place in the penitentiary. Its inmates are cut off from vicious courses; they are withdrawn from the great producing sources of crime, — intemperance, temptation, want, and bad example; they are employed in steady labor, and they are subjected to every moral and religious influence which the nature of things admits. An external change of life takes place. If nothing better can be said, the time passed in prison is redeemed from further progress in corruption, and all the outward indications of an altered man are frequently exhibited. Whether the reform extends to a radical change of the heart, He who searches the heart alone can say. I have no doubt it sometimes does. I have heard of such cases; I think I have seen them. I have no doubt there are instances of entire reform, of total renovation of the character. But after what has been said by the worthy chaplain of the prison at Charlestown on this subject, I need not enlarge upon it.

This, then, is the glory of the modern prison discipline. An awful waste of life — of human blood — has been prevented. The tortures of the former modes of punishments are disused. The aggravated corruption which badly managed prisons unavoidably produced is succeeded by a purifying moral influence, and, in numerous well-attested cases, character has been retrieved. Human benevolence can make no nearer approach to an imitation of divine benevolence. It is good — good of the highest order. If — not thousands — if but a few fellow-men, who would have been left bleeding, scarred, and exasperated from the scourge, the branding-iron, and the cropping-knife, have been stopped in their downward course; if — not thousands — if a single accountable being, who would have been dragged from the jail to the scaffold, and hurried from the scaffold, without a season of repentance, into the presence of his Maker, has, by the divine blessing on these means of reformation, been restored, it is worth all the time, labor, and money which have been bestowed on the cause in Europe and America. Yes, sir, in the presence of this audience, and of the Being in whose house we are assembled, it may with truth be declared,

that to redeem one such fellow-creature, body and soul, for time and for eternity, is a more noble achievement than any deed of mere human fame that was ever performed by statesman, monarch, or conqueror.

In these great triumphs of humanity, the Prison Discipline Society has borne a conspicuous part. The rapid progress of reform in this country is coeval with it. It has served as a bond of union and a medium of communication to the philanthropists of the United States, and, in some respects, to those of other countries. Its reports, as was well stated by the chairman of the inspectors, have been received abroad as text-books. Their annual appearance has been the great agency by which reform has been effected. By it improvements have become known, and held up to imitation, defects exposed to notice, facts recorded, experience ascertained, zeal encouraged. I look to them as the means of carrying on the great work of reform in our prisons; and they are so regarded, I am sure, by the benevolent public.

Nor is the merit of our country less acknowledged abroad in reference to this great cause. The most enlightened European governments have sent commissions to examine the prisons in the United States. France deserves particular mention for the humane zeal she has exhibited. Not content with the mission of Messrs De Beaumont and De Tocqueville, whose instructive report is well known to the public, the French government has, within a few months, sent another commission, of three intelligent gentlemen, charged with an inquiry into every matter of practical detail, directed to make plans, measurements, and drawings, and collect all the information necessary to construct and put in operation a penitentiary on the American system. The Prussian government has also sent a commissioner, Dr Julius, deeply versed in the subject of prison discipline, to examine the institutions of this country. Inquiries of this kind, candidly pursued and communicated, are of the most beneficial tendency. They diffuse abroad the knowledge of all that has been successfully attempted here for the improvement of

prisons, while the comments of intelligent and candid foreigners afford us the best opportunity of becoming acquainted with those defects of our establishments and systems to which national partiality might blind us.

It is for this reason I particularly regret the prevailing tone of the report of Mr William Crawford to the British government, on the penitentiaries of the United States. I am not disposed to detract from the credit to which I understand that gentleman is entitled for his efforts to improve the prisons of his own country. I wish it had been accompanied with a less apparent wish to disparage ours. Commendation, on most points, is reluctantly bestowed, and censure promptly awarded, throughout his report. The peculiar merits of our penitentiary discipline are nowhere placed in relief; and pains are taken to inculcate the idea, that the reforms in prison discipline practised in the United States are of European origin. The Philadelphia system "was borrowed from Gloucester and Glasgow," and the Auburn discipline is that "which has been, *with a few periods of intermission*, for many years pursued at the Maison de Force at Ghent." A note adds to this information the further fact, that "this strict discipline at Ghent has not, *of late*, been maintained." On this singular state of facts, Mr Crawford insists upon calling it the "Ghent discipline." *

Most certainly it is of little matter where a great moral reform has had its origin. Wherever it originated, most assuredly this system was first extensively and notoriously applied in the United States. I am not aware, that, while it existed at Ghent alone, (if, with any reason, it can be said it ever did so exist,) it attracted general attention, or was any where imitated in Europe. I have never heard of commissioners sent from all the civilized governments of Europe to study it there ; but if our brethren in England prefer to claim for Europe the credit of this germ of reform, although never flourishing till transplanted to an American soil, rather than

* Report, pp. 18, 20.

admit that it is here indigenous, the point is not worth contesting. I pass to higher considerations.

Wherever the credit of the past belongs, enough remains to be done to task all the powers and means of the friends of humanity. Let our only rivalry, as individuals or nations, be in this field. It was remarked by the first French commissioners, that "the worst as well as the best prisons are in America." "Among the worst," may be admitted, however we must regret the fact; "the very worst," I think ought not to be insisted upon; for certainly I have read of prisons abroad — nay, have seen them — as bad as any thing can be this side of the great prison. But we have prisons among us, and in great numbers, bad enough. Let us aim at their reform. Let all our county jails and municipal prisons be remodelled on the plan of our best state penitentiaries. No cause, not even a regard for economy, can be pleaded for neglect to do this; for it is a proved fact, that a prison on the reformed plan can support itself, which no other prison ever did. Some further improvements, no doubt, may be made even in our best institutions. The great reform of erecting asylums for poor lunatics must be carried through the Union; and imprisonment for debt is not yet wholly done away with. Even in this commonwealth, though nominally abolished by law, it exists to an extent inconsistent with humanity and justice. But I need not go farther in this detail of those objects to which the zealous efforts of this society should be directed. The report of the managers will present them in proper light to the country. The great object, above all others, must be to increase the power of the moral influences applied to the subjects of prison discipline, and thereby to multiply the cases of real reform. In this way, alone, can we hope to win over those parts of the community which have not yet been brought to admit the defects of the ancient penal code. It is but yesterday that I read in the newspaper a detailed report of a case in one of our sister states, in which the old punishment of the pillory and the scourge was inflicted on a hardened offender. It was urged,

by the writer of the report, that the state of Delaware must see proof that the modern discipline is a real improvement, (which she had not yet done,) before she abandoned the old punishments. These prejudices can be eradicated only by the slow, patient, but finally all-powerful teachings of experience.

I am aware that this is not the most inviting department of benevolent labor. Its subjects may seem calculated rather to repel than to invite sympathy; but if the history of every convict were written by the pen of truth over the door of his cell, I believe the only emotion it would excite would be pity, profound pity. I never heard one of them, whether I gave full credit or not to his account of himself, with any other emotion. The greater part of them are always the children of friendless ignorance and early destitution. I agree with the chaplain, that a portion of the convicts are men who have had early means of education; but with the great majority the case is otherwise. And what should any of us have been, if, in our early years, instead of being faithfully watched, tenderly nursed, never trusted out of a pair of careful arms, it had been our lot, as it was that of many of these unfortunate persons, as soon as we were old enough to walk, to be driven with curses into the streets by the wretched authors of our being? I speak to parents. Have you not, as you have walked through the workshops of a prison, or seen its inmates, with the badges of their shame upon them, perhaps with guilt stamped upon their countenances, silently passing to their cells, — have you not often reflected, that these repulsive objects were once innocent, unconscious children, like your beloved ones? But not favored, like yours, at the season of life when the seeds of character are sown, returning from school every day, with blooming cheeks, and, perhaps, the testimonials of diligence in their hands; not, like yours, safely gathered at night to a comfortable meal and a peaceful couch, — these poor creatures were never sent to any school but that of corrupting example in the streets by day, and at night in the dens of guilty excess

and squalid want. But I forbear, sir. I cannot, after the reverend chaplain, presume to tread this ground.

It is not necessary. I speak in the hearing of Christian men and women, who do not need to be taught that the humblest and most degraded of our race are our equals in the sight of Heaven.

SUPERIOR AND POPULAR EDUCATION.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE ADELPHIC UNION:

I FEEL scarcely warranted, at this late hour, in taking up much of your time. The day belongs properly to those who, having completed their academic course, have presented themselves upon the public stage, in the presence of kindred, friends, and a gratified audience, to be dismissed with collegiate honors to the active duties of life, or to the more immediate preparation for professional pursuits. I have scarce a right to take to myself any portion of the precious time to which they have the first claim. Besides, I feel too deeply interested in the scene as a spectator, to desire a more active part in the duties of the day. It recalls to me, fresh as yesterday, the time, now more than a quarter of a century past, when, like you, young gentlemen, who are about to take your degrees, I also stood upon the threshold of life, full of the hopes, the visions, the enthusiasm of youth. These scholastic exercises, these learned tongues, these academic forms, touch a chord of sympathy in my bosom. Personally a stranger to most of those whom I have the honor to address, I feel as if, on literary ground, (and I am sure that no one, on this occasion, can expect me to occupy any other,) I may come as an acquaintance, as a friend; that I may even

"Claim kindred *there*, and have the claim allowed."

Nature seems to breathe peace, in concert with the character of the day; and within these quiet valleys, shut out by

* An Address delivered before the Adelphic Union Society of Williams College, on Commencement Day, 16th August, 1837.

the perpetual hills from the struggling world, she invites us, with her most soothing voice, to kind feeling, to cheerful discourse, and to calm thought.

Nor are the historical recollections around us of ordinary interest. The pleasant village where we are assembled contains, within view of the spot where we stand, the site of Fort Hoosac, and a mile or two east of us stood Fort Massachusetts. The plough has passed over its rude lines; but what scenes of humble heroism and almost forgotten valor are associated with its name! It was the bulwark of the frontier, in the days of its infancy. The trembling mother on the banks of the Connecticut, and in the heart of Worcester county, clasped her babes closer, at an idle rumor that Fort Massachusetts had given way. A hundred villages reposed in the strength of this stout guardian of New England's Thermopylæ, through which, for two generations, the French and Canadian foe strove to burst into the colonies. These are recollections of an early day. A few miles to the north of us lies that famous field of Bennington, to which, sixty years ago this day and this hour, your fathers poured, from every village in the neighborhood, at the summons of Stark. While we meet together, to enjoy in peace the blessings for which they shed their blood, let us pour out upon the academic altar one libation of grateful feeling to their memory.

But, though I would most willingly have continued a listener, my engagements to you, gentlemen of the Adelphic Union, require that I should trespass, for a short time, upon the patience of the audience, even at this late hour, with the utterance of some thoughts on that subject which, upon an anniversary like this, may be regarded as the only peculiarly appropriate topic of discourse. I mean the subject of education. I know it is a worn theme; as old as the first dawnings of imparted knowledge in the infancy of the world, and familiar to the contemplation of every succeeding age, even to the present time. But it still remains, for us, a topic of unabated and ever-urgent interest. Although it is a subject on which philosophers of every age have largely discoursed, so far from being exhausted, it probably never presented itself

to the human mind under so many new and important aspects as at the present day, and I may add, in these United States. I may safely appeal to every person who hears me, and who is in the habit of reflecting at all on the character of the age in which we live, whether, next to what directly concerns the eternal welfare of man, there is any subject which he deems of more vital importance than the great problem, how the whole people can be best educated. If the answer of the patriot and statesman to this appeal were doubtful, I might still more safely inquire of every considerate parent who hears me, whether the education of his children, their education for time and eternity, (for, as far as human means are concerned, these objects are intimately connected,) is not among the things which are first, last, and most anxiously upon his mind.

It is not, however, my purpose to engage in a general discussion of the subject. I could not do so without repeating what I have advanced on former similar occasions, and what I cannot deem of sufficient importance to be said over again. Indeed, if I wished to express most forcibly the importance, the dignity, and the obligation of the great work of education, I believe it might best be done by taking our stand, at once, on the simple enunciation of the spiritual and immortal nature of the thing to be educated — the mind of man. Then, if we wished to give life and distinctness to the ideas of the importance of education, which result from this contemplation, we might do so by a single glance at the number and importance of the branches of knowledge to which education furnishes the key. I might allude to the admirable properties of language, which it is the first business of education to impart; the wonders of the written and spoken tongue, as the instrument of thought — wonders which daily use scarcely divests of their almost miraculous character. I might glance at that which is usually next taught to the unfolding mind — the astonishing power of the science of numbers, with which, on the one hand, we regulate the humblest details of domestic economy, and, on the other, compute the swiftness of the solar beam, and survey, and, as

it were, stake out, from constellation to constellation, the great railroad of the heavens, on which the comet comes blazing upward from the depths of the universe. I might proceed with the branches of knowledge to which education introduces us, and ask of geography to marshal before us the living nations; and of history to rehearse the fortunes of the elder world. I might call on natural science to open the volumes in which she has not merely written down the names, the forms, and the qualities of the various subjects of the animal, vegetable, and mineral world, now in existence, — the vast census, if I may so express it, of the three kingdoms of nature, — but where she has also recorded the catalogues of her perished children, races of the animal and vegetable world, buried beneath the everlasting rocks.

The discoveries recently made in the science of geology are of a truly wonderful character. Winged creatures, twenty feet in height, whose footsteps have lately been discovered, imprinted in sandstone, on the banks of Connecticut River; enormous mammoths and mastodons, of which no living type has existed since the flood, brought to light from blocks of Siberian ice, or dug up in the morasses of our own continent; petrified skeletons of crocodiles and megatheria, seventy feet in length, covered with scales like the armadillo, and which for ages on ages have been extinct, — have, by the creative power of educated mind, been made to start, as it were, out of the solid rock. Sandstone and gypsum have "oped their ponderous and marble jaws," and a host of monstrous forms have risen into day, the recovered monuments of a world of lost giants.

The description which Professor Buckland has given us of the fossil plants found in the coal strata at Swina, near Prague, in Bohemia, is one of the most instructive and beautiful to be found in the whole range of science. He speaks as an eye-witness.

"The most elaborate imitations of living foliage, upon the painted ceilings of Italian palaces, bear no comparison with the beauteous profusion of extinct vegetable forms, with which the galleries of these instructive coal mines are overhung. The roof is covered, as with a canopy of gor-

geous tapestry, enriched with festoons of most graceful foliage, flung, in wild, irregular profusion, over every portion of its surface. The effect is heightened by the contrast of the coal-black color of these vegetables with the light groundwork of the rock to which they are attached. The spectator feels himself transported, as if by enchantment, into the forests of another world: he beholds trees, of forms and characters now unknown upon the surface of the earth, presented to his senses, almost in the beauty and vigor of their primeval life; their scaly stems and bending branches, with their delicate apparatus of foliage, are all spread forth before him, little impaired by the lapse of countless ages, and bearing faithful records of extinct systems of vegetation, which began and terminated in times of which these relics are the infallible historians."*

Nor is the account given by Cuvier of his discoveries of fossil remains of animals less striking. It is owing more, perhaps, to the sagacity of this philosopher, than to that of any other individual, that our views of a primitive world have assumed the form of a science. The gypsum quarries, in the neighborhood of Paris, abound with fossil bones. The museums and cabinets in that city were filled with them; but no attempt had been made to arrange them into forms, or give them the names of the particular animals to which they belonged. A cursory survey satisfied Cuvier that many of them belonged to races no longer in existence. "I at length found myself," says he, "as if placed in a charnel-house, surrounded by mutilated fragments of many hundred skeletons, of more than twenty kinds of animals, piled confusedly around me: the task assigned me was, to restore them all to their original position. At the voice of comparative anatomy, every bone and fragment of a bone resumed its place."†

But leaving, with these transient glances, all attempt to magnify the work of education, by pointing out the astonishing results to which it guides the well-trained mind, a much

* Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345.

† This striking sentence is given as it appears in Dr Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise, Vol. I. p. 72, where *Cuvier, Ossemens Fossiles*, Tom. III. p. 34, edition 1812, is cited. It reads somewhat differently in the original, in the edition of 1825, Tom. II. part 2, p. 284. See also Griffith's Abridgment of Cuvier, Vol. I. p. 110.

shorter method might be pursued with one who needed to be impressed with its importance. I would take such an one to a place of instruction, to a school, to a child's school, (for there is no step in the process more important than the first,) and I would say, in those faint sparks of intelligence just brightening over the rudiments of learning, You behold the germ of so many rational and immortal spirits. In a few years, you and I, and all now on the stage, shall have passed away; and there, on those little seats, primer in hand, are arranged our successors. Yes, when the volume of natural science, and Nature with it, shall have vanished, — when the longest periods of human history shall have run together to a point, — those infant children will have ripened into immortal beings, looking back from the mansions of eternity, with joy or sorrow, on the direction given to their intellectual and moral natures in the dawn of their existence! If there is any one not deeply impressed, by this single reflection, with the importance of education, he is beyond the reach of any thing that can be urged, by way either of illustration or argument.

What, then, is the business of education?

It is to assist the growth of our spiritual nature; to dispose of the circumstances that affect it in such a way as best to promote the harmonious development of all the faculties. The mind of man, like his body, has its laws of growth, belonging to the constitution which the Creator has given it, mysterious and faintly apprehended in their inner nature, but not imperfectly visible in their outward working. In the operation of these laws, as a certain kind of aliment, clothing, and exercise, are most favorable to the development of the natural organs and the health of the physical man, so a certain course of discipline and instruction is most favorable to the well-proportioned formation and healthy action of the various mental powers, and of the whole intellectual nature.

How much, in the aggregate, has been and daily is effected by education, in the most comprehensive sense of the word, may be satisfactorily estimated by any one who will compare

together the attainments of men in a barbarous and highly civilized state. I could not enter into this comparison without passing the limits of this occasion; but, without an enumeration of particulars, it will occur to every one who hears me, that the difference between the best specimens of educated, and the worst of uneducated, man, is almost as great as that between different orders of being.

Assembled, as we are, under the auspices of a highly-respected collegiate institution, it is obvious to remark, that there are two offices to be performed by education, of harmonious character and tendency, but of different sphere and mode of operation. One regards the discipline and training of mind to the highest point of intellectual excellence, and the other regards the diffusion of useful knowledge among the community at large, and the consequent elevation of the general character.

I. With respect to the first-named view of education, it is an inquiry well calculated to stir the curiosity of the thoughtful student of the nature of the human mind, whether it be possible, by the wisest system of education, most faithfully applied, to produce higher degrees of intellectual power and excellence than have ever been witnessed among men. We are accustomed to think that there have appeared individuals who have carried our common intellectual nature to the highest point of human perfection; and it may seem presumptuous to express the opinion that it can be possible, by any agency of means which can be planned out and put in operation, to form minds superior to some of those which, from time to time, have commanded the admiration of the world. It may even seem idle, in connection with education, to speak at all of such minds, since, in tracing their personal history, it is often found that, so far from owing their eminence over the rest of mankind to superior advantages of instruction, they were born and reared in want, and became great by the power of genius, unaided by favorable circumstances. I do not now recollect one, among the master minds of our race, for whom a kind and judicious father

would have prescribed, from first to last, that course of education and life which, as the event proved, was prescribed by Providence.

Homer, the father of poetry, the one bard to whom all aftertimes have accorded the first place, was a wandering minstrel, in a semi-barbarous age, perhaps a blind mendicant. Who would have thought that the "wisest of men" should have been a poor, barefooted soldier; the standing butt, on the Athenian stage, of the most tremendous of satirists; the victim of an untamable shrew, sacrificed, at last, to a tyranny as base as it was cruel? Or who would have predicted that the prince of Grecian eloquence should have been found in a stammering orphan, of feeble lungs and ungainly carriage, deprived of education by avaricious guardians, and condemned to struggle for his life amidst the infuriated contests of rival political factions? The greatest minds of Rome, so far from being placed in circumstances seemingly favorable to their formation, lived, almost all of them, in exceedingly critical, perilous, and degenerate days; many of them under a despotism so frightful that one would think it must have produced a general intellectual catalepsy.

If we look to the modern world, how few of the greatest minds seem to have been trained under circumstances which would have been deemed, beforehand, friendly to the improvement of genius! Dante was tossed, by the stormy feuds of the Italian republics, from city to city, banished, and sentenced to be burned alive, if found in the land which he has immortalized by his fame. The madhouse of St Anne was the conservatory in which Tasso's genius ripened. Columbus was, for years, an all but heart-broken suitor to royal stocks and stones. Luther, at the age when the permanent bias is usually given to the mind, was the shorn and sleek inmate of a monk's cell. Of the great men who form the glory of English literature, not one, I think, was so situated as to enjoy the best advantages for education which his country, at the time, afforded; least of all was this the case with the greatest of them, — Shakspeare. Not one of the most illustrious intellects, from Homer down, — the giant minds, who,

the language of Machiavelli, rise above the level of their fellow-men, and stretch out their hands to each other, across the interval of ages, transmitting to each succeeding generation the torch of science, poetry, and art, — not one of them, taking all things together, was placed even in as favorable circumstances as the times admitted for the training of his faculties.

I readily admit, that minds of the first order furnish no rule for the average of intellect; and I can well conceive, that they may, in the inscrutable connection of cause and effect, in some cases, have owed a part of their power and eminence to the operation of those seemingly untoward circumstances against which human prudence would, if possible, have guarded them. But I hope it will not be deemed rash to say, that I can imagine that each and all of these great men, to whom I have alluded, might, under more favorable influences, have been greater, wiser, and better. With a reverence as deep as honesty or manliness permits for the master geniuses of our race, — a reverence nourished by the fond and never intermitted study of their works, — I may say that I catch, from this very study of their writings and characters, a conception, that, high as they rose, they might have risen higher. I can sometimes behold the soil of the world upon their snow-white robes, and the rust of human passion upon the glittering edge of their wit. It was long ago said by Horace, that the good Homer sometimes nods; and Shakspeare, the most brilliant example, unquestionably, of a triumph over the defects of education, mental and moral, too often exhibits traces of both. As he floats, on eagle's wings, along what he nobly calls "the brightest heaven of invention," he is sometimes borne, by an unchastened taste, into a misty region, where the understanding endeavors in vain to follow him; and sometimes, as he skims with the swallow's ease and swiftness along the ground, too confident of his power to soar, when he will, up to the rosy gates of the morning, he stoops, and stoops, and stoops, till the tips of his graceful pinions are sadly daggled in the mire.

If there is any justice in these reflections, it may be ad-

mitted that the most eminent minds might, by a happier course of life and education, have been redeemed from their faults, and have attained a higher degree of excellence. If this be granted, what may not reasonably be expected from a great increase in the means, and improvement in the methods, of education ; from the consequent increase in the number of minds submitted to its action ; from the progress of general intelligence, the discovery of new truths and facts, and the splendid generalizations built upon them ; from the purer tone of public sentiment, and higher standard of morals, which cannot fail to result from the joint operation of the social, intellectual, and religious influences now at work ? Under the action of these causes, daily growing more intense, it seems to me not improbable that some minds, as happily endowed by Nature as any that have yet appeared, will arise in circumstances more favorable to the fullest development and highest cultivation of their powers.

I am aware that it is a prevalent notion, that, to some efforts of genius, an advanced state of cultivation is unfriendly ; that the infancy of science is more congenial with poetry ; and that, in general, the period of critical learning is unfavorable to the development of strongly-marked original talent. I am inclined, however, to believe this a mistaken opinion ; an erroneous inference from facts that may otherwise be explained. If all that is meant be, that the character of poetical composition will vary with the state of civilization, and the general intellectual state of the age, it is, of course, strictly true. In conditions of the world so different as that of Greece in the heroic period, of the Augustan age of Rome, that of Italy in the middle ages, and of the time of the commonwealth, in England, it must be expected that poetry, and every other manifestation of mind, will exhibit different forms, as we see they have done in Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton. But I deem the notion, that the first age was necessarily the best, to be a mere prejudice ; and the idea, that a partially improved age and a limited degree of knowledge are in themselves and essentially more favorable to the exercise of original genius, in any form, appears to me to be a proposition as degrading as it is unsound.

On the contrary, I believe that truth is the great inspirer, the knowledge of truth the aliment and the instrument of mind, the material of thought, feeling, and fancy. I do not mean that there is no beauty in poetical language founded on scientific error; that it is not, for instance, consistent with poetry to speak of the rising sun, or the arch of heaven. Poetry delights in these sensible images and assimilations of ideas, in themselves distinct. From the imperfection of human language, it will, perhaps, always be necessary to describe many things in the material, and still more in the moral and metaphysical, world, under similitudes which fall greatly beneath their reality.

Thus, in Shakspeare, —

> ———————— "the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold."

In Spenser's "Faerie Queene," —

> "The sacred fire, which burneth mightily
> In living breasts, was kindled first above,
> Among the eternal spheres and lampy heavens."

In "Paradise Lost," the moon divides her empire

> "With thousand thousand stars, that then appeared
> Spangling the universe."

Now, though these images, separately weighed, at the present day, may seem beneath the dignity of the subject to which they are applied, they are poetical and pleasing, (with the exception, possibly, of *lampy;*) nor do I know that, in any state of science, however advanced, such language will cease to please.

But what I maintain is this; that, as knowledge extends, the range of all imagery is enlarged, poetical language is drawn from a wider circle, and, what is far more important, that the conception kindles by the contemplation of higher objects.

Let us illustrate this point still further, in reference to the

effect on poetry of the sublime discoveries of modern astron omy. The ancients, as we all know, formed but humble conceptions of the material universe. The earth was the centre ; the sun, moon, and five planets were shining bodies, revolving about it, to give it light ; and the stars were luminaries, hung up as lamps in a vaulted sky. This philosophy not only lies at the foundation of the imagery under which Homer represents the heavens, but it prevailed so long, and falls in so entirely with the impressions made upon the eye, that it has given a character to the traditionary language of poetry, even to the present day. Shakspeare, and Spenser, and Milton, as we have just seen, in this respect, drew their images from the same source as Virgil, Homer, and Hesiod.

Now, I cannot but think that, when the sublime discoveries of modern astronomy shall have become as thoroughly wrought into the vocabulary and the intelligence of the community as the humble and erroneous conceptions of the ancients, the great and creative minds will derive from them a vastly grander range of poetical illustration. I cannot but think that, by the study of this one science alone, thought, speech, and literature, will be wonderfully exalted. This is not, in reference to poetry, a mere matter of poetical imagery. The ideas formed of divine wisdom and power, of infinite space, of stupendous magnitude and force, and of the grandeur and harmony of the material universe, are among the highest materials of thought, and the most prolific elements of poetical conception. For this reason, in the same proportion in which the apparent circuit of the heavens has been enlarged, and the science of astronomy extended, by the telescope, the province of imagination and thought must be immeasurably extended also. The soul becomes great by the habitual contemplation of great objects. As the discovery of a new continent upon the surface of the globe, by Columbus, gave a most powerful impulse to the minds of men in every department, it is impossible that the discovery of worlds and systems of worlds in the immensity of space, should not wonderfully quicken the well-instructed genius. As the ambition, the avarice, the adventure, the legion host of human passions

rushed out from the old world upon the new, so the fancy must wing its way, with unwonted boldness, into the new-found universe, —

> "*Beyond* the solar walk or milky way."

In "Paradise Lost," there is a struggle between the old and new philosophy. The telescope was known, but had not yet revolutionized the science of astronomy. Even Lord Bacon had not adopted the Copernican system, and Galileo's wonderful instrument had produced scarce any result, beyond the discovery of the satellites of Jupiter, and a more distinct conception of the magnitudes of the heavenly bodies. But it is pleasing to remark with what promptness Milton seizes upon this last new topic of poetical illustration. In his first description of the arch-fiend, we are told of

> ——— "his ponderous shield,
> Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
> Behind him cast; the broad circumference
> Hung on his shoulders, like the moon, whose orb,
> Through optic glass, the Tuscan artist views,
> At evening from the top of Fesolé,
> Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
> Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe."

Grand and sublime as is this imagery, it is borrowed from the lowest order of the wonders unfolded by the telescope. I cannot but think, if the whole circle of modern astronomy had been disclosed to the mind of Milton, that it would have filled his soul with still brighter visions. Could he have learned from the lips of its great discoverer the organic law which regulates the entire motions of the heavens; could he have witnessed the predicted return of a comet, and been taught that, of these mysterious bodies, seven millions are supposed to run their wild career within the orbit of the planet Uranus; and that, by estimation, one hundred millions of stars, each probably the centre of a system as vast as our own, — multitudes of them combined into mighty systems of suns wondrously complicated with each other, — are distributed

throughout space, — would these stupendous views have been lost on his mind? I can never believe that *truth*, the great quickener and inspirer, revealed in such majestic glimpses, would have fallen inoperative on such an intellect. He would have awaked to a new existence, in the light of such a philosophy. Escaping from the wholly false and the partly false, "the utter and the middle darkness" of the Ptolemaic system, he would have felt the "sovereign vital lamp" of pure science, in his inmost soul. He would have borrowed from La Place the wings of the boldest analysis, and would have flown to the uttermost parts of creation, where he could have seen through the telescope the bands of Orion loosened, and the gems of his glittering belt blazing out into empyreal suns, while crowded galaxies, "powdered with stars," rushed asunder into illimitable systems. He would have soared with the Herschels, father and son, to the outer regions of space, and drawn from every part of the Newtonian philosophy new ornaments for his immortal verse.

But, sublime and inspiring as are these glimpses, imparted to us by modern science, of the upper heavens, we have much reason to think that they are *but* glimpses; that they awaken but faint conceptions of a glorious reality, as yet unimagined. We do literally but look through a glass, darkly, at these myriads of worlds. The remark of Newton, that his sublime discoveries seemed to him but as so many pebbles or shells, picked up on the shore of the great undiscovered ocean of truth, is well calculated to make our hearts burn within us. It may hereafter appear that size, motion, light, and heat, are the lowest attributes of the heavenly bodies; that they are the abodes of mind. All profane literature is pervaded with the sentiment, that the heavenly bodies are the seats of orders of intelligence; kindred or superior to our own; and the Scriptures tell us, how the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy. The united testimony of poetry and inspiration may well be believed: —

> "There's not the smallest orb that thou behold'st
> But, in his motion, like an angel sings,

> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins,
> Such harmony is in immortal souls:
> But, while this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it."

It may be, that the laws of the material universe, gravitation itself, may be resolved into the intelligent action of the minds by which it is inhabited and controlled, — empowered to this high function by the supreme intellect. It may be that, at some advanced stage of human science, the contemplative and pious genius will be enabled to lift the veil which now hangs between spirit and sense. An intense desire to pass this barrier characterizes the boldest efforts of creative mind, in the present state of our knowledge. Should it ever be broken down; should mortal but living man ever penetrate that mysterious temple of the Infinite, in whose vestibule the purest offerings of the rapt soul have ever been made, — philosophy, poetry, art, eloquence, and music, will speak with new voices; and all that has hitherto charmed the taste, or satisfied the reason, or stirred the depths of the heart, will be as nursery tales.

If such an anticipation ever be realized, it will be through the joint influence of intellectual and moral culture, diffused by education, till a new mental atmosphere is created. It is painful to reflect, that, of the few great minds, to whom the superiority over all others is conceded, one half, at least, lived in the darkness of heathenism, and in a very imperfect state of civilization.

Not a ray of pure spiritual illumination shines through the sweet visions of the father of poetry. The light of his genius, like that of the moon, as he describes it in the eighth Iliad,* is serene, transparent, and heavenly fair; it streams into the deepest glades, and settles on the mountain tops of the material and social world; but, for all that concerns the spiritual nature, it is cold, watery, and unquickening. The great test of the elevation of the poet's mind, and of the refinement of the age in which he lives, is the distinctness,

* Homer's Iliad, VIII. 551.

power, and purity, with which he conceives the spiritual world. In all else, he may be the observer, the recorder, the painter; but in this dread sphere, he must assume the province which his name imports; he must be the *maker:* creating his own spiritual world by the highest action of his mind, upon all the external and internal materials of thought. If ever there was a poetical vision, calculated, not to purify and to exalt, but to abase and to sadden, it is the visit of Ulysses to the lower regions.* The ghosts of the illustrious departed are drawn before him, by the reeking fumes of the recent sacrifice; and the hero stands guard, with his drawn sword, to drive away the shade of his own mother from the gory trench, over which she hovers, hankering after the raw blood. Does it require an essay on the laws of the human mind, to show that the intellect, which contemplates the great mystery of our being, under this ghastly and frivolous imagery, has never been born to a spiritual life, nor caught a glimpse of the highest heaven of poetry? Virgil's spiritual world was not essentially superior to Homer's; but the Roman poet lived in a civilized age, and his visions of the departed are marked with a decorum and grace which form the appropriate counterpart of the Homeric grossness.

In Dante, for the first time in an uninspired bard, the dawn of a spiritual day breaks upon us. Although the shadows of superstition rested upon him, yet the strains of the prophets were in his ears, and the light of divine truth, strong though clouded, was in his soul. As we stand with him on the threshold of the world of sorrows, and read the awful inscription over the portal, a chill, from the dark valley of the shadow of death, comes over the heart. The compass of poetry contains no image which surpasses this dismal inscription in solemn grandeur; nor is there, any where, a more delicious strain of tender poetic beauty, than that of the distant vesper bell, which seems to mourn for the departing day, as it is heard by the traveller just leaving his home.† But Dante lived in an age when Christianity, if I may so speak,

* Odyssey, XI.

† Del Purgatorio, Canto VIII.

was paganized. Much of his poem, substance as well as ornament, is heathen. Too much of his inspiration is drawn from the stormy passions of life. The warmth with which he glowed is too often the kindling of scorn and indignation, burning under a sense of intolerable wrong. The holiest muse may string his lyre, but it is too often the incensed partisan that sweeps the strings. The "Divine Comedy," as his wonderful work is called, is much of it mere mortal satire.

In "Paradise Lost," we feel as if we were admitted to the outer courts of the Infinite. In that all-glorious temple of genius inspired by truth, we catch the full diapason of the heavenly organ. With its first choral swell, the soul is lifted from the earth. In the "Divina Commedia," the man, the Florentine, the exiled Ghibelline, stands out, from first to last, breathing defiance and revenge. Milton, in some of his prose works, betrays the partisan also; but in his poetry, we see him in the white robes of the minstrel, with upturned though sightless eyes, rapt in meditation at the feet of the heavenly muse. Dante, in his dark vision, descends to the depths of the world of perdition, and, homeless fugitive as he is, drags his proud and prosperous enemies down with him, and buries them, doubly destroyed, in the flaming sepulchres of the lowest hell.* Milton, on the other hand, seems almost to have purged off the dross of humanity. Blind, poor, friendless, in solitude and sorrow, with quite as much reason as his Italian rival to repine at his fortune and war against mankind, how calm and unimpassioned is he, in all that concerns his own personality! He deemed too highly of his divine gift, to make it the instrument of immortalizing his hatreds. One cry, alone, of sorrow at his blindness, one pathetic lamentation over the evil days on which he had fallen, bursts from his full heart. There is not a flash of human wrath in all his pictures of woe. Hating nothing but evil spirits, in the childlike simplicity of his heart, his pure hands undefiled with the pitch of the political intrigues in which

* Dell' Inferno, Cantos IX. X.

he had lived, he breathes forth his inexpressibly majestic strains, the poetry not so much of earth as of heaven.

Can it be hoped that, under the operation of the influences to which we have alluded, any thing superior to "Paradise Lost" will ever be produced by man? It requires a courageous faith in general principles to believe it. I dare not call it a probable event; but can we say it is impossible? If, out of the wretched intellectual and moral elements of the commonwealth in England, imparting, as they did, at times, too much of their contagion to Milton's mind, a poem like "Paradise Lost" could spring forth, shall no corresponding fruit of excellence be produced when knowledge shall be universally diffused, society enlightened, elevated, and equalized, and the standard of moral and religious principle, in public and private affairs, raised far above its present level? A continued progress in the intellectual world is consistent with all that we know of the laws that govern it, and with all experience. A presentiment of it lies deep in the soul of man, spark as it is of the divine nature. The craving after excellence, the thirst for truth and beauty, has never been, never can be, fully slaked at the fountains which have flowed beneath the touch of the enchanter's wand. Man listens to the heavenly strain, and straightway becomes desirous of still loftier melodies. It has nourished and strengthened, instead of satiating, his taste. Fed by the divine aliment, he can enjoy more, he can conceive more, he can himself perform more.

Should a poet of loftier muse than Milton hereafter appear, or, to speak more reverently, when the Milton of a better age shall arise, there is yet remaining one subject worthy his powers, — the counterpart of "Paradise Lost." In the conception of this subject by Milton, then mature in the experience of his great poem, we have the highest human judgment, that this is the one remaining theme. In his uncompleted attempt to achieve it, we have the greatest cause for the doubt, whether it be not beyond the grasp of the human mind, in its present state of cultivation. But I am unwilling to think that this theme, immeasurably the grand-

est which can be contemplated by the mind of man, will never receive a poetical illustration proportioned to its sublimity. It seems to me impossible that the time, perhaps far distant, should not eventually arrive, when another Milton, divorcing his heart from the delights of life; purifying his bosom from its angry and its selfish passions; relieved, by happier fortunes, from care and sorrow; pluming the wings of his spirit in solitude, by abstinence and prayer, will address himself to this only remaining theme of a great Christian epic.*

II. The fulfilment of anticipations like these, both as to time and manner, is, of course, wrapped up in the uncertain future. The province of education, in which we may all labor, and in which the effects to be immediately hoped for stand in some assignable proportion to the means employed, is the improvement of the minds of the mass of the people. This is the second question to which I alluded in the commencement of my remarks. May not a great increase be made in the number of those who receive a good education, and may not the education of all be made much better? I mean much more thorough and extensive as to the knowledge acquired, and much more efficacious and productive as to the training of the mind? These questions, I am persuaded, must be answered in the affirmative. It is at once melancholy and fearful to reflect how much intellect is daily perishing from inaction, or worse than perishing from the false direction given it in the morning of life.

I fear we do not yet fully realize what is meant when we speak of the improvement of the mind. I fear it is not yet enough considered, by legislators or parents, that there dwells

* Although I do not recollect that the tendency of the progress of knowledge to produce higher manifestations of genius has been before distinctly maintained, to the same extent, the doctrine appears to me to be supported by very high authorities. Longinus, in the 9th chapter of his Treatise on the Sublime, (ed. Mori, p. 42,) lays down principles leading directly to this result; and Cicero, in his Orator, § 34, points still more plainly to the same conclusion, and in reference to the science from which the illustration is drawn on p. 255. See also the Spectator, No. 633.

in every rational being an intellect endowed with a portion of the faculties which form the glory and happiness of our nature, and which, developed and exerted, are the source of all that makes man to differ essentially from the clod of the valley. Neglected and uncultivated, deprived of its appropriate nourishment, denied the discipline which is necessary to its healthy growth, this divine principle all but expires, and the man whom it was sent to enlighten sinks down, before his natural death, to his kindred dust. Trained and instructed, strengthened by wise discipline, and guided by pure principle, it ripens into an intelligence but a little lower than the angels. This is the work of education. The early years of life are the period when it must commonly be obtained; and, if this opportunity is lost, it is too often a loss which nothing can repair.

It is usual to compare the culture of the mind to the culture of the earth. If the husbandman relax his labors, and his field be left untilled, this year or the next, although a crop or two be lost, the evil may be remedied. The land, with its productive qualities, remains. If not ploughed and planted this year, it may be the year after. But if the mind be wholly neglected during the period most proper for its cultivation, if it be suffered to remain dark and uninformed, its vital power perishes; for all the purposes of an intellectual nature, it is lost. It is as if an earthquake had swallowed up the uncultivated fallows, or as if a swollen river had washed away, not merely the standing crop, but the bank on which it was growing. When the time for education has gone by, the man must, in ordinary cases, be launched upon the world a benighted being, scarcely elevated above the beasts that perish; and all that he could have been and done for society and for himself, is wholly lost.

Although this utter sacrifice of the intellectual nature is rarely made in this part of the country, I fear there exists even here, a woful waste of mental power, through neglect of education. Taking our population as a whole, I fear that there is not nearly time enough passed at school; that many of those employed in the business of instruction are incom-

petent to the work; and that our best teachers are not sufficiently furnished with literary apparatus, particularly with school libraries. If these defects could be supplied, I believe a few years would witness a wonderful effect upon the community; that an impulse, not easily conceived beforehand, would be given to individual and social character.

I am strongly convinced that it behoves our ancient commonwealth to look anxiously to this subject, if she wishes to maintain her honorable standing in this union of states. I am not grieved when I behold on the map the enormous dimensions of some of the new states in the west, as contrasted with the narrow little strip which comprises the good old Bay State. They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; their welfare is closely interwoven with ours; in every thing that can promote their solid prosperity, I bid them God speed with all my heart. I hear, without discontent, the astonishing accounts of their fertility; that their vast prairies are covered with more feet of rich vegetable mould than our soil, on an average, can boast of inches; and I can bear to hear it said, without envy, that their Missouri and Mississippi, the mighty Abana and Pharpar of the west, are better than all the waters of our poor New England Israel.

All this I can bear; but I cannot bear that our beloved native state, whose corner stone was laid upon an intellectual and moral basis, should deprive itself, by its own neglect, of the great counterpoise to these physical advantages. Give the sons of Massachusetts, small and comparatively unfertile as she is, the means of a good education, and they will stand against the world. Give me the means of educating my children, and I will not exchange its thirstiest sands, nor its barest peak, for the most fertile spot on earth, deprived of those blessings. I would rather occupy the bleakest nook of the mountain that towers above us,* with the wild wolf and the rattlesnake for my nearest neighbors, with a village school, well kept, at the bottom of the hill, than dwell in a paradise of fertility, if I must bring up my children in lazy,

* Saddle Mountain, between Williamstown and Adams.

pampered, self-sufficient ignorance. A man may protect himself against the rattle and the venom; but if he unnecessarily leaves the mind of his offspring a prey to ignorance, and the vices that too often follow in its train, he may find, too late for remedy,

> "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
> To have a thankless child."

A thankless child! No, I will not wrong him. He may be any thing else that is bad, but he cannot be a *thankless* child. What has he to be thankful for? No! the man who unnecessarily deprives his son of education, and thus knowingly trains him up in the way he should not go, may have a perverse, an intractable, a prodigal child, one who will bring down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave, but a thankless child he cannot have.

As I have said, I think this matter must be looked to. If the all-important duty of training the young is intrusted to the cheapest hand that can be hired to do the work, — to one who is barely able to pass a nominal examination, by a committee sometimes more ignorant than himself, in the *modicum* of learning prescribed by law; and slender as the privilege of such instruction is, if it be enjoyed by our children but for ten or twelve weeks in the year, as is the case in too many towns in the commonwealth, it is plain to see that they are deprived of the best part of their birthright. I know it is said that these few weeks, in the depth of winter, are all of his children's time that the frugal husbandman can spare. But can it be so? Can the labors of the field, or any other labors, be so hotly pressed among us, that ten or twelve weeks are all the time for which the labor of the youth of both sexes can be dispensed with, for five or six hours a day? I speak with diffidence on the subject; but such, I apprehend, cannot be the case. I cannot but think that a majority of the citizens of Massachusetts, of all pursuits and callings, might, without the least detriment to their interests, send their children steadily to a good school seven months in the year, and more or less of the time the other

five. Without detriment, did I say? Nay, with incalculable advantage to their children, to themselves, and to the state.

It would be more rational to talk about not affording seed-corn than to talk about not affording our children as much of their time as is necessary for their education. What! shall a man plant his field, and allow his child's intellect to run to weeds? It would be as wise to eat up all the wheat, and sow the husks and the chaff for next year's crop, as, on a principle of thrift, to sow ignorance and its attendant helplessness and prejudices in your children's minds, and expect to reap an honorable and a happy manhood. It would be better husbandry to go, in the summer, and clatter with a hoe in the bare gravel, where nothing was ever sown but the feathered seed of the Canada thistle, which the west wind drops from its sweeping wings, and come back, in autumn, and expect to find a field of yellow grain nodding to the sickle, than to allow your son to grow up without useful knowledge, and expect that he will sustain himself with respectability in life, or (if consideration must be had of self-interest) prop and comfort your decline. Not spare our children's time! Spare it, I might ask you, from what? Is any thing more important? Spare it for what? Can it be better employed than in that cultivation of the mind which will vastly increase the value of every subsequent hour of life? And to confine them, in the morning of their days, to a round of labor for the meat that perisheth, is it not, when our children ask for bread, to give them a stone? when they ask for a fish, to give them a serpent, which will sting our bosoms as well as theirs?

Our governments, as well as individuals, have, I must needs say, a duty to discharge to the cause of education. Something has been done — by some of the state governments much has been done — for this cause; but too much, I fear, remains undone. In the main, in appropriating the public funds, we tread too much in the footsteps of European precedents. I could wish our legislators might be animated with a purer ambition. In other parts of the world, the resources of the state, too often wrung from their rightful

possessors, are squandered on the luxury of governments, built up into the walls of stately palaces or massy fortifications, devoured by mighty armies, sunk by overgrown navies to the bottom of the sea, swallowed up in the eternal wars of state policy. The treasure expended in a grand campaign of the armies of the leading states of Europe, would send a schoolmaster to every hamlet, from Archangel to Lisbon. The annual expense of supporting the armies and navies of Great Britain and France, if applied to the relief and education of the poor in those countries, would change the character of the age in which we live. Perhaps it is too much to hope that, in the present condition of the politics of Europe, this system can be departed from. It seems to be admitted, as a fundamental maxim of international law among its governments, that the whole energy of their civilization must be exhausted in preventing them from destroying each other. With us, on the contrary, while the union of the states is preserved, (and Heaven grant it may be perpetual!) there is nothing to prevent the appropriation, to moral and intellectual objects, of a great part of those resources which are elsewhere lavished on luxury and war.

How devoutly is it to be wished that we could feel the beauty and dignity of such a policy, and aim at a new development of national character! From the earliest period of history, the mighty power of the association of millions of men into a people, moved by one political will, has been applied to objects at which humanity weeps, and which, were they not written on every page of the world's experience, would be absolutely incredible. From time to time a personal gathering is witnessed; mighty numbers of the population assemble *en masse*. Doubtless it is some noble work which they are going to achieve. Marshalled beneath gay and joyous banners, cheered with the soul-stirring strains of music, honored, admired, behold how they move forward, the flower of the community, clothed, fed, and paid, at the public expense, to some grand undertaking! They go not empty-handed; their approach is discerned afar by a forest of glittering steel above their heads, and the earth groans

beneath their trains of enginery, of strange form and superhuman power. What errand of love has called them out, the elected host, to go in person, side by side, and unite the mighty mass of their physical powers in one vast effort? Let the sharp volley that rings along the lines; let the scarcely mimic thunder which rends the sky; let the agonizing shrieks which rise from torn and trampled thousands, — return the answer. Their errand is death. They go, not to create, but to destroy; to waste and to slay; to blast the works of civilization and peace; to wrap cities in flames; and to cover fertile fields with bloody ashes.

I cannot, will not, believe that social man can rise no higher than this; that reason and experience, self-interest and humanity, the light of nature, the progress of knowledge, and the word of God, will forever prove too feeble for this monstrous perversion of human energy. I must believe that the day will yet dawn when the great efforts of individual and social man will be turned to the promotion of the welfare of his brother man. If this hope is to be realized, it must be by the joint action of enlightened reason, elevated morals, and pure religion, brought home, by a liberal and efficient system of education and the aid of Heaven, to every fireside and every heart.

Amidst much to awaken solicitude in the condition of things in our beloved country as respects the progress of improvement, there is yet many a spot within its borders sacred to better hopes and higher anticipations. Let us dwell, for a moment, on the phenomena which have been exhibited on the spot where we are now assembled. Scarcely eighty years have elapsed since this village was the site of a small frontier post. Nothing which could be called settlement had crossed Connecticut River. The pioneers of civilization had begun to find their way into Berkshire, but they hardly ventured beyond the reach of the line of forts which guarded the frontier. Sheffield and Stockbridge were, I believe, the only towns incorporated before the old French war; and beyond them, westward, commenced the dreary wilderness, pathless, except as it was threaded by war parties from Can-

ada and New England, and by bands of wretched captives, dragged from their homes, at midnight, to a miserable slavery among the French and Indians. The alternate action of the two nations who stood at the head of the civilization of the world, had been felt for a century in these still valleys and venerable forests; but it was felt only to add the arts of civilized destruction to the horrors of savage warfare. One century of peaceful improvement and hopeful progress was blotted from the history of this portion of frontier America.

But the seeds of improvement were sown even in this bloody soil. One of those generous spirits who, from time to time, are raised up to accomplish great objects, was stationed in this corner of the commonwealth, in command of the line of forts erected for border defence. You know that I allude to the founder of this college. He foresaw, even then, the probable destinies of the country. He knew that the dreary forest was not designed forever to encumber the soil. He beheld it yielding to the march of civilization. As he heard the crash of the sturdy trunk, falling beneath the narrow axe of the settler; as he saw the log cabins slowly rising on the edge of the clearing, and beheld the smoke here and there curling up in the lonely and mysterious woods; as he heard the voice of the mountain stream, then babbling unheeded over the rocks, — his sagacious mind overleaped the interval of years. He was called, by his intrepid spirit and his country's voice, to take an active part in the first scenes of the war of 1755. A presentiment of his fate seems to have been upon his mind. Before plunging into the campaign, he made provision for the appropriation of his fortune to furnish the means of education to the people whose struggles, in settling this region, he had witnessed and shared. His will was made at Albany, on the twenty-second of July, 1755, bequeathing his property for the foundation of this institution; and, on the eighth of September of the same year, in an engagement with the troops under the Baron Dieskau, he fell at the head of his regiment. Eighty years, only, have passed away. The laudable purposes of your founder have been more than fulfilled; and out of the living

fountain struck open in the desert by his generous bequest, abundant streams of piety and learning have flowed and are flowing.

Colonel Williams's character was of no ordinary mould. At a distance from the seat of his benefaction full justice has not been done to his memory. A man of the happiest temperament, a gentleman of the true natural stamp, unassuming and simple, supplying the deficiency of a learned education by large experience of men and things, acquired in foreign travel, in the legislature, and in the army, yet modestly lamenting what others did not trace, his want of early advantages; without a family, but the patriarch of the frontier settlement where he was stationed, — he fell, in the prime of early manhood, a victim to his patriotic zeal. A brief sketch of his biography, in one of the early volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Collections,* informs us that he witnessed, with humane and painful sensations, the dangers, difficulties, and hardships, which the settlers of these valleys were obliged to encounter; and that, to encourage them, he was accustomed to intimate the purpose which was carried into effect in his will. I regret not to have found Colonel Williams's views on this subject preserved somewhat in detail. It would have been exceedingly interesting to see the topic of education, in reference to the wants of a newly-settled country, as it presented itself to the practical view of a man of his character, on the eve of a war. As no such record, as far as I know, has been preserved, you will pardon me for attempting to present the subject to you, under the same light in which he may have contemplated it.

"My friends," (we may conceive he would say to a group of settlers, gathered about old Fort Massachusetts, on some fit occasion, not long before his marching towards the place of rendezvous,) "your hardships, I am aware, are great. I have witnessed, I have shared them. The hardships incident to opening a new country are always severe. They are heightened, in our case, by the constant danger in which we

* First Series, Vol. VIII. p. 47.

live from the savage enemy. At present, we are rather encamped than settled. We live in block-houses; we lie upon our arms by night; and, like the Jews who returned to build Jerusalem,* we go to work, by day, with the implements of husbandry in one hand and the weapons of war in the other. Nor is this the worst. We have been bred up in the populous settlements on the coast, where the school-house and the church are found at the centre of every village. Here, as yet, we can have neither. I know these things weigh upon you. You look upon the dark and impenetrable forests, in which you have made an opening, and contrast it with the pleasant villages where you were born and passed your early years, where your parents are yet living, or where they have gone to their rest; and you cannot suppress a painful emotion.

"You are, more especially, as I perceive, somewhat disheartened at the present moment of impending war. But, my friends, let not your spirits sink. The prospect is overcast, but brighter days will come. In vision I can plainly foresee them. The forest disappears; the cornfield, the pasture, takes its place; the hill-sides are spotted with flocks; the music of the water-wheel sounds in accord with the dashing stream. Your little groups of log cabins swell into prosperous villages. Schools and churches spring up in the waste; institutions for learning arise; and in what is now a wild solitude, libraries and cabinets unfold their treasures, and observatories point their tubes to the heavens. I tell you that not all the united powers of all the French and Indians on the St Lawrence, — no, not if backed by all the powers of darkness which seem, at times, in league with them to infest this howling wilderness, — will long prevent the valleys of the Hoosac and the Housatonic from becoming the abode of industry, abundance, and refinement. A century will not pass, before the voice of domestic wisdom and fireside inspiration, from the vales of Berkshire, will be heard throughout America and Europe. As for the contest impending, I am

* Nehemiah iv. 17.

sure we shall conquer; if I mistake not, it is the first of a series of events of unutterable moment to all America, and even to mankind. Before it closes, the banner of St George will float, I am sure, over Cape Diamond; and the extension of the British power over the whole continent will be but the first act of a great drama, whose catastrophe I but dimly foresee.

"I speak of what concerns the whole country; the fortune of individuals is wrapped in the uncertain future. For myself, I must own that I feel a foreboding at my heart which I cannot throw off. I can only say, if my hour is come, (and I think it is not distant,) I am prepared. I have been able to do but little; but if Providence has no further work for me to perform, I am ready to be discharged from the warfare. It is my purpose, before I am taken from you, to make a disposition of my property for the benefit of this infant community. My heart's desire is that, in the picture of its future prosperity, which I behold in mental view, the last and best of earthly blessings shall not be wanting. I shall deem my life not spent in vain, though it be cut off to-morrow, if, at its close, I shall be accepted as the humble instrument of promoting the great cause of education.

"My friends, as I am soon to join the army, we meet, many of us, perhaps, for the last time. I am a solitary branch; I can be spared. I have no wife to feel my loss; no children to follow me to the grave. I may fall by the tomahawk, or in the front of honorable battle; on the shores of the stormy lake, or in the infested woods; and this poor body may want even a friendly hand to protect it from insult. But I must take the chance of a soldier's life. When I am gone, you will find some proof that my last thoughts were with the settlers of Fort Massachusetts; and perhaps, at some future day, should my desire to serve you and your children not be disappointed, my humble name will not be forgotten in the public assembly, and posterity will bestow a tear on the memory of Ephraim Williams."

THE BOSTON SCHOOLS.*

Mr President: —

I need not attempt to express my grateful sense of the honor done me in the last toast. It is praise enough for any man to be regarded, by such a company as this, as doing no discredit to the Boston schools. I am sure I owe them more than I can ever repay. They were the friends of my friendless youth and poverty, and gave me a better education than I had the means of getting in any other way.

Of the numerous public occasions of different kinds to which the courtesy paid to my official character calls me, there is none which I attend with greater pleasure than this anniversary. There is, indeed, none in which, whether as parents or citizens, we should take a stronger interest. The importance of schools is certainly not overlooked in this community; but it is not overvalued; it cannot be. Liberal provision is made for their support, but not extravagant provision. No expense which any reasonable man, or body of reasonable men, would recommend for such a purpose could be extravagant. I mean, in a word, that the object is of almost inestimable importance.

Sir, it is of manifold, and, if I may so express myself, compound importance. It is important, in and by the importance of almost every great and desirable object in life, towards the attainment of which education furnishes the means. I do not know that this view of the matter is sufficiently familiar; that it is enough considered that the support

* At the public dinner in Faneuil Hall, on the 23d August, 1837, the day of the examination of the schools.

of the schools is not a separate interest, which may be taken up, provided for, or neglected, and all other things remain the same. I fear we may, even in this liberal community, be disposed to regard it as one only of the items in the year's estimate, like lighting or paving the streets, erecting public buildings, or bringing pure water into the city. In reference to all such objects, the people, of course, have only to consider whether they will or will not provide for any one of them, dispensing with or enjoying some or all the rest. Thus, for instance, the people, if they choose, may spend all their funds, applicable to such objects, in lighting, paving, and watching the streets, leaving them, as to width and straightness, as they were left by the original surveyors, — said to be the domestic animals, as they came home from pasture, — or they may bestow their surplus means on public buildings, and content themselves with water as it is medicated in the laboratory under our feet; the natural soda, not in all cases remarkably sprightly nor of the best flavor.

But, to speak with the seriousness which becomes the topic, it is not so with education. This is the one living fountain, which must water every part of the social garden, or its beauty withers and fades away. Of course I mean, sir, moral and religious, as well as mental education. This is the single avenue, straight and narrow at first, but gradually widening, which all must tread who would arrive at usefulness and a good name. This is the temple which all must enter; like that which Marcellus erected to Virtue at Rome, through which lay the only path to the temple of Honor. Its one simple portal stands unbarred for the mighty company of emulous youth, of whatever object in life. There is room for all, and when they have entered in, a thousand doors fly open before them, leading to every hall of prosperity and virtuous fame. It is, next to religion, the source from which must flow out the issues of peace to our firesides, — of activity and enlightened enterprise to our marts of business, — of wholesome respect to our courts and senate-houses. It is the elemental fire, which must lighten, warm, and cheer us, as men and citizens. Talk of public buildings, sir! Let the plain

brick school-house go down, and though we pile our hill-tops with structures that surpass the time-defying solidity of Egyptian Thebes, or the immortal gracefulness of Corinth or Athens, they will but stand the gorgeous monuments of our shame. Quench the beams of education, and though we should light up our streets like Milton's pandemonium, —

> ——— "with many a row
> Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
> With naphtha and asphaltus, yielding light
> As from a sky," —

till midnight outshone the noontide sun, our children's feet would still stumble on the dark mountains of ignorance as black as death.

I speak in strong language, sir, but the truth is stronger. I have compared education only with other objects that pertain to the comfort or ornament of this life! — great objects, I allow, in the calculations of a temporal economy, and not unworthy of the care bestowed upon them in this city! and never more than under its present enlightened and efficient government. But in themselves, they are, like every thing else which begins and ends in this life, bustling, unsubstantial vanities. What considerate man can enter a school, and not reflect with awe, that it is a seminary where immortal minds are training for eternity? What parent but is, at times, weighed down with the thought, that *there* must be laid the foundations of a building which will stand, when not merely temple and palace, but the perpetual hills, and adamantine rocks on which they rest, have melted away! — that a light may *there* be kindled, which will shine, not merely when every artificial beam is extinguished, but when the affrighted sun has fled away from the heavens! I can add nothing to this consideration, sir. I will only say in conclusion, —

Education: — When we feed that lamp, we perform the highest social duty! if we quench it, I know not where, — (humanly speaking, for time or for eternity,) —

> "I know not where is that Promethean heat,
> That can its light relume."

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MECHANIC ARTS.*

Mr President and Gentlemen:

I beg leave to congratulate you on the success of your efforts to establish the first Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. Under circumstances somewhat unfavorable, you have produced an exhibition which, I am persuaded, has fully answered the public expectation. More than fifteen thousand articles, in almost every department of art, have been displayed in the halls. Specimens of machinery and fabrics, reflecting great credit on their inventors, improvers, and manufacturers, many of them affording promise of the highest utility, and unitedly bearing a very satisfactory testimony to the state of the arts in this country, and particularly in this community, have been submitted to the public inspection. The exhibitors have already, in the aggregate, been rewarded with the general approbation of the crowds of our fellow-citizens who have witnessed the display. It will be the business of your committees, after a critical examination of the articles exhibited, to award enduring testimonials of merit. But the best reward will be the consciousness of having contributed to the common stock of the public welfare, by the successful cultivation of the arts, so important to the improvement of society and the happiness of life.

I feel gratified at being invited to act as the organ of your Association in this general expression of its sentiments on so

* An Address delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, on the 20th of September, 1837, on occasion of their first Exhibition and Fair.

interesting an occasion. It would be a pleasing employment to attempt an enumeration and description of some of the most important of the articles exhibited. But it would be impossible to accomplish this object, to any valuable purpose, within reasonable limits. It would require a condensing apparatus more efficient than any which has yet been contrived, to bring even a descriptive catalogue of the articles exhibited within the compass of a public address; to give a full account of the most important of them would demand no small portion of the knowledge and skill required for their fabrication. The nature of this occasion prescribes a much simpler character to the remarks I shall submit to your indulgence. It will be my sole object to establish, by a few obvious illustrations, the vast importance of the mechanic arts. In pursuing this end, the greatest difficulty to be overcome is, that the point to be established is too certain to be proved, and too generally admitted to need a formal assertion.

Man, as a rational being, is endowed by his Creator with two great prerogatives. One is, the control over matter and inferior animals, which is physical power; the other, the control over kindred mind, which is moral power, and which, in its lower forms, is often produced by the control over matter; so that power over the material world is, practically speaking, a most important element of power in the social, intellectual, and moral world. Mind, all the time, is the great mover; but, surrounded, encased as it is with matter, acting by material organs, treading a material earth, incorporated and mingled up with matter, I do not know that there is any thing but pure, inward thought which is not dependent upon it: and even the capacity of the mind for pure thought is essentially affected by the condition of the material body, and by external circumstances acting upon it.

This control of mind over matter is principally effected through the medium of the mechanic arts, taking that term in its widest acceptation. The natural faculties of the human frame, unaided by artificial means, are certainly great and wonderful; but they sink to nothing, compared with the power which accrues from the skilful use of tools, machines,

engines, and other material agents. Man, with his unaided strength, can lift but one or two hundred weight, and that but for a moment; with his pulleys and windlasses he sets an obelisk upon its base, a shaft of solid granite, a hundred feet high. The dome of St Peters is one hundred and twenty feet in diameter; its sides are twenty-two feet in thickness; it is suspended in the air at an elevation of three hundred and twenty feet from the ground; and it was raised by hands as feeble as these. The unaided force of the muscles of the human hand is insufficient to break a fragment of marble of any size in pieces; but on a recent visit to the beautiful quarries in Sheffield, from which the columns of the Girard College, at Philadelphia, are taken, I saw masses of hundreds of tons, which had been cleft from the quarry by a very simple process. Three miles an hour, for any considerable space of time, and with ample intervals for recreation, food, and sleep, are the extreme limit of the locomotive capacity of the strongest frame, and this confined to the land. The arts step in: by the application of one portion of them to the purposes of navigation, man is wafted, night and day, waking and sleeping, at the rate of eight or ten miles an hour, over the unfathomed ocean; and, by the combination of another portion of the arts, he flies over the land at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles an hour, and, if need be, with twice that rapidity, without moving a muscle.

The capacity of imparting thought, by intelligible signs, to the minds of other men, — the capacity which lies at the foundation of all our social improvements, — while unaided by art, was confined within the limits of oral communication and memory. The voice of wisdom perished, not merely with the sage by whom it was uttered, but with the very breath of air on which it was borne. Art came to the aid of the natural capacity; and, after a long series of successive improvements, passing through the stages of pictorial and symbolical representations of things, the different steps of hieroglyphical writing, (each occupying, no doubt, long periods of time for its discovery and application,) it devised a method of imprinting on a material substance an intelligible

sign, not of things, but of sounds forming the names of things; in other words, it invented the alphabet. With this simple invention, and the mechanical contrivances with which it is carried into effect, the mind of man was, I had almost said, re-created. The day before it was invented, the voice of man, in its utmost stretch, could be heard but by a few thousands, intently listening, for an hour or two, during which, alone, his strength would enable him to utter a succession of sounds. The day after the art of writing was invented, he was able to impress his thoughts on a roll of parchment, and send them to every city and hamlet of the largest empire. The day before this invention, the mind of one country was estranged from the mind of all other countries, and for almost all the purposes of intercourse, the families of man might as well not have belonged to one race. The day after it, wisdom was endued with the gift of tongues, and spoke, by her interpreters, to all the tribes of kindred men. The day before this invention, and nothing but a fading tradition, constantly becoming fainter, could be preserved by the memory of all that was spoken or acted by the greatest and wisest of men. The day after it, thought was imperishable; it sprung to an earthly immortality; it seized the new-found instruments of record and commemoration, and, deserting the body, as it sunk with its vocal organs into the dust, it carved on the very gravestone, "The mind of man shall live forever."

It would be easy to multiply these illustrations of the importance of the aid rendered by the arts to the natural faculties of man. They present themselves to the reflecting mind in every direction; and they lead the way to the conclusion, that the mechanical arts are the great instruments of human civilization. We have some means of judging what man was, before any of the useful arts were discovered, because there exist on the surface of the globe many tribes and races, nearly or quite destitute of them; as, for instance, the native inhabitants of this continent. We know not with certainty, it is true, whether these and other savage races are

specimens of humanity disjoined from the parent stock before any great progress had been made in civilization, or broken down and degenerate fragments of nations once cultivated, and retaining, even in their present degraded condition, some remnants of primitive improvement. There are some circumstances which favor the latter opinion, and consequently they do not afford us a perfect specimen of what man would be before the discovery of any of the useful arts of life. But we may see enough in them to learn how much of all our civilization resides in these arts; that, in fact, civilization may almost be considered another word for their aggregate existence and application. For it is a somewhat humiliating reflection that, in many things dependent on the human organs and senses, unaided by the arts, the savage greatly excels the most improved civilized man. Thus man, with one set of glasses, penetrates the secret organization of the minutest insect or plant; marks the rise of the sap in the capillaries of a blade of grass; counts the pulsations of the heart in an animalcule many times smaller than the head of a pin; while, with another set of glasses, he fills the heavens with a hundred millions of stars, invisible to the naked eye. To the savage, the wonders of the microscope and the telescope are unknown; but he can, by traces which elude our keenest vision, tell whether it is the foot of friend or enemy which has passed over the grass before his tent in the silence of night; and he can find his way through the pathless and tangled forest without a guide. Civilized man, with his wheels and his steam, runs a race with the winds; but, left to the natural force of his members, soon sinks from fatigue. The indefatigable savage, ignorant of artificial conveyance, outtires on foot the hound and the horse; and, while the famished child of civilized life faints at the delay of his periodical meal, a three days' fast makes no impression on the iron frame of the poor Indian. Civilized man, although surrounded by his arts with enjoyments that seem to render life a hundred fold more precious, lies drenched in sleep one third of his precious hours, and

may well envy the physical training which enables his hardy brother of the forest, when occasion requires, to bid defiance, night after night, to the approach of weariness.

But this superiority which the savage possesses over civilized man, in the discipline of some of the natural capacities of our frame, is turned to little account of human improvement and happiness, for want of those arts which create, combine, and perpetuate the powers and agents by which our wants are supplied. Even the few comforts of which his forlorn condition is susceptible are mostly derived, not from this superior training of his natural faculties and senses, but from his possession of some few imperfect arts. The savage, needy at best, without his moccasins, his snow-shoes, his dressed buffalo skin, his hollowed tree or bark canoe, his bow and arrow, his tent, and his fishing gear, would be a much more abject being. These simple inventions, and the tools and skill required by them, no doubt occupied a considerable period in the early history of our race. But the great difference between savage and civilized life consists in the want of those more improved arts, the products of which we have been contemplating, by which no inconsiderable quantity of human power and skill can be transferred to inanimate tools and machinery, and perpetuated in them ; the arts whereby the grasp of the hand, which soon wearies, can be transferred to the iron gripe of the vice, the clamp, and the bolt, that never tire ; the arts by which stone, and metal, and leather, and wood may be made to perform the offices of poor flesh and bone. The savage, when he has parched his corn, puts it in a rude mortar, which, with infinite toil, he has scooped out of a rock, and laboriously pounds it into meal. It is much, if, in this way, he can prepare food enough to keep him alive while he is preparing it. The civilized man, when he has raised his corn, builds a mill, with a water-wheel, and sets the indefatigable stream to grinding his grain. There are now two or three laborers at work ; one, it is true, with forces which soon weary, and which can only be kept up by consuming a part of the corn as fast as it can be made into food, but endowed with an untiring and inexhaustible inven-

tion; the other patient fellow-laborers of wood and iron, the stream, the wheel, and the millstone, without capacity for headwork, are willing to grind corn all day, and not ask a mouthful back, by way of sustenance. Civilization is kept up by storing the products of the labor thus economized, and imparting a share of it to those engaged in some other pursuit, who give a portion of its products in exchange for food.

Take another illustration in the arts employed in furnishing the clothing of man. The savage, when he has killed a buffalo, and dried his skin, prepares it, with the manual labor of several weeks, for a garment, a substantial and sightly garment; but it has taken him a long time, and he has made but one. The civilized man, having a world of business on his hands, has contrived a variety of machines, which perform almost all the work required for his clothing. He cuts a mass of curled wool from the sheep's back, a confused, irregular heap of fibrous threads, which would seem to defy the skill and industry of the artificer. How long will it not take the busiest pair of fingers to piece those fibres together, end to end, to lay them side by side, so as to give them substance, coherence, dimensions, — to convert them into a covering and defence, excluding cold and wet! The savage, in taking the skin, seems to have made the wiser choice. Nature has done the spinning and weaving to his hand. But wait a moment: there is a group of iron-fingered artificers in yonder mill, who will show you a wonder. They will, with a rapidity scarcely conceivable, convert this uncouth, fibrous heap into a uniform mass; they will draw out its short, curly fibres into long, even threads, lay them side by side, and curiously cross them over and under with magical dexterity, till they form a compact tissue, covered with a soft down and a glossy lustre, smooth, impervious, flexible, in quantity sufficient to clothe a family for a year, with less expense of human labor than would be required to dress a single skin.

Consider the steam engine. It is computed that the steam power of Great Britain, not including the labor economized

by the enginery it puts in motion, annually performs the work of a million of men. In other words, the steam engine adds to the human population of Great Britain another population, one million strong. Strong it may well be called. What a population! so curiously organized, that they need neither luxuries nor comforts; that they have neither vices nor sorrows; subject to an absolute control, without despotism; laboring night and day for their owners, without the crimes and woes of slavery; a frugal population, that wastes nothing and consumes nothing unproductively; an orderly population, to which mobs and riots are unknown; among which the peace is kept without police, courts, prisons, or bayonets; and annually lavishing the product of one million pairs of hands, to increase the comforts of the fifteen or twenty millions of the human population. And yet the steam engine, which makes this mighty addition to the resources of civilization, is but a piece of machinery. You have all seen it, both in miniature and on a working scale, at the halls. In the miniature model, (constructed by Mr Newcomb, of Salem,) it can be moved by the breath of the most delicate pair of lips in this assembly; and it could easily be constructed of a size and power which would rend these walls from their foundation, and pile the roof in ruins upon us. And yet it is but a machine. There is a cylinder and a piston; there are tubes, valves, and pumps, water, and a vessel to boil it in. This is the whole of that enginery with which the skill and industry of the present age are working their wonders. This is the whole of the agency which has endowed modern art with its superhuman capacities, and sent it out, to traverse the continent and the ocean, with those capacities which Romance has attributed to her unearthly beings: —

> "Tramp, tramp, along the land they ride,
> Splash, splash, across the sea."

It is wholly impossible to calculate the quantity of labor economized by all the machinery which the steam engine puts in motion. Mr Baines states, that the spinning ma-

chinery of Great Britain, tended by one hundred and fifty thousand workmen, "produces as much yarn as could have been produced by FORTY MILLIONS OF MEN, with the one-thread wheel!" * Dr Buckland remarks, that it has been supposed that "the amount of work now done by machinery, in England, is equivalent to that of between three and four hundred millions of men by direct labor." †

This prodigious economy and accumulation of power, effected by the mechanic arts, are devoted to supplying the wants and promoting the comfort of man. When, therefore, the ingenious artisan makes an improvement in a useful machine, he economizes labor, creates power, accumulates usefulness, and promotes the progress of civilization. I doubt not, if it were possible to write the secret history of the mechanic arts, (if I may so express myself;) to trace the most important manufactures and machines, through their various stages, to their origin; to show how, by the addition of a spring here, a cog there, a knee-joint in this place, a perpetual screw in that, or a system of these powers, the most complicated engines have been brought from the humblest beginnings to their present condition, — it would appear that a single mechanical improvement had often had the effect of adding thousands and tens of thousands of horse power and man power to the productive energy of the community. The astonishment and admiration with which we should survey the wonders of modern machinery are impaired by not knowing, more generally than the mass of men can know, the stages through which it has passed, and the mental efforts which have been expended in improving it. There is an untold, probably an unimagined, amount of human talent, of high mental power, locked up among the wheels and springs of the machinist; a force of intellect of the loftiest character has been required, to make this department of human pursuit what it is. This stunning din, this monotonous rattle, this tremendous power, and the quiet, steady

* Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture, p. 362.

† Buckland's Geology and Mineralogy, Vol. I. p 400

force of these humble, useful, familiar arts, result from efforts of the mind kindred with those which have charmed or instructed the world with the richest strains of poetry, eloquence, and philosophy.

These improvements have sometimes been long delayed, and art, for ages, has been stationary; and then, by the happy development of some mechanical contrivance, it has made boundless progress in a life time It is not yet, I believe, more than two or three centuries since the only mode of spinning known was by the rock and spindle. The simple spinning-wheel, moved by the hand, and which was thought, in the times of our grandparents, to show a graceful form and a well-turned arm to nearly as great advantage as a harp at the present day, and to make a music almost as cheerful, is at once an obsolete and a modern invention. The Greeks and Romans are said to have been unacquainted with the spinning-wheel. The monarch's heavy purple and the nymph's airy tissue were alike manufactured by twirling the distaff, and drawing out a thread with the fingers; and no improvement was made on this tedious process, in Great Britain, before the fifteenth century. It is evident, that much more labor must have been requisite with this rude machinery, to supply the indispensable article of clothing, than with the modern improvements. The introduction of the spinning-wheel produced a great economy of this labor; but the introduction of the spinning and weaving machinery of the last century, has pushed this economy to an extent at which it is in vain to attempt to calculate it. This economy operates, first, to multiply the comforts of the existing population, and then, by necessary consequence, to increase the population capable of subsisting in a given circuit. Yes, the man who in the infancy of the arts, invented the saw, or the plane, the grindstone, the vice, or the handmill; and those who, in later periods, have contributed to the wonderful system of modern machinery, are entitled to rank high among the benefactors of mankind, as the fathers of civilization, the creators, I had almost said, of nations. It is not the fabulous wand of the

enchanter, it is the weaver's beam, and instruments like it, which call thousands and tens of thousands into being.

Mind, acting through the useful arts, is the vital principle of modern civilized society. The mechanician, not the magician, is now the master of life. He kindles the fires of his steam engine, and the rivers, the lakes, the ocean, are covered with flying vessels; mighty chain-pumps descend, clanking and groaning, to the deepest abysses of the coal mine, and rid them of their deluge of waters; and spindles and looms ply their task, as if instinct with life. It is the necromancy of the creative machinist. In a moment, a happy thought crosses his imagination, and an improvement is conceived. Some tedious process can be superseded by a chemical application, as in the modern art of bleaching. Some necessary result can be attained in half the time, by a new mechanical contrivance; another wheel, a ratchet, or a screw, will effect the object; he tries a few experiments; it will succeed; it is done. He stamps his foot, and a hundred thousand men start into being; not, like those which sprang from the fabled dragon's teeth, armed with the weapons of destruction, but furnished with every implement for the service and comfort of man. It is stated by James Watt, (before whose time the steam engine was an imperfect and inefficient machine,) that the moment the notion of "separate condensation" struck him, all the other details of his improved engine followed, in rapid and immediate succession, so that, in the course of one or two days, his invention was so complete that he proceeded to submit it to experiment.* Could that day be identified, it would well deserve an anniversary celebration, by the universal tribes of civilized man.

I have said that mind, acting through the mechanic arts, is the vital principle of modern civilized society. I would be the last to undervalue the importance of moral and intellectual influences, or to seem to give undeserved countenance

* See "Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties," Vol. II. p. 254, for a biographical sketch of Watt, and a notice of his improvements in the steam engine.

to the mechanical tendency of the age. On the contrary, I look upon the intellectual and moral influence of the useful arts as the most important aspect in which the subject can be contemplated. The immediate result of every improvement in these arts, as has been already stated, often is, and always might and should be, by making less labor and time necessary for the supply of human wants, to raise the standard of comfortable living, increase the quantity of leisure time applicable to the culture of the mind, and thus promote the intellectual and moral progress of the mass of the community. That this is the general tendency of a progress in the useful arts, no one can doubt, who compares the present condition of the world with its condition in the middle ages; and the fact is confirmed by the history of single inventions. I have already spoken of alphabetical writing. This single art was a step absolutely essential, in the moral and intellectual progress of our race. To speak of the art of printing, in its connection with morals and mind, would be as superfluous as it would be difficult to do justice to the topic. Its history is not so much an incident as the summary of modern civilization. Vast as the influence of this art of arts has been, it may well be doubted whether improvements will not yet be made in the mechanism connected with it which will incalculably increase its efficiency. If I mistake not, the trumpet voice of Truth, from this machine, is yet destined to reach to distances and depths of society which have hitherto remained unexplored and neglected.

Again, in reference to the intimate connection of the useful and mechanic arts with intellectual progress, let us but advert, for a moment, to the mariner's compass, the telescope, and the quadrant. For myself, I never reflect upon their influence on the affairs of man, and remember that they are, after all, merely mechanical contrivances, without emotions of admiration bordering upon awe. This sentiment, I know, is so worn away by habit, that it seems almost to run into sentimentality. But let us not be ashamed to reproduce the emotions that spring from the freshness of truth and nature. What must have been Galileo's feelings, when he pointed the

first telescope to the heavens, and discovered the phases of Venus and the moons of Jupiter! When I behold the touched needle trembling to the pole; when I know that, beneath the utter blackness of the midnight storm, when every star in heaven is quenched, and the laboring vessel, in mid-ocean, reels like a drunken man, on the crested top of the mighty waves, that little bar of steel will guide the worn and staggering helmsman on his way, — I feel that there is a holy philosophy in the arts of life, which, if I cannot comprehend, I can reverence.

Consider the influence on the affairs of men, in all their relations, of the invention of the little machine which I hold in my hand, (a watch,) and the other modern instruments for the measurement of time, various specimens of which are on exhibition in the halls To say nothing of the importance of an accurate measurement of time in astronomical observations, nothing of the application of timekeepers to the purposes of navigation, how vast must be the aggregate effect, on the affairs of life, throughout the civilized world, and in the progress of ages, of a convenient and portable apparatus for measuring the lapse of time! Who can calculate, in how many of those critical junctures, when affairs of weightiest import hang upon the issue of an hour, prudence and forecast have triumphed over blind casualty, by being enabled to measure, with precision, the flight of time, in its smallest subdivisions! Is it not something more than mere mechanism, which watches with us by the sick-bed of some dear friend, through the livelong solitude of night, enables us to count, in the slackening pulse, nature's trembling steps towards recovery, and to administer the prescribed remedy at the precise, perhaps the critical, moment of its application?

By means of a watch, punctuality in all his duties, which, in its perfection, is one of the incommunicable attributes of Deity, is brought, in no mean measure, within the reach of man. He is enabled, if he will be guided by this half-rational machine, creature of a day as he is, to imitate that sublime precision which leads the earth, after a circuit of five hundred millions of miles, back to the solstice at the appointed

moment, without the loss of one second, no, not the millionth part of a second, for the ages on ages during which it has travelled that empyreal road.* What a miracle of art, that a man can teach a few brass wheels, and a little piece of elastic steel, to out-calculate himself; to give him a rational answer to one of the most important questions which a being travelling towards eternity can ask! What a miracle, that a man can put within this little machine a spirit that measures the flight of time with greater accuracy than the unassisted intellect of the profoundest philosopher; which watches and moves when sleep palsies alike the hand of the maker and the mind of the contriver, nay, when the last sleep has come over them both!

I saw, the other day, at Stockbridge, the watch which was worn on the eighth of September, 1755, by the unfortunate Baron Dieskau, who received his mortal wound on that day, near Lake George, at the head of his army of French and Indians, on the breaking out of the Seven Years' war. This watch, which marked the fierce, feverish moments of the battle as calmly as it has done the fourscore years which have since elapsed, is still going; but the watchmaker and the military chieftain have now, for more than three fourths of a century, been gone where time is no longer counted. Frederic the Great was another, and a vastly more important personage of the same war. His watch was carried away from Potsdam by Napoleon, who, on his rock, in mid-ocean, was wont to ponder on the hours of alternate disaster and triumph which filled up the life of his great fellow-destroyer, and had been equally counted on its dial-plate. The courtiers used to say that this watch stopped of its own accord when Frederic died. Short-sighted adulation! for if it stopped at his death, as if time was no longer worth measuring, it was soon put in motion, and went on as if nothing had happened.

Portable watches were probably introduced into England

* It is not, of course, intended that the sidereal year is always of precisely the same length, but that its variations are subject to a fixed law See Sir John Herschel's Astronomy, § 563.

in the time of Shakspeare; and he puts one into the hand of his fantastic jester as the theme of his morality. In truth, if we wished to borrow from the arts a solemn monition of the vanity of human things, the clock might well give it to us. How often does it occur to the traveller in Europe, as he hears the hour told from some ancient steeple, — that iron tongue in the tower of yonder old cathedral, unchanged itself, has had a voice for every change in the fortune of nations! It has chimed monarchs to their thrones, and knelled them to their tombs; and, from its watchtower in the clouds, has, with the same sonorous and impartial stoicism, measured out their little hour of sorrow and gladness, to coronation and funeral, abdication and accession, revolution and restoration; victory, tumult, and fire. And with like faithfulness, while I speak, the little monitor by my side warns me back from my digression, and bids me beware lest I devote too much of my brief hour even to its own commendation.

Let me follow the silent monition, sustained, perhaps, by the impatience of the audience, and hasten to the last topic of my address. The object of our present exhibition is not mere show, however innocent and gratifying. It is to make the community better acquainted with the state of the arts, by a public display of their products; to excite a generous emulation by their comparison; and thus to lead on our ingenious artificers, improvers, and inventors, to higher degrees of excellence. The astonishing progress of the arts in modern times is a subject of the most familiar remark. It would require a volume even to enumerate the most considerable improvements. So numerous are the inventions and discoveries that have been made, in every department, and to such perfection have many arts been carried, that we may perhaps be inclined to think that in the arts, as on the surface of the globe, after all the brilliant discoveries in navigation, in the last three centuries, there is nothing left to be found out. Though it is probable that, in particular things, no further progress can be made, (and even this I would not affirm with any confidence,) yet, so far from considering invention as ex-

hausted, or art at a stand, I believe there never was a moment when greater improvements were to be expected; and this for the very reason that so much has already been done; that truth, in its nature, is at once boundless and creative; and that every existing art, invention, and discovery, is but an instrument of further improvement. Even when any particular art or machine seems to have reached the highest attainable point of excellence, nothing is more likely than that it will, by some wholly unexpected discovery or improvement, be greatly advanced; or that, by accidental or natural association, it will lead to some other very important improvement in a branch of art wholly dissimilar; or, finally, that it will be superseded by something quite different, but producing the same result. Take, as an example, the art of printing. The simple process of printing with movable types and a press moved by hand, does not seem, in the lapse of four hundred years, to have undergone any very material improvement. The introduction of solid plates, and the application of artificial power to the press, are improvements wholly disconnected, in their nature, from the art of printing, and yet add incalculably to its efficacy and operative power.

In a word, the products of art are the creations of rational mind, working, with intelligent and diversified energy, in a thousand directions; bounding from the material to the moral world, and back from speculation to life; producing the most wonderful effects on moral and social relations by material means, and again, in an improved political and moral condition, finding instruments and encouragement for new improvements in mechanical art. In this mighty action and reaction, we are continually borne on to results the most surprising. Physical and moral causes and effects produce moral and physical effects and causes, and every thing discovered tends to the discovery of something yet unknown. It rarely, perhaps never, happens, that any discovery or invention is wholly original; as rarely, that it is final. As some portion of its elements lay in previously existing ideas, so it will waken new conceptions in the inventive mind.

The most novel mechanical contrivance contains, within itself, much that was known before; and the most seemingly perfect invention, if we may judge the future by the past, admits of further improvements. For this reason, the more that is known, discovered, and contrived, the ampler the materials out of which new discoveries, inventions, and improvements may be expected.

Perfect as the steam engine seems, it is a general persuasion that we are in the rudiments of its economical uses. The prodigious advances made in the arts of locomotion teach nothing more clearly than the probability that they will be rendered vastly more efficient. The circulation of ideas by means of the press is probably destined to undergo great enlargement. Analytical chemistry has, within the last thirty years, acquired instruments which enable the philosopher to unlock mysteries of nature before unconceived of. Machinery of all kinds, and for every purpose, is daily simplified and rendered more efficient. Improved manipulations are introduced into all the arts, and each and all of these changes operate as efficient creative causes of further invention and discovery. Besides all that may be effected by the diligent and ingenious use of the materials for improvement afforded by the present state of the arts, the progress of science teaches us to believe that principles, elements, and powers are in existence and operation around us, of which we have a very imperfect knowledge, perhaps no knowledge whatever. Commencing with the mariner's compass, in the middle ages, a series of discoveries has been made, connected with magnetism, electricity, galvanism, the polarity of light, and the electro-magnetic phenomena, which are occupying much attention at the present day, all of which are more or less applicable to the useful arts, and which may well produce the conviction that, if in some respects we are at the meridian, we are, in other respects, in the dawn, of science. In short, all art, as I have said, is a creation of the mind of man — an essence of infinite capacity for improvement. And it is of the nature of every intelligence, endowed with *such* a capacity, however mature in respect to the past, to be at all times,

in respect to the future, in a state of hopeful infancy. However vast the space measured behind, the space before is immeasurable; and, though the mind may estimate the progress it has made, the boldest stretch of its powers is inadequate to measure the progress of which it is capable.

Let me say, then, Mr President, and Gentlemen of the Mechanic Association, PERSEVERE. Do any ask what you have done, and what you are doing, for the public good? Send them to your exhibition rooms, and let them see the walls of the temple of American Liberty (Faneuil Hall) fitly covered with the products of American art. And while they gaze with admiration on these creations of the mechanical arts of the country, bid them remember that they are the productions of a people whose fathers were told by the British ministry they should not manufacture a hobnail! Does any one ask, in disdain, for the great men who have illustrated the mechanic arts? Repeat to him the well-known names which will dwell in the grateful recollections of posterity when the laurelled destroyers of mankind shall be remembered only with detestation. Mechanics of America! respect your calling! respect yourselves! The cause of human improvement has no firmer or more powerful friends.

RECEPTION OF THE SAUKS AND FOXES.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In the autumn of 1837, a numerous delegation of the Sauk and Fox tribes of Indians went to Washington, on business connected with their boundary. They were led by their chief, Keokuk, who from motives of prudence brought with them their late celebrated war chief, Black Hawk, then in disgrace. Several females and children accompanied the deputation, and Keokuk himself was attended by his favorite wife, and her son, a child of about ten years of age. It was deemed expedient by the United States government that this deputation should visit the cities of the Middle and Eastern States, and Boston was included in their tour.

In compliance with the wishes of the war department, a public reception was given to these interesting visitors by the municipal authorities of Boston and the state executive of Massachusetts. They were received on the morning of the thirtieth October, 1837, in the hall of the House of Representatives, where the following speeches were made, in the presence of a very large assembly. After partaking a collation in the senate chamber, they exhibited their war dances on the Common in the afternoon, in the presence of a vast multitude of spectators from Boston and the neighboring country. The warriors were dressed and decorated in their national costume and taste, and afforded the best specimen of the native population of the continent which has been seen in this part of the country within the memory of man. Their deportment and conduct were uniformly decorous and orderly, both in public and at their lodgings, and in the private houses at which they were entertained.

The official address made to them by Mr Everett has been included in this volume, as a memorial of a highly interesting public occasion, of a nature not likely soon to return. The replies of two or three of the warriors have been also subjoined, as authentic specimens of native oratory. They spoke with fluency, animation, and much natural grace and ease, but their half-breed interpreter did not appear to be very skilful; and it is probable, for this reason, that full justice is not done to their speeches in the report.

Dr Jonathan Edwards, in his observations on the language of the Muhhekaneew Indians, classes the Saukies and Ottagaumies (Foxes) with the tribes of the New England and Middle States, as belonging to the great Delaware

family. It was under this impression that the following speech was made. Further researches render this conclusion somewhat doubtful, except on the broad ground that all the native races of the American continent, notwithstanding the extraordinary phenomenon of radical differences of language, may be considered as of one stock. See Pickering's edition of Edwards, pp. 44 et seq.

RECEPTION OF THE SAUKS AND FOXES.

Chiefs and Warriors of the United Sauks and Foxes:

You are welcome to our hall of council.

Brothers, you have come a long way from your home to visit your white brethren; — we rejoice to take you by the hand.

Brothers, we have heard the names of your chiefs and warriors. Our brethren who have travelled into the west have told us a great deal about the Sauks and Foxes; we rejoice to see you with our own eyes.

Brothers, we are called the Massachusetts. This is the name of the red men who once lived here. Their wigwams were scattered on yonder fields; and their council fire was kindled on this spot. They were of the same great race as the Saukies and Misquakuiks.*

Brothers, when our fathers came over the great water, they were a small band. The red man stood upon the rock by the sea-side, and saw our fathers. He might have pushed them into the water and drowned them. But he stretched out his hand to them, and said, "Welcome, white men." Our fathers were hungry, and the red man gave them corn and venison. They were cold, and the red man wrapped them up in his blanket. We are now numerous and powerful, but we remember the kindness of the red man to our fathers. Brothers, you are welcome; we are glad to see you.

Brothers, our faces are pale, and your faces are dark; but our hearts are alike. The Great Spirit has made his children of different colors, but he loves them all.

* An ancient name for the Foxes.

Brothers, you dwell between the Mississippi and the Missouri. They are mighty rivers. They have one branch far east in the Alleghanies, and another far west in the Rocky Mountains; but they flow together at last into one great stream, and run down into the sea. In like manner the red man dwells in the west; and the white man in the east, by the great water. But they are all one band, — one family. It has many branches and one Head.

Brothers, as you entered our council house, you beheld the image of our great father, Washington.* It is a cold stone; it cannot speak. But he was the friend of the red man, and bade his children live in friendship with their red brethren. He is gone to the world of spirits, but his words have made a very deep print in our hearts, like the step of a strong buffalo on the soft clay of the prairie.

Brother, (to Ke-o-kuk,) I perceive your little son between your knees. May the Great Spirit preserve his life, my brother. He grows up before you, like the tender sapling by the side of the mighty oak. May they flourish for a long time together; and when the mighty oak is fallen on the ground, may the young tree fill its place in the forest, and spread out its branches over the tribe.

Brothers, I make you a short talk, and again bid you welcome to our council hall.

The reply of Ke-o-kuk (Watchful Fox) was as follows: —

"I am very much gratified to have the pleasure of shaking hands with the great chief of the state, and the chiefs who surround him.

"The remark you made just now, that the Great Spirit made both of us, though your skin is white and mine red, is true. He made our hearts alike. The only difference is, that he made you to speak one language, and me another. He made us hands to take each other by, and eyes to see each other.

* Chantrey's statue.

"Brothers, I am very happy to be able to say, before I die, that I have been to the house where your fathers used to speak with ours, as we now do with you; and we hope that the Good Spirit is pleased with this sight.

"I hope he will long keep friendship between the white and red men; and I hope that he sees that our hearts are friendly to each other.

"My remarks are short, and I shall say no more; but I take all our friends here by the hand, and hope that the Great Spirit will bless them."

After speeches from two other leading chiefs, Po-we-skeek, (Strawberry,) a principal chief, spoke as follows: —

"You have heard what my chiefs have to say. They are much gratified by their visit to this town. They were invited to the council house (Faneuil Hall) of my brother on Saturday, and to-day they are brought to this great council hall.

"They are much pleased with these attentions, and will not forget them. Though I am not now able to reward you for these kindnesses, I hope the Great Spirit will reward you for them.

"This is the place where our race once lived. I have often heard my father and grandfather say that they once lived by the sea-coast, when the white man first came. I wish I had a book, and could read in it all these things. I have been told that is the way you get all your knowledge.

"As far as I can understand the accounts of the white people, it appears to me that the Americans have reached a high place among the nations of the white people; that very few could overpower them.

"I too belong to a race that is much respected by all others; and though I say it, where I live I am looked up to by others, and they all respect me. I am very happy that two great men like you and me should meet and shake hands together."

After several other chiefs and braves had spoken, the celebrated Black Hawk (Mucata-mish-kakaekq *) made the following speech : —

" I am very glad to hear you talk of the Great Spirit. He made us both of one heart, though your skin is white and mine red. When the first white men came upon the island, we thought they were French. They were our brothers, as you are. Your heart is white, and so is mine.

" On our journey your white brothers hung round our necks such medals as the French gave us.

" The Great Spirit is pleased at our talking together to-day.

" I have lived for a long time between the Mississippi and the Missouri. I like to hear you talk of them. I have got to be old.

" You are a man, and so am I; and that is the reason we talk together as brothers. I cannot shake hands with all my friends in particular; but by shaking hands with you I shall with them."

At the close of Black Hawk's speech, it was proposed by one of the warriors that Keokuk should introduce his son Mu-san-wont (Long-haired Fox) to the governor, which was done; and the attorney-general then presented him to Mr Everett's son, a child near his own age. When this was done, Keokuk said that his son was young, but he had a heart, and would not forget what passed on this occasion.

* This word is variously written. The orthography of Mr S. G. Drake is here followed; Book of the Indians, Book V. p. 141.

DR BOWDITCH.

At a special meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, held March twentieth, 1838, to take due notice of the decease of their President, the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., the following Resolves were offered by Mr Edward Everett, and adopted unanimously by the Fellows of the Academy: —

Whereas it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life Nathaniel Bowditch, President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Fellows of the Academy, at a special meeting called for the purpose of taking due notice of this melancholy event, unanimously adopt the following resolutions, expressive of their feelings on this sorrowful occasion: —

Resolved, That the Fellows of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences entertain the liveliest sense of the exalted talents and extraordinary attainments of their late President, who stood preëminent among the men of science in the United States, and who, by universal consent, has long been regarded as one of the most distinguished mathematicians and astronomers of the age; that we consider his reputation as one of the most precious treasures of our common country; that we deeply deplore his loss in the fulness of his intellectual power; and that we esteem it our sacred duty to cherish his memory.

Resolved, That in addition to the loss which they have sustained, as members of this scientific body, in being deprived of their distinguished associate and head, whose name has for many years conferred honor on their institution, and whose communications are among the most valuable contents of the volumes of the Academy's Memoirs, the Fellows of the Academy, as members of the community, lament the loss of a friend and fellow-citizen, whose services were of the highest value in the active walks of life; whose entire influence was given to the cause of good principles; whose life was a uniform exhibition of the loftiest virtues; and who, with a firmness and energy which nothing could shake or subdue, devoted himself to the most arduous and important duties, and made the profoundest researches of science subservient to the practical business of life.

Resolved, That the Fellows of the Academy deeply sympathize with the family of their late President in the loss of a faithful, affectionate, and revered parent, and that the officers of the Academy be requested to address to them a letter of respectful condolence.

Resolved, That the officers of the Academy be a committee to procure a bust in marble of the late President, to be placed in the hall of the Academy, and to adopt and carry into execution such other measures as they may deem expedient, in honor of the memory of one, who among living men of science has left few equals.*

Resolved, That an attested copy of these resolutions be transmitted by the corresponding secretary to the family of the deceased, and to the various learned societies in Europe and America of which he was a member, and that they be furnished for publication in the papers of the city.

A true copy of record. — Attest,

Daniel Treadwell, *Recording Secretary.*

Boston, *March* 21, 1838.

In presenting the foregoing resolutions, the following remarks were made by Mr Everett: —

I rise with diffidence, Mr Chairman, in the presence of gentlemen older than myself, and entitled on this, as on other grounds, to take precedence of me. But I rise from that impulse of feeling to which you have alluded, — an impulse which strongly prompts me to give utterance to those emotions which, in common with every member of the Academy, I experience on this occasion. It is no ordinary occasion. A mind of the highest order, an intellect gifted as are but few of the human race in the long line of time, a character of sterling purity, has passed away from among us. That chair, which he occupied and adorned, will be filled by him no longer. Our peculiar relations to the departed, as members of a scientific association of which he had so long been the chief ornament, as well as the official head, call upon us to give the first utterance to those feelings which the tidings of

* In virtue of this resolution, the Hon. John Pickering was appointed by the committee to deliver a eulogy on their deceased President before the Academy, at the annual meeting in May. This duty was performed by Mr Pickering in the most satisfactory manner. A copy of his highly appropriate, eloquent, and instructive discourse was, by the unanimous vote of the Academy, requested for publication.

his loss will awaken in the bosoms of all who knew him, personally, or by reputation, in this country and in Europe.

In rising to address you, however, nothing can be farther from my purpose than to attempt a studied eulogium of the character of our lamented President. That task must be approached with an ability to which I can lay no claim; and, on the part of the highest ability, it must be undertaken with a profound reflection and study, which belong not to these first moments of bereavement.

This, however, I think I may say, without impropriety, that I do not fear being charged with exaggeration, in pronouncing Dr Bowditch, as a mathematician and an astronomer, without a superior among those whom he has left behind him in his own country, perhaps without a superior, in his peculiar departments, in the world. Not to dwell on his former published works in support of this estimate of his character, his communications to the volumes of the Academy's Memoirs, and his Practical Navigator, (a work embodying in a modest and unpretending form the results of profound researches and of methods of procedure original in him,) his translation and commentary on the Mécanique Céleste of La Place will probably be considered in after times as placing his name in the same class with the illustrious author of that work, the perfecter of the Newtonian philosophy.

I know not whether the fame of Dr Bowditch can be enhanced by stating that he reached this extraordinary scientific eminence without the advantages of education; without an instructer. Sir, he had the best instructer; he was self-taught. The best, of course, I mean for a mind like his. The advantages of early education, inestimable as they are to the majority of men, are of little moment compared with the forereaching sagacity, the irresistible struggle towards truth, the intuitive perceptions of a mind like that of our departed President. I will not deny that some advantages of education are necessary to help even such a mind over the first difficulties of scientific acquisition; (and most assuredly his advantages were of the slenderest kind;) but once helped

over these difficulties, an intellect like his mounts upward towards the highest heaven of reflection and discovery, with a keenness of vision and a strength of wing, which the aid of other intellects, or the want of such aid, can do little to assist or to retard.

But it is not my purpose, sir, with sounding phrases, to attempt to set forth his praise. Such an effort would be singularly out of keeping with his character, which was marked far more by utility than display. No small part of the labor of his scientific life was bestowed by him on the preparation of a manual for the navigator. What ocean so wide, what coast or island so remote and inaccessible, that is not more boldly crossed and more safely approached in consequence of the stores of science locked up in the tables of that volume? But how unpretending its form!

In the midst of the profoundest researches of science, he was eminently endowed with aptitude for the management of affairs and the active duties of life. You, Mr Chairman, (President Quincy,) and the honorable friend at my side, (Mr Justice Story,) can amply attest the truth of this remark. For several years you have been associated with him, as a most active and efficient member of the corporation of the university. The building in which we are assembled* has for years been the witness of the assiduity with which he devoted himself to duties to which, in the outset, few but himself were equal; which required a mind like his, but which to such a mind could have presented little of science, but the drudgery of its mechanical processes.

For many years he had been crowned with that pure fame which is the best earthly reward of meritorious effort. He stood at the head of the men of science of his own country, and was enrolled as the associate of the most distinguished literary societies of Europe. How meekly he bore these honors we are all the witnesses. They in no degree corrupted the severe simplicity of his character He wore

* That of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, of which institution Dr Bowditch was the first actuary.

them with that unconscious ease which is the test of true worth.

His moral and personal qualities formed the proper complement of his public and scientific character. Unaffected plainness of manners stamped him with its authentic seal, the real great man. The virtues and charities of domestic life, softening and shading down the energy of his intellect, while they derived from it their own consistency and force, united to render him an object of equal affection, admiration, and reverence.

To such a life, career, and fame, one thing only was wanting — the death of the Christian philosopher. It seems scarcely possible to conceive of the close of a life more in harmony with the character displayed in its progress, or better calculated to put his principles to the test. Nothing but such a death could add lustre to such a life.

For a month, at least, before his departure, he was steadily sinking under the advances of a painful and mortal disease. He was called for days and weeks to behold the king of terrors face to face; but he beheld the dreadful spectacle unmoved. Not a murmur nor a sigh escaped him. As far as physical weakness would permit, he continued his official duties, and even his scientific studies, without a word or a look which evinced surprise or dismay. Never has it been my fortune to witness a brighter display of Christian patience, resignation, and fortitude. About ten days before his death, I enjoyed the privilege of an interview with him of considerable duration. The memory of this interview will never be effaced from my mind. I saw one of the brightest intellects that ever adorned humanity, sinking without a cloud, like the glorious luminary whose laws and influences it had been accustomed to explore. He was sitting in his library, the field of his labors and his fame. As I took my seat by his side, he said, "You see me near my journey's end. It would be pleasant to me to stay longer. I have enjoyed life, I have enjoyed my friends; but I am prepared to go. I have made all my arrangements for my departure, and now wait for my summons."

Having thus spoken of himself with a composure which must be learned, not in the schools of human science, but in that of Christian hope, with greater composure than I was able then or am able now to command, he minutely described the nature of his disease. He then spoke, in an animated strain, on subjects of interest and importance, on his great work, of which he had that morning corrected part of a proof sheet, on the general course of his life, and on several important topics of public concern. Among other subjects, I cannot deny myself the melancholy gratification of stating, that he spoke in terms of the warmest approbation of an act of painful official duty, which, by the advice of the executive council of the commonwealth, I had recently been called to perform. He deemed it to be imperatively required for the vindication of the violated majesty of the law, and for the protection of the public order and peace. He assured me it was an act which my conscience would approve to the latest hour of my life. Evidently drawing near the close of his own, in a condition in which the prejudices and passions of the day were less likely than ever to cloud his pure and lofty judgment, I own that I could not receive this testimony of approbation from that voice of wisdom, which I was to hear no more on earth, without emotions of sorrowful satisfaction, mingled with reverence and awe.

But I crave your indulgence, Mr Chairman, for the length to which my remarks have extended. I rose, not to express any feelings personal to myself, but to give utterance to those which I share with every member of the Academy. Allow me, in taking my seat, to send to the Chair the draft of certain resolutions appropriate to the occasion, which I submit to the disposal of the Academy.

FOURTH OF JULY, 1838.*

Mr Everett made his acknowledgments for a complimentary toast as follows: I rise, Mr Mayor, to thank you for the kind notice you have been pleased to take of me in the toast just offered. To that portion of it which rendered a just tribute to the renown of our ancient commonwealth, I may be permitted myself to respond; and for that part which conveyed a personal compliment, greatly indebted for it as I am to your kindness, I cannot but express my heartfelt thanks.

You have observed, sir, that this is the first occasion in which the city, in its corporate capacity, has, in this manner, celebrated the fourth of July. I agree with you, that it is an occasion worthy of such a celebration. It was foretold by him whose name we behold on yonder wall, (John Adams,) and who was declared by his compatriot, the author of the Declaration of Independence, (Mr Jefferson,) to have been "the colossus who sustained it on the floor of Congress," — it was foretold by him, that this day would be celebrated, with every demonstration of joy, to the end of time. It ought to be so celebrated. It has been sometimes said, that the interest of the occasion has expired, and that it is time the celebration were discontinued. I think not so. If, indeed, the celebration were to begin and end, as I am sorry to say it has sometimes done, in mere empty merry-making, in barren acclamations, in festive excess, and, still worse, in exciting base party passion, I agree that it could not be too soon discontinued. But when, in this old New England fashion, it is observed, under the sanction of our respected

* Made at the municipal celebration in Faneuil Hall.

municipal fathers, with fervent prayers to the Most High, with sound addresses and earnest appeals to the understanding and the heart, and with rational and temperate festivity, I trust the celebration will never cease while Americans remember what they owe to their ancestors.

Who has forgotten the patriotic feeling which was diffused through the whole country, twelve years ago, when the two most prominent agents in proclaiming our independence were gathered to their fathers, upon this anniversary? Who did not feel that, by that solemn circumstance, Providence had, as it were, stamped the day with a sacred character? It would be well to celebrate it, if it were only to perpetuate that serious and salutary feeling, and to transmit to posterity their names, with those of their associates emblazoned on these walls, and which seem almost at this moment to send down a benediction upon us. We must depend on this anniversary to keep up the recollection of the days and deeds of the revolution, of the times that tried men's souls, and of the men whose souls were tried. Far different, sir, were those times from ours. The genius of American Liberty had not then, as in the symbolical figure before you, put on her bravery and her beauty, with stars upon her garments, and garlands upon her head. Her path was known by the blood-stained footmarks of her retreating armies over wintry snows. This hall was not, as we now behold it, decorated with rose-buds and banners, echoing with cheerful voices and strains of joyous music. Alas! no. In yonder galleries were seen the stern and darkening countenances of our fathers, whose all of right and liberty was at stake, and whose voices, firm and resolute, echoed from all its arches. Were it but to perpetuate their memory, the celebration of the fourth of July ought not to be abandoned.

The day would be well spent, did it produce no other effect than that of furnishing us public occasion, once in the year, to contemplate the character of Washington, the great champion of our independence, whose principles and example are a precious legacy, not merely to Americans, but to the world. For one, sir, I am desirous, on the highest public grounds, to

perpetuate the tradition of his personal influence — that influence which was the salvation of his country, in peace and in war, in its darkest hours. This tradition, with the lapse of time, must necessarily grow fainter and fainter. The bond which unites him, in his earliest labors and sacrifices for the country, to the generations of the living, is almost severed. It happened (by what afterwards proved to be an extraordinary coincidence) that Washington, then a colonel in the British provincial service, was compelled, on the fourth of July, 1754, after a painful capitulation to a superior force of French and Indians, to march his troops out of Fort Necessity, a little work which he had thrown up in the valley of the Monongahela. This was Washington's first inauspicious observance of the fourth of July. It may be doubted whether there now lives a man who shared the sufferings of that day, which Providence so richly repaid by its after glories. In the following year, 1755, and in the month of July, Washington was present, as the aid of the ill-starred Braddock, in the fatal battle which bears his name; and there is living, in the state of Massachusetts, an individual who was also in the battle. He remembers the appearance of the COLONEL, as he calls him. He saw him as he rode, for three long hours, through the storm of fire and steel which beat on that disastrous plain; leaping from horse to horse, as two were successively shot under him, the constant mark of the Indian warriors, as they afterwards told him, but preserved like the pious children of Israel, "on whose bodies the fire had no power." Not like them, indeed, in all respects; for it is recorded, that "neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them." The garments of Washington were pierced with bullets in four places; but he was preserved through the fiery trial, to be the savior of his country. The aged person to whom I have alluded, living, as I believe, in Manchester, in the county of Essex, is probably the sole surviving eye-witness of the scene.

Even of the Washington of the revolution, how few are now the surviving associates! I would yet, awhile, at least, celebrate the fourth of July as the day which brings them

together. We have seen some of them in the procession to-day. It is the only day when one is sure that he can readily take the hand which has been grasped by the hand of Washington. This day we can still do it. I remember, sir, that, on the last fourth of July, I had the honor to be present at dinner with the Society of Cincinnati. It was a touching sight to behold the venerable men. One decrepit veteran, tottering towards a seat, had, in the times long past, when he could wield something more formidable than a crutch, been one of the body-guard of the commander-in-chief at Brandywine or Germantown. Another at his side recollected the unearthly terrors of the countenance of Washington, as he encountered Lee in full retreat at Monmouth. Within a twelvemonth, a venerable citizen of a neighboring state, (Hon. Paine Wingate,) who is said to have been the last survivor of those who were received at the table of Washington, on the day of his first inauguration as President of the United States, has passed from the stage. They are departing — rather let us say, are departed. A generation has arisen who knew not Joseph, but to whom his name and memory, loaded with the benedictions of the world, have descended, as the most precious portion of their political inheritance.

Yes, sir, I do not think I go too far in saying the *best portion* of our political inheritance. While man remains as he is, example is the great teacher. It is in vain for books to proclaim that ambition ought to be sacrificed to patriotism, and that serving, or even saving, the country gives no title to enslave it. So long as the current of all experience runs in the opposite direction, and no one possessed of power, capable of being abused, misses the opportunity, maxims like those which I have named are regarded as a kind of monastic morality, which hypocrites preach, and simpletons believe. Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon have done more to pervert opinion, and corrupt the judgment of mankind, than mere human inculcations of principle can ever undo. But when a character like Washington arises, truth is vindicated, and patriotism is personified. The common sense and inborn feelings of men. for ages trampled down by prosperous mad-

men and villains, are asserted and take courage. The world begins to believe that virtue, truth, and sincerity are living, real things, and not names, as the dying martyr of Philippi pronounced them. So long as the memory of Washington endures, it will be our just boast to the world, not that we have taught the theory of free government, but that we have held up its living representative and exemplar in the career of Washington. I will propose, sir, with your permission, —

THE MEMORY OF WASHINGTON AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN COUNCIL AND THE FIELD.

EDUCATION THE NURTURE OF THE MIND.*

I TRUST, Mr President, that I shall not be thought an intruder, in rising to take some part in this interesting debate. It is made the duty of the Board of Education, of which I have the honor to be officially a member, to promote, as far as practicable, the objects for which the board was established, by a participation in these meetings. Even if no such call of duty warranted me in thus presenting myself before you at this time, I am persuaded that this is a cause in which you would not reject the services of a volunteer, however humble.

But I do not rise, sir, to attempt to convey any information on the great subject of education. I speak in the presence of many practical persons, before whom it would be arrogant, in me, to attempt to use the language of authority on this subject. There is, however, a single illustration of the nature of education, which constantly presents itself to my mind, and which I deem so important as to warrant me in dwelling for a few moments upon it, however obvious and trite the general proposition which I would endeavor to establish.

The point, sir, to which I refer, is the importance of education as the means by which the mind of man, or rather, let me say, by which man himself, considered as an intellectual and moral existence, attains his formation and growth.

There are many very striking truths which, on account of

* Substance of remarks made at the county convention of the friends of education, held at Tisbury, on the island of Martha's Vineyard, on the 16th of August, 1838.

their familiarity, fail to affect us as powerfully as they ought. What is unusual and irregular awakens our attention; the habitual passes before us, surrounds us, dwells within us, and we do not notice it, do not reflect upon it. The multitude runs to gaze at any departure from the laws of nature, but casts a vacant eye on the wonder and beauty of its daily miracles. How little are we affected by the divine faculty of vision, by which the entire external world is successively pictured, as it were, upon the ever-changing tapestry which hangs around the inner chambers of the soul! But if it is reported that an individual can see with the back of his head or the pit of his stomach, the community is alive at the tidings. Men who have been blessed all their lives with the glorious gift of speech; who have been accustomed, without reflection, by a few slight movements of the lips and tongue, to give a vibration to the air, which carries intelligence, expresses the finest shades of thought, awakens sympathy and kindles passion in other minds; men who have seen their little children, they know not how, without books and without a teacher, acquire this heavenly endowment of articulate speech, — will travel miles to behold the performance of a ventriloquist, and think they have made a good bargain when they have paid a half dollar to hear him throw a voice into a chest of drawers.

I am not disposed, sir, to play the austere censor, and to quarrel with this eager passion for novelty. It leads, I am aware, if well directed, to improvement. It nourishes the spirit of observation. But I would have it accompanied with the habit of sober and thoughtful reflection on the world of greater wonders, which surrounds us, which we carry about within us, in the frame of our being and the constitution of our nature. The truly wonderful is not that which breaks out into astonishing novelties and fantastic peculiarities; it is the inimitable contrivance, and the miraculous proportion, resource, and harmony of our existence. Imagination and romance, in their wildest freaks, — credulity, in its greediest cravings for excitement, — have never caught at any thing of monstrous or fairy creation which parallels those quiet

mysteries of our nature which make up the daily round of life.

The most important of these mysteries (humanly speaking) is, the formation and growth of the mind of man, considered as a real, substantive being; and the point of view in which I have wished to present the subject of education to you on this occasion is, that of being, in ordinary cases, the appointed means of the formation and growth of this invisible and mysterious thing which we call the mind; that formless essence which gives life to all the forms of humanity; that unseen power which, through the animated eye, beholds all the qualities of external nature; that undying life which, with perishable organs, and failing limbs, and fainting senses, erects its perennial monuments on earth, and climbs the paths of an immortality which shall endure when the earth, and all that encumbers and adorns it, shall pass away. In a word, I could wish, were it possible for me to do it, to present to the understandings of those whom I have the honor to address, the impression which dwells upon my own, of the nature and importance of education, considered as the name we give to the care and nourishment of our minds.

What labor and pains are not bestowed to clothe, and feed, and shelter the body; to shield it from blight and disease; to rear it up into a healthy and well-proportioned frame of vigorous humanity! Now, suppose it were possible, (and to some extent it is possible,) that it were even quite easy, without actually starving a human creature to death, to keep him in being for the usual term of existence without that supply of accustomed food which is necessary for health, strength, and comeliness. Suppose there was such a thing as a community of men, capable of subsisting and continuing their race, but who, from poverty, indolence, or the act of God, — for want of means, or knowledge to use them, — should pass through life without any development of the great vital powers; should just be alive, and no more; who should, in the language of Scripture, have eyes but see not, ears but hear not; their senses all torpid; their limbs feeble, nerveless, incapable of muscular movement; the entire system

languid, pining, cataleptic; all but lifeless, and yet alive. What should we think of such bodies, of such existence, of such beings? What should we think of such fatuity and madness, if they knowingly and designedly reduced themselves and kept themselves in such a state, living as they do on the fertile earth, lords of the subject animals, and able, if they were pleased, to seat themselves, every day, at the bountiful table of Providence, and receive nourishment, and health, and strength, from its liberal supplies?

Now, sir, I am coming to the point which I wish to illustrate; and it is this: What none but a madman would knowingly do to his body; what no known community of men, raised above the abjectest level of savage life, and placed on a soil and in a climate that yield a competent supply of wholesome food, has ever done to the perishing corporeal frame; what no parent, in whose bosom the last drop of the milk of human kindness and natural love was not dried up, would do to his child, — that is done, and permitted to be done, without scruple and without rebuke, to the immortal intellect; and this in enlightened lands and in Christian communities, composed of men who know that they have not only minds to enlighten, but souls to save. I say the monstrous and unnatural cruelty, never practised to himself or another, as far as the body is concerned, unless by an idiot or a savage, is daily, constantly, remorselessly, practised upon that which excels the body, by all the difference between mind and matter, spirit and clay, heaven and earth.

The body is not starved, except in cases of cruel necessity. Not starved? It is nourished and pampered by whatever can provoke or satisfy the appetite; the healthy child is nursed and nourished up into the healthy man; the tiny fingers, which now weary with the weight of the rattle, will be trained up to a grasp of steel; the little limbs will learn to stretch, unfatigued, over plain and mountain; while the inward intellectual being will be allowed to remain unnourished, neglected, and stinted. A reason, capable of being nurtured into the vigorous apprehension of all truth, will remain uninformed and torpid, at the mercy of low prejudice

and error. A capacity, which might have explored nature, mastered its secrets, and weighed the orbs of heaven in the golden scales of science, shall pass through life, clouded with superstition, ignorant of the most familiar truth, unconscious of its own heavenly nature. There is the body of a man, sound, athletic, well-proportioned; but the mind within is puny, dwarfed, and starved. Could we perceive it with our bodily sight, we should pity it. Could the natural eye measure the contrast between a fully-developed and harmoniously-proportioned intellect, on the one hand, and a blighted, stinted, distorted, sickly understanding, on the other, even as it compares a diseased and shrivelled form with the manly expansion and vigorous development of health, we should be moved with compassion; but, so completely do we allow ourselves to be the slaves of material sense, that many a parent, who would feel himself incapable of depriving a child of a single meal, will let him grow up, without ever approaching the banquet of useful, quickening knowledge.

I know, sir, these are figures of speech. The mind does not grow by food, nor languish for the want of it; but these similitudes are the only means we have of discoursing of the intellectual nature. I know not to what else we can better liken the strong appetence of the mind for improvement, than to a hunger and thirst after knowledge and truth; nor how we can better describe the province of education, than to say, it does that for the intellect, which is done for the body, when it receives the care and nourishment which are necessary for its growth, health, and strength. From this comparison, I think I derive new views of the importance of education. It is now a solemn duty, a tender, sacred trust. What! sir, feed a child's body, and let his soul hunger! pamper his limbs, and starve his faculties! Plant the earth, cover a thousand hills with your droves of cattle, pursue the fish to their hiding-places in the sea, and spread out your wheat fields across the plain, in order to supply the wants of that body, which will soon be as cold and as senseless as their poorest clod, and let the pure spiritual essence within you, with all its glorious capacities for improvement, languish and

pine! What! build factories, turn in rivers upon the water-wheels, unchain the imprisoned spirits of steam, to weave a garment for the body, and let the soul remain unadorned and naked! What! send out your vessels to the farthest ocean, and make battle with the monsters of the deep, in order to obtain the means of lighting up your dwellings and work-shops, and prolonging the hours of labor for the meat that perisheth, and permit that vital spark, which God has kindled, which He has intrusted to our care, to be fanned into a bright and heavenly flame, — permit it, I say, to languish and go out!

I am aware that I utter these sentiments before an intelligent audience; in the hearing of those who feel the importance of education, and who have exerted themselves to promote it. I wonder not that such should be the case with the inhabitants of this beautiful region. You have continually before your eyes, on your sea-girt isle, a standing memorial of the importance of education, taken in its most comprehensive sense, in the now feeble remnant of the race which once covered the island and the main, and ruled and roamed over the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Where are all the powerful and warlike tribes that occupied the territory of Massachusetts, and, under the guidance of their brave and intelligent chieftains, waged, at times, a perilous, not to say a doubtful, war with our fathers? One full moiety of their posterity is comprised in those poor remains, which still find shelter in a corner of Martha's Vineyard, and the neighboring islet.* Well may the civilized man, at the present day, inquire, "What maketh thee to differ?" Why has the red man failed, and the white man waxed strong? Why have we multiplied by thousands and hundreds of thousands, while they have disappeared from plain and hill-side? Why is their light canoe no longer seen, at daybreak, flitting over the waters? Why does the deer no longer bound before them, hardly outstripping them, in the chase? Why are their

* One or two of the Gay Head Indians were present in the church, where these remarks were made.

dusky forms no longer seen gathering at the falls of the rivers, at the season when the salmon and the shad ascend the streams? I know no answer to be given to these questions, but that which is suggested by the train of reflection which I have submitted to you. In most of the capacities and powers of the physical man, they not only equalled, but excelled, the European race. The Indian was trained to uncommon bodily hardihood; to an eye of fire and a frame of iron. In physical vigor and endurance, he was an overmatch for his pale-faced rival. But

> "His soul proud Science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk or milky way."

His mind was untutored, ignorant of nature, ignorant of himself. He wanted the arts, and especially the art of arts, which gives an image to thought, and a record to knowledge. He wanted an alphabetical character, by which he could receive and transmit the accumulated treasures of science; and by which the discoveries and attainments of every man, and of every age, are made the common property of every other man in every other period of time.

This the natives of the continent wanted; and, wanting this, their physical endowments were of no avail. Nature, in her terrors and smiles, was the same to them as to us; but they could not interpret either. The same sun rose upon them as upon us. But to them it was a ball of fire, rolling through the sky, and sinking in the sea; while to us it is a glorious luminary, the source of light and motion to the system of worlds of which it is the head, whose places and motions, observed by the eye of Science, serve as guides to direct the vessels of the white man across the widest sea. The parent earth contained the same deposits and stores for them as for us; but they were untaught to bring cultivation in aid of its productive qualities; untaught to melt the ploughshare and the axe from its solid rocks. They needed, for their preservation, not walls and bulwarks, but the elements of useful knowledge; and had Massasoit, or King Philip, and their tribes, possessed those means and instruments

of improvement which are in the hands of your children at school, I know not why they might not have perpetuated their national existence, and borrowed the improvements of our civilization, without sinking under the superiority of our arts and arms. If Providence has been pleased to write the chapter of their destiny in other and darker characters, let us, at least, (while we do all in our power to alleviate their condition,) cherish and respect those means of improvement, to which we owe our happier lot.

FESTIVAL AT EXETER.*

Mr Chairman:

I rise to second the motion submitted by the gentleman who spoke last, (the Rev. Professor Ware, Jr,) that the report of the committee be accepted. I do so, sir, with great satisfaction; and I desire, at the same time, to express my thanks to the committee for the judicious arrangements made by them for this interesting occasion. I scarcely feel it necessary to enlarge on the several topics embraced in the report. This has been done with such ability by the chairman in presenting it, (His Honor L. Saltonstall, the mayor of the city of Salem,) that I feel there is little occasion for me to add any thing to his statement. It seems to me that a more interesting occasion than the present cannot easily be imagined. Our revered preceptor has devoted a very long period to his arduous duties as a guide of youth — a period equal to one fourth part of the time since the settlement of New England. He now proposes — *Emeritus* in the highest sense of the word — to retire, in his green and vigorous old age, and pass the honored evening of a useful life in tranquil repose from its labors, and philosophical enjoyment of its blessings; and we, his pupils, have come, for a second time, to take an affectionate leave of him. On former occasions, he dismissed us to higher seminaries of education, or to the walks of active life: we are assembled, on this occasion, to take a respectful notice of his retreat; to dismiss him, if I may so express it, to his well-merited retirement.

* This festival was celebrated at Exeter, on the 23d of August, 1838, in honor of Dr Abbot, who on that day resigned the place of Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy, which he had filled for fifty years.

When we parted from him before, the minds of most of us effervescing with the spirits of youth; busy, and filled with the thoughts of the untried scenes opening upon us; ignorant of life, ignorant of ourselves, — we were scarcely in a state to reflect with calmness on the nature and extent of the obligations of a pupil to a faithful instructer. Time and events have passed. We have reaped, or are reaping, the harvest which was sown under his care; the experience of our lives has shown the benefits of the paternal encouragements and the gentle restraints of our youthful days; and we now come, a sort of living posterity, with the deliberate acknowledgments, with the reasoning gratitude, which one generation pays to the services of another which precedes it. The kind Providence which has continued the life and usefulness of our revered preceptor, enables *us* to pay, and *him* to receive, those grateful honors which, in the course of nature, are generally breathed over the graves of the departed. It is in some degree as if the coming generations could be hastened forward, and made to pass, not in the shadowy vision of the mystic glass, but living and substantial, in long procession, with offerings of gratitude to a public benefactor. Happy are we both in the tender and the reception of these offices of gratitude; and late be the day when they shall be succeeded by any others!

I have already intimated, Mr Chairman, that the measures adopted and proposed for testifying our respect and affection towards our revered and beloved preceptor, on this interesting occasion, have my entire approbation and concurrence. The first was to procure his portrait by a distinguished artist. This has been done: you, sir, have been pleased to submit to this meeting the correspondence which has passed on this subject between the trustees of the Academy and a committee of which I had the honor to be a member. The trustees have kindly acceded to our request, that this portrait — among the most successful efforts of the distinguished artist (Mr Harding) by whom it was executed — should be hung up in the hall of the Academy. It strikes me, I own, sir, as a peculiarly appropriate manifestation of

respect, now that the time has arrived when the presence of our preceptor will no longer be given in these apartments, — the scene of his fifty years' labors, the scene of the early studies of nearly two thousand alumni, whose feelings, I am sure, are truly represented by the goodly proportion of them here assembled, — that this portrait should be suspended on their walls. There, sir, whether seen by us, who in times past have often gazed on the original with respect, but henceforward, in all probability, shall, the most of us, see his face no more; or whether, in after times, contemplated by future generations, who shall occupy these halls when we and our respected teachers shall alike have passed away, — it will be regarded, I am confident, as a deserved tribute to solid worth, and prove, I trust, an incentive to like fidelity. Hanging as it does directly opposite to the portrait of the honored founder of this institution, (John Phillips,) it will speak volumes of instruction to the youth of other times.

There is a passage in that Roman history in which we were wont to be here so faithfully taught, that was recalled to my mind as I cast my eye this morning from one to the other of these interesting portraits. In the expiring days of the Roman republic, there were two distinguished men, the leaders of a band like-minded with themselves, who sought by a bold and bloody stroke to retard the accelerated downfall of Roman liberty. They did but delay this downfall for a moment. A Hydra race of oppressors sprung from the blood of him they had cut off; and after two generations, the day arrived (so dark and jealous was the tyranny of the times) that their images were not permitted to be borne through the streets at the funeral of Junia. But not thus was the memory of the illustrious deceased to be banished from the minds of men. "Præfulgebant," says Tacitus, (if we may quote Latin in the open air; and why not speak the language in the open academy of heaven which we were taught in yonder hall?) — "Præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus, eo ipso, quod effigies eorum non visebantur." In the days of the agony of American independence, when the blood-red star of her liberties was rising through cold and dubious

clouds, the founder of our Academy, with that generous fore cast into futurity which he possessed in common with the other members of his family, was determined that jointly with the torch of civil and political freedom, the light of intellectual and moral culture should also be kindled. At a trying time, when desolation and impending ruin stalked through the land, and when the most natural thought of the man of property would be to secure it in some safe investment for the benefit of himself and family, our founder chose to invest the fruits of his industry and frugality in the cultivation of the intellect of the rising generation. There, sir, he safely invested it; and without a glance at the future, — looking only to the past, — may we not say that a return has already been realized, which will endure when all the forms and investments of property in earthly things shall have passed away? His donation has already yielded an interest of two thousand immortal souls trained in their early years to learning and virtue; and now, as at the close of two generations we behold the portrait of this distinguished benefactor of society hung up in the hall of the institution he founded, and smiling upon that of the man whom he selected to carry on this glorious work, and who for fifty years has done it with assiduity never for one moment abated, who would not prefer the pure fame of these real friends of humanity to the doubtful renown of a whole gallery of heroes? Never will come the day when the light of *their* unenvied greatness will need to be concealed; never will the portraits of our founder and preceptor require to be hidden from sight; and as long as they are seen, to the end of time, they will recall the memory of men, whose wealth and talents, whose purposes and lives, were consecrated to the improvement of their race.

Not less appropriate, sir, as it seems to me, is the next measure proposed by the committee — that of raising a fund by subscription, among the alumni, adequate to endow a scholarship at Harvard College, to be called the Abbot scholarship, and to be always filled by some worthy pupil of Phillips Exeter Academy. No mode of perpetuating the memory

of a distinguished instructer can be imagined, more in keeping with the nature of his desert; and never could such a tribute be more fitly paid. We need but cast our eye over the catalogue — the telltale * catalogue — just published, to perceive the great numbers of pupils prepared at this institution for the various places of collegiate education. Among them are some of the names of which the country has most reason to be proud. The honorable chairman has spoken of some of them, and in particular has paid the tribute which the hearts of all who knew him will never cease to pay, to the memory of Buckminster, one who, cut off in the morning of his days, gave an impulse to literature in the community in which he lived, which in an ordinary case would have been deemed a proud result of a long life of well-directed effort. Nor would I be thought to disparage the importance of the course of studies in the Academy, by which, without preparation for college, so many have been trained to usefulness and distinction in life. The name of one who represents the country with distinction abroad (Governor Cass) has already been mentioned. He is far distant, but his heart is with us. I shall ask permission to place an extract from a letter lately received from him among the memorials of this day's proceedings.

But fully appreciating the importance of either department of the Academy, the foundation of a scholarship at the university, to bear his name, will be regarded as an appropriate tribute of respect to one who has directed the preparatory course of so many of the students of that and other collegiate institutions. In this way his services will be, in some sense, continued in his retirement from the Academy, and even after his retirement from life. Somewhat of the salutary influence of our beloved preceptor will even then be felt. "Non omnis morietur." Yes, sir, I rejoice in the anticipation, that to the end of time, so long as America shall subsist in the family of nations, and while one stone of Harvard shall be left upon another, this foundation — consecrated to

* The catalogue gave the ages of those educated at the Academy.

the memory and bearing the name of our preceptor — will continue, in some measure, to do what he has ever done — to encourage the minds of ingenuous youth in the acquisition of useful knowledge and the pursuit of pure fame.

Lastly, sir, as we assemble under the influence of an association which unites us all, however otherwise disconnected, in one kind feeling; as we meet together for the first and the last time in life, many of us to take a last farewell of our revered preceptor, — it has seemed meet that we should break the noontide bread together, and invite him also to meet us at the social board, there to pass the last hour that we shall ever all pass together on earth, in the interchange of kind feeling with each other and with him. There, sir, whether we pledge his health in the rosy or the limpid cup, the dews of Castalia I am sure will sweeten its brim, and the balm of good fellowship give a flavor to the draught. The occasion will there also be taken of offering to our respected teacher a slight but permanent token of respect, of a domestic character, which will preserve at the fireside of his family, in aftertimes, the recollection of this day's transactions.

Here, sir, I might with prudence pause; but emotions crowd upon my mind, which I find it equally difficult to suppress and to utter. I have read of an individual who was released from the Bastile after a confinement of more than thirty years. He sought for his family and the friends of his youth, and they were gone. The house in which he had lived had passed into the possession of strangers, and he desired to go back to the prison in which he had so long been immured. I can catch a glimpse of his feelings, as I wander about these scenes, familiar to me in boyhood, and which I have but once or twice revisited, and that long ago, in the interval of more than thirty years since I was a pupil at the Academy. It was my good fortune to pass here but a portion of the year before I entered college; but I can truly say that even in that short time I contracted a debt of gratitude, which I have felt throughout my life. I return to these endeared scenes with mingled emotion. I find them changed; dwelling-places are no more on the same spots; old edifices have

disappeared; new ones, both public and private, have been erected. Some of the respected heads of society whom I knew, though as a child, are gone. The seats in the Academy-room are otherwise arranged than formerly, and even there the places that once knew me know me no more. Where the objects themselves are unaltered, the changed eye and the changed mind see them differently. The streets seem narrower and shorter, the distances less considerable; this play-ground before us, which I remember as most spacious, seems sadly contracted. But all, sir, is not changed, either in appearance or reality. The countenance of our revered preceptor has undergone no change to my eye. It still expresses that *suaviter in modo* mentioned by the gentleman last up, (Rev. Professor Ware, Jun.,) with nothing of the sternness of the other principle. It is thus I remember it; it was always sunshine to me. Nature, in the larger features of the landscape, is unchanged; the river still flows, the woods yield their shade as pleasantly as they did thirty years ago, doubly grateful for the contrast they afford to the dusty walks of active life; for the solace they yield in an escape, however brief, from its burdens and cares. As I stood in the hall of the Academy, last evening, and saw from its windows the river winding through the valley, and the gentle slope rising from its opposite bank, and caught the cool breeze that was scattering freshness after the sultry summer's day, I could *feel* the poetry of Gray, on revisiting, in a like manner, the scenes of his schoolboy days —

> "Ah, happy hills! ah, pleasing shade!
> Ah, fields beloved in vain!
> Where once my careless childhood strayed,
> A stranger yet to pain!
> I feel the gales that from ye blow
> A momentary bliss below,
> As, waving fresh their gladsome wing,
> My weary soul they seem to soothe,
> And, redolent of joy and youth,
> To breathe a second spring."

ACCUMULATION, PROPERTY, CAPITAL, CREDIT.*

In compliance with your request, gentlemen, I appear before you this evening, to take a part in the observance of the eighteenth anniversary of the Mercantile Library Association. This meritorious institution was founded for the purpose of promoting mental improvement among the young men of the city engaged in commercial pursuits. Its objects were, to form a library, well furnished with books best adapted to their use; to lay the foundation of scientific collections; to make provision for occasional or stated courses of instructive lectures; and to furnish opportunity for exercises in literary composition and debate. It would be superfluous to offer any labored commendation of an institution of this description. It needs only to be named, in a commercial community, to be regarded with favor. It has already been approved by its good fruits, in the experience of many who have enjoyed its advantages; and has received the most favorable notice from distinguished gentlemen, who, on former anniversaries, have performed the duty which, on the present occasion, has devolved upon me.

Supposing, then, that the usefulness of such an institution is a point too well established to need illustration, I have thought we should pass our time more profitably this evening, by devoting our attention to the discussion of a few of the elementary topics connected with commerce, in reference to which there are some prevailing errors, and on which it is impor-

* An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, at the Odeon, in Boston, 13th September, 1838.

tant to form correct judgments. These topics are, accumulation, property, capital, and credit; the simple enunciation of which, as the heads of my address, will satisfy this most respectable audience that, without aiming at display, it is my object to assist those before whom I have the honor to appear, in forming right notions on important practical questions. I may also add, that the views presented in a single discourse, on topics so extensive and important, must necessarily be of the most general character.

I. Some attempts have been made, of late years, to institute a comparison between what have been called the producing and the accumulating classes, to the disadvantage of the latter. This view I regard as entirely erroneous. Accumulation is as necessary to further production, as production is to accumulation; and especially is accumulation the basis of commerce. If every man produced, from day to day, just so much as was needed for the day's consumption, there would, of course, be nothing to exchange; in other words, there would be no commerce. Such a state of things implies the absence of all civilization. Some degree of accumulation was the dictate of the earliest necessity; the instinctive struggle of man, to protect himself from the elements and from want. He soon found, — such is the exuberance of Nature, such the activity of her productive powers, and such the rapid development of human skill, — that a vast deal more might be accumulated than was needed for bare subsistence.

This, however, alone, did not create commerce. If all men accumulated equally, and accumulated the same things, there would still be no exchanges. But it soon appeared, in the progress of social man, that no two individuals had precisely the same tastes, powers, and skill. One excelled in one pursuit, one in another. One was more expert as a huntsman, another as a fisherman; and all found that, by making a business of some one occupation, they attained a higher degree of excellence than was practicable while each one endeavored to do every thing for himself. With this discovery commerce began. The Indian who has made two bows, or dressed two bear-skins, exchanges one of them for a bun-

dle of dried fish, or a pair of snow-shoes. These exchanges between individuals extend to communities. The tribes on the sea-shore exchange the products of their fishing for the game or the horses of the plains and hills. Each barters what it has in excess for that which it cannot itself so well produce, and which its neighbors possess in abundance. As individuals differ in their capacities, countries differ in soil and climate; and this difference leads to an infinite variety of fabrics and productions, artificial and natural. Commerce perceives this diversity, and organizes a boundless system of exchanges, the object of which is, to supply the greatest possible amount of want and desire, and to effect the widest possible diffusion of useful and convenient products.

The extent to which this exchange of products is carried, in highly civilized countries, is truly wonderful. There are probably few individuals in this assembly, who took their morning's meal this day, without the use of articles brought from almost every part of the world. The table on which it was served may have been made from a tree which grew on the Spanish Main, or one of the West India Islands, and covered with a table-cloth from St Petersburg or Archangel. The tea was from China; the coffee perhaps from Java; the sugar from Cuba or Louisiana; the spoons from Mexico, Peru, or Chili; the cups and saucers from England or France. Each of these articles was purchased by an exchange of other products, the growth of our own or foreign countries, collected and distributed by a succession of voyages, often to the farthest corners of the globe. Without cultivating a rood of ground, we taste the richest fruits of every soil. Without stirring from our fireside, we collect on our tables the growth of every region. In the midst of winter, we are served with fruits that ripened in a tropical sun; and struggling monsters are dragged from the depths of the Pacific Ocean to lighten our dwellings.

As all commerce rests upon accumulation, so the accumulation of every individual is made by the exchanges of commerce to benefit every other. Until he exchanges it, it is of no actual value to him. The tiller of a hundred fields can

eat no more, the proprietor of a cloth factory can wear no more, and the owner of a coal mine can sit by no hotter a fire, than his neighbors. He must exchange his grain, his cloth, and his coal, for some articles of their production, or for money, which is the representative of all other articles, before his accumulation is of service to him. The system is one of mutual accommodation. No man can promote his own interest, without promoting that of others. As, in the system of the universe, every particle of matter is attracted by every other particle, and it is not possible that a mote in a sunbeam should be displaced, without producing an effect on the orbit of Saturn, so the minutest excess or defect in the supply of any one article of human want, produces a proportionate effect on the exchanges of all other articles. In this way, that Providence which educes the harmonious system of the heavens out of the adjusted motions and balanced masses of its shining orbs, with equal benevolence and care furnishes to the countless millions of the human family, through an interminable succession of exchanges, the supply of their diversified and innumerable wants.

II. In order to carry on this system of exchanges, it is necessary that the articles accumulated should be safe in the hands of their owners. The laws of society, for the protection of property, were founded upon the early and instinctive observation of this truth. It was perceived, in the dawn of civilization, that the only way in which man could elevate himself from barbarism, and maintain his elevation, was, by being secured in the possession of that which he had saved from daily consumption; this being his resource for a time of sickness, for old age, and for the wants of those dependent upon him; as well as the fund, out of which, by a system of mutually beneficial exchanges, each could contribute to the supply of the wants of his fellow-men. To strike at the principle which protects his earnings or his acquisitions; to destroy the assurance that the field which he has enclosed and planted in his youth, will remain for the support of his advanced years, that the portion of its fruits which he does not need for immediate consumption, will remain a safe

deposit, under the protection of the public peace, is to destroy the lifespring of civilization. The philosophy that denounces accumulation, is the philosophy of barbarism. It places man below the condition of most of the native tribes on this continent. No man will voluntarily sow, that another may reap. You may place a man in a paradise of plenty, on this condition; but its abundance will ripen and decay unheeded. At this moment, the fairest regions of the earth — Sicily, Turkey, Africa, the loveliest and most fertile portions of the East, the regions that, in ancient times, after feeding their own numerous and mighty cities, nourished Rome and her armies — are occupied by oppressed and needy races, whom all the smiles of heaven and the bounties of the earth cannot tempt to strike a spade into the soil, further than is requisite for a scanty supply of necessary food. On the contrary, establish the principle that property is safe, that a man is secure in the possession of his accumulated earnings, and he creates a paradise on a barren heath; Alpine solitudes echo to the lowing of his herds; he builds up his dikes against the ocean, and cultivates a field beneath the level of its waves; and exposes his life fearlessly, in sickly jungles, and among ferocious savages. Establish the principle that his property is his own, and he seems almost willing to sport with its safety. He will trust it all in a single vessel, and stand calmly by, while she unmoors for a voyage of three years around the globe. He knows that the sovereignty of his country accompanies it with a sort of earthly omnipresence, and guards it as vigilantly on the loneliest island of the Antarctic Sea, as though it were locked in his coffers at home. He is not afraid to send it out upon the common pathway of the ocean, for he knows that the sheltering wings of the law of nations will overshadow it there. He sleeps quietly, though all that he has is borne upon six inches of plank on the bosom of the unfathomed waters; for, even if the tempest should bury it in the deep, he has assured himself against ruin, by the agency of those institutions which modern civilization has devised, for the purpose of averaging the losses of individuals upon the mass.

III. It is usual to give the name of capital to those accumulations of property which are employed in carrying on the commercial as well as the other business operations of the community. The remarks already made will enable us to judge, in some degree, of the reasonableness of those prejudices which are occasionally awakened at the sound of this word. Capital is property, which a man has acquired by his industry, or has, under the law of the land, become possessed of in some other way; and which is invested by him in that form, and employed in that manner, which best suit his education, ability, and taste. No particular amount of property constitutes capital. In a highly prosperous community, the capital of one man, like the late Baron Rothschild, at London, or of Stephen Girard, at Philadelphia, may amount to eight or ten millions; the capital of his neighbor may not exceed as many dollars. In fact, the last of these two extraordinary men, and the father of the first, passed from one extreme to the other, in this scale of prosperity; and the same law which protected their little pittance, at the outset, protected the millions amassed by their perseverance, industry, and talent.

Considering capital as the mainspring of the business operations of civilized society, — as that which, diffused in proportionate masses, is the material on which enterprise works, and with which industry performs its wonders, equally and in the same way necessary for the construction of a row-boat and an Indiaman, a pair of shoes and a railroad, — I have been at some loss to account for the odium which, at times, has been attempted to be cast on capitalists, as a class; and particularly for the contrast in which capital has been placed with labor, to the advantageous employment of which it is absolutely essential.

I have supposed that some part of this prejudice may arise from the traditions of other times, and the institutions of other countries. The roots of opinion run deep into the past. The great mass of property in Europe, at the present day, even in England, is landed property. This property was much of it wrested from its original owners, by the remote ancestors of its present possessors, who overran the countries

with military violence, and despoiled the inhabitants of their possessions ; or, still worse, compelled them to labor, as slaves, on the land which they had once owned and tilled as free men. It would seem, that an hereditary bitterness must have sprung out of this relation. never to be wholly overcome, particularly where the political institutions of society remain upon a feudal basis. We know, from history, that after the Norman invasion, the Saxon peasantry, reduced to slavery, were compelled to wear iron collars about their necks, like dogs, with the names of their masters inscribed upon them. At what subsequent period, from that time to this, has any thing occurred to alleviate the feelings growing out of these events? Such an origin of the great mass of the property must place its proprietors in some such relation to the rest of the community, as that which exists between the Turks and Rayas, in the Ottoman empire, and may have contributed to produce a traditional hostility, on the part of the poor, towards the rich, among thousands who know not historically the origin of the feeling.

It is obvious, that the origin of our political communities, and the organization of society among us, furnish no basis for a prejudice of this kind against capital. Wealth, in this country, may be traced back to industry and frugality ; the paths which lead to it are open to all ; the laws which protect it are equal to all ; and such is the joint operation of the law and the customs of society, that the wheel of fortune is in constant revolution, and the poor, in one generation, furnish the rich of the next. The rich man, who treats poverty with arrogance and contempt, tramples upon the ashes of his father or his grandfather ; the poor man, who nourishes feelings of unkindness and bitterness against wealth, makes war with the prospects of his children.

A moment's consideration will show the unreasonableness of a prejudice against capital ; for it will show that it is the great instrument of the business movements of society. Without it, there can be no exercise, on a large scale, of the mechanic arts, no manufactures, no private improvements, no public enterprises of utility, no domestic exchanges, no foreign

commerce. For all these purposes, a twofold use of capital is needed. It is necessary that a great many persons should have a portion of capital; as, for instance, that the fisherman should have his boat; the husbandman, his farm, his buildings, his implements of husbandry, and his cattle; the mechanic, his shop and his tools; the merchant, his stock in trade. But these small masses of capital are not, alone, sufficient for the highest degree of prosperity. Larger accumulations are wanted, to keep the smaller capitals in steady movement, and to circulate their products. If manufactures are to flourish, a very great outlay in buildings, fixtures, machinery, and power, is necessary. If internal intercourse is to diffuse its inestimable moral, social, and economical blessings through the land, canals, railroads, and steamboats, are to be constructed, at vast expense. To effect these objects, capital must go forth, like a mighty genius, bidding the mountains to bow their heads, and the valleys to rise, the crooked places to be straight, and the rough places plain. If agriculture is to be perfected, costly experiments in husbandry must be instituted, by those who are able to advance, and can afford to lose, the funds which are required for the purpose. Commerce, on a large scale, cannot flourish, without resources adequate to the construction of large vessels, and their outfit for long voyages, and the exchange of valuable cargoes.

The eyes of the civilized world are intently fixed upon the experiments now making to navigate the Atlantic by steam. It is said that the Great Western was built and fitted out at an expense of near half a million of dollars. The success of the experiment will be not more a triumph of genius and of art than of capital. The first attempts at the whale fishery in Massachusetts were made from the South Shore and the Island of Nantucket, by persons who went out in small boats, killed their whale, and returned the same day. This limited plan of operations was suitable for the small demands of the infant population of New England. But the whales were soon driven from the coast; the population increased; and the demand for the product of the fisheries increased proportionably. It became necessary to apply larger capitals to

the business. Whale ships were now fitted out, at considerable expense, which pursued this adventurous occupation from Greenland to Brazil. The enterprise thus manifested awoke the admiration of Europe, and is immortalized in the well-known description by Burke. But the business has grown, until the ancient fishing-grounds have become the first stations, on a modern whaling voyage; and capitals are now required sufficient to fit out a vessel for an absence of forty months, and a voyage of circumnavigation. Fifty thousand dollars are invested in a single vessel; she doubles Cape Horn, ranges from New South Shetland to the coasts of Japan, enters Behring's Straits, cruises in unexplored latitudes, stops for refreshment at islands before undiscovered, and on the basis, perhaps, of the capital of an individual house in New Bedford, or Nantucket, performs an exploit which, sixty or seventy years ago, was thought a great object to be effected by the resources of the British government. In this branch of business a capital of twelve or fifteen millions of dollars is invested.* Its object is, to furnish us a cheap and commodious light for our winter evenings. The capitalist, it is true, desires an adequate interest on his investment; but he can only get this by selling his oil at a price at which the public are able and willing to buy it. The "overgrown capitalist" employed in this business, is an overgrown lamplighter. Before he can pocket his six per centum, he has trimmed the lamp of the cottager, who borrows an hour from evening to complete her day's labor, and has lighted the taper of the pale and thought-worn student, who is "outwatching the Bear" over some ancient volume.

In like manner, the other great investments of capital, whatever selfish objects their proprietors may have, must, before that object can be attained, have been the means of supplying the demand of the people for some great article of

* A writer, who appears to understand the subject thoroughly, in an article in the North American Review, for January, 1834, calculates that a capital of twelve millions of dollars is employed in carrying on the whale fishery, and that an amount of seventy millions of dollars is directly or remotely involved in it.

necessity, convenience, or indulgence. This remark applies peculiarly to manufactures carried on by machinery. A great capital is invested in this form, though mostly in small amounts. Its owners, no doubt, seek a profitable return; but this they can attain in no other way than by furnishing the community with a manufactured article of great and extensive use. Strike out of being the capital invested in manufactures, and you lay upon society the burden of doing by hand all the work which was done by steam and water, by fire and steel; or it must forego the use of the articles manufactured. Each result would, in some measure, be produced. A much smaller quantity of manufactured articles would be consumed, that is, the community would be deprived of comforts they now enjoy; and those used would be produced at greater cost, by manual labor. In other words, fewer people would be sustained, and those less comfortably, and at greater expense.

When we hear persons condemning accumulations of capital employed in manufactures, we cannot help saying to ourselves, Is it possible that any rational man can desire to stop those busy wheels, to paralyze those iron arms, to arrest that falling stream, which works while it babbles? What is your object? Do you wish wholly to deprive society of the fruit of the industry of these inanimate but untiring laborers? Or do you wish to lay on aching human shoulders the burdens which are so lightly borne by these patient metallic giants?* Look at Lowell. Behold the palaces of her industry, side by side with her churches and her school-houses, the long lines of her shops and warehouses, her streets filled with the comfortable abodes of an enterprising, industrious, and intelligent population. See her fiery Samsons,† roaring along her railroad, with thirty laden cars in their train. Look at her watery Goliaths, not wielding a weaver's beam, like him of

* At the time this address was delivered, I was unacquainted with the little work entitled "John Hopkins's Notions on Political Economy," where the same comparison of machines to giants is very ingeniously pursued.

† Samson and Goliath were at that time names of locomotive engines on the Lowell Railroad.

old, but giving motion to hundreds and thousands of spindles and looms. Twenty years ago, and two or three poor farms occupied the entire space within the boundaries of Lowell. Not more visibly, I had almost said not more rapidly, was the palace of Aladdin, in the Arabian tales, constructed by the genius of the lamp, than this noble city of the arts has been built by the genius of capital. This capital, it is true, seeks a moderate interest on the investment; but it is by furnishing, to all who desire it, the cheapest garment ever worn by civilized man. To denounce the capital which has been the agent of this wonderful and beneficent creation, to wage war with a system which has spread and is spreading plenty throughout the country, — what is it, but to play, in real life, the part of the malignant sorcerer, in the same Eastern tale, who, potent only for mischief, utters the baleful spell which breaks the charm, heaves the mighty pillars of the palace from their foundation, converts the fruitful gardens back to their native sterility, and heaps the abodes of life and happiness with silent and desolate ruins?

It is hardly possible to do justice to the effects on human comfort of the application of capital to the arts of life. We can fully do this only by making some inquiry into the mode of living, in civilized countries, in the middle ages. The following brief notices, from Mr Hallam's learned and judicious work,* may give us some distinct ideas on the subject. Up to the time of Queen Elizabeth, in England, the houses of the farmers in that country consisted of but one story and one room. They had no chimneys. The fire was kindled on a hearth of clay, in the centre, and the smoke found its way out through an aperture in the roof, at the door, and the openings at the side for air and light. The domestic animals — even oxen — were housed under the same roof with their owners. Glass windows were unknown, except in a few lordly mansions, and in them they were regarded as movable furniture. When the Dukes of Northumberland left Alnwick Castle, to come to London for the winter, the few glass

* State of Europe during the Middle Ages.

windows, which formed one of the luxuries of the castle, were carefully taken out and laid away, perhaps carried to London, to adorn the city residence. The walls of good houses were neither wainscoted nor plastered. In the houses of the nobility, the nakedness of the walls was covered by hangings of coarse cloth. Beds were a rare luxury. A very wealthy individual would have one or two in his house; rugs and skins laid upon the floor were the substitute. Neither books nor pictures formed any part of the furniture of a dwelling in the middle ages; as printing and engraving were wholly unknown, and painting but little practised. A few inventories of furniture, dating from the fifteenth century, are preserved. They afford a striking evidence of the want of comfort and accommodation in articles accounted by us among the necessaries of life. In the schedule of the furniture of a Signor Contarini, a rich Venetian merchant, living in London, in 1481, no chairs nor looking-glasses are named. Carpets were unknown at the same period; their place was supplied by straw and rushes, even in the presence-chamber of the sovereign. Skipton Castle, the principal residence of the Earls of Cumberland, was deemed amply provided in having eight beds, but had neither chairs, glasses, nor carpets. The silver plate of Mr Fermor, a wealthy country gentleman, at Easton, in the sixteenth century, consisted of sixteen spoons, and a few goblets and ale-pots. Some valuations of stock in trade, in England, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, have been preserved. A carpenter's consisted of five tools, the whole valued at a shilling; a tanner's, on the other hand, amounted to near ten pounds, ten times greater than any other; tanners being, at that period, principal tradesmen, as almost all articles of dress for men were made of leather.

We need but contrast the state of things in our own time with that which is indicated in these facts, to perceive the all-important influence on human comfort of the accumulation of capital, and its employment in the useful arts of life. As it is out of the question for the government to invest the public funds in the branches of industry necessary to supply

the customary wants of men, it follows that this must be done by private resources and enterprise. The necessary consequence is, that the large capital required for these operations must be furnished by the contributions of individuals, each possessing a portion of the stock, or by a single proprietor.

However furnished, it is plain that the interest of the capitalist is identical with that of the community. Nobody hoards; every thing is invested or employed, and, directly or indirectly, is the basis of business operations.

It is true that when one man uses the capital of another, he is expected to pay something for this privilege. But there is nothing unjust or unreasonable in this. It is inherent in the idea of property. It would not be property, if I could take it from you, and use it as my own, without compensation. That simple word, it is *mine*, carries with it the whole theory of property and its rights. If my neighbor has saved his earnings and built him a house, and I ask his leave to go and live in it, I ought, in justice, to pay him for the use of his house. If, instead of using his money to build a house, in which he permits me to live, he loans me his money, with which I build a house for myself, it is equally just that I should pay him for the use of his money. It is his, not mine. If he allows me to use the fruit of his labor or skill, I ought to pay him for that use, as I should pay him if he came and wrought for me with his hands. This is the whole doctrine of interest. In a prosperous community, capital can be made to produce a greater return than the rate of interest fixed by law. The merchant, who employs the whole of his capital in his own enterprises, and takes all the profit to himself, is commonly regarded as a useful citizen; and it would seem unreasonable to look with a prejudiced eye upon the capitalist, who allows all the profits of the business to accrue to others, asking only legal interest for his money which they have employed.

Without, however, pursuing this comparison among different classes of capitalists, let us further endeavor, by an example, to illustrate the question, whether they ought, in any

view, to be regarded as exerting an unfriendly influence on the labors of the community. Take, for instance, such a case as Mr Stephen Girard, a great capitalist, who united in his person the merchant and the banker, and who may be spoken of plainly, as he has passed away, the solitary man, and left no one to be grieved with the freedoms which are taken with his memory. This remarkable person began life without a farthing, and left behind him a property whose actual value amounted, I believe, to seven or eight millions of dollars, and this acquired in the latter half of his life. He told me himself that, at the age of forty, his circumstances were so narrow, that he was employed as the commander of his own sloop, engaged in the coasting trade between New York or Philadelphia and New Orleans; adding that, on a certain occasion, he was forty-five days in working his way up from the Balize to the city. Few persons, I believe, enjoyed less personal popularity in the community in which he lived, and to which he bequeathed his princely fortune. If this proceeded from defects of personal character, it is a topic which we have no occasion to discuss here. We are authorized only to speak of the effect upon the public welfare of the accumulation of such a fortune in one man's hands. While I am far from saying that it might not have been abused, by being made the instrument of a corrupt and dangerous influence in the community, I have never heard that it was so abused by Mr Girard. On general principles, it may perhaps be safely said, that the class of men qualified to amass large fortunes, by perseverance and exclusive devotion to business, by frugality and thrift, are not at all likely to apply their wealth to ambitious or corrupt designs. As to the effect, in all other points of view, I confess I see nothing but public benefit in such a capital, managed with unrelaxing economy; one half judiciously employed by the proprietor himself, in commerce; the other half loaned to the business community. What better use could have been made of it? Will it be said, divide it equally among the community; give each individual in the United States a share? It would have amounted to half a dollar each for man, woman,

and child; and, of course, might as well have been sunk in the middle of the sea. Such a distribution would have been another name for annihilation. How many ships would have furled their sails, how many warehouses would have closed their shutters, how many wheels, heavily laden with the products of industry, would have stood still, how many families would have been reduced to want, and without any advantage resulting from the distribution!

Let me not be misunderstood. I regard equality of condition and fortune as the happiest state of society, and those political institutions as immeasurably the wisest and best which tend to produce it. All laws which have for their object to perpetuate large estates, and transmit them from generation to generation, are at war with the constitution of man. Providence has enacted a statute of distributions in the impulses of the human heart. My proposition is only that, in a country like this, where the laws discourage hereditary transmission, and promote equality of fortune, accumulations of capital made by industry, enterprise, and prudence, employed in active investments, without ministering to extravagance and luxury, are beneficial to the public. Their possessor becomes, whether he wills it or not, the steward of others; not merely, as in Mr Girard's case, because he may destine a colossal fortune, after his decease, for public objects, but because, while he lives, every dollar of it must be employed in giving life to industry and employment to labor. Had Mr Girard lived in a fashionable part of the city, in a magnificent house; had he surrounded himself with a troop of liveried domestics; had he dazzled the passers-by with his splendid equipages, and spread a sumptuous table for his "dear five hundred friends," he would, no doubt, have been a more popular man. But in my apprehension, he appears to far greater advantage, as a citizen and a patriot, in his modest dwelling and plain garb, appropriating to his personal wants the smallest pittance from his princely income; living, to the last, in the dark and narrow street in which he made his fortune, and, when he died, bequeathing it for the education of orphan children. For the public, I do not know

that he could have done better; of all the men in the world, he probably derived the least enjoyment from his property himself.

IV. I have left myself scarce any room to speak on the subject of credit. The legitimate province of credit is, to facilitate and to diffuse the use of capital, and not to create it. I make this remark with care; because exaggerated and even false views prevail on this subject, which, carried into the banking system, have done infinite mischief. I have no wish whatever to depreciate the importance of credit. It has done wonders for this country. It has promoted public and private prosperity, built cities, cleared wildernesses, and bound the remotest parts of the continent together by chains of iron and gold. These are wonders, but not miracles; these effects have not been produced without causes. Trust and confidence are not gold and silver; they command capital, but they do not increase it. A merchant, in active business, has a capital of twenty thousand dollars; his credit is good; he borrows as much more; but let him not think he has doubled his capital. He has done so only in a very limited sense. He doubles the sum on which, for a time, he trades; but he has to pay back the borrowed capital, with interest; and that whether his business has been prosperous or adverse. Still, I am not disposed to deny that, with extreme prudence and good management, the benefit to the individual, of such an application of credit, is great; and when individuals are benefited, the public is benefited. But no capital has been created. Nothing has been added to the preëxisting stock. It was in being, the fruit of former accumulation. If he had not borrowed it, it might have been used by its owner in some other way. What the public gains is, the superior activity that is given to business, by bringing more persons, with a greater amount and variety of talent, into action.

These benefits, public and private, are not without some counterbalancing risks; and, with the enterprising habits and ardent temperament of our countrymen, I should deem the formation of sound and sober views, on the subject of credit, one of the most desirable portions of the young merchant's

education. The eagerness to accumulate wealth, by trading on credit, is the disease of the age and country in which we live. Something of the solidity of our character, and purity of our name, has been sacrificed to it. Let us hope that the recent embarrassments of the commercial world will have a salutary influence in repressing this eagerness. The merchants of the country have covered themselves with lasting honor abroad, by the heroic fidelity with which they have, at vast sacrifices, fulfilled their obligations. Let us hope that, hereafter, they will keep themselves more beyond the reach of the fluctuations in business, and the vicissitudes of affairs.

But it is time to close these general reflections. We live at a period, when the commerce of the world seems touching a new era; a development of energies before unconceived. Columbus discovered a new continent; modern art has diminished, by one half, its distance from the old world. The application of steam to the navigation of the ocean seems about to put the finishing hand to that system of accelerated communication, which began with steamboats along the coast, and canals and railroads piercing the interior. The immediate effect of this improvement must be a vast increase of the intensity of international communication. The ultimate result can be but dimly foreseen. Let us trust that it will give renewed vigor to the march of civilization; that it will increase the comforts of those who now enjoy its blessings, and extend these blessings to the forlorn children of the human family who are, at present, deprived of them.

Whatever may take place, in this respect; whether or not the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean, by steam-vessels, is to be generally adopted as the mode of communication; commerce, no doubt, in virtue of other causes, of ascertained and unquestioned operation, is on the eve of acquiring an activity beyond all previous example. As, in all former ages, it has been one of the most powerful agents in shaping the destinies of the human race, it is unquestionably reserved for still higher functions. I confess that I look, myself, for some great results to be produced by the new forces in motion around us. When we contemplate the past, we see some of

the most important phenomena in human history, intimately, I had almost said mysteriously, connected with commerce. In the very dawn of civilization, the art of alphabetical writing sprang up among a commercial people. One can almost imagine that these wonderfully convenient elements were a kind of short-hand, which the Phœnician merchants, under the spur of necessity, contrived for keeping their accounts; for what could they have done with the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian priesthood, applied to the practical purposes of a commerce which extended over the known world, and of which we have preserved to us such a curious and instructive description, by the prophet Ezekiel?* A thousand years later, and the same commercial race, among whom this sublime invention had its origin, performed a not less glorious part, as the champions of freedom. When the Macedonian madman commenced his crusade against Asia, the Phœnicians opposed the only vigorous resistance to his march. The Tyrian merchants delayed him longer, beneath the walls of their sea-girt city, than Darius, at the head of all the armies of the East. In the succeeding centuries, when the dynasties established by Alexander were crumbling, and the Romans, in turn, took up the march of universal conquest and dominion, the commercial city of Carthage, the daughter of Tyre, afforded the most efficient check to their progress. But there was nowhere sufficient security of property, in the old world, to form the basis of a permanent commercial prosperity. In the middle ages, the iron yoke of the feudal system was broken by commerce. The emancipation of Europe from the detestable sway of the barons, began with the privileges granted to the cities. The wealth acquired in commerce afforded the first counterpoise to that of the feudal chiefs, who monopolized the land, and, in the space of a century and a half, gave birth to a new civilization. In the west of Europe, the Hanse towns, — in the east, the cities of Venice, Genoa, the ports of Sicily and Naples, Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn, — begin to swarm with active crowds. The Medi-

* Chapter xxvii.

terranean, deserted for nearly ten centuries, is covered with vessels. Merchants from the Adriatic explore the farthest East; silks, spices, gums, gold, are distributed from the Italian cities through Europe; and the dawn of a general revival breaks on the world. Nature, at this juncture, discloses another of those mighty mysteries, which man is permitted, from age to age, to read in her awful volume. As the fulness of time approaches for the new world to be found, it is discovered that a piece of steel may be so prepared, that it will point, a steady index, to the pole. After it had led the adventurers of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, to the utmost limits of the old world, from Iceland to the south of Africa, the immortal discoverer, with the snows and the sorrows of near sixty years upon his head, but with the fire of immortal youth in his heart, placed himself under the guidance of the mysterious pilot, bravely followed its mute direction through the terrors and the dangers of the unknown sea, and called a new hemisphere into being.

It would be easy to connect with this discovery almost all the great events of modern history, and, still more, all the great movements of modern civilization. Even in the colonization of New England, although, more than almost any other human enterprise, the offspring of the religious feeling, commercial adventure opened the way and furnished the means. As time rolled on, and events hastened to their consummation, commercial relations suggested the chief topics in the great controversy for liberty. The British Navigation Act was the original foundation of the colonial grievances. There was a constant struggle to break away from the limits of the monopoly imposed by the mother country. The American navigators could find no walls nor barriers on the face of the deep, and they were determined that paper and parchment should not shut up what God had thrown open. The moment the war of independence was over, the commercial enterprise of the country went forth like an uncaged eagle, who, having beaten himself almost to madness against the bars of his prison, rushes out, at length, to his native element, and exults, as he bathes his undazzled eye in the sun-

beam, or pillows his breast upon the storm. Our merchants were far from contenting themselves with treading obsequiously in the footsteps even of the great commercial nation from which we are descended. Ten years had not elapsed from the close of the revolutionary war, before the infant commerce of America had struck out for herself a circuit, in some respects, broader and bolder than that of England. Besides penetrating the remotest haunts of the commerce heretofore carried on by the trading nations of Europe, — the recesses of the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the White Seas, — she displayed the stars and the stripes in distant oceans, where the lion and the lilies never floated. She not only engaged with spirit in the trade with Hindostan and China, which had been thought to be beyond the grasp of individual capital and enterprise, but she explored new markets, on islands and coasts before unapproached by modern commerce.

Such was the instantaneous expansion of the youthful commerce of America. The belligerent condition of Europe, for a time, favored the enterprise of our merchants; wealth began to pour into their coffers; and they immediately took that place in the community to which events and the condition of the country called them. Independence found us, in a great measure, destitute of public establishments; the eyes of the people were unconsciously turned to the merchants, as the chief depositaries of large masses of disposable wealth; and they promptly stood forth as public benefactors. It may certainly be said, without adulation, that the merchants of Massachusetts have sustained this character as honorably as their fellow-citizens in any part of the Union. In all the great enterprises for public improvement, in all our establishments for religious, moral, literary, and charitable purposes, the genial patronage of commerce has been steadily felt. Our merchants have indeed been princes, in the pure and only republican sense of the word, in bestowing princely endowments on the public institutions; and to him who asks for the monuments of their liberality we may say, as of the architect of St Paul's, "Look around you." In every part of the old world, except England, the public establishments,

the foundations for charity, education, and literary improvement, have been mostly endowed by the sovereign; and costly private edifices are generally the monuments of an opulence which had its origin in feudal inequality. If displays of wealth are witnessed in our cities, it is wealth originally obtained by frugality and enterprise, and of which a handsome share has been appropriated to the endowment of those charitable and philanthropic institutions which are the distinguishing glory of modern times.

To understand the character of the commerce of our own city, we must not look merely at one point, but at the whole circuit of country of which it is the business centre. We must not contemplate it only at this present moment of time, but we must bring before our imaginations, as in the shifting scenes of a diorama, at least three successive historical and topographical pictures; and truly instructive I think it would be to see them delineated on canvas. We must survey the first of them in the company of the venerable John Winthrop, the founder of the state. Let us go up with him, on the day of his landing, the seventeenth of June, 1630, to the heights of yonder peninsula, as yet without a name. Landward, stretches a dismal forest; seaward, a waste of waters, unspotted with a sail, except that of his own ship. At the foot of the hill, you see the cabins of Walford and the Spragues, who, the latter a year before, the former still earlier, had adventured to this spot, untenanted else by any child of civilization. On the other side of the river lies Mr Blackstone's farm. It comprises three goodly hills, converted by a spring tide into three wood-crowned islets; and it is mainly valued for a noble spring of fresh water which gushes from the northern slope of one of these hills, and which furnished, in the course of the summer, the motive for transferring the seat of the infant settlement. This shall be the first picture.

The second shall be contemplated from the same spot, the heights of Charlestown, on the same day, the eventful seventeenth of June, one hundred and forty-five years later, namely, in the year 1775. A terrific scene of war rages on the

top of the hill. Wait for a favorable moment, when the volumes of fiery smoke roll away, and over the masts of that sixty-gun ship, whose batteries are blazing upon the hill, you behold Mr Blackstone's farm changed to an ill-built town, of about two thousand dwelling-houses, mostly of wood, with scarce any public buildings but eight or nine churches, the old State House, and Faneuil Hall; Roxbury, beyond, an insignificant village; a vacant marsh in all the space now occupied by Cambridgeport and East Cambridge, by Chelsea and East Boston; and beneath your feet, the town of Charlestown, consisting, in the morning, of a line of about three hundred houses, wrapped in a sheet of flames at noon, and reduced, at eventide, to a heap of ashes.

But those fires are kindled on the altar of liberty. American independence is established. American commerce smiles on the spot; and now, from the top of one of the triple hills of Mr Blackstone's farm, a stately edifice arises, which seems to invite us as to an observatory. As we look down from this lofty structure, we behold the third picture, a crowded, busy scene. We see beneath us a city, containing eighty or ninety thousand inhabitants, and mainly built of brick and granite. Vessels of every description are moored at the wharfs. Long lines of commodious, and even stately houses, cover a space which, within the memory of man, was in a state of nature. Substantial rows of warehouses have forced their way to the channel. Faneuil Hall itself, the consecrated and unchangeable, has swelled to twice its original dimensions. Athenæums, hospitals, asylums, and infirmaries adorn the streets. The school-house rears its modest front in every quarter of the city, and sixty or seventy churches attest that the children are content to walk in the good old ways of their fathers. Connected with the city by eight bridges, avenues, or ferries, you behold a range of towns, most of them municipally distinct, but all of them, in reality, forming, with Boston, one vast metropolis, animated by one commercial life. Shading off from these, you see that most lovely background, a succession of happy settlements, spotted with villas, farm houses, and cottages;

united to Boston by a constant intercourse; sustaining the capital from their fields and gardens, and prosperous in the reflux of the city's wealth. Of the social life included within this circuit, and of all that in times past has adorned and ennobled it, commercial industry has been an active element, and has exalted itself by its intimate association with every thing else we hold dear.

Within this circuit, what memorials strike the eye; what recollections; what institutions; what patriotic treasures, and names that cannot die! There lie the canonized precincts of Lexington and Concord; there rise the sacred heights of Dorchester and Charlestown; there is Harvard, the ancient and venerable foster-child of public and private liberality, in every part of the state; to whose existence Charlestown gave the first impulse; to whose growth and usefulness the opulence of Boston has, at all times, ministered with open hand. Still farther on than the eye can reach, four* lines of communication, by railroad and steam, have, within our own day, united with the capital, by bands of iron, a still broader circuit of towns and villages. Hark to the voice of life and business which sounds along the lines! While we speak, one of them is shooting onward to the illimitable west, and all are uniting with the other kindred enterprises, to form one harmonious and prosperous whole, in which town and country, agriculture and manufactures, labor and capital, art and nature, — wrought and compacted into one grand system, — are constantly gathering and diffusing, concentrating and radiating, the economical, the social, the moral blessings of a liberal and diffusive commerce.

In mere prosperity and the wealth it diffuses, there is no ground for moral approbation; though, I believe, in any long period of time, it will be found that those communities only are signally prosperous, where virtuous principle is revered as the rule of conduct. It is the chief glory of our commercial community, that the old standard of morals is still kept up; that industry and frugality are still held in honorable

* At present, (1850,) eight.

repute ; that the rage for speculation has not eaten out the vitals of character ; and that lucky fraud, though plated stiff with ill-gotten treasure, dare not yet lift up its bold, unblushing face, in the presence of the humblest man who eats the bread of honest industry.

So may it still remain ; and let it still be your object, gentlemen of the Mercantile Library Association, to uphold this well-approved character of our ancient metropolis. Never let the mere acquisition of wealth be an exclusive pursuit. Consider it of tenfold greater importance, to manifest, in all the transactions of life, that quick sense of honor, "which feels a stain like a wound," and that integrity, which the mines of Peru could not bend from the path of principle. Let wealth be regarded as the instrument of doing, as well as of enjoying, good. In a republican government, the mercantile class, in the natural course of things, is the only one whose members, generally speaking, can amass fortune ; let it be written on your hearts, in the morning of life, that wealth is ennobled only in its uses. Form, from the first, a large conception of the character of the liberal and upright merchant. Regard him as one to whom the country looks to sustain her honor, in the hour of trial ; to uphold her public establishments, to endow her charities, to be the father of her orphans ; as one whom no success will make ashamed of his vocation ; who will adorn his days of prosperity with moderation and temper ; and hold fast his integrity, though fortunes turn to ashes in his grasp. Improve the opportunities for cultivating your minds, which this institution presents, never greater than at this season ; and the still further and peculiar opportunities for mental improvement which will shortly be placed within the reach of the young men of Boston, in consequence of the recent munificent bequest of Mr Lowell. The keys of knowledge are in your hands ; the portals of her temple are open to you. On the shelves of her libraries, there are stores of information, which, besides contributing to your success in your calling, will give grace to good fortune, and comfort and resource in disaster.

Above all, while you pursue with spirit the business of

your vocation, and follow the paths of enterprise to the ends of the earth, let a well-instructed conscience be the companion of your way. Her guidance will safely lead you, when calculation is bewildered, and prudence is at fault. Though your hope, in all else, be blasted, fail not, my young friends, to acquire the pearl of great price, that wisdom, whose merchandise is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION IN A REPUBLIC.*

Mr President:

I rise, at the particular request of the secretary of the board, and in compliance with the wishes of other respected friends of education, to express to you the thoughts which occur to me on the great subject now under our consideration, and, more especially, on the resolution which has just been read. I do not come prepared to discuss the proposition which it contains in a maturely-digested discourse. My object only is to offer to you, and this large and respected audience, the thoughts, somewhat desultory, which present themselves to my mind on the principle advanced in the resolution; and, if I can do more, I shall be well contented with having offered to the convention this public testimony of the interest I take in the cause.

I will observe, in the first place, that, without designing any thing like adulation of our native state, we may claim for it the credit of having made provision for education from the earliest period of its settlement. The small New England republics, and especially Massachusetts, have been, in point of time, far in advance of the older governments of the world, in systematic provision for the education of the people at the public expense. In setting this example, we have certainly paid back to Europe no small part of the debt

* The following remarks, in substance, were made at a county common school convention, held in Taunton, Massachusetts, on the 10th October, 1838, when a resolution was under consideration which asserted the connection between public intelligence and a republican form of government.

of civilization. I regard this hereditary care for education as a precious portion of our moral birthright; and I trust we shall transmit it, unimpaired, to after ages.

I would gladly believe, nay, I do firmly believe, that this attention — which, in this country, has never been withheld from education, and which, of late, I am rejoiced to say, has greatly increased — does not manifest itself in an accidental, far less uncongenial association, with that general interest in political affairs which also characterizes our communities, and springs from popular systems of government. On the contrary, in the view I take of the subject, a country possessed of such institutions is precisely that where education is most important; where alone it is absolutely necessary for carrying on the system of government, and keeping up its natural healthy action. It is, of course, in such a country that we should most expect from the people an enlightened and vigilant care of education.

There are two simple plans of government, on which, either pure, and without qualification, or with some admixture of the two principles, all constitutions are constructed. One of them asserts that the people are the rightful source of power, both ultimate and direct; the other denies this proposition. When Charles I. stood upon the scaffold, and a moment before he laid his head upon the block, so firm was his faith in the last-named principle, that he declared, with his dying breath, that "the people's right was only to have their life and their goods their own, a share in the government being nothing pertaining to them." The other plan is announced, in clear terms, in the constitution of Massachusetts: "The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign, and independent state."

Now, it might be thought, that, even on the theory of government which Charles sealed with his blood, education would be deemed a great popular interest, as teaching the methods, and furnishing some of the means, of preserving life and acquiring property, which he admitted to be within the right of the people. It does not appear, however, that, at that

time, nor till long after, this right was understood as imposing any correlative duty on the prince; consequently, such a thing as a scheme of popular education, promoted by the state, was, at that time, unthought of. It is not, certainly, my intention to intimate that there was no education in England, before the revolution of 1688, but such as was compatible with the spirit and policy of a purely arbitrary government. There was always a temperament of popular institutions in the British monarchy, inviting and forcing the minds of men, in various ways, to improvement and progress. The administration of affairs had never, in practice, for any long period of time, been brought down to the platform of Oriental despotism, to which the theory of Charles I. reduced it.

There were always parliaments, courts of justice, and juries, in the worst of times. The universities were seats of scholastic learning, and the practice of dispensing religious instruction from the pulpit forced upon the church a certain kind of popular education; but I suppose it was obtained at schools and colleges founded by pious and charitable individuals. Nothing resulted from the theory of the government, but that the prince, and those associated with him, needed the advantages of education, to fit them for the administration of affairs. Accordingly, we find that, with the popular reforms which have been made in the government of England, in modern times, and especially in our own day, attention has been given, for the first time, to national education. The best efforts of the Broughams and Wyses, and other liberal statesmen, have been strenuously made in this cause; and I learn, with satisfaction, from a distinguished gentleman from that country, who is now present with us, (Mr George Combe, of Edinburgh,) that a greatly-increased interest in the subject has marked the progress of the political reforms of a recent date, in the land of our fathers. In like manner, in France, every thing that has been done for popular education, by the enlightened zeal and labors of M. Cousin, and its other distinguished friends in that country, dates from the period of the political reforms of the govern-

ment of the country. It reflects lasting credit on the Prussian monarchy, that, without admitting the people to an efficient share in the government, it has had the wisdom and the courage to bestow upon them an admirable system of public education.

But on the system established in the United States, where the people are not only in theory the source of power, but in practice are actually called upon, constantly, to take an efficient part in constituting and administering the government, it is plain that education is universally and indispensably necessary, to enable them to exercise their rights and perform their duties. This will be put beyond question by considering a few particulars.

I. The first duty, in a popular government, is that which is attached to the elective franchise; though I fear it is too little regarded in this light. It is not merely the right, but it is the duty, of the citizen, by the exercise of the right of suffrage, to take a part, at periods recurring after short intervals, in organizing the government. This duty cannot be discharged with rectitude, unless it be discharged with intelligence; and it becomes the duty of the citizen to make up his own mind on all the great questions which arise in administering the government. How numerous and important these questions are, I need not say. Since you and I, Mr President, have been of years to observe the march of affairs, the people of the United States have been called to make up a practical judgment on the following, among other great questions, — the *protective policy*, that is, on the legislation necessary to introduce and establish an infant branch of manufactures; a question, however easily disposed of by theorists, on both sides, of infinite practical difficulty; on *internal improvement*, that is, the construction of public works of communication between the various parts of the country, at the expense of the general government; on the *circulating medium*, and how far the currency, which is the representative of value, must have intrinsic value itself; on the *different families of the human race* existing in the country, and the rights and duties which result from their relation to each

other; on the *relations* of the country with *foreign* powers, in reference to colonial trade, disputed boundaries, and indemnification for wrongs and spoliations; on the disposal of the *public domain*, and its bearings on the progress of population and of republican government in the mighty west; on the nature of our political system, as consisting in the harmonious *adjustment of the federal and state governments.* I have named only a part of the questions which, within the last twenty years, have been, some of them constantly, before the community — the turning-points of municipal, state, and national elections. The good citizen, who is not willing to be the slave of a party because he is a member of it, must make up his mind for himself on all those great questions, or he cannot exercise the right of suffrage with intelligence and independence. As the majority of the people are well or ill informed on these subjects, the public policy of the country will be guided by wisdom and truth, or the reverse.

I do not mean that it is necessary that every citizen should receive an education which would enable him to argue all these questions, at length, in a deliberative or popular assembly; but, while it is his right and his duty to give effect to his judgment at the polls, and while the constitution necessarily gives as much weight to the vote of the uninformed and ignorant as to that of the well-instructed and intelligent citizen, it is plain that the avenues to information should be as wide and numerous as possible; and that the utmost practicable extension should be given to a system of education which will confer on every citizen the capacity of deriving knowledge, with readiness and accuracy, from books and documents. The whole energy of the state should be directed to multiply the numbers of those capable of forming an independent and rational judgment of their own, and to diminish as much as possible the numbers of the opposite class, who, being blinded by ignorance, are at the mercy of any one who has an interest and the skill to delude them.

II. But the exercise of the elective franchise is only the beginning of the duties of the citizen. The constitution makes it the right, the laws make it the duty, of all citizens,

within certain ages, to bear arms. It may sound strangely to connect this duty with the subject of education. I hope no practical demonstration of the connection of the topics will ever arise among us. But this right and this duty, lightly esteemed in quiet times, may become of fearful import. Arms are placed in the hands of the citizen for the most important purposes; not for parade and holiday display, but to defend his country against violence from abroad; to maintain the supremacy of the laws; to preserve the peace of the community. Heaven grant that the day may be far distant when our citizens shall be called to wield them for either purpose. But if the experience of the past warrant an anticipation of the future, the time may come when this duty, also, is to be performed. It will not then be a matter of indifference whether the honor and peace of the community are committed to an ignorant and benighted multitude, like those which swell the ranks of the mercenary standing armies of Europe, or to an educated and intelligent population, whose powers of reflection have been strengthened by exercise, and who are able to discriminate between constitutional liberty and arbitrary power on the one hand, and anarchy on the other.

III. There are other civil duties to be performed, for which education furnishes a still more direct and appropriate preparation. The law of the land calls the citizen to take a part in the administration of justice. Twelve men are placed in the jury-box, to decide on the numberless questions which arise in the community — questions of character, of property, and of life. The jury passes on your fortune and your reputation; pronounces whether you live or die. Go into the courts: are they light matters which those twelve men are to decide? Look in the anxious faces of those whose estates, whose good name, whose all, is at stake, hanging on the intelligence of those twelve men, or any one of them. What assurance is there, but that which comes from our schools, that these men will understand and do their duty? Those little boys, now sporting in the streets, or conning their tasks in our town schools, in a few short years will be

summoned, in their turns, to discharge this important trust. Can we deem it a matter of indifference whether or not their minds have been early accustomed to follow a train of thoughts or a statement of facts? Did not the secretary give us, this morning, from his own experience, the instance of a witness who, in a case of slander, where every thing turned on his testimony, first swore that what he saw, he saw through one window, and then through another, and then through a door? Woe to the community, where the degree of stolidity and ignorance, necessary to constitute such a witness, abounds; and where it must appear, not only on the stand, but in the jury-box. It appears to me a most imperative duty, on the part of a state which calls its citizens to discharge this momentous office, to do all in its power to qualify them for it by a general system of education. Is it said, there is learned counsel to argue and explain the cause to a jury, however ignorant? But there is counsel on both sides; the jury must decide after hearing them both. But the court will instruct the jury. No doubt, as far as the law is concerned; but the court's instructions are addressed to minds supposed to be capable of following out an argument, estimating evidence, and making up an independent opinion. I do not say, that there are not some minds to whom the best opportunities of education would not impart the requisite qualifications of an intelligent juror. But I may appeal to every professional character and magistrate in this convention, that, in an important case, if he were to be called on to select a jury on which he could place full reliance, he would select men of good common sense, who had received a good common education.

IV. But I have not yet named all the civil duties for which education is needed, as the preparatory discipline. The various official trusts in society are to be filled, from a commission of the peace to the place of chief justice; from a constable up to the president of the United States. The sphere of duty of some of these functionaries is narrow; of others, large and inexpressibly responsible; of none, insignificant. Taken together, they make up the administration of free govern-

ment — the greatest merely temporal interest of civilized man. There are three courses, between which we must choose. We must have officers unqualified for their duties; or we must educate a privileged class, to monopolize the honors and emoluments of place; or we must establish such a system of general education, as will furnish a supply of well-informed, intelligent, and respectable citizens, in every part of the country and in every walk of life, capable of discharging the trusts which the people may devolve upon them. The topic is of great compass, but I cannot dwell upon it. It is superfluous to say which of the three courses is most congenial with the spirit of republicanism.

V. I have thus far spoken of those reasons for promoting common school education, which spring from the nature of our government. There are others, derived from the condition of our country. Individual enterprise is every where stimulated; the paths of adventure are opened; the boundless west prevents the older settlements from being overstocked, and gives scope for an unexampled development of energy. Education is wanted, to enlighten and direct those active, moving powers. Without it, much wild vigor will be exerted in vain. Energy alone is not enough; it must be turned to feasible objects, and work by sound principles.

Again, this spirit of enterprise runs naturally towards the acquisition of wealth. In this I find no matter of reproach; only let it not be a merely Carthaginian prosperity. Let a taste for reading and reflection be cultivated, as well as property acquired. Let us give our children the keys of knowledge, as well as an establishment in business. Let them, in youth, form habits and tastes which will remain with them in after-life, in old age, and furnish rational entertainment at all times. When we collect the little circle, at the family board and at the fireside, in our long winter evenings, let us be able to talk of subjects of interest and importance, — the productions and institutions of our own and foreign countries; the history of our venerated fathers; the wonders of the material universe; the experience of our race; great moral interests and duties; — subjects surely as important as dollars and

cents. Let us, from early years, teach our children to rise above the dust beneath their feet, to the consideration of the great spiritual concerns of immortal natures. A mere book-worm is a worthless character; but a mere money-getter is no better.

It is a great mistake, to suppose that it is necessary to be a professional man, in order to have leisure to indulge a taste for reading. Far otherwise. I believe the mechanic, the engineer, the husbandman, the trader, have quite as much leisure as the average of men in the learned professions. I know some men, busily engaged in these different callings of active life, whose minds are well stored with various useful knowledge acquired from books. There would be more such men, if education in our common schools were, as it well might be, of a higher order; and if common school libraries, well furnished, were introduced into every district, as I trust, in due time, they will be. It is surprising, sir, how much may be effected, even under the most unfavorable circumstances, for the improvement of the mind, by a person resolutely bent on the acquisition of knowledge. A letter has been put into my hands, bearing date the sixth of September, so interesting in itself, and so strongly illustrative of this point, that I will read a portion of it; though it was written, I am sure, without the least view to publicity.

"I was the youngest" (says the writer,*) "of many brethren, and my parents were poor. My means of education were limited to the advantages of a district school; and those, again, were circumscribed by my father's death, which deprived me, at the age of fifteen, of those scanty opportunities which I had previously enjoyed. A few months after his decease, I apprenticed myself to a blacksmith, in my native village. Thither I carried an indomitable taste for reading, which I had previously acquired through the medium of the social library; all the historical works in which I had at that time perused. At the expiration of a little more than half my apprenticeship, I suddenly conceived the idea of studying Latin. Through the assistance of an elder brother, who had himself obtained a collegiate education by his own exertions, I completed my Virgil during the evenings of one winter. After some time devoted to Cicero, and a few other Latin authors, I commenced the Greek. At this time, it was necessary that I

* Mr Elihu Burritt.

should devote every hour of daylight, and a part of the evening, to the duties of my apprenticeship. Still, I carried my Greek grammar in my hat, and often found a moment, when I was heating some large iron, when I could place my book open before me, against the chimney of my forge, and go through with *tupto, tupteis, tuptei*, unperceived by my fellow-apprentices, and, to my confusion of face, with a detrimental effect to the charge in my fire. At evening, I sat down, unassisted and alone, to the Iliad of Homer, twenty books of which measured my progress in that language during the evenings of another winter. I next turned to the modern languages, and was much gratified to learn, that my knowledge of the Latin furnished me with a key to the literature of most of the languages of Europe. This circumstance gave a new impulse to the desire of acquainting myself with the philosophy, derivation, and affinity, of the different European tongues. I could not be reconciled to limit myself, in these investigations, to a few hours, after the arduous labors of the day. I therefore laid down my hammer, and went to New Haven, where I recited, to native teachers, in French, Spanish, German, and Italian. I returned, at the expiration of two years, to the forge, bringing with me such books, in those languages, as I could procure. When I had read these books through, I commenced the Hebrew, with an awakened desire of examining another field; and, by assiduous application, I was enabled in a few weeks to read this language with such facility, that I allotted it to myself as a task, to read two chapters in the Hebrew Bible, before breakfast, each morning; this, and an hour at noon, being all the time that I could devote to myself during the day.

"After becoming somewhat familiar with this language, I looked around me for the means of initiating myself into the fields of Oriental literature, and, to my deep regret and concern, I found my progress in this direction hedged up by the want of requisite books. I immediately began to devise means of obviating this obstacle; and, after many plans, I concluded to seek a place, as a sailor, on board some ship bound to Europe, thinking in this way to have opportunities of collecting, at different ports, such works, in the modern and Oriental languages, as I found necessary to this object. I left the forge and my native place, to carry this plan into execution. I travelled on foot to Boston, a distance of more than a hundred miles, to find some vessel bound to Europe. In this I was disappointed; and, while revolving in my mind what step next to take, I accidentally heard of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester. I immediately bent my steps towards this place. I visited the hall of the American Antiquarian Society, and found there, to my infinite gratification, such a collection of ancient, modern, and Oriental languages, as I never before conceived to be collected in one place; and, sir, you may imagine with what sentiments of gratitude I was affected, when, upon evincing a desire to examine some of these rich and rare works, I was kindly invited to an unlimited participation in all the benefits of this noble institution. Availing myself of the kindness of the directors, I spend about three hours, daily, at the hall, which, with an hour at noon, and about three in the evening, make up the portion of the day which I appropriate to my studies, the rest being occupied in arduous man-

ual labor. Through the facilities afforded by this institution, I have been able to add so much to my previous acquaintance with the ancient, modern, and Oriental languages, as to be able to read upwards of FIFTY of them, with more or less facility."

I trust, Mr President, I shall be pardoned by the author of this letter, and the gentleman to whom it is addressed,* for the liberty which I have taken, unexpected, I am sure, by both of them, in thus making it public. It discloses a resolute purpose of improvement, under obstacles and difficulties of no ordinary kind, which excites my admiration, I may say, my veneration. It is enough to make one who has had good opportunities for education hang his head in shame.

No leisure, Mr President, for reading? Is there a man in the community, of an intelligent mind, and with any, the least, tincture of improvement, derived from education, who, when coming, at nightfall, from his labor, (I care not how hard or humble,) if told that, beneath his roof, he would find Shakspeare, or Milton, or Scott, or Irving, or Channing, seated in actual presence by his fireside, and waiting to converse with him, would talk of wanting leisure, or of fatigue? Would he not bound forward to meet them, as the panting hart bounds to the water-brooks? Would not the stars grow pale in the sky before he would think of weariness? Well, sir, there is not an individual in the community who cannot, for a few dollars, surround his fireside with these and kindred spirits, the lights and guides of humanity; not in bodily, but in intellectual presence. They will speak to his understanding, not through the ear, but through the eye. They will discourse to him, not in their every-day language, in which the most gifted do not always greatly excel their fellows, but in the choicest and purest strains to which, by study and meditation, and I had almost said, by inspiration, they have elevated their thoughts; and this they will do, not for a hasty moment, in a brief visit, but again and again, for days and for years; yea, until, by long-continued intercourse with the

* W. Lincoln, Esq., of Worcester.

noblest intellects of our race, his own becomes exalted and purified.

VI. There is one other topic to which I ought to allude, more important than all others; but I have only time for a single remark. Man is a religious being, and, as far as human means and influences go, education is the natural basis of a rational belief. It is the peculiarity of Christianity, as distinguished from other religions, that it addresses the understanding as well as the heart. It commands us to search the Scriptures; to be ready to give a reason for the hope that is in us; and invites us, on the Sabbath, to listen to a *discourse*, that is, a connected, well-reasoned address, on its evidence, duties, hopes, and sanctions. Can this be done, to a good purpose, (humanly speaking,) without education? The heathen might offer incense on the altar of Jupiter with a vacant mind; he might scrutinize the palpitating viscera of animals with a grovelling spirit; he might consult the oracle at Delphi, and shape his conduct by the response, with a benighted understanding. It is but little to say that there was nothing in his religion that invited the exercise of his reasoning powers. We are blessed with a faith which calls into action the whole intellectual man; which prescribes a reasonable service; challenges the investigation of its evidences; and which, in the doctrine of immortality, invests the mind of man with a portion of the dignity of Divine Intelligence. In whatever other respects the advantages of education may be dispensed with, when we consider man as a religious and immortal being, it is a shocking spectacle to see him growing up dark and benighted, ignorant of himself, of his duties, and of his destination.

But this subject is too vast for the occasion. I forbear to enlarge. I trust, sir, the resolution will be adopted, and that the people of Massachusetts, of this generation, will show by their conduct as a powerful commonwealth, not less than as a community of individuals, that they perceive the intimate connection between education and the existence and prosperity of free institutions of government.

THE SETTLEMENT OF BARNSTABLE.*

MR PRESIDENT:

I RISE, in obedience to your call, to respond to the toast which has just been proposed. I feel gratified that any language of mine has been thought appropriate to express the feelings which I am sure are common to us all on this occasion, — feelings of veneration and gratitude for our "Pilgrim Fathers." I am sure, also, that I express the sentiments of every individual of this immense company, when I include in this tribute of respect and affection those excellent, noble-hearted women, the MOTHERS of Plymouth and Massachusetts, who bore their full share of the hardships and afflictions of the first settlement. The sphere of woman is domestic. She is not commonly called to the performance of the duties which figure on the page of history. But who can doubt that, amidst the wants and dangers of the period we celebrate; under the pressure of that extremity of fortune to which the colonists were reduced, — that grim and gaunt Poverty which, more than once, like one of the famished wolves of the wilderness around them, forced its way over the threshold of the Pilgrims; the task which devolved upon mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, — the task of making a destitute home comfortable, and a weary life tolerable, — the task of stilling the impatience of children craving food which could not always be obtained for them, — the task of ministering to the sick, and performing the last offices to the departed, — was to the full as severe as that of the men who bore the hardships of the field, and faced the savage foe?

* Delivered at the public table, on the 3d September, 1839, the second centennial anniversary of the settlement of Barnstable.

I feel most happy, sir, in being present at this celebration. I cannot, for myself, it is true, lay claim to a direct relationship with any part of the Old Colony. My fathers, from the first settlement of Massachusetts proper, rest beneath the soil which they tilled for several generations, in an adjoining county. But you will not wonder, if, on this occasion, and especially before a company graced by so large an attendance of the ladies of the Old Colony, I am disposed to boast that a portion of that pure Cape blood which mantles in so many fair cheeks around this board flows in the veins of my better half at home. If I may presume to go a step further, Mr President, and, as you have happily called this a family party, be indulged in another allusion to family matters, I would add, that I have four hopeful scions, partaking of a true, honored Barnstable stock, of which I hope you will not think the worse for being ingrafted upon a sound though humble Massachusetts trunk. I shall feel most happy, sir, — proud as they will be of their Old Colony lineage, — if they shall grow up to the possession of the sterling virtues which have, in all times, characterized its sons, and the maidenly charms and matronly graces of its daughters. Sure I am, that if, on the great voyage of life, my children shall take their departure from the principles of Plymouth Rock, and steer by the good old Cape Cod compass of industry and probity, come fair weather or foul, they will lay a straight course, and, if I may, without impropriety, end the figure as I have begun, come to an anchorage, at last, at the Cape of Good Hope in the divine mercy.

But, sir, I did not need associations of this kind (though I value them) to give me a deep sympathy with the feelings awakened by this occasion. I regard all these historical celebrations as highly interesting and important. I have attended many of them, and always with the highest satisfaction. I love to see the talent and patriotic feeling of the gifted of this generation employed, as we have seen them to-day, like Old Mortality in the romance, in cutting broader and deeper the inscriptions on their moss-grown monuments. I do not know how the faculty of looking before and after,

which belongs to us as rational beings, can be better employed than in calling up to grateful recollection, on appropriate occasions, the toils and sufferings of those to whom, as a community, we owe our existence. It is a pious office to the past; and who is there that can still the fond hope within him, that, when the sun has again, for a hundred times, performed the mighty circuit of the heavens, and each of us in this thronged and happy assemblage, — from that aged head whose silvery honors demand our veneration, (Dr Thacher, of Plymouth, was seated near the chair,) to the most youthful of the blooming and heaven-lighted countenances before me, — shall alike have been for years laid low, like a weary infant at even-song in its mother's lap, — our children's children, in returning to renew these pious rites at the close of another century, will retrace with pleasure the record of these proceedings, and feel grateful to us for this day's tribute to our common ancestors?

In the anticipation of *that* day, sir, and in the desire of transmitting a slight but not unpleasing memorial of *this*, I have taken steps to have a copy of the original compact, charter, and laws of the Old Colony, recently published by order of the legislature, together with a copy of the splendid chart of the capacious harbor where the Mayflower first came to anchor, lately executed by the engineers of the United States, suitably prepared for preservation, in the hope that they will be contemplated with some interest by those who shall be gathered on this spot at the third centennial celebration. I meant to have had them in readiness to offer to you, sir, and, through you, to my fellow-citizens of Barnstable, at this time; but I have been disappointed by circumstances beyond my control. As they will not be wanted till the third of September, 1939, I suppose there is no great hurry. We will have them ready before the end of the century.

The sentiment, sir, to which I have been invited to respond, associates in one retrospect the sufferings of the fathers, both of the Old Colony and Massachusetts, — the former in the depth of winter, the latter under the scorching heats of June. All seasons, I fear, are inclement, all seas boisterous, all shores

inhospitable, to the afflicted and heart-stricken fugitive. It is sad, indeed, to reflect, that, of that portion of Governor Winthrop's party who passed the summer of 1630 in tents on one of the heights of Charlestown, and of the Plymouth settlers who were wretchedly housed upon the hill which overlooks the harbor of that place, in the dreadful winter of 1620—1, the larger half, in the course of the first six months, sank beneath their sufferings. It would be out of place to dilate, on this occasion, upon the hardships of the founders of Massachusetts; but I think it can be truly said, that, from the twelfth of July, 1620, when the first settlers of the Old Colony passed the night in tears and in prayer at Delft Haven, with Mr Robinson and the brethren who were to remain at Leyden, down to the ripening of the first crop in 1621, they endured as great an amount of suffering, bodily and mental, as was ever borne, in an equal space of time, by the same number of men, women, and children.

I speak not now of the hardships previously endured in the persecution, which drove them from their native land, but of the sufferings of the emigrants. In fact, sir, though we live upon the soil where our fathers landed; though we can trace them, as it were, every mile of the way along the shore; though we can look out upon the waves which bore the Mayflower to these uttermost ends of the earth, (as they were then regarded,) we see not, we know not, we comprehend not, the dreary land and the pathless sea, whose united perils struck terror into their hearts. Do you think, sir, as we repose beneath this splendid pavilion, adorned by the hand of taste, blooming with festive garlands, wreathed with the stars and stripes of this great republic, resounding with strains of heart-stirring music, that, merely because it stands upon the soil of Barnstable, we form any idea of the spot as it appeared to Captain Miles Standish and his companions, on the fifteenth or sixteenth of November, 1620? O, no, sir. To do that we must go up, in imagination, to yonder hill, which overlooks the village and the bay, and suppose ourselves standing there, on some bleak, ungenial morning, in the middle of November of that year. The coast is fringed

with ice. Dreary forests, interspersed with sandy tracts, fill the background. Nothing of humanity quickens on the spot, save a few roaming savages, who, ill-provided with what even they deem the necessaries of life, are digging with their fingers a scanty repast out of the frozen sands. No friendly lighthouses had, as yet, hung up their cressets upon your headlands; no brave pilot-boat was hovering like a sea-bird on the tops of the waves, beyond the Cape, to guide the shattered bark to its harbor; no charts and soundings made the secret pathways of the deep as plain as a gravelled road through a lawn; no comfortable dwellings along the line of the shore, and in your well-inhabited streets, spoke a welcome to the pilgrim; no steeple poured the music of Sabbath morn into the ear of the fugitive for conscience's sake. Primeval wildness and native desolation brooded over sea and land; and, from the ninth of November, when, after an uncomfortable voyage, the Mayflower first came to anchor in Provincetown harbor, to the end of December, the entire male portion of the company was occupied, for the greater part of every day, and often by night as well as day, in exploring the coast, and seeking a place of rest, amidst perils from the savages, from the unknown shore, and the elements, which it makes one's heart bleed to think upon.

But this dreary waste, which we thus contemplate in imagination, and which they traversed in sad reality, is a chosen land. It is a theatre upon which an all-glorious drama is to be enacted. On this frozen soil, — driven from the ivy-grown churches of their mother land, — escaped from those loathsome prisons which were so touchingly described by the eloquent orator of the day, — the meek fathers of a pure church will lay the spiritual basements of their temple. Here, on the everlasting rock of liberty, they will establish the foundation of a free state. Beneath this ungenial, wintry sky, principles of social right, institutions of civil government, shall germinate, in which, what seemed the Utopian dreams of visionary sages are to be more than realized.

But let us contemplate, for a moment, the instruments selected by Providence for this political and moral creation.

However unpromising the field of action, the agents must correspond with the excellence of the work. The time is truly auspicious. England is well supplied with all the materials of a generous enterprise. She is in the full affluence of her wealth of intellect and character. The age of Elizabeth has passed, and has garnered up its treasures. The age of the commonwealth, silent and unsuspected, is ripening towards its harvest of great men. The Burleighs and Cecils have sounded the depths of statesmanship; the Drakes and Raleighs have run the whole round of chivalry and adventure; the Cokes and Bacons are spreading the light of their master minds through the entire universe of philosophy and law. Out of a generation, of which men like these are the guides and lights, it cannot be difficult to select the leaders of any lofty undertaking; and through their influence, to secure to it the protection of royalty. But, alas for New England, — no, sir, happily for New England, — Providence works not with human instruments. Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. The stars of human greatness, that glitter in a court, are not destined to rise on the lowering horizon of the despised colony. The feeble company of Pilgrims is not to be marshalled by gartered statesmen nor mitred prelates. Fleets will not be despatched to convoy the little band, nor armies to protect it. Had there been honors to be worn, or pleasures to be enjoyed, or plunder to be grasped, hungry courtiers, midsummer friends, godless adventurers, would have eaten out the heart of the enterprise. Silken Buckinghams and Somersets would have blasted it with their patronage. But safe amidst their unenvied perils, strong in their inoffensive weakness, rich in their untempting poverty, the patient fugitives are permitted to pursue unmolested the thorny paths of tribulation; and landed at last on the unfriendly shore, the hosts of God, in the frozen mail of December, encamp around the dwellings of the just:

> "Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
> And winter barricades the realms of frost."

While Bacon is attuning the sweetest strains of his honeyed eloquence, to soothe the dull ear of a crowned pedant, and his great rival, only less obsequious, is on his knees to deprecate the royal displeasure, the future founders of the new republic beyond the sea, are training up for their illustrious mission, in obscurity, hardship, and weary exile.

And now, — for the fulness of time is come, — let us go up once more in imagination to yonder hill, and look out upon the November scene. That single dark speck, just discernible through the perspective glass, on the waste of waters, is the fated vessel. The storm moans through her tattered canvas, as she creeps, almost sinking, to her anchorage in Provincetown harbor; and there she lies, with all her treasures, not of silver and gold, (for of these she has none,) but of courage, of patience, of zeal, of high spiritual daring. So often as I dwell in imagination on this scene; when I consider the condition of the Mayflower, utterly incapable as she was of living through another gale; when I survey the terrible front presented by our coast to the navigator, who, unacquainted with its channels and roadsteads, should approach it, in the stormy season, — I dare not call it a mere piece of good fortune, that the general north and south wall of the shore of New England should be broken by this extraordinary projection of the Cape, running out into the ocean a hundred miles, as if on purpose to receive and encircle the precious vessel. As I now see her, freighted with the destinies of a continent, barely escaped from the perils of the deep, approaching the shore precisely where the broad sweep of this most remarkable headland presents almost the only point at which, for hundreds of miles, she could with any ease have made a harbor, and this perhaps the very best on the seaboard, I feel my spirit raised above the sphere of mere natural agencies. I see the mountains of New England rising from their rocky thrones. They rush forward into the ocean, settling down as they advance; and there they range themselves, a mighty bulwark around the heaven-directed vessel. Yes, the everlasting God himself stretches out the arm of his mercy and his power in substantial manifestation, and gathers

the meek company of his worshippers as in the hollow of his hand.

Within that poor tempest-tost vessel there lay, on the eleventh of November, 1620, a moral treasure, of value wholly inappreciable; — faintly conceived of even now by us, its immediate inheritors, after two hundred years' possession; — principles of social and moral growth and improvement, which, for ages to come, will not be developed in all their virtue and efficacy. There lay, scarcely organized, the elements of a pure democracy. On that day, the first written constitution of popular government was drawn up and signed, by the people assembled in convention for that purpose. Cycles of human history may pass, before events of equal importance to humanity shall recur. And what a disaster to the general cause of freedom and truth, had this vessel and all she contained been lost! Embattled navies might contend and go down. Foundered galleons might pave the green floors of the ocean with ingots of silver and gold, and the next generation be neither the poorer nor the weaker for the loss. But if this weather-beaten Mayflower and her company had sunk beneath the waves, which so often seemed opening to ingulf her, (decisive as the event would probably have been, for an indefinite period, of all further attempts to colonize America,) there would have been inflicted a wound which might never have been healed, on the great cause of civil and religious freedom.

I meant, sir, to have said a few words on the principles and institutions of the fathers of the Old Colony, as the direct sources of those blessings which we have inherited from them. I meant to have spoken briefly of the two great pillars on which they rested the temple of liberty, — freedom in the churches, as opposed to the domination of a hierarchy, and freedom in the state, founded on the absence of all hereditary privileges, on a recurrence to the popular will by frequent elections, and on a system of public education in free schools. This last object early received the attention of the government of Plymouth Colony. Besides requiring the towns to support schools, the proceeds of the public fisheries

were appropriated to their encouragement. But I leave these fruitful topics to gentlemen around me, who are abundantly able to do them justice. There is one point, only, which can never be wholly overlooked, in speaking of the Pilgrims: I mean their faults. They were men, and, of course, had faults, upon which those who like the occupation may descant. I do not, and I am sure there is no one here who does. This counsel only I would give to any who takes in hand to rebuke the errors of the fathers of Plymouth or Massachusetts, — to settle with himself, at the outset, considering what human nature at the best is, whether precisely the kind of virtues, the unyielding, dauntless, all-enduring, all-daring spirit, necessary to accomplish the great work of founding a new state under every imaginable discouragement, could have subsisted, without something of that austerity and sternness of which it must be admitted there are lamentable memorials in the Pilgrim annals.

Besides, sir, our poor fathers were pestered with troubles, and had to provide against evils, of which, in these latter days, we know nothing. It seems that it was thought necessary, in the early legislation of the colony, to enact that "no man shall strike his wife, nor any woman her husband, on penalty of such fine, not exceeding ten pounds for one offence, or such suitable corporal punishment, as the court may direct." I see, by the smiling faces of both sexes around me, that there is no occasion, at the present day, in the Old Colony, for any such legislation as this; that, law or no law, that man is held to be a villain, on Cape Cod, who raises his hand toward a woman except in kindness; and that, in return, no man is in danger of being smitten by the gentler sex with any other weapon than the bright glance which heals while it wounds. Again, the learned and eloquent orator of the day has reminded us that it was deemed necessary to provide, among the first acts of legislation in the Old Colony, that, "if, now or hereafter, any were elected to the office of governor, and would not stand to the election, nor hold and execute the office for his year, that then he should be amerced in twenty pound sterling fine." All trouble upon

this score, I believe, has disappeared, at least since the happy period when the Old Colony was united with Massachusetts. But I cannot answer for it, Mr President, that this will always be the case if things continue to be managed as they have been to-day. I must candidly tell you, that, when I found myself moving along to this pavilion, in solitary grandeur, excluded from that part of the procession which was honored by the presence of the ladies, and when I perceived that my position here, on this elevated platform, was to be one of like privation, (to say nothing of the natural misgiving which may well come over one who finds himself directly in front of his honor, the chief justice, and the sheriff,) — I say, sir, when I found that these were the consequences of official dignity, I had some thoughts of taking advantage of the Old Colony law, and paying my fine.

A single sentence more, sir, and in the serious strain which perhaps better becomes the occasion. In all that concerns the history and character of the Old Colony, the people of Barnstable have a peculiar interest. Your shore was pressed by the feet of the Pilgrims before they rested on Plymouth Rock. When the good seed raised around that chosen spot began to be cast abroad, one of the first handfuls fell on your genial soil; and, from that time to this, through two centuries of humble beginnings and rich fruits, of trial and hardship, of success and glory, you have grown up a living, leading, integral part of that illustrious "Old Colony" with whose annals commences, if I may so express myself, the New Testament of American liberty.

With your permission I would say, in taking my seat, —

The Cape: — God bless her. The sons and daughters of Barnstable are among the fairest jewels in her crown of honor: wherever dispersed, there is not one of them who will not exclaim, —

> "Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
> My heart untravelled fondly turns to thee."

NORMAL SCHOOLS.*

We are assembled to take a suitable public notice of the opening of an institution in this place, destined, as we hope, to exercise a salutary influence on the cause of common school education. The visitors of the institution have thought it expedient that a public explanation should be made, at this time, of its nature and objects, and of the hopes and expectations with which it is founded; and they have requested me, on their behalf, to appear before you for this purpose. I have complied with their request cheerfully. My official connection with the Board of Education, which, under the authority of the legislature, has established the school, and the deep personal interest I take in the result of this experiment for the improvement of popular education in the commonwealth, (convinced as I am that the time has come when it is incumbent on the people of Massachusetts to do more than has yet been done for the improvement of their common schools,) are the motives which have led me, at considerable personal inconvenience, to undertake the duty which has been assigned to me on this occasion.

The institution which is now opened in this pleasant and prosperous village, is devoted to the education of teachers of common schools, and is called a normal school. The name *normal* is derived from a Latin word, which signifies a rule, standard, or law. Schools of this character were called normal schools, on their establishment in France, either because

* An Address delivered at the opening of the Normal School at Barre, 5th September, 1839; now first published.

they were designed to serve in themselves as the model or rule by which other schools should be organized and instructed, or because their object was to teach the rules and methods of instructing and governing a school. This name has been adopted to designate the schools for teachers established in Massachusetts, because it is already in use to denote similar institutions in Europe; because it applies exclusively to schools of this kind, and prevents their being confounded with any others; and because it is short, and of convenient use. It has been already adopted in England and in our sister states, in writing and speaking of institutions for the education of teachers.

Schools of this kind are of comparatively recent date. In 1748, a private school for teachers was established by the Rev. John Julius Hecker, a minister of the gospel at Berlin, and chief counsellor of the consistory of that place. A document cited by M. Cousin, in his celebrated report. on the subject of public instruction in Prussia, speaks of Hecker as "the first individual who undertook to train young men for the art of teaching."* This little institution was founded at a very critical period in the history of Prussia, and even of Europe; in fact, it was an era of mighty movement throughout the world. Frederic II., commonly, and by a somewhat questionable title, called the Great, was projecting the plans of aggrandizement by which he aimed to raise Prussia, before his time a secondary state, to the rank of a leading power in Europe. It would have been happy for his subjects and mankind if all his measures had been as wise or as innocent as those which he adopted for the improvement of education. He seems early to have comprehended the importance of the systematic education of teachers; and in

* Most of the historical details here given are taken from the document alluded to in the text, viz., a report of Rev. Dr Striez, director of the primary normal school of Potsdam. Dr Striez's report will be found in M. Cousin's celebrated *Rapport sur l' état de l'instruction publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne et particulièrement en Prusse*, II. Partie, p. 185. Professor Stowe, in his valuable essay on Normal Schools, ascribes their first establishment to Francke, the founder of the Orphan House at Halle, in 1704. See Biblical Repository for July, 1839, p. 90.

the year 1754, the private school, established under the auspices of Mr Hecker, was raised to the rank of a royal primary school for the education of schoolmasters and parish clerks. It was directed, by a royal ordinance of that year, that all schoolmasters and parish clerks, whose places were in the gift of the crown, should be appointed from this institution. It is probable that at the same time funds were appropriated by the government for its support.

Scarcely, however, was this beginning made in the systematic education of teachers, when the dreadful Seven Years' war came on; a war which spread from our western wilderness, where it broke out, to the bounds of the civilized world, and the remotest European settlements in India. Frederic was the hero of this war on the continent of Europe. He conducted it with a perseverance, skill, and resolution which astonished mankind, and came out of it with an exhausted treasury, shattered health, and a wasted kingdom. The normal school at Berlin, in common with all the other institutions of the country, languished under the pressure of the times. It remained, with the exception of a few inconsiderable establishments of the same character in the city of Berlin, the only institution for the education of teachers, and was, of course, wholly inadequate to the wants of the kingdom. In 1770, a fund of four thousand dollars annually was appropriated by Frederic for the general improvement of the Prussian schools, and it was expended in raising the salaries of teachers. A considerable impulse was given to the cause of education by this endowment; but I do not find any further notice of the progress of normal schools during the residue of his reign.

Shortly after his death, the French revolution began; and in the disastrous wars and convulsions to which it gave rise, the various states of Germany, and none more so than Prussia, were trampled to the dust. The effects were felt in all their institutions; but, as often happens in human affairs, the moment of extremest depression is the moment of commencing regeneration. The Prussian monarchy, broken by the fatal battle of Jena, in 1806, seemed on the verge of dissolu-

tion, and to owe a precarious existence to the clemency of Napoleon. At this gloomy period, it occurred to some noble minds to attempt the restoration of affairs by a strong appeal to the popular mind, and by awakening a powerful sentiment of patriotism. Every thing was resorted to which could promote this end. The clergy were appealed to; the high schools and universities were agitated; a secret association, under the name of the *Union of Virtue*, (Tugendbund,) was formed throughout the country; the ancient German costume was revived; a jealousy of foreigners inculcated; and, as an important instrument towards the end in view, the attention of the government was in 1809 again particularly turned to the subject of the education of teachers. In 1810, the normal school at Berlin was reörganized; but before the result could be seen, the great and final struggle of the northern powers of Europe with Napoleon took place. The conflict was for the independence or subjection, the life or death, of nations. The entire population rose as a man at the call of the governments; the universities and academies sent their young men, scarce able to bear the weight of a musket, to the war; and it terminated in the overthrow of the invader.

From that moment, every thing in Germany seemed animated with new life. Prussia, in particular, with the establishment of a general peace, bent all the power of the monarchy upon national education, as the great safeguard of national independence. The normal school of Berlin was transferred to Potsdam, as a situation more retired and favorable for its objects. Similar schools were proposed throughout the kingdom, and in other parts of Germany; and in the year 1819, the subject of education was referred to a separate department of the government, under a minister of state exclusively devoted to its administration. The present organization of the Prussian system of education dates from this period, and by the provisions of an ordinance of the government of the same year, a royal normal school is established in each of the ten provinces of the kingdom, as an essential part of the system. From these seminaries, with the aid derived from various local establishments of the same

character, teachers thoroughly trained in the art of instruction are furnished for all the public schools of Prussia. The same process has been going on contemporaneously in Saxony, in Bavaria, in Wirtemberg, in Baden, and other German states. The example early spread to France, and more recently to Holland. One or two institutions of a private character have, it is believed, been established in England for the formation of teachers; and it has been proposed at the present session of parliament, by a committee of the privy council of the realm, to found a central normal school in the city of London.*

The attention of the friends of education in several of the states of the Union has for some time been turned to this subject. In New York, some provision has been made by the legislature for training teachers at the incorporated academies of the state. In some of our own respectable academies, the qualifying of teachers of both sexes has been particularly attended to, and these establishments, in point of fact, have served as the nurseries from which many of our schools have been furnished with instructors. In addition to what has been done in this way, an institution, amply endowed by private liberality, has existed for some time at Andover, expressly devoted to the education of instructors. Many respectable teachers have, it is believed, been formed at this school.

The subject of special provision by public authority for the education of teachers has at many different times, within the last few years, been considered by the committees of education of the two branches of the legislature. Their establishment has been strongly urged in the reports which, from time to time, have emanated from this source. Among those who have recommended such a provision with the greatest zeal and intelligence, it would be unjust not to mention the name of a citizen of this county, (Mr Carter, of

* Since the delivery of this address, this and other similar projects have gone into highly successful operation in England, under the auspices of the committee of the privy council for education

Lancaster,) who, both in a separate publication and in official reports as a member of both branches of the legislature, has rendered distinguished service in this way.

In the first report of the Board of Education, at the beginning of the year 1838, the attention of the legislature was invited to this subject. In the course of the ensuing session, the secretary of the board was authorized by a friend of education, whose name was not communicated to the public,* to inform the legislature that ten thousand dollars would be furnished by him whenever the same sum should be appropriated from the public treasury, to be expended under the direction of the Board of Education in qualifying teachers for the common schools of Massachusetts. This offer was promptly accepted by the legislature, and the requisite appropriation made.

The steps taken by the Board of Education, in discharge of the important trust thus devolved upon them, are minutely set forth in their second annual report, which was made to the legislature at the commencement of the last session. It will be sufficient to observe, on the present occasion, that after deliberate and anxious reflection, and a careful comparison of the claims of various places proposed, in different parts of the commonwealth, Lexington, in Middlesex county, and Barre, in Worcester county, have been selected as the sites of two of the normal schools. A confident expectation is entertained that a third may shortly be established in some other part of the state.†

These institutions are, of course, to some extent experimental. They are so of necessity. The funds provided for their support, with all the subsidiary aid which can reasonably be expected from the friends of education in the neighborhood of the schools, although highly creditable to the generous spirit by which they are furnished, are quite inadequate to the endowment of permanent establishments.

* The late Hon. Edmund Dwight.

† Since this address was delivered, a third normal school has been founded at Bridgewater, and those at Lexington and Barre have been transferred to Newton and Westfield.

For reasons set forth in the report to which I have alluded, it was thought proper not to stake the result of the whole trial on one school; but to afford to different parts of the commonwealth an opportunity of judging for themselves. It was further considered that three years is the shortest period which would authorize any safe conclusion as to the operation of the system. It will readily be perceived that when the funds to be disposed of are divided among three schools, and distributed over three years, it becomes necessary to adopt the most frugal scale of expenditure not inconsistent with the object to be attained. Our situation in this respect is widely different from that of foreign countries, where ample funds for objects of this kind are appropriated by wealthy governments; where buildings, apparatus, libraries, and the maintenance of pupils, are provided for by permanent dotations; and as many instructers are supported as are deemed necessary for the fullest development of the system.

The narrowness of the means from which the experiment of our normal schools is undertaken may (though we trust it will not) defeat its success. We hope that so much good will manifestly be done within the range of our resources, that the legislature will be disposed, and private benefactors encouraged, to convert our temporary normal schools into permanent foundations for the qualification of teachers. Still, however, we trust, in justice to all concerned, that it will be borne in mind, that this experiment is conducted under considerable disadvantages, independent of the difficulties incident to the organization of every new institution. This consideration, we trust, will secure us the sympathy and coöperation of the community in which the schools are established, and of the public at large. It is always of great importance to a youthful institution, that it should be kindly regarded in the place where it is established. We trust that the respected principal of this school, and all who may have a joint care with him in conducting it, and all who resort to it to qualify themselves as teachers, will enjoy the good will, and be favored with the countenance and kind offices, of the reverend clergy

of all denominations, of the individuals of lead and influence in the other professions, and of the citizens generally in this part of the commonwealth. While no pains will be spared to make the school creditable to the community in which it is placed, nothing will do more to promote its prosperity than the friendly regard of an enlightened public.

This occasion requires a few remarks on the character and objects of normal schools, and the importance of a systematic education of teachers. Much has been said and written of late on this subject. Not to mention foreign publications, it is discussed at length in the legislative reports to which I have alluded, and a very valuable essay by Professor Stowe, on Normal Schools and Teachers' Seminaries, has recently been given to the public. The necessary limits of an address of this kind will require my remarks to be of a very general character.

The office of the teacher, in forming the minds and hearts of the young, and training up those who are to take our places in life, is all-important. After all that has been said, in all ages, on the subject, more than justice has not been, and never can be, done to the theme. With no small part of the children in the community, the intercourse of the teacher with the young is scarcely inferior, in closeness and the length of time for which it is kept up, to that of the parents; — not at all inferior, in the importance of the objects to be attained by it. As soon as the child is old enough to be sent to school, the teacher is relied upon to furnish occupation for the opening faculties of the mind, to direct its efforts in the acquisition of the elements of knowledge, and to suggest the first distinct ideas on some of the most important questions in conduct and morals. The child is committed to the teacher's hands in the very morning of life, when the character, still more than the young limbs, is, so to say, still in the gristle. They have, both limbs and character, acquired some of their proper consistency and power of resistance; but to how much of the intellectual and moral frame are not the first impress and shaping to be given at school? Is this a light matter? If the teacher was to fashion your child's personal proportions,

or to remould his features, with what jealousy would you inquire after his qualification for that task! Is it of less importance how he fashions and moulds the features of the mind? Is it of small account, whether your child's germinating faculties — to use a proverbial expression, to which no rhetoric can add force — shall be "nipped in the bud," a bud in which seeds of immortal life and heavenly intelligence have been curiously wrapped by the Creator? The husbandman can tell us if it is a matter of little or no consequence whether you employ a skilful or an unskilful person to raise a crop of corn, the growth of a few months, under a simple process of culture. And yet so much depends on proper management, that from the same seed you may see, in one field, the corn towering up, vigorous, swelling with life and strength, its broad, healthy leaves crackling till the farmer thinks he can both hear it and see it grow, the graceful tassel dancing on the summit of the stalk, and dropping its fertilizing powder on the silken filaments, which force their way from the top of the husk to receive the vital principle, and convey it to the ripening ear; and perhaps on the other side of the way, in a corner of the sluggard's garden, struggling with rank weeds for the joint possession of the unenriched soil, you will see, from the same seed, a scanty, blighted, sickly crop, yellow as saffron when it ought to be green, and black when it ought to be yellow, and scarce promising a few meagre stalks for the barn-yard. Whenever I witness such a contrast in the natural world, I ask myself, with trembling, whether the mind is a principle so much less delicate than a blade of grass, — whether the proper care and culture of the intellect, the raising up and the training up of that unspeakable mystery on earth, a thinking, reasoning, discoursing, immortal creature, — are so inferior in importance, in difficulty, and in the amount of the consequences involved, that while we would trust the tillage of our field, the sowing of our corn, and the gathering of the harvest, only to an expert and a judicious hand, any one may be trusted to keep our schools and cultivate the minds of our children?

These inquiries scarcely need an answer. Every man's

reflection who is able to reason on the subject, — every one's observation who has turned his attention to it, — every one's experience who has had children of his own confided to a succession of teachers, and still more, who, at any time, has himself been engaged in the business of instruction, will satisfy him that the teacher's duty is important, complicated, and arduous. It is not a mere piece of job-work, to which any one may turn his hand, but a professional calling, which requires knowledge, judgment, and experience.

There is scarce such a thing conceivable, as even a solitary act, consisting of several parts or movements, which does not admit of every degree of excellence in the manner and success of the performance. See two men handle an axe, in cutting down a tree, one a raw hand, the other a practiced woodman. Look at two persons on horseback, of equal courage and strength, the one for the first time in his life in the saddle, the other an expert rider. One seems to realize the fable of the Centaur, as if he were himself a part of the animal on which he is moving; the other can scarce keep his seat. Let an inexperienced person go to work with a handsaw or a paint brush; or undertake to conduct a piece of cloth through a power-loom, or to cover a whip-handle with its mysterious network; and he will be very sure, for several times, to fail. I think there are few persons in this assembly, except those who may have had considerable practice, who can drive a nail straight into a board, without striking their fingers with the hammer. In fact, "to hit a nail on the head," simple as the operation seems, is in reality one of so much nicety, that it has become a proverbial expression for dexterity and skill.

We might cast our eyes over the entire circle of human pursuit, and find new illustrations of the necessity of diligent preparation for every calling; and no one can seriously suppose that the office of an instructer makes an exception. But inasmuch as institutions for the education of teachers are as yet hardly known by name among us, it is a natural question how teachers in our country have hitherto been able to prepare themselves for the discharge of their duties. May not

the means which have hitherto proved adequate for the supply of our schools with competent instructers, still suffice for that purpose? The question is a fair one, and deserves a candid answer.

Whoever thinks that we are favored with an ample supply of teachers, as well qualified as can be wished, needs no further answer. Whoever considers that of the teachers in times past and at the present day in our schools, there are those possessing all degrees of qualification, from very high to very low, it will seem a pertinent inquiry, what their means of preparation have been; and such an inquirer will probably be of opinion that we need a more systematic and efficient preparation for this purpose.

We must assume, then, first, that natural aptitude goes very far, on the plan hitherto pursued, in deciding the qualification of the teacher. This, under all circumstances, will be an important element. One man will be a better teacher, with little or no training or experience, than some others, who pass their lives in the business. This, however, is equally the case in every pursuit or calling, — in law, physic, and divinity, in trade, manufactures, and farming, — and is never thought to supersede the necessity of education. Some remain inefficient and incapable after every imaginable advantage; others, with slender opportunities, bound, as it were, at a single leap, to the front rank. I have seen a person, who, from his infancy, never knew a want; who passed from the arms of a careful nurse into the care of the best of teachers; who enjoyed, from the first, every conceivable aid and encouragement, (except the most efficient of all, the spur of necessity,) the best of masters, the best of books in abundance, and steady schooling, and, at the close of his school education, grossly ignorant in every branch of knowledge; while another, of the same age, educated under the stern discipline of necessity, with limited means, the ordinary chance of instructers, the old books which his father wore out before him, and attendance at school far from steady, has advanced from one branch to another, mastering each as he goes, with a keen relish for learning, and an ever-craving appetite for new

truth. Whatever may be the calling of these two men, one is destined to eminence, the other to failure. Should circumstances call them to the instructer's desk, it is quite evident that he who has learned little will have still less to teach, while the other will be very likely to exhibit the same facility in the communication as in the acquisition of knowledge.

In the next place, the teacher's fitness, at the present day, depends very much on the kind of instruction which he received himself while at school. If he was so fortunate as to be taught by a sound, accurate, and judicious instructer, he will be not unlikely to exhibit that character himself. A good degree of the school-keeping capacity, and I may say, also, incapacity, are traceable to this source. Our schools are under a kind of traditionary discipline. To a considerable extent they are kept by young men and women, who make a pretty rapid transition from the pupil's bench to the master's and mistress's chair. Unless they possess strong, original minds, — which are not very common, — there is not much likelihood that they will rise above the standard of the schools where they were themselves taught. If these were very good, they will be more apt to fall below it. Mediocrity is much more apt to be propagated than excellence. If a teacher of average capacity keep the school for a few years, he will not be likely to make any improvements, and will do very well if he hands it over to his successor as good as he found it. When this state of things prevails in a community for a long course of years, we behold the painful spectacle of schools in the rear of every thing else. There is progress in every thing else, but the schools are stationary, and even degenerating. I have heard judicious observers express the doubt, whether the average of our district schools, at the present day, are better than they were thirty years ago. If the remark is just, it is a state of things not very creditable to the commonwealth. To keep pace with the general progress of improvement, they ought to be much better. We should be ashamed to be quoted hereafter, as a proof that there is a law in the intellectual and moral, like that which has been observed in the natural world, with respect to many

of the products of the earth — that the fruit which is borne on the graft runs out with the original stock. Good husbandry requires that attention should be constantly given to the discovery of improved methods, and the introduction of new varieties raised from the seed. Tradition is closely allied to degeneracy.

Where the teacher engages in his pursuit for life, a new source of qualification presents itself of great value ; I mean *experience*. He qualifies himself. But such teachers are not found, I presume, in many of our common schools. They rise to higher stations. Besides this, it may happen, when Experience is the teacher, as with teachers of other kinds, the pupil is by no means sure to excel his master. Self-instruction is not always improving. It depends on the character of a man's mind, how much advantage he derives from experience. The experience of one man is clear and decisive. He commits an error, perceives it, and henceforward avoids it. He is struck with the advantage of some procedure or method, traces that advantage to its principle, builds a rule upon it, and enlarges or amends his practice to the end of life. The experience of other men yields them no such fruit. It is vague and irresolute. They live and act, but have no experience, properly so called. Proceeding without steady principles of conduct, without the intelligence or the moral aptitude to profit by their mistakes, the working of one day counteracts that of another. It is only where order, the first law of earth, as well as Heaven, presides, that day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth forth knowledge. Without this guide of conduct, experience may perplex instead of directing. The mistake of to-day produces the mistake of to-morrow ; and life is exhausted in half-finished experiments and constantly-repeated blunders, so that whether a man's experience profit him depends upon whether it is good experience, which may be either successful experience, or unsuccessful experience wisely heeded ; and it may often happen that the recorded experience of another more judicious mind will in reality guide a man better than his own.

The recorded experience of others, then, — that is, books, — is another means by which the teacher at present qualifies himself for his calling. Unquestionably, the conscientious instructer may derive the greatest advantages from the careful study of judicious publications on the subject of his pursuit. The number of these is greatly multiplied of late years. It is a branch of literature comparatively of recent growth; and without doing injustice to the works of the patriarchs in this science, of Plato and of Cicero, to the writings of Ascham, of Milton, of Locke, I am inclined to think that, for practical views, what has been written within the last fifty years exceeds, both in amount and value, all that had before been given to the world on the subject of education. As far as my acquaintance with the subject extends, the works of Miss Edgeworth are entitled to the credit of having first promulgated, in the English language at least, sound and judicious views as to the whole business of education. A person thoroughly possessed of every thing in her works, would have but little to learn, as to general principles, (with one exception,) from other sources. There are, however, many things, of course, in her publications, not applicable to the condition of things in this country; and on one all-important topic, the subject of religious instruction, there is a deeply to be lamented deficiency. For the practical purposes of the American teacher, some good works have appeared in our own country, of which that of Mr Jacob Abbott appears to me decidedly the best. No person can peruse it without gaining new conceptions of the importance of the teacher's duty, and practical hints as to the best method of discharging it. Whether a perusal of it will not, in most cases, leave on the reader's mind a painful impression as to the imperfection of our schools, in condition and management, is a question which each must answer for himself.

From the various useful works on the business of instruction, the faithful teacher will, under all circumstances, derive great benefit. But neither in this nor any other calling, will the solitary study of books effect all that is to be desired, to say nothing of the objection to this and all the other sources

of self-instruction, which arises from the condition of the schools, while the master is endeavoring to improve himself. Those of our children may do well who have the advantage of his teaching, after he has qualified himself by experience in office and the study of good books; but what is to become of those who are to get their education while this process is going on, and before it has proceeded to any valuable extent? As a general remark, perhaps it would not be unjust to say, that most of our teachers retire from that pursuit about the time they become well qualified to carry it on to the greatest advantage.

We are thus brought to the necessity of some specific preliminary preparation for the office of teacher — a preparation which shall fit him in some degree beforehand for its duties. To afford this preparation, is the precise object of a normal school. Nothing is farther from my purpose than to set up the pretension that there can be no well-qualified teacher without such a school; but that great advantages may be expected from a regular plan of instruction, in seminaries devoted to this object; a plan of instruction to come in aid of all the other means of improvement, on which the faithful teacher must now exclusively depend. To afford this instruction, is the object of the normal schools, now established in the commonwealth. It is impossible that it should be so thorough and comprehensive, as the theory of a perfect institution of the kind requires. There are no funds applicable to the expense of such an establishment; and our young men and women could not generally afford the time requisite for a very long course of preparation, because the majority of our districts do not require, and would not support, teachers who, having been at great expense of time and money in fitting themselves for their calling, would need a proportionate compensation. We suppose that many of those who resort to these institutions, will, at present, be able only to pass but a part of one year in the enjoyment of their advantages; but while provision is made for the shortest period for which any individual could reasonably wish to be received, a thorough

course of instruction will also be arranged for those who desire to devote a longer time to their preparation as teachers.

Such a course of instruction will obviously consist of the following parts:

1. A careful review of the branches of knowledge required to be taught in our common schools; it being, of course, the first requisite of a teacher that he should himself know well that which he is to aid others in learning. Such an acquaintance with these branches of knowledge is much less common than may be generally supposed. The remark may sound paradoxical, but I believe it will bear examination when I say, that a teacher thoroughly versed in those branches of knowledge only which are taught in our common schools, is as difficult to find as a first-rate lawyer, divine, or physician, statesman, man of business, or farmer. A good schoolmaster should be able to read and speak the English language with propriety, ease, and grace; and this cannot be done without a thorough knowledge of its grammar. He should possess, at the same time, a clear, shapely, and rapid handwriting, and be well versed in the elemental principles and operations of numbers. Without going beyond these three branches, — best designated by the good old-fashioned names of reading, writing, and arithmetic, — I venture to say that a man who possesses them thoroughly is as rare as one of corresponding eminence in any of the learned professions. And yet the law requires such masters for our district schools. What says the statute? "In every town containing fifty families or householders, there shall be kept, in each year, at the charge of the town, by a teacher or teachers of competent abilities and good morals, a school for the instruction of children in orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and good behavior."

How few, even of those considered men of education, are thoroughly versed even in the branches required by law in our common schools! How much fewer who know them as a teacher should know them! for a teacher ought to know

of every thing much more than the learner can be expected to acquire. The teacher must know things in a masterly way, curiously, nicely, and in their reasons.

The great mistake in monitorial instruction is, that it supposes that the moment the bare knowledge of a fact in its naked form is attained, it qualifies a person to teach it to others. The teacher must see the truth under all its aspects, with its antecedents and consequents, or he cannot present it in just that shape in which the young mind can apprehend it. He must, as he holds the diamond up to the sun, turn its facets round and round, till the pupil catches its lustre. It is not an uncommon thing to hear it said of a grown person that he is too learned to teach children; that he knows too much, is too far in advance of their minds, to perceive their difficulties. I imagine the trouble generally to be of the opposite character. The man of learning either never understood the matter thoroughly, or he has forgotten what he once knew. He has retained enough of his school learning for the particular calling of life he has chosen; but he has not retained a clear recollection of the elemental truths which it is necessary the learner should comprehend. If in this state of things he cannot comprehend the schoolboy's difficulty, it is not his superior wisdom, but his ignorance, which is at fault. These remarks apply particularly to the science of numbers, over which most of our children pass languishing days and weeks, vainly striving to master a hard "sum" or a hard rule, which they finally give up in despair, or of which they content themselves with some false explanation, from pure want of capacity on the part of the teacher. A child of eight or nine years of age, at one of our district schools, had run through the chief rules of arithmetic, as it used to be taught, doing all the sums, and setting them down in his ciphering book, without the slightest comprehension of the reason of any one of the operations. At last, after going for a second or third time through the rule of decimals, he, for the first time, caught a glimpse of the real nature of a decimal fraction, of which he had been wholly ignorant before, and which, in his simplicity, he thought a discovery of

his own. It was not till some time afterwards that he found out that mankind had for a great while been aware that a decimal is the numerator of a fraction whose denominator is a unit with as many ciphers as the numerator has places. The first object of instruction in a normal school is as far as possible, in the space of time assigned to its instructions, to go over the circle of branches required to be taught, and see that the future teacher is thoroughly and minutely versed in them.

2. The second part of instruction in a normal school is the art of teaching. To know the matter to be taught, and to know it thoroughly, are of themselves, though essential, not all that is required. There is a peculiar art of teaching. The details of this branch are inexhaustible, but it is hoped that the most important principles may be brought within such a compass as to afford material benefit to those who pass even the shortest time at these institutions. The subject should be taken up at its foundation, in those principles of our nature on which education depends; the laws which control the faculties of the youthful mind in the pursuit and attainment of truth; and the moral sentiments on the part of teacher and pupil which must be brought into harmonious action. The future teacher must be instructed in the most effectual way of reaching untaught mind — a process subtile, difficult, various. The first thing requisite often will be to ascertain what has to be unlearned, both as to positive errors and bad habits of mind. The child who has been accustomed to add numbers together by counting on his fingers, instead of learning a simple addition table by rote at the outset; who has formed to himself a small, ill-looking, and illegible scrawl, under the name of a running hand, without ever having learned to shape the letters in bold and fair proportions; or who, under the notion of refinements beyond the common standard, has been taught such barbarisms as "he shew me the book," "I have began to read it," "had I have had time to go," — such a child, I say, comes into the hands of the teacher heavily laden with a cargo, which it must be the first labor and care to throw overboard.

But the art of teaching is not confined to a correction of the errors, or a reform of the bad habits, of the mistaught pupil. Where nothing of this kind is to be done, the mind of the learner is still to be guided, aided, and encouraged in its progress. The perfection of the art of teaching consists in hitting the precise point between that which the studious pupil must do for himself, and that which the instructer may do with him and for him. It is not enough, in teaching a child to read, to correct with a harsh voice some gross error which he may make in reading a verse or two in the New Testament or the National Reader. The teacher must himself, patiently, kindly, and with a gentle voice, read the passage over repeatedly, and see that the learner understands the meaning of every word, and of the whole sentence. It is peculiar to arithmetic, that though there are degrees of readiness in performing its operations, there are no degrees of clearness and certainty in the knowledge of its principles. The incredible vexation which attends the study of this branch with many children, generally arises from the unskilfulness of the teacher, in not taking care that the learner, as he goes along, understands thoroughly each successive step. If this be done, the child of ten years old will know what he knows at all as well as Sir Isaac Newton. Some simple schoolboy muse, in former times, has recorded its sorrowful experience on this subject in the following plaintive and, in my day, very popular strain —

> "Multiplication is vexation,
> Division is as bad,
> The rule of three doth puzzle me,
> And practice makes me mad."

But if proper care be taken that every step be thoroughly understood before advancing to the next, multiplication and division will be found as simple as addition or subtraction; while the rule of three and practice have been shown, in the recent and best school books, to be wholly unnecessary, inasmuch as all questions usually performed by their aid can be more readily performed by simpler processes.

One thing is certain; that though there can be no difference in the average capacity of equal numbers of the children in two schools in the same community, there is often a vast difference in the average scholarship, after the same amount of schooling. To what can the difference be ascribed, but to the different degrees of skill on the part of teachers? It is not an uncommon thing to find children who, after having been months, and even years, employed either on the lower elements or on the higher branches of learning, leave school, at last, knowing nothing thoroughly, and not much superficially. They cannot read with fluency, force, and intelligence, to say nothing of grace and beauty; they write a poor, unsteady, hieroglyphical hand; they have no clear notions of grammatical construction, and are awkward and incorrect in the use of numbers. Perhaps this is the description of nearly half the children who leave school in town or country. The little that is learned of Latin and Greek is equally inaccurate and shallow. The fault is commonly laid at the pupil's door, especially if he has had what is usually called schooling enough. I think, however, generally, that the fault is with the teacher, who is frequently not thoroughly versed himself in what he undertakes to teach — more frequently unskilled in the art of teaching. The astonishing difference sometimes noticed in the progress of the same school under different teachers, in successive seasons, shows how much is justly attributable to this cause.

Besides the general art of teaching, there are peculiar methods, applicable to each branch of knowledge, which should be unfolded in the instructions of a normal school; but this is a topic in which my limits do not permit me to engage. I hasten to

3. The third branch of instruction to be imparted in an institution, which concerns the important subject of the government of the school, and which might perhaps more justly have been named the first. The best method of governing a school — that is, of exercising such a moral influence in it as is most favorable to the improvement of the pupils — will form a very important part of the course of

instruction designed to qualify teachers for their calling. It is this part of their duty which is probably least considered by themselves or their employers; for the reason, perhaps, that qualification in this respect is least capable of being estimated by an external standard. But how much is not implied in the words "to govern a school"! For several hours in the day, the teacher is to exercise the authority of a parent over fifty or sixty, perhaps over ninety or a hundred children. Parents can form an opinion whether this is a task to be executed without system, without principles, and as a matter of course; or whether it is not that in which the youthful teacher will most stand in need of all the preparation which it is possible to acquire. Without the aid of that instinct of natural affection which fortifies parental authority, he is expected, with a parent's power, to control alike the docile and the obstinate, the sullen and the gay. While his entire intercourse with his pupils is that of constraint and requisition, he must acquire an absolute control over many a youthful spirit, which has already been irritated by caprice, soured by tyranny, or spoiled by indulgence at home. And he is to do this not by violence and storm, but by wisely threading the maze of that living labyrinth, the affections of the youthful heart. In this department perhaps greater improvement has taken place of late years than in any other; there has been a general call for moral influence, instead of physical power. I do not say that this last should never be resorted to, but I trust the day is wholly past for that ferocious warfare between master and pupil which was once so general, and with no other effect than that of turning the teacher's office into a hateful tyranny, and the happy season of childhood into a long martyrdom. Dr Johnson, in composing a legal argument to be used by another person, puts into his mouth the sentiment, "that a school can be governed only by fear." It would, I think, have been much nearer the truth to say, that a school can be governed only by patient, enlightened, Christian love, the master principle of our natures. It softens the ferocity of the savage; it melts the felon in his cell. In the management of children it is the

great source of influence; and the teacher of youth, though his mind be a storehouse of knowledge, is ignorant of the first principles of his art, if he has not embraced this as an elemental maxim.

But let it not be thought that these are smooth sayings, and that moral discipline is unattended with difficulty, and preferred by an indolent age for its comparative ease. The reverse is nearer the truth. To walk the rounds of the school with a ratan in the hand, to be bestowed as liberally on the thoughtless exuberance of youthful spirits, on the restlessness of the little urchin unused to his confinement, and on the mistakes of mere inadvertence or absolute ignorance, as on hardened perversity and resolute disobedience, is a much easier task than to graduate each of these cases on the scale of moral demerit, and to treat them accordingly. It is related of the late Dr Bowditch, that he very early manifested that skill in numbers which afterwards raised him to the level of the first mathematicians of the day. While quite a child at school, he performed a difficult sum in arithmetic with astonishing readiness. His schoolmaster was at once so ignorant of the mode of governing a school, and had so little acquainted himself with the powers of his pupil's mind, that he thought it impossible the task should have been performed without assistance, and asked who had helped him. On being told by young Bowditch that he had done it himself, the coarse tyrant severely chastised him for falsehood — a treatment well calculated to subvert the entire moral frame of a sensitive lad, but much more simple than it would have been for an understanding such as this master possessed to enter into a careful analysis of the capacities of his forward pupil.

The instruction of the normal school will therefore dwell on the government of youth as of paramount importance; as that part of the teacher's duty which demands the rarest union of qualities, which most tries the temper, and I will add, when faithfully and judiciously performed, is most important in its results. Give me the child whose heart has embraced without violence the gentle lore of obedience, in

whom the sprightliness of youth has not encroached on deference for authority, and I would rather have him for my son, though at the age of twelve he should have his alphabet to learn, than be compelled to struggle with the caprice of a self-willed, obstinate youth, whose bosom has become a viper's nest of the unamiable passions, although in early attainments he may be the wonder of the day.

There are many other topics connected with the teacher's duty, on which it may be expected that instruction will be afforded in the normal school. Among these is the all-important subject of direct instruction in morals and religion, the relations of teachers and parents, of teachers and the higher school authorities, and the duties of teachers to each other and to the community, and of the community to them, as the members of a respectable profession. I am necessarily prevented by the limits of the occasion from entering upon any of these subjects.

4. In the last place, it is to be observed, that in aid of all the instruction and exercises within the limits of the normal school, properly so called, there is to be established a common or district school, as a school of practice, in which, under the direction of the principal of the normal school, the young teacher may have the benefit of actual exercise in the business of instruction. This, of course, is a very interesting portion of the system; but I am obliged to dismiss it with this simple mention.

Such then, briefly, are the nature and objects of a normal school, and such the manner in which it proposes to qualify teachers. We do not expect that it will work miracles; we shall be satisfied if it does good; and of this only we feel a reasonable degree of confidence, that no young man or young woman can pass even three months in the institution without leaving it better qualified for the business of instruction. We trust the result will be such as eventually to contribute to the improvement of our schools. We have spared no pains, with the means at our command, to secure in advance the confidence of an enlightened public. The talent, the services, and the distinguished character of the

gentlemen to whom the schools already founded have been intrusted, are a pledge to the community of what may be expected from their labors in this cause. Among the fundamental principles laid down by the Board of Education for the government of the normal schools, it has been provided that a portion of Scripture shall be daily read; and it is their devout hope that a fervent spirit of prayer, pervading the heart of both principal and pupils, may draw down the divine blessing on their pursuits.

I cannot forbear, sir,* to express to you, on this occasion, the deep sense which is felt by the Board of Education of the importance of the trust which they have confided to your hands. I have the pleasure to assure you that all their proceedings in reference to the school, and your own connection with it, have been entirely unanimous, and that a large measure of confidence is reposed both in your ability and disposition to fulfil their expectations. The reputation which you bring to this place, acquired by a long course of faithful labor in a highly responsible station elsewhere, (Bowdoin College,) is a sufficient guaranty to the public of the services which may be expected from you in this new and untried position. On you and the highly respected principal of the normal school at Lexington, (Mr Cyrus Peirce,) it will depend at present, in no small degree, whether institutions of this description shall win the public favor, and be incorporated into our system of common school education. We are sensible of the deep responsibility which this consideration devolves upon you, and shall, at all times, extend to you, to the utmost of our power, the support and encouragement you may need. Should this effort succeed to improve our schools by the increased qualifications of our teachers, you will have the satisfaction of being the first in our country to engage in an enterprise of the most eminent usefulness. Ages may pass away before an opportunity will present itself of working greater good than will be effected by those in this generation, who shall lay the foundations of decided improvements

* Professor S. P. Newman.

in popular education. We commend you, sir, to the support of this enlightened community, and the care of a watchful Providence.

To you, my young friends of either sex, who have entered yourselves as pupils of the normal school, we would say that the eyes of the friends of education, in all parts of the commonwealth, will be anxiously fixed upon you, and those who, with you, may be among the first to take advantage of the means of improvement which this institution affords. You are about to prepare yourselves, under great advantages, for the important office of instruction. This momentous trust, which hitherto, almost without exception, in this country, has been assumed without specific preparation, will be approached by you, after having had its principles carefully unfolded to you, with some opportunity of putting them to practice, in the model school, which will form a part of the institution. When you shall engage in the business of instruction, the community will reasonably expect of you that you should exhibit unusual fitness for the work. Let this thought engage you to enter upon your studies with redoubled zeal. A failure on your part to meet the public expectation, will have an injurious effect, for some time, on this attempt to improve the qualifications of teachers, in institutions expressly devoted to that object. On the other hand, your spirit and devotion to the object you are pursuing, and your visible improvement in the noble skill of aiding in the development of mind and the formation of character, while they will put you upon the path of acknowledged usefulness and prosperity, will contribute essentially to the permanent adoption of normal schools, as a part of the Massachusetts system of public education. May a higher motive than human approbation animate your conduct, and the divine blessing crown your studies with success.

Permit me, fellow-citizens and friends, in bringing this address to a close, to congratulate you on the establishment, in the bosom of this community, of an institution, destined, we trust, to be an instrument of great good. We place it under the protection of an intelligent public. Its organiza-

tion is simple; its action will be wholly free from parade and display; its fruits, we trust, will be seen in raising the standard of common school education. This object, we confess, we regard as one of paramount importance, — second to no other not immediately connected with the spiritual concerns of man. If there be any persons to whom the words "common schools" and "common school education" convey an idea of disparagement and insignificance, such persons are ignorant, not merely of the true character of our political system, but of the nature of man. I certainly intend nothing derogatory to our higher seminaries of education, in town or in country. They are recognized by the constitution of the state. It is made the duty of all magistrates to encourage and promote them, and they are justly strong in the public favor. But whether we consider the numbers who enjoy their benefit, the relative importance to the state of an entire well-educated population, and of the services of those who receive the advantages of an education at the higher seminaries, taken in connection with the fact that a liberal education may be had elsewhere, but that a common school education must be had at home or not at all, no rational man, as it seems to me, can fail to perceive the superior importance of the common schools. They give the keys of knowledge to the mass of the people. The child learns more by his fourth year, than the philosopher at any subsequent period of his life; he learns to affix an intelligible sign to every outward object and inward emotion, by a gentle impulse imparted from his lips to the air. In like manner, I think it may with truth be said, that the branches of knowledge taught in our common schools, when taught in a finished, masterly manner, — reading, in which I include the spelling of our language, — a firm, sightly, legible handwriting, and the elemental rules of arithmetic, are of greater value than all the rest which is taught at school. I am far from saying that nothing else can be taught at our district schools; but the young person who brings these from school can himself, in his winter evenings, range over the entire field of useful knowledge. Our common schools are important in the same way as the com-

mon air, the common sunshine, the common rain, invaluable for their commonness. They are the corner stone of that municipal organization which is the characteristic feature of our social system; they are the fountain of that wide-spread intelligence, which, like a moral life, pervades the country; they are the nursery of that inquiring spirit to which we are indebted for the preservation of the blessings of an inquiring, Protestant, spiritual faith. Established as they were by special legislation in the infancy of the colony, while they are kept up and supported with a liberality corresponding with the growth of the country, no serious evil can befall us. Whatsoever other calamities, external or internal, may overtake us, while the schools are supported, they will furnish a perennial principle of restoration. With her three thousand district schools, supported at the public expense, nothing but the irreversible degree of Omnipotence can bring the beaming forehead of Massachusetts to the dust. Vicissitudes may blight the foliage, but there will be vigor in the trunk, and life at the root. Talent will constantly spring up on her barren hill-sides, and in her secluded vales, and find an avenue, through her schools, to the broad theatre of life, where great affairs are conducted by able men. Other states may exceed her in fertility of soil, but the skilful labor of her free citizens will clothe her plains with plenty. Other states may greatly outnumber her, but her ingenuity will people her shady glens and babbling waterfalls with half-reasoning engines, which will accomplish the work of toiling myriads. Other states will far surpass her in geographical domain; but the government of cultivated mind is as boundless as the universe. Wheresoever on the surface of the globe, and in the long line of coming ages, there is a reasonable being, there is a legitimate subject of mental influence. From the humblest village school, there may go forth a teacher who, like Newton, shall bind his temples with the stars of Orion's belt, — with Herschel, light up his cell with the beams of before undiscovered planets, — with Franklin, grasp the lightning. Columbus, fortified with a few sound geographical principles, was, on the deck of his crazy caravel, more truly

the monarch of Castile and Arragon, than Ferdinand and Isabella, enthroned beneath the golden vaults of the conquered Alhambra. And Robinson, with the simple training of a rural pastor in England, when he knelt on the shore of Delft Haven, and sent his little flock upon their gospel errantry beyond the world of waters, exercised an influence over the destinies of the civilized world which will last to the end of time.

OPENING OF THE RAILROAD TO SPRINGFIELD.*

Mr President:

My distinguished and much respected friend, who has preceded me on this occasion, (Governor Lincoln,) has been pleased to allude to that circumstance in a manner which would be oppressive to my feelings, but for the kindness with which I knew it was intended. He expressed some reluctance at preceding *me;* but I shall, on every occasion, deem it a privilege in following *him*, to have the benefit of his example. In whatever situation I may be placed, I shall consider myself fortunate if, in any humble measure, I may be able to emulate either his wisdom of counsel or eloquence of speech.

I rise to address you, sir, and this great company, with real embarrassment. Feelings, emotions I have, inspired by the occasion; anticipations, — if you please, visions. But I never felt less able to throw what is passing in my mind into the form of a set speech. As an original subscriber, an early public advocate, and in my official capacity, as far as my constitutional competence extends, the promoter of this great work, I may honestly claim to be, what you have kindly called me, its steady friend. Now that it is so far advanced towards its completion, I want language to express all that I feel of its importance. It is just four years, within three days, since many here present met, with a multitude of others, in Faneuil Hall, to take such measures as might be deemed expedient to

* Delivered at the public table at Springfield, on the 3d of October, 1839, on occasion of the opening of the Western Railroad, to that place. See, in the early part of this volume, the speech at Faneuil Hall, on the 7th October, 1835.

effect the completion of the original private subscription to the Western Railroad. It was my fortune, at the request of the gentlemen charged with the arrangements for the meeting, to take some part in its proceedings; and I then hazarded the sentiment, "that next to the great questions of liberty and independence, the doors of Faneuil Hall were never thrown open on an occasion of greater moment to the people of the city and the state." That opinion I ventured to express in the distant prospect of this noble work; and now, sir, that the first great section of it is completed, I would emphatically reaffirm the proposition, that next to the days which gave us a charter of national independence, and a constitution of republican government, that day will be the most auspicious in the annals of Massachusetts, when the western hills and the eastern waves shall be brought together, and a bond of connection, stronger than the bars of iron that produce it, — a bond of connection commercial, political, and social, — shall bind the extremities of the commonwealth in a union never to be dissolved.

I ventured, also, on the above-mentioned occasion, to compare the railroad then in contemplation, with a natural channel of communication, such as a navigable river, uniting Boston and Albany. Might I not say with truth, sir, that, regarded merely as a medium of conveyance between the two places, the railroad we have travelled to-day will be of more importance to Springfield, than if that most beautiful river, which flows at your feet, were turned round to a right angle, and made to flow to the sea? Does this seem extravagant? When, since the waters of this noble river first gladdened the eyes of a civilized being, was it possible to move upon it, up stream and down, at the rate of sixteen or eighteen miles an hour? to say nothing of the considerable part of the year, for which, on account of summer's drought and winter's frost, it ceases to be navigable. It was long ago enthusiastically observed by a great constructer of canals in England, that rivers are valuable only as feeders. The rapid progress of modern art seems to show that they are likely to be superseded even in that subordinate capacity. I begin to feel com-

punction for the disparaging manner in which we are inclined to speak of these noble streams; and it may be deemed quite fortunate that, as water happens to be the material of which steam is manufactured, there is a chance that they will not be voted altogether a nuisance.

But, sir, I do injustice to my present feelings to indulge in pleasantry, however innocent, on this subject. As I passed over the noble embankments, and through the grand corridors of solid rock, this morning, I experienced emotions which no language of my own can fully express. In considering a railroad, most persons, perhaps, dwell upon its upper portion, and the action of its locomotive appendages. But I own the first operations of the engineer fill me with amazement. The rapt prophet, in describing the approaching glories of the millennial age, can select no higher imagery than this: "Let every valley be exalted, and every mountain and hill be brought low;" and what other process have our eyes this day beheld, from the ocean to this first resting-place on the pathway to the west? Nor has this been effected by those insane efforts of despotic power, of which we read in ancient story, such as those by which the walls of Babylon, or the pyramids of Egypt, were piled to the clouds. No, it has been by such judicious obedience to the guiding hand of nature, following the sparkling footsteps of the river through the highlands, and tracing the sidelong slope of the hills, as to bring the work within reasonable limits, both as to time and expense. Then to look at the exterior: let us contemplate the entire railroad, with its cars and engines, as one vast machine! What a portent of art! its fixed portion a hundred miles long; its movable portion flying across the state like a weaver's shuttle; by the sea-side in the morning, here at noon, and back in the compass of an autumnal day! And the power which puts all in movement, — most wondrous, — a few buckets of water, like that which, while I speak, is trickling from yonder homely fountain.*

* The tank in the spacious car-house in which the company was assembled.

I consider the construction of the railroad from Boston to Springfield, over an elevation of more than nine hundred feet above the level of the sea, — to say nothing of what has been done in other parts of the country, — its construction, too, at a moderate expense per mile, — not greater than that of some roads over tracts of country deemed more favorable, — I consider it as settling a question of great importance on this subject. I happened, some ten or twelve years ago, to hold an argument with an intelligent foreigner, (Captain Basil Hall,) who maintained that it would be found impossible to establish a railroad connection between the eastern and western portions of the United States, for the reason that the mountain chains and river courses run from north to south, and that it was out of the question, on account both of physical and financial difficulties, to overcome this natural obstacle. I could, at that time, only argue with him theoretically; nor will I now contend that there is no such thing as a mountain barrier, impassable by railroads; although while we see the Alleghanies so easily surmounted by aid of stationary power, and when we hear that it is in contemplation to build a railroad over the Upper Alps, we shall do well not to be too positive on this point.

But granting that there is a limit, beyond which in practice we cannot go, — experience shows that great acclivities are easily overcome; and reason teaches, that within the proper limit, it is precisely where these obstacles exist, that artificial modes of communication must be most needed and most useful. This is eminently the case in the United States, settled as they were, for the most part, under charters granted with little reference to geographical features; so that, in many cases, the state lines run east and west, while the rivers and hills tend north and south. Owing to this cause, no small part of the business connections of Massachusetts are without the limits of the state; I mean those connections on which she depends for the necessary supplies of life; and precisely what is wanted is an artificial communication, which shall run across river and mountain, and unite her distant portions. That, sir, is the problem which Providence has committed to

us, and I desire to be grateful that we live to witness its solution. It is a law of our moral natures, that the great boons of life are to be obtained by a strenuous contest with natural difficulties. Do not tell me of being stopped by mountains and rivers, of being absolutely confined, by the fiat of Omnipotence, to a movement down the current, or along the level road at the foot of the hill. I avail myself gladly of these facilities. I rejoice to take advantage of them in opening a profitable communication with our sister states. If I must leave Massachusetts, most willingly will I float down the stream, or travel the road, that will carry me to the region which is the home of such troops (a company of infantry from Hartford) as we have had the pleasure of seeing to-day. I mean nothing unsocial, nothing in which I shall not have the sympathy of every good citizen of every other state. But I wish also to cross the hills whose western descent is the home of my fellow-citizens. I wish to share the abundance and good fellowship on the other side of the river. I wish to go and to come, and to tempt my brethren to come and to go, for the voluntary purposes of interest and good neighborhood, and not merely in the necessary performance of political duties; and I rejoice that the same Providence which deepens the channels of the rivers, and lifts the blue summits of the mountains to the sky, has given to man those inventive faculties, and that capacity for the creative arts, by which he is enabled to wind his way through the hills, to span with his proud arches the impetuous current, to penetrate the mysteries of the elements of nature, and yoke her fiery agents to the wheels of his industry.

But, sir, I should greatly weaken the cause I wish to recommend, did I speak of it merely as calculated to bind together the remote parts of individual states. This same principle of connection with the west is as important to the prosperity of the whole Union as a family of states, as it is to the welfare of the individual members. In that point of view, our Western Railroad becomes of truly incalculable interest. We stand here in Massachusetts on the verge

of the most stupendous network of intercommunication ever woven by the hand of man, exerting all the resources of his art to carry out the beneficent designs of nature. Without speaking particularly of lateral works, which could not be described in detail while yon sun is above the horizon, let us reflect only that from Albany to Buffalo there is, in addition to the Erie Canal, which we were accustomed to regard as the wonder of the age, till these greater wonders eclipsed it, — I say, besides the Erie Canal, and the branches and feelers which, like the great marine polypus, it sends out right and left, grasping and drawing in the commerce of every part of the state, — I learn from a memorandum handed me half an hour ago by the intelligent gentleman near me on the right, (Mr Amasa Walker,) that there is already a railroad communication with Buffalo for about two thirds of the way, with the prospect of completing the residue at no distant period. Arrived at Buffalo, numerous steamboats are ready to convey you up the lakes. You step on board one which stops at Erie, a Pennsylvanian settlement on the lake of that name. Here you are introduced to the vast system of transportation and travel by canal and railroad, constructed in the keystone state at an expense of twenty-three or twenty-four millions of dollars. But you hold on your way to the west. At Cleveland you may enter the Ohio Canal, cross the state, and descend the noble river which gives it a name; and the same may be done farther on, at Sandusky Bay, where another line of communication begins, which crosses the state by railroad and canal, and enters the Ohio River at Cincinnati. You proceed a little farther, Mr President, and are brought to a stand, not for the want of further facilities of progress, but for the difficulty of choosing between several routes. You are at a loss whether to cross Indiana by the canal from the lake to the Wabash, to proceed to Detroit and traverse the state of Michigan by the railroad there in progress, or to ascend Lake Huron. Should you decide for the latter route, when you reach Mackinaw you will be strongly tempted to enter Lake Superior, coast along the pictured rocks, and cross from the south-western extremity of this new Mediterranean Sea to

the Falls of St Anthony. But if you are resolved to make every part of this excursion by steam, you must descend Lake Michigan. At Milwaukie you will stop, perhaps; and while you contemplate with admiration its rapid growth, examine on the map of Wisconsin the route of the railroads and canals projected across that vast territory, from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. Proceeding on your voyage, you reach Chicago, and think yourself for a moment at your journey's end. At its *end*, Mr President! rather at its beginning! Here, at last, you are brought into direct contact with the most extensive internal communication in the world. You are now on the dividing ridge of the waters, which severally seek the ocean through the St Lawrence and the Mississippi. Here commences a system of travel and transportation by canal, railroad, and river, and mainly the latter navigated by steam, unparalleled by any thing on the surface of the globe. Did we live in a poetic age, we have now reached the region where the genius of steam communication would be personified and embodied. Here we should be taught to behold him, a Titanic colossus of iron and of brass, instinct with elemental life and power, with a glowing furnace for his lungs, and streams of fire and smoke for the breath of his nostrils. With one hand he collects the furs of the arctic circle; with the other he smites the forests of Western Pennsylvania. He plants his right foot at the source of the Missouri — his left on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico; and gathers into his bosom the overflowing abundance of the fairest and richest valley on which the circling sun looks down.

And now, sir, what separates Boston, — what separates Springfield, — ay, this identical building in which you sit, — from a direct artificial communication, for the greater part of the way by steam power, with the stupendous system I have faintly sketched, — this world of demand and supply? What separates you? Sixty-two miles and nine tenths of a mile by railroad, from this place to West Stockbridge; taking for granted, as I do, that by the time our road is completed to the western line of the state, the tract between West Stockbridge

and Albany will also be provided for. When these sixty-two or sixty-three miles are completed, Boston and Springfield will stand connected with this boundless system, natural and artificial, as intimately as if every foot of the artificial routes had been planned by our engineers, and paid for out of our treasury. I name Boston and Springfield, of course, only for the sake of brevity; for an impulse will be imparted by this connection to the industry of every town and village in the state. Yes, sir; and for a portion of the year this Massachusetts Western Railroad, from Boston to Albany, will furnish the most open and tempting route in all the United States from the western interior to the sea. Does there live a Massachusetts man, with the capacity to grasp this subject, who can be insensible to its importance?

But, sir, in this imperfect sketch, I have looked only from Boston westward; now let us turn our faces to the east. Have you well reflected, Mr President, that before the valley of the Pontoosuc shall begin to echo to the hoofs of your iron coursers, whose necks are clothed with a fiercer thunder than that of the war-horse when he snuffs the battle, a line of steam packets, reducing the voyage of the Atlantic to fifteen days, will have commenced running to Boston? The European world of business and travel will thus be brought to our doors. We shall be able to cross the ocean, explore the English markets, and return to our places of business, almost before we are missed. Or if we choose to stay, and have time only for a rapid glance at the old world, we can cross in a steamer to the continent, pass through Belgium, ascend the Rhine, strike off to Paris, and even, they tell us, cross the Alps and the whole length of Lombardy on a railroad. If we prefer a northern excursion, we may shift the switch, and run up through the German states and Austria to the confines of Russia; for in these regions, also, railroads are constructed or in progress.* And this is but the begin-

* It is scarcely necessary to say that since these remarks were made, the railway system, both of Europe and the United States, has been indefinitely extended. Among the great European works executed within the interval,

ning of steam communication in Europe. Regular lines of steam packets, if I am not misinformed, run from Portsmouth, in England, to Lisbon, Cadiz, Marseilles, Leghorn, Naples, Sicily, the ports of the Adriatic, the Ionian Isles, classic Greece, the Archipelago, Troy, Constantinople. From England or France there is constant steam navigation to the coast of Africa, to Syria, and to Egypt; and arrived at Egypt, you find, in the Isthmus of Suez, the half-way station of the steam packets from Great Britain to Bombay. Yes, sir, assuming as certain what I believe is beyond doubt, that Mr Cunard's steamers will begin to run to Boston next spring, it is an extraordinary fact that the completion of this Western Railroad from Springfield to Albany will open a continuous line of artificial communication, almost wholly by steam, from the western shores of Lake Michigan to the eastern coasts of British India; a distance of one hundred and sixty degrees of longitude, including very nearly half the circuit of the globe, and the whole of its civilized portion.

With these views of this work, which I have no time to trace into their effects upon the prosperity of the state, my course is clear. I impugn not the motives of others, who, though they do not impeach the utility of the enterprise, object to the only mode in which it was possible to effect it — the grant of the credit of the state in aid of the efforts of individuals. But with my views of its importance, of its unutterable importance, of its sure connection with the lasting prosperity of our beloved commonwealth, in whose economical history it will form an era, — better for me, as a public

I may with propriety allude to the railway from St Petersburg to Moscow, commenced, and nearly finished, under the superintendence of the late Major Whistler, the engineer of the Western Railroad of Massachusetts This lamented officer was invited to construct the first railroad in the empire, on the recommendation of commissioners sent from Russia to examine the railroads of England and the United States. The emperor of Russia, on a visit to London, spoke of him to me in terms of the highest praise, and expressed the hope that he should be able to persuade him to remain in Russia, where he was doing much good by training a class of skilful engineers. Since the premature decease of Major Whistler, his place in Russia has been supplied by Major Brown, the engineer of the New York and Erie Railroad.

man, that the mountains should fall on me, — better that the hills of Berkshire should "ope their ponderous and marble jaws" and swallow me into the core of their everlasting adamant, — than that I should lift a finger or breathe a whisper adverse to this enterprise, or do other or less than help it forward with the utmost of my humble energies.

And here, sir, perhaps I should stop; but the sight of my excellent friend, your respected fellow-citizen, on your left, (Rev. Mr Peabody,) reminds me of an incident, which, being sometimes a little superstitious, I have been half tempted to regard as significant. Indulge me for a moment in the weakness. There is a little bird, whose abode is on the deep. When a vessel is scudding before the gale, and a wave, which has run mountains high, is just curling over, and boiling at its summit into a deluge of foam, the sailor casts his eye upwards to the seething cap of the billow which seems hanging over him, and there he beholds the *stormy petrel* rocking on its crest. I have seen this little creature, which is said to derive its name from the faint-hearted disciple that could not walk on the waters, walking, or rather running up the more than perpendicular sides of some mighty wave, till he was almost hidden within the curve of its rolling top. On my last visit to Springfield, my esteemed friend just named, who has labored with so much diligence and success on the ornithology of the state, informed me that one of these little sea-birds had left his march upon the mountain wave, his home upon the deep, and had been found near the Chicopee River, within the limits of the town of Springfield, seventy miles, at least, in an air line, from tide water, and hundreds of miles from his accustomed range on the seas. What could be the object of the mysterious little visitant? Who can tell? On his native element, the sailors regard him with an unfriendly eye; on shore, by the rule of contraries, he may come as the harbinger of good. Perhaps, sir, he had heard of your railroad, and had come to try the speed of his pinion with your locomotives. Whatever be his object, I am disposed to regard his visit as a good omen. As the bird of land, in the infancy of our race, came

back to the ark, with an olive-leaf in her mouth, as a sign that the waters were abated from off the earth, let us welcome the little sea-bird, who has come up to the hills, as the herald to tell us that the portals of the deep are thrown open, that chariots of iron and fire are rolling over its waters, and that henceforth, if never before,

> "Seas shall join the regions they divide."

Let me say, sir, in sitting down, —

The East and the West of the Old World and the New: — United by modern art in bonds of iron, which are traversed almost with electric speed, may liberal policy and kind feeling catch, like the electric spark, along the line.

THE SCOTS' CHARITABLE SOCIETY.*

I RISE, Mr President, to tender you my sincere thanks for the flattering notice with which you and the company have been pleased to honor me. Although I am unconnected by any national association with this occasion, I have cordially entered into its spirit. Though I am a republican by principle and feeling, I am not so much of a stoic as not to have had my sympathies touched, while your national anthem was sung with such spirit and feeling. It is a beautiful spectacle to witness this voluntary tribute of respect paid, at the distance of three thousand miles, to the youthful sovereign of Great Britain, by a company like this, who, though the children or descendants of Scotland, with few exceptions, (as was observed by her majesty's consul on my right,) owe her at present no political allegiance. It would be a pleasing incident if it stood alone. But it is not your solitary act. You do but add your voices to a strain which is almost literally echoing round the globe. On this day, dedicated to your patron saint, the tribute of respect which you have just paid to the maiden majesty of your fatherland, is repeated by the sons of Scotland, wheresoever their lot is cast, at home or abroad, from the utmost Orkneys to the Cape of Good Hope, and from Canada to Hindostan; with no difference but that of time, as the evening star, rising successively on each region of the world-encircling empire of England, appoints the hour of the social gathering, and summons the sons of Caledonia to their patriotic vespers.

* Remarks made at the public table, on the 30th of November, 1839, on occasion of the celebration of the one hundred and eighty-third anniversary of the Scots' Charitable Society of Boston.

I thank you, Mr President, for allowing me to partake your hospitality on this occasion. I was not aware, till I received your kind invitation, that there existed among us an institution like this, coëval almost with the settlement of the country. It would be doing injustice to a society of this description, though it may bear a foreign name, to regard it as an institution of foreigners. Some of you, gentlemen, trace your descent, I presume, from ancestors who came to this country with the second, perhaps with the first generation of its settlers. Among the names of the original founders of the institution, as preserved in one of the ancient record books, kindly put into my hands by my friend Mr Gordon, I recognize some which still subsist among us, and which stand as high in the respect of the community as they did one hundred and eighty years ago.

It is a principle deeply wrought into the destinies of America, that, settled originally in times of trial and convulsion in Europe, it should, at all subsequent periods, afford a refuge to those who might be driven abroad by the storms of fortune, or who, from a desire of bettering their condition in life, should go forth from the crowded populations of the elder world, and follow the guidance of an honest spirit of adventure to the new-found continent. Accordingly we find that, in the higher paths of state, swept as they are by the tempests of revolution, regicide judges in ancient times, and in our own times fugitive kings, have found a safe retreat on our shores. In the quiet and happier walks of private life, there has at all times been an active resort from Europe to America; and I doubt not that, at this moment, in more than one foreign country, many a loving and aching heart, waiting to receive the summons to follow those who have gone before, is able to respond to the plaintive strain of your immortal Burns: —

> "I turn to the west, when I gae to my rest,
> That happy my dreams and my slumbers may be;
> For far in the west is he I loe best,
> The youth that is dear to my bairn and to me."

Now, sir, among all those who, coming from every country in Europe, have brought hither the qualities by which they are characterized at home, — whether it be the firm and manly Englishman, the ardent and generous son of Erin, the polite and mercurial Frenchman, the sedate and industrious Hollander or German, — there is none who has proved a better citizen in his new home, than the punctual, intelligent, and conscientious Scot. We of New England ought to give you this credit, for both those who are disposed to pronounce our eulogy, and those who make merry with our foibles, ascribe to us pretty much the same merits and defects of character. I may say, therefore, — though to this extent a party interested, yet with so much the greater claim to be believed sincere, — that there is no people in Europe or America among whom the Scottish emigrant has reason to blush for his native land. You are not numerous here, sir. I am sorry for it; and I hardly know why it is so; for I suppose we should be unwilling, on either side, to acknowledge the validity of the reason which has sometimes been assigned for the fact, namely, that we Yankees are too canny for you.

Your society, sir, as the secretary, in his interesting report, has informed us, was founded near two hundred years ago. Scotland was then an independent kingdom. Not merely independent, she had, more than half a century before, sent her sovereign to sit upon the throne of the sister realms. Although in the particular year in which the society was established, in 1657, the monarch of his proscribed lineage was, perhaps like some of your founders, wandering in foreign lands, dependent on the stranger for protection, yet three years had scarcely elapsed, before he was triumphantly restored. At the close of the seventeenth century, however, the separate sovereignty of Scotland was merged in the union of the kingdoms; in consequence of the superior wealth and numbers of the English, the local sceptre of the ancient monarchy departed forever; and the crown of Bruce was locked up in a dusty chest in Holyrood-house, never more to be drawn forth, but as an object of antiquarian curiosity, or as a melancholy show.

But let not the patriotic son of Scotland lament the change. The sceptre of mind can never pass away; she has won for her brows a diadem, whose lustre can never be obscured. Not to speak of the worthies of ages long past, — of the Knoxes, the Buchanans, and the early minstrels of the border, — the land of your fathers, sir, since it ceased to be a separate kingdom, has, through the intellect of her gifted sons, acquired a supremacy over the minds of men more extensive and more enduring than that of Alexander or Augustus. It would be impossible to enumerate them all, — the Blairs of the last generation, the Chalmerses of this; the Robertsons and Humes; the Smiths, the Reids, the Stewarts, the Browns; the Homes, the Mackenzies, the Mackintoshes, the Broughams, the Jeffreys, with their distinguished compeers, both in physical and moral science. The Marys and the Elizabeths, the Jameses and the Charleses, will be forgotten before these names will perish from the memory of men. And when I add to them those other illustrious names, — Burns, Campbell, Byron, and Scott, — may I not truly say, sir, that the throne and the sceptre of England will crumble into dust like those of Scotland, and Windsor Castle and Westminster Abbey will lie in ruins, as poor and desolate as those of Scone and Iona, before the lords of Scottish song shall cease to reign in the hearts of men.

For myself, sir, I confess that I love Scotland. I have reason to do so. I have trod the soil of the

> "Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
> Land of the mountain and the flood."

I have looked up to the cloud-capt summit of Ben Lomond; have glided among the fairy islets of Loch Katrine; and from the battlements of Stirling Castle have beheld the links of Forth sparkling in the morning sun. I have done more; I have tasted that generous hospitality of Scotland, which her majesty's consul has so justly commemorated; I have held converse with her most eminent sons; I have made my pilgrimage to Melrose Abbey, in company with that modern magician, who, mightier than the magician of old, that sleeps beneath the marble floor of its chancel, has hung the garlands

of immortal poesy upon its shattered arches, and made its moss-clad ruins a shrine, to be visited by the votary of the muse from the remotest corners of the earth, to the end of time. Yes, sir, musing as I did, in my youth, over the sepulchre of the wizard, once pointed out by the bloody stain of the cross and the image of the archangel, — standing within that consecrated enclosure, under the friendly guidance of him whose genius has made it holy ground, — while every nerve within me thrilled with excitement, my fancy kindled with the inspiration of the spot. I seemed to behold, not the vision so magnificently described by the minstrel, — the light which, as the tomb was opened,

> ——— "broke forth so gloriously,
> Streamed upward to the chancel roof,
> And through the galleries far aloof," —

but I could fancy that I beheld, with sensible perception, the brighter light which had broken forth from the master mind; which had streamed from his illumined page all-gloriously upward, above the pinnacles of worldly grandeur, till it mingled its equal beams with that of the brightest constellations in the intellectual firmament of England.

In taking my seat, sir, I beg leave to renew my thanks for the honor done me, and to propose as a toast, —

The Scots' Charitable Society, the prosperity of the institution, and the welfare of each of its members.

JOHN LOWELL, JUN.*

THE occasion of our meeting, at this time, is of a character not less unusual than interesting. By the munificence of the late Mr John Lowell, Jun., a testamentary provision was made for the establishment of regular courses of public lectures, upon the most important branches of natural and moral science, to be annually delivered in the city of Boston. The sum generously set apart by him for this purpose, and amounting nearly to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, is, with the exception of the bequest of the late Mr Girard of Philadelphia, the largest, if I mistake not, which has ever been appropriated in this country, by a private individual, for the endowment of any literary institution. The idea of a foundation of this kind, on which, unconnected with any place of education, provision is made, in the midst of a large commercial population, for annual courses of instruction by public lectures, to be delivered gratuitously to all who choose to attend them, as far as it is practicable within our largest halls, is, I believe, original with Mr Lowell. I am not aware that, among all the munificent establishments of Europe, there is any thing of this description upon a large scale; and I cannot but regard it as a conception eminently adapted to the character and wants of our community, and promising to be as beneficial as it is original and generous.

Instruction by public lectures has greatly prevailed of late years, and obtained a high degree of favor in this and other parts of the United States. It has been ascertained, that

* This Memoir of Mr John Lowell, Jun., was delivered as the introduction to the lectures on his foundation, in the Odeon, 31st December, 1839, and repeated in the Marlborough Chapel, 2d January, 1840.

twenty-six courses were delivered in Boston during the last season, not including those which consisted of less than eight lectures; — many of them by lecturers amply qualified to afford instruction and rational entertainment to an intelligent audience. These lectures, it is calculated, were attended, in the aggregate, by about thirteen thousand five hundred persons, at an expense of less than twelve thousand dollars. This is, probably, a greater number of lectures than was ever delivered in any previous year; but the number of courses has been steadily increasing, from the time of their first commencement, on the present footing, about twenty years ago.* It is not easy to conceive of any plan, by which provision could be made for the innocent and profitable employment of a part of the leisure time of so large a portion of the community, at so small an expense.

These facts sufficiently show the vast importance, as well as the popularity, of this form of public instruction, and they naturally lead to the question, whether it does not admit of improvement in respect to the character of the lectures, and the basis on which they are delivered. In answer to this inquiry, it readily suggests itself, that, notwithstanding the great and unquestioned benefit which must accrue to the community, from the delivery of so large a number of lectures on scientific and literary subjects to voluntary audiences of both sexes, there are two points, in which the system is evidently defective. In the first place, the means of the institutions, under whose auspices most of the public lectures are delivered, are inadequate to hold out a liberal and certain reward to men of talent and learning, for the preparation of well-digested and systematic courses. The compensation is necessarily limited to a moderate fee, paid from the proceeds of the subscription to the courses. A necessary consequence is, that the greater part of the lectures are miscellaneous essays, delivered by different persons, without reference

* Courses of botanical lectures were delivered in Boston by Professors Peck and Bigelow, in the year 1813, and of chemical lectures by Dr Gorham, about the same time. The statement of the number of lectures in 1839, is derived from the last annual report of the Secretary of the Board of Education, p. 74.

to each other. These essays are often highly creditable to their authors as literary efforts; and in the aggregate, no doubt, they are the vehicle of a great amount of useful knowledge. But it cannot be denied that the tendency of lectures, prepared under these circumstances, is to the discussion of popular generalities, for the production of immediate effect; and that a succession of such lectures during a season can never be expected to form a connected series, upon any branch of useful knowledge. A few instances of continuous courses, delivered in exception to the foregoing remarks, will not, I presume, be considered as inconsistent with their substantial accuracy.

In another respect the system obviously admits improvement. Although the length of time for which these lectures have been delivered among us, with increasing public favor, is matter of just surprise, in the absence of all established funds for their support; yet there is just ground for apprehension, that the system may not prove permanent without further provision to sustain it. Whatever relies for its support on retaining the public favor, without a liberal compensation for the performance of labor, and without the means of withstanding the caprices of fashion and the changes of popular taste, is in danger of declining, when the attraction of novelty is over, and the zeal of a first enterprise is exhausted. Even if there were no just ground to fear an entire discontinuance of the public lectures, it is obvious that the present system contains no principle for such a steady improvement in the character of the instruction they furnish, as is necessary to make them a very efficient instrument of raising the literary and scientific character of the community.

For each of these evils an ample remedy is found in the provisions of Mr Lowell's bequest. It holds out the assurance of a liberal reward for the regular delivery of systematic courses of lectures. By the positive regulations of the founder, these courses will extend to some of the most important branches of moral, intellectual, and physical science; while the trustee is enabled, in the exercise of the liberal discretion reposed in him, to make provision for any lectures, which, in

his judgment, may be most conducive to the public improvement. The compensation which is provided by the bequest is sufficient to reward the lecturers for the elaborate and conscientious preparation of their courses, and consequently to command the highest talent and attainment engaged in the communication of knowledge in this country; and this, not for the present season or the present generation, but as long as it is possible for human wisdom and human laws to give permanence to any of the purposes of man, for all coming time.

We may therefore consider it as certain, that all who are disposed, in this community, (within the limitation, of course, of the capacity of our largest halls to accommodate an audience,) to employ a portion of their leisure time in the improvement of their minds in this way, will henceforward enjoy the fullest advantage of regular courses of public lectures, delivered without expense to those who hear them, by persons selected for their ability to impart instruction, and amply rewarded for the labor of faithful preparation. While the public are reaping this advantage, the permanent funds provided by the founder's bequest will constitute a very important addition to the other existing inducements to the pursuit of a studious life; and may in that way be expected gradually to exert a sensible influence, in elevating the scientific and literary character of the country.

It may also be observed, that, so far from preventing the delivery of other courses of lectures on the plan hitherto pursued, this foundation may be expected to extend its beneficial influence to them. It is physically impossible, that much more than a tenth part of the whole number of those estimated to have attended the lectures of the last season, should be accommodated in any one hall; and a single repetition is all that can be expected of any lecture on the Lowell foundation. A very great demand for other courses will therefore continue to exist; and the Lowell Institute, by causing the preparation and delivery of a steady succession of lectures, capable of being repeated before other audiences, will facilitate the supply of this demand. It will no doubt

become easier than it has heretofore been, for other institutions, with the command of limited means, to procure for their audiences the advantage of systematic courses.

Such is the general character, briefly sketched, of Mr Lowell's foundation. The first course of lectures is now about to commence, on the subject of geology, to be delivered by a gentleman, (Professor Silliman of Yale College,) whose reputation is too well established in this department of science, both in Europe and America, and is too well known to the citizens of Boston, to need an attestation on my part. It would be arrogant in me to speak further of his qualifications as a lecturer on this foundation. The great crowd assembled this evening, consisting as it does of a moiety only of those who have received tickets of admission to the course, sufficiently evinces the desire which is felt by the citizens of Boston again to enjoy the advantage of his instructions; while it affords a new proof, if further proof were wanting, that our liberal founder did not mistake the disposition of the community to avail themselves of the benefits of an institution of this character.

As an introduction to this first course of lectures before the Lowell Institute, I cannot but think it will be deemed reasonable and just, by this respectable audience, to devote a single hour to the commemoration of the munificent founder. He thought proper to restrict his bequest to objects which he deemed of direct public utility, forbidding the expenditure of any part of the fund in buildings and fixtures, which, in other foundations, that may be compared to this, usually serve as sensible monuments to their founders. He thus limited its application to purposes at once the least ostentatious and the best calculated to act immediately on the mind of the community. It is on this account doubly reasonable that we should devote at least one evening to a notice of his brief and somewhat eventful life. I have yielded cheerfully to the request of the highly respected trustee of Mr Lowell's foundation,* — the kinsman and friend to whom he

* John Amory Lowell, Esq.

confided the sole administration of the largest and most important bequest ever made in this city, — that I would undertake the honorable task of paying this tribute of gratitude to the memory of our deceased fellow-citizen and benefactor. I can only regret that, amidst the engagements devolving upon me at this season of the year, I have wanted leisure to prepare myself in a manner more worthy of the subject, and the attention of this large and intelligent assembly.

Mr John Lowell, Jun., bore an honored name among us. Not to speak of the titles of the living to public respect and gratitude,* I may be pardoned for dwelling, for a few moments, on the characters of the departed. He was the grandson of the late Judge Lowell, whose father, the Rev. John Lowell, was the first minister of Newburyport. The memory of Judge Lowell, I am confident, is respectfully cherished by many persons whom I have now the honor to address. He was among those who enjoyed the public trust and confidence in the times which tried men's souls, and bore his part in the greatest work recorded in the annals of constitutional liberty, — the American revolution. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1760. He studied the law under Oxenbridge Thacher, and was admitted to the practice in 1762. This was the year following that in which his professional master was associated with James Otis, in arguing the great cause on writs of assistance. Educated in this school, it is unnecessary to state what were his principles on the subject of the momentous controversy which had so long been ripening towards a crisis. He was chosen, in 1776, the representative of the town of Newburyport, in the provincial assembly of Massachusetts, being then thirty-three years of age. In the following year he removed to Boston; and it is a striking proof of the confidence reposed in his principles, and in his ability to maintain them, that he was immediately elected as one of the representatives of this town to the General Court. In 1779, he was chosen a member of the convention for framing a constitution of state government. He was, with

* See note at the end.

James Bowdoin and John Adams, from the Boston delegation, placed upon the committee of twenty-four, for reporting a declaration of rights and the form of a constitution. In the year 1781, he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress, and in the following year was appointed by that body one of the three judges of the court which had been established for the trial of appeals from the courts of admiralty in the several states. In 1784, he was selected as one of the commissioners to establish the boundary between Massachusetts and New York.

On the adoption of the constitution of the United States, Judge Lowell was appointed by General Washington to the bench of the District Court of Massachusetts. He filled the judicial station with eminent ability; and was, in particular, well versed in admiralty law, at a time when that branch of jurisprudence was less familiar at our tribunals than at the present day. In 1801, he was appointed chief justice of the Circuit Court for the first circuit, under the new organization of the judiciary which then took place. He was for eighteen years a member of the corporation of Harvard College, warmly attached to its interests, and one of the most zealous and efficient of its friends, at a time when its prosperity was less securely established than at present. He was distinguished for his literary taste, and his attainments as a scholar. On the decease of Governor Bowdoin, president of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Judge Lowell was requested by that Society to deliver his eulogy, which was afterwards published in one of the volumes of the Academy's Memoirs. His active benevolence made him an object of affection and gratitude. The integrity of his official character was universally admitted amidst the collisions of party. His personal intercourse was rendered peculiarly attractive by his brilliant powers of conversation, and was the delight of all who enjoyed it.

The maternal grandfather of our founder was the late Jonathan Jackson, Esq., who was also one of the most esteemed and distinguished citizens of Boston. Judge Lowell, though of the preceding class, had been his chamber-mate and most

intimate friend at college. This circumstance, probably, induced Mr Jackson, after leaving college, to transfer his residence to Newburyport. After passing an apprenticeship in the counting-house of Patrick Tracy, Esq., then one of the most prominent merchants of Newburyport, he commenced business in that town. Like his early friend, of whom I have just spoken, Mr Jackson took a prompt and decided part with the friends of American independence. After the removal of Judge Lowell to Boston, Mr Jackson represented the town of Newburyport in the provincial legislature. He was a member of the convention which framed the state constitution, and was one of the committee of twenty-four, above alluded to, by whom the plan of that instrument was reported. In 1782, he was a member of the Congress of the United States.

Mr Jackson inherited from his father what, in those days, was considered a large patrimony. Besides bearing his allotted portion of the public burdens, he made voluntary advances and contributions for the public service, and at the close of the war was largely the creditor of the commonwealth.

At the time of Shays's insurrection in 1786, Mr Jackson was among the most forward to maintain the supremacy of the laws. In the company of volunteers who marched from Boston to support the sheriff of Middlesex, he was the second in command. Subsequently he went to the western counties as a volunteer aid to his friend General Lincoln, and remained with that distinguished soldier and patriot till the insurrection was suppressed.

On the organization of the federal government, he was appointed the first marshal of Massachusetts. On the introduction of the system of internal revenue, he was selected by President Washington to be inspector of the revenue in the county of Essex, and, in 1796, was appointed supervisor of the revenue of the whole state. He held this last office till the commerce of the country became sufficiently extensive to support the expenses of the government by the duties on imports, and the internal revenue ceased to be levied. In the latter part of his life, he was the treasurer of the common-

wealth, and of the university at Cambridge. This last office he held at the time of his death, in the year 1810. On his appointment as supervisor of the revenue of Massachusetts, in 1796, Mr Jackson removed to Boston, where he continued to reside for the remainder of his life. He was one of the most distinguished members of a circle of patriots, of whom but one or two survive; — a class of men who, now that time has softened the asperities of party feeling, and impaired the interest of former controversies, will be admitted, on all hands, to have been among the most ardent friends of American independence, and the most intelligent and efficient founders of our constitutions of government. He was the friend and associate of Ames, of Parsons, and of Cabot, and yielded neither to them, nor to any one, in sterling patriotism and Roman integrity, both in private and public life. The various public trusts and offices which he filled, sufficiently attest the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries; and he transmitted, at his decease, a name, honored in his own person, to those who have increased its honors in the highest walks of professional and active usefulness.

I take great satisfaction in these recollections; they suggest a very pleasing combination of ideas. Our lamented founder, Mr John Lowell, Jun., was of the third generation which has come upon the stage since the close of the war of 1756, — the true date of the American revolution. At that time, the United States were poor and feeble colonies. The generation to which he belonged was the first which came forward into life with much transmitted property; and it will ever be remembered to his praise, that he has set such a bright example of pouring back so much of the ample portion which had fallen to his share, into the bosom of the public weal. Such being his personal merit, it is truly gratifying to trace his descent to those in the *first* generation, who were among the most prominent and effective citizens, in this part of the country, in establishing and consolidating the liberties of the country, — the broad basis on which its prosperity has been reared, — and to a parent in the *second* generation, who was surpassed by no other in the success of his efforts to build on

that foundation, and to diffuse among his fellow-citizens the blessings of productive industry, as the natural result of free and wise institutions of government; and thus to lay the foundation of those accumulations of property, which, liberally dispensed, must, in a republic, constitute the great fund for all enterprises of social improvement.

That parent was Mr Francis C. Lowell, who is still freshly remembered among us, as one of those who have reflected the highest honor on the character of the American merchant. He was distinguished for the originality of his views, the clearness of his perceptions, the variety and accuracy of his knowledge, and his power of bringing it to practical results, and perhaps still more for the sterling purity and integrity of his character. To him, more than to any other individual, is New England, or rather is America, indebted, for the permanent establishment of the cotton manufacture in this country. The earlier attempts had not gone beyond spinning by machinery, and had been made with but partial success. Mr Slater had brought from England, in the year 1789, a knowledge of the inventions of Arkwright for spinning cotton; but the machinery constructed in this country is believed to have been originally of an imperfect character, and to have remained without improvement. Some attempts had been made, even before the arrival of Mr Slater, to introduce this branch of industry. Bounties were granted by the state of Massachusetts, and considerable capital, here and elsewhere, was invested in the business; but no extensive or important results were obtained. The machinery was of an imperfect description, and badly constructed; there was great want of skill; commerce was the favorite pursuit with men of capital; and the competition of foreign countries was, under these circumstances, overwhelming. Perhaps an obstacle as serious as any other, was a prevailing belief, amounting almost to a superstition, that it was impossible for this country to engage to advantage in any branch of manufactures, which had been long established in foreign countries.

At length, in 1807, the accustomed commercial intercourse of the United States with Europe was interrupted by political

events, which seemed likely to continue to operate for some time. Sagacious observers began to perceive the approach of a new era in American industry, and capital, to some extent, in the different parts of the country, being necessarily withdrawn from commerce, sought investment in various branches of manufactures. This, however, was more particularly the case in Pennsylvania, and in reference to the manufactures of iron. The demand for cotton goods was, no doubt, to some extent, supplied, during the interruption of our intercourse with Europe and India, by American manufactures of that article, but mainly, it is believed, by household fabrics.

In 1810, Mr Francis C. Lowell was induced to visit England with his family, on account of the state of his health. The vast importance of manufacturing industry, as a source of national wealth, was no doubt impressed with new force upon his mind in consequence of his observations in that country, and some branches of manufactures were examined by him with care; but it is not known that he paid particular attention to that of cotton. On his return home, and shortly after the commencement of the war of 1812, Mr Lowell was so strongly convinced of the practicability of establishing that manufacture in the United States, that he proposed to a kinsman and friend (Mr Patrick T. Jackson) to make the experiment on an ample scale. The original project contemplated only the weaving of cotton by machinery. The power loom, although it had been for some time invented in England, was far less used in that country, in proportion to the quantity of cotton spun, than at the present day, and was wholly unknown in the United States. After deliberation, the enterprise was resolved upon. A model of a common loom was procured by Mr Lowell and his friend, — both equally ignorant of the practical details of the mode in which the power loom was constructed, — and their joint attention was bestowed on the reinvention of that machine. Satisfied with the result of their experiments, they proceeded to form a company among their personal and family friends, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, and entered into

contract with Mr Jacob Perkins to superintend the construction of the machinery. Mr Perkins having left this part of the country before the machinery was constructed or planned, the late Mr Paul Moody was recommended by him as his successor in the enterprise; and no circumstance more favorable to its result could have occurred. Mr Moody possessed a mechanical genius of the highest order, though at this time little developed by study or practice. On his first examination of the working model of the power loom which had been constructed by Mr Lowell and Mr Jackson, he entertained but little hope of its success. He lived to see it become one of the most important agents in promoting the prosperity of America. The winter of 1812—1813 was passed at Waltham, where a water power had been purchased, in bringing the loom to perfection. On being completed, it was found to answer the purpose so entirely, as to warrant the immediate construction, on the same plan, of all the looms needed for the establishment.

Here, however, an unforeseen difficulty presented itself, in the trouble and expense of preparing for the loom the thread obtained from the spinning-mills of the country, and which, in the original plan of the enterprise at Waltham, was depended on to supply the looms at that place. It was immediately determined to extend the undertaking to the entire manufacture of the article in all its parts. Machinery for spinning, of the best description known at that time in the country, was ordered; but on its erection at Waltham, it was pronounced by Mr Moody to be worthless, and was immediately removed, at the total sacrifice of what it had cost. It of course became necessary to supply its place; and in the progress of this undertaking, the various portions of the machinery known to be in use in England were reconstructed at Waltham, without assistance from models, by a machinist who had never seen them in operation, with no aid but what was to be obtained from books, and some drawings of a portion of the works, which had been casually brought from England at this juncture. It is probable that the extent to which Mr Moody and his intelligent employers were obliged

to depend upon the resources of their own minds, was, upon the whole, an advantageous circumstance. Had they operated with working models of the best British machinery before them, they might have been satisfied with an exact imitation of them. As it was, important improvements were introduced in every part of the machinery, and some original inventions of great value were made. Among the former may be mentioned the improvements of the dressing-table and the warping machine; and among the original inventions, the method of spinning the thread directly upon the quill, and the double speeder. Many of these improvements and inventions have been since introduced into England. The mechanical contrivance and execution of the machinery was principally the work of Mr Moody; the mathematical calculations necessary for their adjustment were all made by Mr Lowell. The calculations connected with the double speeder were submitted to the late Dr Bowditch, with a view to procure his testimony on a trial which had arisen as to the patent right, and were pronounced by him, on that occasion, to be such as few individuals were competent to perform.

Not less than two and a half years were required for these preparations, in which the whole capital of the company was expended. Such, however, was the faith reposed by their associates in the judgment of Mr Lowell and Mr Jackson, that when, in the autumn of 1815, it was proposed by these gentlemen to double the capital of the establishment, the proposal was promptly acceded to, although not a single piece of cloth had as yet been delivered from the looms. Some judgment may be formed from the following fact, which occurred at this period, or shortly after, of the reduction which has been effected in the price of an article, that enters so extensively into the ordinary consumption of the people of the United States. A considerable quantity of thread having accumulated in the hands of the company beyond the capacity of their looms, it was distributed among the hand-weavers in the neighborhood, to be manufactured into cloth, at a cost of ten cents per yard for weaving. The

entire cost of the same article, including, of course, the raw material, has been reduced below that sum.

Several months before this enlargement of the capital of the company, and while the machinery was yet in progress of construction, the war was terminated. This circumstance materially changed the aspect of things in reference to many of the manufacturing projects in the United States. Much of the capital which had been invested in different parts of the Union in manufacturing establishments, was withdrawn at a great sacrifice. Mr Lowell and his associates determined to persevere. The existing interruption of commerce had not been lost sight of, as a circumstance favorable to their undertaking in its infancy, but its continuance as a permanent state of things had not been depended upon. Although, as we have seen, they had not yet finished a piece of cloth, they relied so confidently on their calculations, that they determined to risk the experiment of going on with the establishment; and probably no single purpose of private individuals ever involved a greater amount of public interests.

They did not, however, conceal from themselves the fact, that a great change had taken place in the condition of the country. That interruption of trade, which was the original prompting cause of the enterprise, had now ceased to exist. It was in the nature of things that there should be a reaction; that the country, after so long an interruption of foreign commerce, would immediately be inundated from the glutted markets of Europe and India, pouring their stocks into the United States, with a profusion inseparable from the return of peace. The double duties, which were levied for a year after the war, served as a temporary protection; and it was determined to make an appeal to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress, to devise a system of permanent security. The baleful connection of this question with party politics had not then commenced. Mr Francis C. Lowell repaired to Washington in the winter of 1816; and, in confidential intercourse with some of the leading members, he fixed their attention on the importance, the prospects, and the dangers

of the cotton manufacture, and the policy of shielding it from foreign competition by legislative protection. Constitutional objections, at that time, were unheard of. The Middle States, under the lead of Pennsylvania, were strong in the manufacturing interest. The West was about equally divided. The New England States, attached, from the settlement of the country, to commercial and navigating pursuits, were less disposed to embark in a new policy, which was thought adverse to some branches of foreign trade, and particularly to the trade with India, from which the supply of coarse cotton fabrics was principally derived.

The planting states, and eminently South Carolina, then represented by several gentlemen of distinguished ability, held the balance between the rival interests. To the planting interest it was demonstrated by Mr Lowell, that, by the establishment of the cotton manufacture in the United States, the southern planter would greatly increase his market. He would furnish the raw material for all those American fabrics which should take the place of manufactures imported from India, or partly made in England from India cotton. He would thus, out of his own produce, be enabled to pay for all the supplies which he required from the north. This simple and conclusive view of the subject prevailed, and determined a portion of the south to throw its weight into the scale in favor of a protective tariff. The minimum duty on cotton fabrics, the corner stone of the system, was proposed by Mr Lowell, and is believed to have been an original conception on his part. It was recommended by Mr Lowndes, it was advocated by Mr Calhoun, and was incorporated into the law of 1816. To this provision of law, the fruit of the intelligence and influence of Mr Lowell, New England owes that branch of industry which has made her amends for the diminution of her foreign trade; which has kept her prosperous under the exhausting drain of her population to the west; which has brought a market for his agricultural produce to the farmer's door; and which, while it has conferred these blessings on this part of the country, has been productive of good, and nothing but good, to every

other portion of it. For these public benefits, — than which none, not directly connected with the establishment of our liberties, are of a higher order, or of a more comprehensive scope, — the people of the United States are indebted to Mr Francis C. Lowell; and, in conferring his name upon the noble city of the arts in our neighborhood, a monument not less appropriate than honorable has been reared to his memory. What memorial of a great public benefactor so becoming as the bestowal of his name on a prosperous community, which has started, as it were, from the soil at the touch of his wand? Pyramids and mausoleums may crumble to the earth, and brass and marble mingle with the dust they cover, but the pure and well-deserved renown, which is thus incorporated with the busy life of an intelligent people, will be remembered, till the long lapse of ages, and the vicissitudes of fortune, shall reduce all of America to oblivion and decay.

In thus dwelling, for a short time, on the eminent public services of his father, I am sure I shall stand in no need of an excuse with the friends of Mr John Lowell, Jun., the oldest of the four children (three sons and a daughter) who survived him, and inherited from him an honorable independence, — the well-merited reward of the efforts so widely felt in the prosperity of the country. Mr John Lowell, Jun., was born on the eleventh of May, 1799, and, after receiving his earliest education at the schools of his native city, was taken by his father to Europe, on occasion of the voyage to which I have already alluded, and placed at the high-school of Edinburgh. He retained to the last an affectionate recollection of the friendships formed by him at this early period; and during his travels in the East, towards the close of his life, he gave the most substantial and munificent proofs of the strength of the attachments of his childhood. He accompanied his father on his return to America, and in 1813 was placed at Harvard College. He had always been remarked for an inquisitive turn of mind, and for the eagerness with which he sought to inform himself, both by conversation and books. He might be said, with truth, to have inherited a

thirst for knowledge. His favorite reading was voyages and travels; and at this early period of his life, he was more thoroughly acquainted with geography than most men of finished education. His health did not permit him to complete his collegiate course, and, after two years' residence at Cambridge, he left the university to follow a more active course of life. In 1816 and 1817, he made two voyages to India, — the first to Batavia, returning by Holland and England, the second to Calcutta.

His readiness to engage, in his youth, in these distant voyages, without the inducement of necessity, may, no doubt, be considered as an early indication of that passion for foreign travel, which afterwards disclosed itself in his character, and which was unquestionably stimulated by this glimpse of the remote East. Although circumstances did not permit him for a long time to gratify his taste in this respect, there is reason to believe, that he cherished, from a very early period, the hope of adding something to the stock of modern discovery. Among his earliest arrangements of business, there are traces of a plan of a voyage to Africa, and of attempts to explore the mysteries of the geography of that continent, which have hitherto resisted the enterprise, the courage, and the self-devotion of so many intelligent and unfortunate travellers.

From the time of his return from his second voyage, with invigorated health, Mr Lowell became a diligent student. He was engaged with success in commercial pursuits, and, of course, gave to them a sufficient degree of attention. His operations, however, were principally connected with the East Indies, and did not engross his time. His leisure was almost exclusively devoted to reading. He spared no time for the frivolous pleasures of youth, — less, perhaps, than his health required for its innocent relaxations, and for exercise. Few subjects in science or literature escaped his attention; and an uncommonly retentive memory rendered available, for future use, the knowledge which he was so diligent in acquiring. He rapidly formed one of the best selected and expensive private libraries in the city, and acquired a famil-

iarity with its contents, not always possessed by the owner of many books.

He did not, however, allow his love of reading to divert his thoughts from the political and moral interests of the community. His time and his property were freely given to the calls of public and private benevolence. He engaged with earnestness in the promotion of the various public-spirited undertakings of the day. He took an active part in political concerns. Regarding our systems of government as better adapted than any others to promote the virtue and happiness of the people, he considered it the duty of every good citizen to bear his part of the burden of sustaining and administering them. Engaged in lucrative pursuits, which made much attention to public business a pecuniary sacrifice, and with a thirst for knowledge which superseded the necessity of political excitement, he yet gave himself, on principle, to the public service. He was repeatedly a member of the Common Council of the city, and the legislature of the commonwealth. In both of these bodies he was distinguished for his assiduous attention to his duties, and for the practical and business-like view which he took of every subject of discussion. Indeed it was his characteristic to do *thoroughly* whatever he undertook. His usefulness was, however, more conspicuous in the committee-room than at the caucus; and as he did *not* depend upon office for bread, he dwelt less than is the fashion of the day in professions of disinterested regard for the people. Leaving others to flatter them, his own conscience was satisfied, when he had served them to the best of his ability. He was a philosophical student of the genius of our political systems, and passed the autumn of the year 1829 at Richmond, for the purpose of attending the debates of the Convention assembled in that city to revise the constitution of Virginia.

In the years 1830 and 1831, he had the misfortune to lose, in the course of a few months, his wife and two daughters, his only children. This calamity broke up, for a season, all his pleasant associations with home, and served to revive the slumbering passion for foreign travel, of which we have seen

the early indications. Desirous of extending his acquaintance with his own country before going abroad, he passed a considerable portion of the summer of 1832 in a tour in the Western States. He made other preparations, of a more serious character, for what might befall him abroad, and, as the event proved, with a spirit foreboding that early termination of his life which Providence had appointed. Bereaved, by the domestic calamity just alluded to, of all those dependent upon him for their support and establishment in life, he had already conceived and matured the plan of his munificent foundation. By a will made before leaving his native country, he set aside a large portion of his ample property to be expended, forever, in the support of those courses of lectures in the city of Boston, of which the first is now about to commence.

Although the plan of his travels abroad was not, probably, at this time settled, there is evidence that he contemplated a long absence, and a very extensive tour. He, no doubt, proposed to himself, on leaving home, to penetrate the Eastern continent as far as practicable. He mentions, in some of his early letters, his purpose, if possible, to enter the Chinese empire by the Indian frontier. Alluding to the distant prospect of his return home, he uses the striking expression, "I must first see the circle of the earth." More than once he intimates the design of passing from the east of Asia to the Polynesian Archipelago.

With these vast projects revolving in his mind, — with feelings not alienated from home, but seeking relief from its sorrows in the excitement of travel, — with an almost unlimited command of the means of gratifying his curiosity, — with a mind well fitted for instructive observation by the possession of a large amount of various knowledge, — with those moral qualities of industry, perseverance, and courage, which are required for advantageous travel in barbarous countries, — with that elevation of spirit which is produced by a consciousness that he had made provision for great objects of public utility, to take effect should any disaster befall himself, — he sailed for Europe, in November,

1832, never to return. The following winter and spring were passed in Paris, and the summer and autumn of 1833 in Englând, Scotland, and Ireland. His project of extensive travels in Asia was now sufficiently matured, to be announced to his friends at home. He began to look on every thing abroad as it bore upon his preparation for this object. Information with respect to the routes was sought in every quarter, and instruments of the most perfect kind were procured by him to be made by the best artists in London. He omitted no opportunity of forming the acquaintance of the few individuals who had preceded him in the regions which he proposed to explore. What was of the most material consequence, he received from Lord Glenelg, then Mr Grant, the secretary of state for the colonies, such official recommendations as would have procured him greater facilities in his tour in the interior of India, than were ever enjoyed by a native of this country, — probably by any person not a native of Great Britain. The purpose of visiting the East had by this time seized upon his soul, with the grasp of a ruling passion. In one of his letters from London, in November, 1833, in describing, with great vivacity, the various personages to whom he had been presented at the hospitable table of Lord Glenelg, including among them those of the highest political rank and consideration in the kingdom, he speaks of a young gentleman, at that time unknown to fame, as being to him the most interesting person in the company, "the topmost jewel in a precious diadem." This individual was Lieutenant, now, I believe, Sir Alexander Burnes, well known as the author of Travels into Bokhara, and whose acquaintance with the interior of the Oriental world, acquired by thirteen years passed in the civil and military service of the Company, formed an attraction to Mr Lowell, as he says, so engrossing, "as to lead him to forget almost every thing else, and to feel, in a short time, like an intimate acquaintance.

Early in December, 1833, he again passed over to the continent, taking the route of Holland and Belgium to Paris. His projects for the future course of his travels, as far as they were digested at that time, may be gathered from a letter to

the chargé d'affaires of the United States at London, of the nineteenth of December, 1833, in reply to a letter of inquiry from that gentleman.

"I leave Paris," says he, "in five or six days, and proceed rapidly through France, Italy, and Sicily, resting a few days at some of the principal towns. I expect to reach Malta by the beginning or middle of April. From Malta we shall endeavor to make a short visit to the Pyramids, by the way of Alexandria and Cairo, and from thence to go to Jerusalem, by the way of the Desert of Suez. Taking shipping at some port in Syria or Palestine, we shall follow the coast to Smyrna. Should this route be inexpedient, on account of want of time, fear of the plague, or political disturbance, we shall visit Greece before proceeding to Smyrna. From the last named place we shall proceed to Constantinople, where we intend to arrive as early as the middle of July or first of August; because it would be very disagreeable to be overtaken by cold weather in the mountainous regions of Armenia, Koordistan, or Georgia. In August, we shall proceed from Constantinople to Trebizond on the Black Sea, probably by water. From Trebizond we shall start on horseback, and, placing our baggage on mules, follow for a time nearly the route of the ten thousand Greeks under Xenophon, and rest a short time at Teflis, the capital of Georgia. We shall leave Teflis as soon as possible, and stop next at Teheran, the capital of Persia. Here I propose to pass two or three months, both because, in all probability, the season will be unfavorable for travelling, and because I should like to obtain a slight knowledge of the Persian language. From Teheran we shall cross Persia, passing through Ispahan, the ruins of Persepolis and Shirauz, — the city of gardens, — and Busheer, on the Persian Gulf. Thence I take shipping for Bombay."

Such, it will be observed, was but the introductory portion of the tour which Mr Lowell projected, of which the most important and considerable part was to commence with his arrival on the western coast of the peninsula of Hindostan. Events, to which I shall have occasion presently to allude, caused a change in a considerable portion of the route here sketched out.

After a few days passed in Paris, and an excursion to the south-western portion of France, he proceeded to Italy, by the way of Nice and Genoa, and having visited the principal cities in Lombardy, arrived in Florence in the early part of February, 1834. The charms of the climate, the beautiful remains of antiquity, and the wonders of modern art which have been produced by their contemplation, the all-pervading

interest of the classic soil of Italy, with the attractions of society, to which he found access on the most advantageous footing, detained him in the various cities of Italy beyond his calculation. While in Florence, he gratified his taste for the fine arts, by engaging our accomplished fellow-citizen Greenough to execute a statue for him, on one of the most graceful subjects of classic mythology, to be presented to the Boston Athenæum. At Rome, he made an agreement with a Swiss artist, highly recommended to him by Horace Vernet, as an excellent draftsman and painter, to accompany him, for the purpose of taking sketches and designs of scenery, ruins, and costumes throughout the whole of his tour. A considerable number of drawings, executed by this artist, have been received in this country since Mr Lowell's decease.

Having completed the examination of the objects of interest in the vicinity of Naples, and visited the beautiful ruins at Pæstum, Mr Lowell crossed to Palermo. Although within the pale of Europe, some of the peculiar hardships of Oriental travelling commence in the Island of Sicily. Except in the immediate neighborhood of large towns, there are no roads nor public conveyances, and no houses for the reception of travellers. But these circumstances do but give a zest to travel. Mr Lowell devoted a month to the tour of the island. He explored the majestic ruins of Agrigentum and Selinus, — perhaps the most imposing monuments of classical antiquity, — visited Syracuse and Catania, and ascended the middle region of Ætna. Nor was his attention confined to the wonderful remains of ancient art; he surveyed the countries he visited with the eye of a naturalist. In a letter of the eighth of June, 1834, to the Princess Galitzin, (the amiable and accomplished granddaughter of Marshal Suwarrow,) whose acquaintance he had formed at Florence, he thus expresses himself on the subject of the tour, which he had just accomplished in this interesting region: "Clear and beautiful are the skies in Sicily, and there is a warmth of tint about the sunsets unrivalled even in Italy. It resembles what one finds under the tropics; and so does the vegetation. It is rich and luxuriant. The palm begins to appear;

the palmetto, the aloe, and the cactus adorn every roadside; the superb oleander bathes its roots in almost every brook; the pomegranate and a large species of convolvulus are every where seen. In short, the variety of flowers is greater than that of the prairies in the Western States of America, though I think their number is less. Our Rudbeckia is, I think, more beautiful than the chrysanthemum coronarium which you see all over Sicily; but there are the orange and the lemon."

After a month passed in Sicily, Mr Lowell crossed to Malta. Here he had so far altered the original plan of his route, that he determined to make the tour of Greece before visiting Asia Minor. Accordingly, after devoting a few days to this celebrated rock, he embarked in a Greek vessel for Corfu, and arrived in that island, after a tedious passage of fifteen days. When the traveller from Western Europe or America finds himself sailing along the channel which separates the Ionian Islands from the shores of continental Greece, he feels himself, at length, arrived in "the bright clime of battle and of song." In Italy and Sicily, he is still in the modern and the Western World, although numberless memorials of the past remain, and a foretaste of Eastern costume and manners presents itself. But he feels, with full consciousness, that he is indeed on his pilgrimage, when his eyes rest upon those gems of the deep, which the skill of the Grecian minstrel has touched with a spark of immortality; — when he can say to himself, as he passes along, "On this spot was unfolded the gorgeous web of the Odyssey; from that cliff Sappho threw herself into the sea; on my left hand lay the gardens of Alcinoüs, — and the olive, and the grape, and the orange still cover the soil; before me rises the embattled citadel which Virgil describes; on my right are the infamous Acroceraunian rocks of Horace; and within that blue mountain barrier, which bounds the horizon, were concealed the mystic grove and oracle of Dodona — the cradle of the mythology of Greece." When to these recollections of antiquity are added the modern Oriental features of the scene; — the dress of the Grecian peasant or boatman, seen as you coast along the

islands; the report of the musket of the Albanian, — half-shepherd, half-bandit, — tending his flocks on the hill-sides of the main land; the minaret, the crescent, and the cypress grove, which mark the cities of the living, and the resting-place of the dead; — you then feel yourself departed from the language, the manners, and the faith of Christendom, and fairly entered within the vestibule of the mysterious East.

After passing a few days at Corfu, the capital of the Ionian Islands, Mr Lowell crossed the narrow strait which separates it from the shores of Albania, and went up to Yanina, the residence of the late celebrated Ali Pacha.* The beautiful little city of Yanina — which, in 1819, lay quietly nestled upon a promontory extending into a lake of moderate compass, half-surrounded by the neighboring heights of Pindus, and under the protection of its stern master, exhibiting for a Turkish town an unwonted air of prosperity — was seen by Mr Lowell, in 1834, just emerging from a destructive war, which had ended with the life of the aged despot. Having passed a few days here and in the neighborhood, he pursued his tour southward, through the passes of the Suliote Mountains, apparently by the route which is rendered so familiar to us by the second canto of Childe Harold. A part of this region has acquired a melancholy interest, as the theatre of the exploits and fall of Marco Bozzaris, and other mournful scenes of the Greek revolution. Visiting Missolonghi, — where he became acquainted with the remaining members of the family of Bozzaris, — Patras, the Gulf of Lepanto, the citadel of Corinth, Mycene, Argos, Napoli di Romania, Epidaurus, and the Island of Ægina, he arrived about the 10th of July at Athens, — "that venerable, ruined, dirty, little town," — I use his own words, — "of which the streets are most narrow and nearly impassable, but the poor remains of whose ancient taste in the arts exceed in beauty every thing I have yet seen in either Italy, Sicily, or any other portion of Greece."

* From his landing on the Albanian shore, Mr Lowell commenced the daily observation of the state of the thermometer, barometer, and hygrometer, and entered the result with precision in his Journal.

But, notwithstanding his keen relish for the beauties of ancient art, it was no part of his design to make an extensive Grecian tour. In the first week of September, he took passage for the Island of Syra, which, since the downfall of the Turkish dominion in Greece, has become the emporium of the Archipelago. This island was, at that time, the residence of the Rev. Mr Robertson, a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States, of whose labors, as of those of the Rev. Messrs King and Hill, at Athens, also American missionaries, Mr Lowell makes frequent and honorable mention in his letters, bearing witness to their visible agency in promoting the regeneration of Greece. He also found, on more than one occasion, in the course of his tour, that the liberal supplies sent by this country to Greece, in the time of her extremity in 1827 and 1828, were still borne in grateful recollection, and caused the American name to stand high in the affections of the people.

After having been detained a considerable time at Syra, by want of a wind, Mr Lowell took passage for Smyrna, where he arrived on the twenty-fourth of September, 1834. He had now reached the region which preceded even classic Greece in the march of civilization, — the shores of that Ionia where Homer lived and sung, before the light of poetry dawned on Athens. Nor are classic associations its only interest. It abounds in names that stand prominent on the mysterious page of the Apocalypse. In a letter to a friend in America, dated the twentieth of October, he observes, "The rich and, in spite of Turkish oppression, well-cultivated valley of the Meander, adorned with cypresses and olive-trees, and filled with fig-trees and vineyards, is worthy of being compared to the broad interval lands of an American river. It resembles, in size and fertility, the Mohawk, and is the second largest river in Asia Minor, the Halys being the first. Near its banks are the ruins of Magnesia, Tralles, Nysa, Laodicea, Tripolis, and, above all, Hierapolis, all of which I visited. I had previously been to Ephesus and Neapolis, or Scala Nova, one of the large commercial towns of the country. I then crossed Mount Messogis in the rain, and descended into the basin of the River

Hermus, visited Philadelphia, the picturesque site of Sardis, with its inaccessible citadel, and two solitary but beautiful Ionic columns; and in addition to what is sometimes called the house of Crœsus, I crossed and drank of the waters of the Pactolus, forded the Hermus by the help of a Toorkman girl and a Greek boy, went to Thyatira and Magnesia *ad Sipylum*, and crossed the steep pass of the Sipylus into the smiling plain of Smyrna."

Information of the prevalence of the plague at Constantinople, and the lateness of the season at which he had arrived on the coast of Asia Minor, prevented Mr Lowell from executing his original purpose of entering the Black Sea, and crossing by Armenia and Georgia into Persia. It was not till he had been some time at Smyrna, that the plague had so far abated that he deemed it not unsafe, towards the end of November, to make a visit of a few days to Constantinople. Devoting, however, but a very short time to its objects of curiosity and interest, he hastened his return to Smyrna, in order to take passage by the earliest opportunity for Alexandria, in Egypt. Still desirous to see as much as possible of the interior of Asia, he proposed, after ascending the Nile as far as Cairo, to enter Syria by the way of the Desert of Suez, and crossing to the Euphrates, take passage in the Persian Gulf for India.

On the ninth of December, he sailed from Smyrna in a Greek brig, the Bellerophon, chartered by himself for the conveyance of his party and baggage. He coasted along the islands of Mitylene, Samos, Patmos, and Rhodes, making some stop at the latter island, and, after a voyage of eighteen days, arrived at Alexandria. From the moment the traveller sets his foot upon the soil of Egypt, he meets those remains of antiquity which carry him back to a period that precedes the dates of authentic history. The obelisk, which bears the idle name of Cleopatra's Needle, is in sight as he lands. As he moves up the river, broken remnants of elder days, fragments of Norman, Saracenic, Roman, Grecian, and, lastly, Egyptian architecture, tell the tale of the political vicissitudes of this ill-fated region; and when he reaches at length the

great pyramids of Memphis, he feels himself in the actual presence of those mysterious dynasties, — which are at once forgotten and immortalized by imperishable monuments, — the ashes of whose sovereigns are laid up in mausoleums that will stand till the earth shall pass away, — whose names and titles are inscribed on obelisks and the walls of temples, from which three thousand years have not obliterated them, in characters whose import has even been deciphered by modern sagacity, but of whose shadowy annals we still strive in vain to catch the clew.

Among Mr Lowell's letters to his friends at this period, is one written from the summit of the great pyramid, on the twelfth of February, 1835. "The prospect," says he, "is most beautiful. On the one side, is the boundless desert, varied only by a few low ridges of limestone hills. Then you have heaps of sand and a surface of sand, reduced to so fine a powder, and so easily agitated by the slightest breeze, that it almost deserves the name of fluid. Then comes the rich, verdant valley of the Nile, studded with villages, adorned with green date-trees, traversed by the Father of Rivers, with the magnificent city of Cairo on its banks, but far narrower than one could wish, as it is bounded, at a distance of some fifteen miles, by the Arabian Desert and the abrupt calcareous ridge of Mokattan. Immediately below the spectator, lies the city of the dead, the innumerable tombs, the smaller pyramids, the Sphinx, and, still farther off, and on the same line, to the south, the pyramids of Abou Seer, Sakârà, and Dachoor."

After a short sojourn at Cairo, Mr Lowell commenced the ascent of the Nile. He had found the temptation to visit Thebes too strong to be resisted. The universal mode of travelling in Egypt is in long, narrow boats, with cabins and awnings, propelled by very large sails, when the wind is favorable, and poled or drawn along by hand, when it fails or is adverse. In a boat of this description, at his own disposal, (being the same which had shortly before been used by Marshal Marmont,) Mr Lowell was able to regulate his progress, with sole reference to the objects of interest by the way. It

happened that Mohammed Ali, the sovereign of the country, was ascending the Nile at the same time. He was overtaken by Mr Lowell on the eighteenth of February, and granted him a long private audience in his tent. His inquiries showed uncommon intelligence and vigor of mind. He sought minute information as to the military and commercial marine of the United States, and particularly as to the steam navigation of our large rivers. Having inquired in what direction Mr Lowell proposed to pursue his journey to India, he dissuaded him from attempting to traverse Syria, on the ground of the unsettled and dangerous state of the country. He advised him to adopt the route of the Red Sea and Mocha, and tendered him his protection up to that point.

Shortly after this interview, the prosperous course of Mr Lowell's tour, hitherto unbroken by any adverse circumstance, received an alarming check. In consequence of exposure to the evening air, and the general effect of the climate, he was severely attacked by intermittent fever. The disease yielded, at first, to the remedies with which he was provided; and, on his arrival at Thebes, he was able to explore a portion of those stupendous ruins, at all times of extreme interest, and rendered doubly curious by the discoveries of M. Champollion. Establishing his abode on the ruins of a palace at Luxor, he surveyed and examined, as far as the state of his health would permit, the remains of those wonderful structures, on which the names, the wars, and the triumphs of a long succession of Pharaohs are recorded. Unfortunately, his recovery had been imperfect, — the season was advancing, — new exposures brought on a return of his fever, soon complicated with other complaints incident to the climate and region.

The state of his health appears to have awakened serious apprehensions in his mind. The first moment of convalescence was devoted to the completion of his last will, and to the formal statement of the principles on which he wished the important trust created by him to be administered. We are assembled, this evening, in pursuance of the testamentary provisions drawn up in the land of Egypt, on the ruins of

one of the oldest seats of art and civilization of which ruins remain, — provisions in which a great and liberal spirit, bowed down with sickness, in a foreign and a barbarous land, expressed some of its last aspirations for the welfare of his native city.

While detained by sickness at Thebes, he employed his attendants in making a collection of antiquities; and he succeeded in possessing himself of as large an amount and variety of these objects as have, probably, at any time been acquired by an American. They consist of fragments of sculpture in granite, basalt, and alabaster, some of them with hieroglyphical inscriptions; two or three papyrus rolls; bronze figures; mummies; and a multitude of utensils and other articles illustrating the superstitions, arts, and manners of the Egyptians.

A tour in Egypt above the pyramids was not originally proposed by Mr Lowell; and when, at length, he launched on the Nile, it does not appear that he intended to proceed beyond Thebes. While he was detained at Thebes, however, the appearance of the plague at Cairo made it dangerous for him to return to that place, on his way to Jerusalem, which he had determined, at all events, to visit, previous to embarking for India. At the same time he fell in with a young Englishman, who was disposed to undertake a tour to Upper Nubia. The opportunity of visiting the ruins of Meroë, — that mystic region, whose site is scarcely identified by modern curiosity, — the primitive cradle, in the opinion of some writers, of the sombre civilization, which, descending the Nile, rather overshadowed than enlightened Egypt, — was too attractive to be resisted.

In order to lay in the requisite stores, and make the necessary preparation for his excursion to Nubia, Mr Lowell descended the Nile from Thebes to Syout, the capital of Upper Egypt. Here he was unfortunately delayed for more than a month; — a circumstance the more to be lamented, as the season was already quite too far advanced for the safe prosecution of a tour within the tropics. During his sojourn at Syout, he received marked attentions from the Turkish gov-

ernor of that place. He had also an opportunity of witnessing an incident of great curiosity to a European or American traveller. This was the arrival of the great caravan of Dar-four in Central Africa, which had just reached the oasis of Khargeh, at the distance from the Nile of several days' journey across the desert westward. Dar-four is stated by Mr L. to have been visited but by a single European traveller, the Englishman Browne, about forty years ago. The great caravan to the Nile is despatched once in two years, and is two or three months in crossing the desert. It usually consists of about six hundred merchants and pilgrims, four thousand slaves, and six thousand camels, laden with ivory, tamarinds, ostrich-feathers, and other articles of African merchandise, and with provisions for sustenance on the way. Nothing in the intercourse of life, as we know it, can give any idea of these caravans. As they afford the only opportunities for communication across the waste of sand, the whole life and action of the central region, its industry and trade, its social relations, all its temporal interests, in greater or less degree, and even its religion, are connected with the caravan. This alone unites the interior of Africa with the world; for this alone furnishes the means of crossing the frightful desert, which insulates its inhabitants from the rest of the species.

"The immense number of tall and lank, but powerful camels," says Mr Lowell, in his Journal under this date, "was the first object that attracted our attention in the caravan. The long and painful journey, besides killing perhaps a quarter of the original number, had reduced the remainder to the condition of skeletons, and rendered their natural ugliness still more appalling. Their skins were stretched, like moistened parchment scorched by the fire, over their strong ribs. Their eyes stood out from the shrunken forehead, and the arched back-bone of the animals rose sharp and prominent above their sides, like a butcher's cleaver. The fat that usually accompanies the middle of the back-bone, and forms with it the camel's bunch, had entirely disappeared. They had occasion for it, as well as for the reservoir of water, with which a bountiful nature has furnished them, to enable them to undergo the laborious journey, and the painful fasts of the desert. Their sides were gored with the heavy burdens they had carried.

"The sun was setting. The little slaves of the caravan had just driven in, from their dry pasture of thistles, parched grass, and withered herbage,

these most patient and obedient animals, so essential to travellers in the great deserts, and without which it would be as impossible to cross them as to traverse the ocean without vessels. Their conductors made them kneel down, and gradually poured beans between their lengthened jaws. The camels, not having been used to this food, did not like it; they would have greatly preferred a bit of old, worn-out mat, as we have found, to our cost, in the desert. The most mournful cries, something between the braying of an ass and the lowing of a cow, assailed our ears in all directions, because these poor creatures were obliged to eat what was not good for them; but they offered no resistance otherwise. The camels of Dar-four are much taller than those of Egypt and of the neighboring Bedouins, or Arabs, as they call themselves; and I should think them quite as large as those of Asia Minor. They are said to bear the fatigue of a long journey, in the desert, better than the Egyptian camels, and even better than those of the Arabs; but, when transported to the Nile, it is said that the change of food and water kills most of them in a little time."

It was June before the preparations of Mr Lowell were completed, and he was able to resume his journey up the Nile. The thermometer now frequently stood at 115 degrees, and he speaks of the temperature of 87 degrees, as appearing delightfully cool. On the ninth of June he had again reached Thebes, and on the eleventh, was at Esneh, on the Nile. On the evening of that day, he was attacked by the painful disease of the eyes, which is so prevalent in Egypt, and by other and more serious complaints incident to tropical regions. He was confined to his bed, by these maladies, for three weeks, at Philæ, an island situated just above the cataracts of the Nile, and four weeks more at Wady Halfa, just below the second cataract. It is needless to describe what he must have endured from the heat and disease, in midsummer, within the tropics. Thinking the exercise of the saddle would be beneficial, notwithstanding the prostration of his health, he left his boat at Wady Halfa, mounted the horse (an Arabian) which he had brought with him from Asia Minor, and in that way proceeded into the province of Dongóla. He reached what is supposed to be the neighborhood of the ancient Meroë, about the middle of September. By taking a land route, though he avoided the great bend in the Nile, a considerable part of his journey from Dongóla to El Metemneh lay through a desert.

He had now penetrated far into Ethiopia. Nothing can exceed the present desolation and misery of this once favored region.* Mr Lowell pursued his journey as far as Khartoom, a modern city, founded by the bey of Egypt, as the capital of his kingdom of Sennaar, the last of his conquests in this direction. It lies at the junction of the two great branches which form the Nile, the Blue and the White Rivers, in the latitude of 15 degrees, — the latitude of Honduras, the mouth of the Senegal, and of Goa, — and probably as unhealthy, to a northern constitution, as any parallel between the equator and the pole. The city of Khartoom contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants, when Mr Lowell visited it, and was the residence of Koorshood Pacha, a Turk of distinction in the military service of the bey of Egypt, and governor of the kingdoms or provinces of Dongóla and Sennaar. The kind offices and the protection of this officer were of great service to Mr Lowell, both at Khartoom and on his journey to the Red Sea.

After a few days' residence at the capital of Sennaar, the state of his health, and the progress of the season, (it was now about the middle of November,) warned him that it was time to shape his course towards India. To this end, it was necessary again to descend the Nile as far as the city of Berber, in Lower Nubia, to cross the Desert of Nubia from that place to Sowākeen, on the Red Sea, and there embark for Mocha. Koorshood Pacha furnished him with letters to the governors both of Berber and Sowākeen, without which it would have been difficult to find the means of transportation. A detachment of troops was about marching from Sennaar, to reënforce the army of the bey of Egypt in Arabia; and, as they would proceed by the same route, and cross the Red Sea at the same place, they would, of course, monopolize the scanty means of conveyance. But the recommendation of Koorshood removed all obstacles, and procured Mr Lowell

* The degree of interest taken by Mr Lowell in its antiquities can only be adequately understood by the inspection of his Journal, which is filled with the result of the minutest observations and measurements, made under the depressing influence of severe disease and a tropical climate.

a kind reception from the governor of Berber or El Mekheroff; and a journey from that place of fourteen days, on camels, across the desert, brought him to Sowākeen, a small port on the western coast of the Red Sea.

Here, also, in virtue of the powerful influence exerted in his favor from the capital, he was enabled, without difficulty, to engage a small vessel navigated by Arabs, to transport himself, his attendants, and baggage, to Mocha. He embarked on the sixteenth of December, 1835, and arrived, in four or five days, at Massôwá, another small port on the western coast of the Red Sea, in about 16 degrees north latitude, where he had agreed to stop, for the convenience of the party navigating his bark. On the twenty-second of December, at half past four o'clock in the afternoon, he resumed his voyage. In the course of the day, the bark struck on a coral reef; and it was not without considerable risk of life, the loss of a portion of his baggage, and the damage of the rest, that he escaped with his party from the wreck.*

The following day, Mr Lowell returned to Massôwá with his rescued baggage and effects; and, engaging there a vessel for Mocha, reached that place on the first of January, exhausted by the effects of long-continued disease, and recent fatigue and exposure. He was fortunate enough to meet, at Mocha, with a surgeon attached to the service of the British East India Company, and, as he thought, derived important benefit from his professional advice. But the scene was drawing towards a close. The disease which had hung upon him for seven or eight months, — the merciless heats of a Nubian summer, — the fatigue of his excursion through the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, — with the shock given to an enfeebled system by his shipwreck, and the want of rest and medical treatment for a month afterwards, — had undermined his constitution. The last letters written by him bear date the seventeenth of January, 1836, at Mocha;

* I omit with reluctance, for want of room, Mr Lowell's highly interesting letter of December 24th, 1835, giving an account of this disaster, and contained in the original edition of this memoir.

at which time he was in daily expectation of the arrival of the British steamboat, on her way to Bombay. No further intelligence was ever received directly from himself, although his journal is continued till within a few days of his decease. The steamboat Hugh Lindsay arrived at Mocha, from Suez, on the twentieth of January; and on the twenty-third, Mr Lowell took passage in her for Bombay, which he reached on the tenth of the following month. No improvement had taken place in his health; and, after feebly struggling with his disease about three weeks, he died, at Bombay, on the fourth of March, 1836.

The unadorned narrative, which I have thus attempted, will supersede the necessity of a labored delineation of his character. Its prominent traits are conspicuous in the events of his life. Every one perceives his uncommon energy and perseverance; but it is impossible to do full justice to his resolution and firmness of purpose, without the perusal of his Letter-books and Journal. Nothing less than an eminent degree of these qualities would have enabled him to pursue his journey into Upper Nubia, in a state of health which would have been deemed by most persons to require the care and comforts of home. He not only persevered, under these circumstances, in continuing his journey far within the tropics, in midsummer, but explored the natural features of the country through which he passed, and the remains of antiquity visited by the way, and recorded the result of his observations with a minuteness, which would be thought highly creditable to the diligence of a person in perfect health. Many incidents also occurred during his travels in the barbarous districts of Asia Minor, Egypt, and on occasion of his shipwreck, in the Red Sea, evincing no common degree of personal firmness and courage.

From those whose personal acquaintance with Mr Lowell was more intimate than my own, I understand that a modesty bordering upon diffidence gave to his manners, in general society, an appearance of coldness and reserve, which might lead the stranger to mistake his real character, in which there was a mixture of great strength and delicacy of feeling. The

kindness of his disposition, and the warmth of his heart, shone out in the circle of his familiar friends, and diffused a genial influence on all around him.

The purity and delicacy of his moral principles were wholly unimpaired by his large intercourse with the world. Exposed, in youth, to the worst examples, on shipboard, and in foreign countries, he escaped unhurt, and carried forward into life the innocence of childhood. To a rigid and punctilious sense of justice, and a veneration for truth, he added that lofty sense of honor, which is necessary to the moral heroism of character.

He was a firm believer of the great truths of natural and revealed religion. The sense of an overruling and directing Providence was never absent from his thoughts, and is frequently expressed in his letters. The Scriptures were the companions of his travels; and, in the specific directions given for his foundation, a course of lectures upon the evidences of Christianity is provided for.

His range of general reading was extensive, and his attainments above the common standard of scholarship. They were greatly extended, on his travels, by a diligent study of the languages of the several countries through which he passed, including the modern Greek and vulgar Arabic. He devoted himself to the study of mineralogy, while passing some time at Edinburgh, in the summer of 1833. His observations of the barometer, of the thermometer, of the hygrometer, and of the course of the winds, are carefully recorded, and show familiarity with philosophical instruments. Barometrical estimates are made of the height of the various positions on his travels, where such calculations would be of interest. The state of agriculture, commerce, and particularly manufactures, seems every where to have received much of his attention. Valuable information on these subjects is contained in his Journal. He appears to have inherited a talent and taste for mathematics. Calculations, of considerable extent and intricacy, but in an incomplete and fragmentary state, apparently designed to ascertain the cubical content of the larger pyramids, are found among his notes. It is to be

remembered, however, that he did not live to enter the field which was the great object of his undertaking. It is probable that large stores of knowledge, gathered up in a singularly retentive memory, were lost, at his decease, without leaving a trace in the Note-books of his journeyings, for the reason that he was arrested by the last summons, before he had set foot upon the region, in reference to which his reading had been for a long time directed. Notwithstanding this circumstance, his Letter-books and Journals are, throughout, those of an acute, sagacious, and well-instructed traveller, and would form, I am persuaded, in a judicious selection, an acceptable present to the reading public. The diligence with which his correspondence was pursued bears witness to the strength of his domestic attachments, as it is principally addressed to the members of his family. His fortitude and considerateness are manifested in the infrequence of his allusions to the state of suffering and danger, in which he had so often occasion to write.

With his first serious illness in Upper Egypt, he turned his thoughts to the land of his birth, and the completion of his testamentary provision for the benefit of his native city. The object of his bequest, as set forth in his will, is "the maintenance and support of public lectures, to be delivered in Boston, upon philosophy, natural history, the arts and sciences, or any of them, as the trustee shall, from time to time, deem expedient for the promotion of the moral, and intellectual, and physical instruction or education of the citizens of Boston." After a partial recovery from a severe attack of disease, from which he suffered for five weeks, — in a codicil to his will written amidst the ruins of Thebes, from a place called Luxor, an Arab village, the whole of which is situated on the remains of an ancient palace, — Mr Lowell transmits to his kinsman and trustee his detailed directions for the administration of his trust. Of these, the most important are expressed as follows : —

"As the most certain and the most important part of true philosophy appears to me to be that which shows the connection between God's revelations and the knowledge of good and evil implanted by him in our nature,

I wish a course of lectures to be given on natural religion, showing its conformity to that of our Savior.

"For the more perfect demonstration of the truth of those moral and religious precepts, by which alone, as I believe, men can be secure of happiness in this world and that to come, I wish a course of lectures to be delivered on the historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity. I wish all disputed points of faith and ceremony to be avoided, and the attention of the lecturers to be directed to the moral doctrines of the gospel, stating their opinion, if they will, but not engaging in controversy, even on the subject of the penalty for disobedience.

"As the prosperity of my native land, New England, which is sterile and unproductive, must depend hereafter, as it has heretofore depended, first, on the moral qualities, and, second, on the intelligence and information of its inhabitants, I am desirous of trying to contribute towards this second object also; — and I wish courses of lectures to be established on physics and chemistry, with their application to the arts; also on botany, zoölogy, geology, and mineralogy, connected with their particular utility to man.

"After the establishment of these courses of lectures, should disposable funds remain, or, in process of time, be accumulated, the trustee may appoint courses of lectures to be delivered on the literature and eloquence of our language, and even on those of foreign nations, if he see fit. He may, also, from time to time establish lectures on any subject that, in his opinion, the wants and taste of the age may demand."

"As infidel opinions appear to me injurious to society, and easily to insinuate themselves into a man's dissertations on any subject, however remote from religion, no man ought to be appointed a lecturer, who is not willing to declare, and who does not previously declare, his belief in the divine revelation of the Old and New Testaments, leaving the interpretation thereof to his own conscience."

Such were the enlightened provisions of Mr Lowell for the benefit of his native city. Surrounded by the most enduring monuments of human grandeur, he felt how little can be done to elevate the moral nature of man, by exhausting the quarry, and piling its blocks of granite to the clouds. As far as we can judge from the unparalleled number and gigantic dimensions of the temples, palaces, gateways, alleys of sphinxes, and cemeteries, that cover the site and fill up the environs of Egyptian Thebes, the resources of the monarchs, who made it their residence, must have exceeded those of the Roman Cæsars, when the world obeyed their sceptre. But when we inquire after the influence of this mighty monarchy on the welfare of the human race; when we ask for the

lights of humanity that adorned its annals, — for the teachers of truth, the discoverers in science, the champions of virtue, the statesmen, the legislators, the friends of man, — it is all a dreary blank. Not one bright name is preserved in their history; not one great or generous deed, if ever performed, has escaped from oblivion; not a word, ever uttered or written by the myriads of rational beings, the lords or the subjects of this mighty empire, has been embalmed in the memory of mankind. A beam of light from the genius of a modern French scholar, cast upon the sculptured sides of obelisks and temples, has redeemed the names and titles of forgotten Pharaohs from ages of oblivion; but no moral Champollion can pour a transforming ray into the essential character of the Egyptian monarchy, and make it aught else than one unbroken record of superstition, ignorance, and slavery.

Our lamented fellow-citizen, well versed in the history of ancient times, musing amidst the ruins of this unconsecrated magnificence, seems, with a yearning heart, while the hand of disease already lay upon him, to have desired, as far as an individual could effect it, to secure his beloved native land from the blighting influence of those causes which preyed upon the vitals of this primal seat of empire. These causes were well known to him, — known from history, — known from their existence at the present hour in the same wretched region. There was no free cultivation of intellect in Egypt, — no popular education, — no public liberty. The resources of the monarchy were lavished on the wars and luxury of its princes. The soul-crushing despotism of mystery checked all development of the common mind. In consequence of the slavery of *caste*, religion — instead of being a source of light, of social improvement, and happiness — was an additional instrument of subjection. It chiefly employed its energies in the disgusting art of preventing the perishing clay from returning to its kindred dust. Nor was this the worst. The priesthood made themselves the exclusive depositaries of learning. If we can trust the accounts of the ancient writers, the import of those hieroglyphical characters in which the Egyptian wisdom is recorded, was a mystery known only

to the priests, and those to whom, in their secluded cells, they chose to confide it. Well might it have been expected that the knowledge of it would perish. It had no root in the intelligence of the people; it was the secret of a caste, and it died out with the privileged order by which it was engrossed. The pyramids themselves could not crumble, — the sculptured granite, in that mild climate, could not lose its deeply-graven character; — but, instead of handing down an intelligent record of the monarchs who reared their mountain masses, and now slumber in their monumental caverns, they stand but as eternal mementoes how perishable is all glory, how fleeting is all duration, but that of the improved mind.

The few sentences penned, with a tired hand, by our fellow-citizen, on the top of a palace of the Pharaohs, will do more for human improvement, than, for aught that appears, was done by all of that gloomy dynasty that ever reigned. I scruple not to affirm, that, in the directions given by him for a course of popular instruction, — illustrative of the great truths of natural religion and the evidences of Christianity, and unfolding the stores of natural science and useful knowledge, — to be dispensed without restriction to an entire community, — there is a better hope that mental activity will be profitably kindled, thought put in salutary motion, the connection of truth with the uses of life traced out, and the condition of man benefited, than in all the councils, rescripts, exploits, and institutions of Sesostris and his line. I am persuaded that more useful knowledge, higher views of the works of God, deeper and more searching glimpses into the mysteries of nature, — will be communicated in the course of lectures which will commence next Friday, than lie hidden in the hieroglyphics that cover the Egyptian temples, from the cataracts to the mouth of the Nile, although every character, according to M. Arago's suggestion, should be copied by the daguerreotype, and fully explained by the key of Champollion. Let the foundation of Mr Lowell stand on the principles prescribed by him; let the fidelity with which it is now administered continue to direct it; and no language

is emphatic enough to do full justice to its importance. It will be, from generation to generation, a perennial source of public good, — a dispensation of sound science, of useful knowledge, of truth in its most important associations with the destiny of man. These are blessings which cannot die. They will abide, when the sands of the desert shall have covered what they have hitherto spared of the Egyptian temples; and they will render the name of Lowell, in all wise and moral estimation, more truly illustrious, than that of any monarch engraven on their walls. These belong to the empire of the mind, which, alone, of human things, is immortal, and they will remain as a memorial of his Christian liberality, when all that is material shall have vanished as a scroll.

NOTE.

See Page 420.

Since the manuscript of the foregoing Memoir was sent to the press, the sudden and lamented decease of Mr John Lowell * has removed the reasons of delicacy which prevented his being prominently mentioned among those of his family who deserve a high rank among our public benefactors. It would not be easy to name an individual, in the last generation, who, either in public or private life, has made himself as extensively felt in the community as Mr Lowell, and this by the unaided force of personal influence.

He entered upon the practice of the law before he attained his majority, and, rising rapidly to the highest rank in the profession, measured himself, while yet a young man, with those who stood at its head in Massachusetts. Exhausted in a few years by the labors of his profession, and by the action of a fervent mind upon a susceptible frame, he was compelled, at the age of thirty-five, to abandon the pursuit in which he had already acquired fame and fortune, and to seek the restoration of his health in a foreign voyage. His letters from Europe, published in the Monthly Anthology, display the extent and accuracy of his observation, and the vigor of his style.

After three years spent in Europe, he returned to America, and passed the residue of his life as a private citizen, without resuming his professional pursuits, or accepting any public office. He took, however, an active part in the political controversies of the day, and exercised a powerful influence over public opinion. Those party divisions which had their origin in the French revolution, and the various questions touching the foreign relations of the country that grew out of it, were then at their height. Mr Lowell entered with earnestness into the discussion of these questions in the public journals, and, after the decease of Mr Ames, in 1808, possessed a greater ascendency than any other person in New England, over the minds of those who were opposed to the national administration. He was, however, as a political writer, not more intrepid and uncompromising than he was fair and honorable. He probably enjoyed as much of the respect of his opponents, as it was possible to award to one whose opinions were conceived and ex-

* The uncle of the founder of the Lowell Institute.

pressed with equal firmness and ardor. It was universally known, that no desire for the honors or emoluments of office moved his pen; that he neither sought, nor could be induced to accept, any public station whatever. Those who differed from him in opinion, did justice to the honesty of his purpose, and the purity of his personal character.

No one witnessed with greater satisfaction than Mr Lowell the subsidence of party spirit which took place, in this country, in consequence of the general pacification in Europe and America in 1815. From this time forward, during the quarter of a century which has since elapsed, it is believed that he took no part in the discussion of the various topics of political interest which successively presented themselves, and which have recently formed the basis of a new organization of parties. Dividing the year between his residence in Boston and his farm in Roxbury, he gave himself, both in town and country to the pursuits of private life, and especially to horticulture and agriculture, (which he thoroughly understood, both in theory and practice,) and to the promotion of the various public, literary, and charitable institutions. He was, for many years, a most influential member of the Corporation of Harvard College, (a place now filled, in the third generation, by his son, Mr John Amory Lowell, the sole trustee of the Lowell Institute;) he was among the most active and efficient promoters of the establishment of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and of the Provident Institution for Savings in the City of Boston; he took the lead, about twenty years ago, in the measures adopted for increasing the usefulness of the Boston Athenæum; and was, for several years, the most prominent member, and the president of the board of trustees, of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. In whatever he engaged, he brought to it his whole heart; and wherever his services were given, it was — not by assumption, but by the necessity of his nature, the energy of his character, and the willing deference of others — as a leader. Next to his commanding talent and energy, the great secret of his influence was his entire and unsuspected disinterestedness.

But it was only in social intercourse, and the relations of private and domestic life, that the beauty and worth of Mr Lowell's character were fully displayed. He was animated by the loftiest sense of personal honor; his heart was the home of the kindest feelings; and, without a shade of selfishness, he considered wealth to be no otherwise valuable but as a powerful instrument of doing good. His liberality went to the extent of his means; and where they stopped, he exercised an almost unlimited control over the means of others. It was difficult to resist the contagion of his enthusiasm; for it was the enthusiasm of a strong, cultivated, and practical mind. He possessed colloquial powers of the highest order, and a flow of unstudied eloquence never surpassed, and rarely, as with him, united with the command of an accurate, elegant, and logical pen. It was impossible for him to enter into a social circle, however intelligent, which he was not able, unconsciously and without forethought, to hold in willing attention, by the charms of his conversation. He had a deep sense of the truths and hopes of the Christian faith, and never alluded to them, nor countenanced

an allusion, but with that gravity and seriousness which belong to the highest interest of man.

The declining state of his health led him, within the last few years, to withdraw himself almost wholly from society. He passed a winter, two years ago, in the West Indies, highly enjoying the genial climate, studying with delight the boundless profusion of the tropical Flora, but with no substantial improvement of his health. On the 11th of the present month, (March, 1840,) he died at his fireside in Boston, suddenly, and without pain, at the age of seventy years.

The last time I saw him was at the delivery of the preceding discourse, on the evening of the 2d of January. He was pleased then to express his kind approval of my humble effort to do justice to the munificent foundation of his nephew; and it is with deep sensibility that I now bring it to a close, with this feeble tribute to the memory of one of the earliest, kindest, and most respected of the friends of my youth.

DR ROBINSON'S MEDAL.*

Mr President and Gentlemen:

I perform a very agreeable duty in appearing as the representative of my learned and ingenious countryman, Dr Robinson, to receive this beautiful medal, which the Royal Geographical Society has been pleased to award to him for his late valuable work. I beg leave, on his behalf, to make to you and to the council of the society those grateful acknowledgments which are due for this distinguished honor, and for the emphatic and discriminating commendation which you have bestowed on the "Biblical Researches." The favorable opinion of the Royal Geographical Society, expressed in this public and authentic manner, will give the character of a standard work to a production which had already been received with no ordinary degree of public favor. I am sure that my learned countryman will feel himself encouraged and stimulated, by the society's flattering notice, to the still more zealous pursuit of the studies and researches, of which he has already reaped so brilliant a reward.

Permit me to say, sir, as the official representative of the United States of America in this country, that the circumstance which has procured me the honor of your kind invitation this day, is of the most gratifying character. It affords me high satisfaction that a countryman of mine should have

* Reply to the speech of the president of the Royal Geographical Society, (William R. Hamilton, Esq., F. R. S.,) on occasion of the award of the society's gold medal to Rev. Dr Robinson, of New York, for his "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa," on the 23d May, 1842.

produced a work deemed worthy of these testimonials of approbation, in reference to a land which, more than any other on the surface of the globe, concentrates the affections of the Christian, that is, the civilized portion of mankind; a land which to the interest of a long series of the most extraordinary incidents and revolutions, going back to the dawn of history, unites that higher and more sacred interest which belongs to it as the theatre of events, compared with which the vicissitudes of human things sink into insignificance.

Allow me, sir, in conclusion, to observe that this act of the Royal Geographical Society will be viewed with pleasure by my countrymen at large. They will consider it as a proof that our two countries, though politically distinct, are regarded by this most respectable association as members of one community of letters; and that you are disposed to cherish and strengthen those good feelings which ought to prevail, and, I trust, ever will prevail, between two nations of common language and kindred blood. This disposition, let me say, sir, is cordially reciprocated by the men of science and literature in America; and on their behalf, as well as that of the individual immediately concerned, I again express my thanks for the honor done to him by the society, and the eminently kind and courteous manner in which you have been pleased, Mr President, to carry their purpose into effect. I shall lose no time in conveying their medal to Dr Robinson; and I am sure that I have but imperfectly anticipated the grateful sentiments with which its reception will be acknowledged by him.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT MANCHESTER.*

My Lord and Gentlemen:

I must confess that I rise under some degree of embarrassment to return you my thanks for the compliment you have been pleased to pay to me. The only circumstance that at all relieves that embarrassment is, that I cannot but feel that your kind notice is intended to reach far beyond myself, — that it is intended mainly for the people whom I have the honor, however unworthily, to represent. On their behalf, I may, without impropriety, accept all your kindness, as I do, most cordially; thanking you for them, as well as for myself, for the reception which you have been pleased to give me at this time. Such a welcome as this is enough to make me feel that I am not a stranger. It is enough to make me feel, that, in crossing the ocean, I have but come to another native country, if I may so call it, — the country of my fathers, where I can enjoy the charities of hospitality in exchange for those of home.

And permit me to express the opinion that there is something very peculiar in the relation between our two countries, well calculated to form a basis, as I trust it does and ever will, of kind feelings between them. The connection of colony and mother country, which formerly subsisted between England and the United States, is of course not new in the world. From the beginning of history, Egypt, Greece,

* Response to a toast given by the president of the British Association for the Promotion of Science, (Lord Francis Egerton, now the Earl of Ellesmere,) at the public dinner, 25th May, 1842, on occasion of the meeting of the Association at Manchester.

and Rome sent out their colonies to relieve a superabundant population, or in the spirit of commercial enterprise, or to consolidate their distant conquests; but there can, in the nature of things, be no example, in ancient history, of such a relation as exists between us. Small companies of adventurers, actuated by the highest and noblest feelings that can influence the heart and govern the conduct of men, traversed a mighty ocean, which bore them all at once from the mature arts of civilization to the wildest nature — from the England of the seventeenth century into a savage wilderness, unknown till then to the rest of mankind. Here they laid the deep and broad foundations of free states, destined, under a multitude of causes, which it is impossible for me here even to glance at, in the maturity of time to grow up into a great family of communities, independent politically of the mother country; but still, in their common language and origin, forming with that mother country one commercial, social, and intellectual community, destined, I believe, as such, to fulfil the highest ends in the order of Providence.

Let us look at it for a moment only as a sort of scientific phenomenon. I chanced this morning to step for a short time into the geological section, (and I only regret that I could not stay there longer,) when I heard my excellent friend, who has just taken his seat, (Professor Sedgwick, of Cambridge,) discoursing in that eloquent and fervid manner of which he has just given us so pleasing a specimen, on the similarity of the Devonian rocks with the strata which have been observed on the other side of the Irish Channel. He said, if I understood him, that he thought it certain that they were the same, and expressed his "delight" at the circumstance. Suppose, then, that the same similarity were traced by one of your members between the geological formations of our two countries; suppose that, arriving on the coast of America, he should find there on landing, the peculiar strata with the most characteristic fossils of Great Britain; suppose that my friend, the president of the geological section, at this end of the table, (Mr Murchison,) should make us a visit in the west, as he has ventured so far

into the north and east, and be able to add a grand transatlantic Siluria to that domain which his ingenuity has conquered at home; to establish beyond doubt, that in the primeval geological ages, our two countries were part and parcel of the same continent; and that the great ocean which now separates them is but the remains of that grand cataclysm in which the isthmus of communication was submerged; — would not my worthy friend from Cambridge also be "delighted" with this? Would not this be hailed with pleasure, and this splendid generalization be welcomed by every man of science into the circle of his most favorite theories?

Then I ask you, gentlemen, is it a less interesting fact, that, in crossing this mighty ocean to America, you find there the traces, not of similar strata of coal and gypsum, not like formations of sandstone, and grauwaacke, and granite, but the traces of kindred families of rational beings? Is it not a delightful fact, that the footprints that you first met there are not merely those of the fossil animals, whose paradoxical existence was terminated in ages into which history strives in vain to penetrate even as far as the vestibule, but the footsteps of men, of kindred men, of men descended from your own revered ancestry, and called to walk together with you over the great stage of accountable existence, and to engage with you in the solution of all those grand problems that are tasking the minds of civilized men in this most important age of the world?

It has been said by Sir John Herschel (whom I wish we had the pleasure of beholding at the table at this time, as he is expected next week) that it is the final object of all science to expand and elevate the understanding. If this be so, it seems to me that there is not one, among all the topics considered by all the sections this day, which is better calculated to produce that effect than such a connection between two great countries. Why, it is only since the reign of James I. and Charles I., which is but as yesterday in the long line of British history, that a few adventurers rather stole across the ocean than navigated it. Two hundred years have passed

away, and out of that little insignificant germ of national existence, millions and millions have grown up, and formed a great and mighty nation, in close connection with your own. And in whatever light we regard each other, — commercial, political, literary, social, or moral, — it is destined, like the dearest connection of domestic life, "for better or for worse," to exercise an all-powerful influence upon each other, I believe I may say, without exaggeration, to the end of time. When America is prosperous, her prosperity is felt in the hut of the humblest hand-loom weaver in Lancashire; when our industry languishes, do not the pulses of your industry, especially here in this important city of Manchester, beat proportionally feeble and slow?

It would be improper to consume the time necessary to go through all the illustrations of the close connection between our two countries; I have already taken up more of your time than I ought. But there is one — since you encourage me to go on — which is so curious, and so important in this great metropolis of the cotton manufacture, that I will briefly advert to it. It is doubtless known to your community, that the culture of cotton, now so important to us and to you, is comparatively so recent in the United States, that when the first parcel of American cotton arrived in Liverpool, — in the year 1784, I believe, — it was actually seized at the custom-house, in the belief that it could not be the product of the United States of America, but must have been brought in, contrary to law, from the British West India Islands. We have seen, however, in a few years, an enormous extension of this culture take place. It was almost indefinitely increased, through the operation of the American invention of a machine to separate the seed from the fibre. What were the circumstances of the extension of the culture, as connected with your country? Why that, precisely at this period, the ingenuity and the labors of Arkwright and his successors had made those wonderful improvements in spinning cotton, which created an almost boundless demand for the unlimited supply which was springing up in our country; so that it is doubtful which was the most important,

the unexpected supply of the raw material in America, or the immense improvements in machinery in England, in building up that branch of manufacturing industry, of which it has been said by some of your economists, that it carried England through the wars of the French revolution.

This is an illustration of our connection, drawn from the material world, in the period which has elapsed since the date of our separate political existence. In the world of science, I would rather say there has never been a separation between us. There are no *boundary questions* in that pacific realm. The first patron that ever Sir Humphry Davy had — if it be not a shame to pronounce the word patron in reference to such a name — the first individual who had the honor of helping him into notice was an American citizen; for under the somewhat lofty disguise of "Count Rumford" lies concealed plain "Benjamin Thompson," the son of a New England farmer. Dr Franklin was first led to turn his attention to electricity by experiments exhibited by an itinerant British lecturer, in the large towns of the then British colonies; and he pursued his inquiries in this branch of science with a few articles of apparatus sent out to him in Philadelphia by his friend (Mr Collinson) in London. It is unnecessary to speak before this company, to which the name of Fulton is as familiar as those of Bolton or Watt, of the part alternately performed by the science of England and America, in bringing about the use of steam as a locomotive power, by land and by water — the great mechanical improvement of the day. In more modern times, the merit of our modest and self-taught mathematician, Bowditch, the American translator and commentator of La Place, has nowhere been better known and appreciated than in England; and in reference to science in general, I wish it to be constantly borne in mind by every one engaged in its pursuit in this country, that in fourteen days after the publication to the scientific world here of his speculations or discoveries, they will be liberally received, considered, and appreciated according to their merit, by the only other people on the face of the globe speaking the same language, and belonging to the same school of civilization.

In literature, (though I know it is not proper before this company to wander far beyond the pale of science,) yet I know you will pardon me for saying that it is our boast and joy that Shakspeare and Milton were the countrymen of our fathers. We worship at the same altars, we reverence the same canonized names, as you. The great modern names of your literary Pantheon — the Addisons, Johnsons, and Goldsmiths, of the last century, the Scotts and Byrons of this — are not more familiar to you than to us. And may I not say that the names that adorn the nascent literature of my own country, — our Irvings, our Prescotts, our Coopers, our Bryants, our Bancrofts, and our Channings, — may I not say, that they are scarcely better known to us than to you?

I know it is thought that a great difference exists between our political systems, — and certainly it is in some respects considerable, — and political institutions, of course, have a great influence on the character of a nation. But all republicans as we are, — I have seen something of the continent of Europe, as well as Great Britain, — and taking our systems of government through and through, I think the candid observer will admit that there is a much greater similarity between you and us, even politically speaking, than between England and any of her sister monarchies. I believe we may boast that we are children of the British school of freedom. Though we are ardently, passionately attached to liberty, it is liberty enshrined in constitutions, and organized by laws. On your part, if I am not too presumptuous as a stranger in expressing an opinion, I think I may say, that it is your boast, that the pillars of the state rest on those principles of representative government by which the will and the affections of the people are brought to the support of the throne. And do we not, English or Americans, do we not derive our only hope of a name and praise in the world, politically speaking, from our attachment to those old British muniments of liberty — trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, freedom of speech, and liberty of the press? Do we not derive it from that ardent love of self-government, tempered by a proud submission to the supremacy of the law,

which flowed in the veins of Englishmen for centuries before America began to be, and will, I trust, flow in the veins of Englishmen, and their children of America, to the end of time — "*in omne volubilis ævum*"?

Allow me, my lord, before taking my seat, to express to you my personal thanks for the most kind and flattering manner in which you have been pleased to allude to me. Permit me to say, in speaking of the feelings which I shall bring to the discharge of my duty in this country, that you have done me no more than justice. My first duty is, of course, to the government whose representative I am. After that duty is performed, if it is in my power in any degree to promote good will and kind feeling between the two nations, which, of all others on earth, have it in their power to do most harm and most good to each other, I should think myself equally criminal to both, if I failed to do so.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.*

Mr Vice-Chancellor, my Lords, and Gentlemen:

Permit me, on behalf of myself, and my respected colleagues, whom you have been pleased to associate with me, to return our united and grateful acknowledgments for the compliment which you have paid us. They are due, sir, on every account — for the hospitality with which you have received us, for these academic honors with which you have clothed us, and doubly so for the kindness and courtesy which marked the manner in which they were bestowed.

This is an occasion, sir, on which foreign nations may with propriety be represented in your academic halls. The cause which brings us together — the cause of science and literature in their largest extent, of the training of mind, and of the formation of character, as my worthy colleague opposite (Chevalier Bunsen) expressed it — these are not objects peculiar to you. Though the modes of promoting them, as the Lord Chancellor observed, are eminently national, as we see them developed in your ancient seminaries, yet the cause itself, the objects themselves, have an interest wide as the civilized world.

There is another reason for which foreign nations may claim to be represented here. The Lord Chancellor alluded to the great men whom your two universities, and this uni-

* In reply to a toast complimentary to the American, and the other foreign ministers, given by the Vice-Chancellor, (Rev. Dr Archdale,) at the public dinner at Emmanuel College, on the 4th of July, 1842, on occasion of the installation of the Duke of Northumberland, as chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

versity in particular, have produced in days gone by, — and justly did he allude to them, — as among the greatest boasts of your country. But they lived not for you alone; they belong not to England alone. Your castles and your towers, your fleets and your armies, your fertile fields, your crowded cities, your wealth, your power, — these belong exclusively to England; but your great men, your Bacons, and your Newtons, — these belong not only to England, but to the world. May I not say, — as the Vice-Chancellor has been pleased particularly to allude to me, — that they belong, eminently, in common with you, to that kindred people beyond the sea, whose humble representative I am?

I have said that these great men belong not only to England, but to the world; they would belong to the world even did they cease to belong to England. The Lord Chancellor turned our minds back to the foundation of your university: let us cast a thought in the other direction, and see what, by possibility, may happen hereafter. It is possible — though in the highest degree improbable — still it is possible that this great fabric of modern civilization may be dissolved. I am not, indeed, one of those who believe in a youth, manhood, and decline of nations as a necessary condition of humanity. That idea, as I think, is not drawn from any law of human progress, but borrowed from the ill-applied analogy of other times. I not only trust, but believe, that our present civilization will be permanent; that it is founded on principles too solid to admit of the overthrow and confusion of the present family of nations, and the return of barbarism. But if this should unhappily prove otherwise; if a catastrophe like that which befell the improved nations of antiquity awaits the modern European world; if the existing national families should be dispersed; if this noble English which we speak should cease to be a vernacular tongue, and strange dialects arise among strange races, and for a while the light of Bacon, and Dryden, and Newton, children of Cambridge, should here go down, it would but sink to rise again. That light cannot forever be extinguished. While the laws of the human mind, yes, while the orbits and attractions of

the heavenly luminaries remain unchanged, these your great men must be the teachers of their fellow-mortals. Yes, sir, to borrow the words of your greatest poet, who passed his academic life in the very next college to that in which we are now assembled, — and in what language but that of Milton can I hope to do justice to Bacon and to Newton, — if their star should ever set in your horizon, it must be to rise again on other regions with new splendor.

> "So sinks the daystar in the ocean bed,
> And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
> And tricks his beams, and, with new-spangled ore,
> Flames in the forehead of the morning sky."

One word more, and that, perhaps, too personal to myself, and I will relieve your attention. I could not but be struck, when the long roll of the names of your benefactors was read yesterday, with the reflection that I myself received my education at an institution beyond the sea, whose origin is due to a pupil of this very college, Emmanuel, where we are now assembled, which, as you are aware, was one of the favorite colleges with the non-conformists. A considerable number of the New England clergy were educated here. But a very few years after the first settlement of my native state, Massachusetts, the second in the United States of America, when all was a savage wilderness around them, the fathers of the colony made a provision, too small to be named here, but great for their means and condition, to found a college or school. This was done in the year 1636. A youthful stranger came from *Old* England to *New* England the following year. He lived but to make his will, bequeathing half his estate to endow that small school. It rose immediately to the rank of a college; its course of studies was modelled after that of the English universities; and its first class was graduated just two centuries ago, in 1642. Of this class, Sir George Downing, whose estate, after one or two intervening generations, was bequeathed for the foundation of Downing College, was a member. That stranger was John Harvard, a master of arts of Emmanuel. The name of the place where the

new college was founded, was changed from *Newtown* to *Cambridge*, in honor of this ancient academic city, and the university thus founded, till the close of the seventeenth century the only one in the United States, still holds a most distinguished place among its younger sisters. When, therefore, I enter these halls of the ancient institution, it is with feelings of respect and love which I want words to express, and I am ready to bow my head with gratitude, while I exclaim, *Salve, magna parens!*

MEETING OF THE ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY AT BRISTOL.*

Mr Handley, my Lords, and Gentlemen:

I beg that you will believe me when I tell you, that I am deeply sensible to the very kind feeling which you have been pleased to express towards myself and my country. I do not readily find words for a fitting acknowledgment. To be received with so much cordiality, in a foreign land, by such a company, containing so many persons of the highest position and distinction, almost overpowers me. Let me say, however, sir, that there is no part of this great and prosperous country where such a reception could be more welcome to me. There are some associations of very ancient date between the city of Bristol and the United States. It is a somewhat singular, and to me, on the present occasion, an interesting circumstance, that the history of North America, as known to the civilized world, runs back to this spot. Its very first chapter was written in the chamber of the "Merchant Venturers' Society" of Bristol. I am not now alluding to the incident which I mentioned the day before yesterday, at the dinner of his Honor the Mayor, that Columbus himself in early life was engaged as a pilot between this port and Iceland; although that fact is certainly one of some curiosity in your history. It has even been thought to have a connection with the history

* Reply to a complimentary toast given by the president (Mr Handley) of the Royal Agricultural Society, of England, at the public dinner at Bristol, on the 14th of July, 1842.

of the discovery of America.* But I refer at present to the more important fact that Sebastian Cabot, the discoverer of North America, who, in the year 1497, reached the shores of Newfoundland, and ran down the coast south-westwardly as far as Cape Florida, was a native of Bristol, and sailed from this city on his great adventure.

The early associations of this part of England with the discovery and settlement of America, are not confined to the city of Bristol. It was under the auspices of the Plymouth Company that the settlement of New England commenced. Plymouth was the spot where the Pilgrim Fathers bade adieu to the Old World. They gave this name to the place where they began their settlement, and the rock upon which they first set foot is called Plymouth Rock to the present day. The counties that lie between you and the English Channel, particularly Devonshire and Dorsetshire, contributed largely to the first emigrations to New England. The father of William Penn, the great founder of Pennsylvania, lies buried in the vaults of St Mary Redcliff. William Penn himself was not a native of Bristol, but there is no doubt that while living here in his youth, he was accustomed to hear the stories of the navigators from the western regions, and that his thoughts were in this way first turned to the project of a settlement in the new-found hemisphere.

I am glad to find, sir, that it seems to be the purpose of the merchant venturers of Bristol to keep up, and that in a very imposing form, the communication with America, which was originally opened under their auspices. Under the hospitable guidance of my kind host, (Mr Harford,) I went up this morning to the tower of Blaise Castle, to contemplate the magnificent prospect which it commands. A lovelier panorama my eye never rested upon. But there was one object in the extreme distance which I regarded with peculiar interest. I could just discern what I was told were the masts of the Great Western; the noble steamer which the day after

* See, on this subject, the great work of the Royal Society of Danish Antiquaries, pref. p. 24, and North American Review, Vol. XLVI. p. 199.

to-morrow is to sail for New York. I rejoice in this unmistakable token, that the practicability of a regular steam communication with America is, in the opinion of your intelligent merchants, reduced to certainty. You desired me, in my next communication, sir, to acquaint the people of America with the kind feelings expressed towards them at this table. That noble steamer will bear the welcome assurance, I had almost said, before the echoes of the joyous acclamations with which it was ratified by this vast company, shall have died away.

I rejoice to be able to say that the friendly relations between the two countries, which, I doubt not, will be extended by these new facilities of communication, are not confined to commercial adventure and business speculations, important agents as these are in promoting harmony between nations. We are united by other strong ties. The roots of our history run into the soil of England. Hence came our fathers, with all the intellectual and moral elements of the body politic. For every purpose but that of political jurisdiction, we are one people. The community of language which subsists between us is enough, of itself, to produce that effect. It is a bond from which it is not possible for either party to break away. Every thing that issues from your press is promptly received and appreciated by the reading public in the United States; and the works of meritorious American authors, I am happy to say, are welcomed with constantly increasing favor in this country. My respected friend Dr Buckland, who sits near me, told you yesterday with how much pleasure he had perused a geological treatise of a transatlantic author; he had lent it to a scientific friend, who was so much gratified with it, that he had not since returned it. But he shall not be a loser by his friend's keen relish for American science. As soon as I can send to the United States, he shall be provided with another copy; and in the mean time I have the pleasure to inform him, that his own excellent works, in various branches of geological science, are as well known and as highly valued in America as in Great Britain.

But I am afraid you will think, sir, that I have forgotten that this is a meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society. I should do wrong to forget it, for the agriculture of Great Britain is regarded with deep interest by all those in my country who turn their attention to the improvement of our husbandry. We are fully sensible how much you are doing. The climate of every part of the Atlantic coast of America differs, it is true, from that of the west of Europe in corresponding parallels of latitude. The climate of the New England and Middle States of our Union is of course that which most resembles yours, — although your southern boundary lies largely to the north of our northern boundary. But in consequence of local influences, our winters are colder, and our summers hotter, than yours; and this circumstance necessarily has its effect on the agriculture of the two countries, as compared with each other. But in many of the great characteristics of the agriculture of the temperate regions we agree. We are able to derive much instruction from your agricultural treatises and journals, and they are read with avidity. The subject, for instance, upon which we heard an excellent lecture yesterday, — that of thorough draining and subsoil ploughing, — is receiving the attention of our agriculturists. I shall take care that the valuable pamphlet of Mr Smith (of Deanston) goes out by the Great Western. I am sure that it will attract the notice of our intelligent farmers.

I wish the Agricultural Society of Great Britain, and the ingenious writers on the subject in this country, to understand that the seeds of the improvements which they may introduce are literally sown broadcast; for they are scattered beyond the Atlantic. You cannot contrive a new compost, or invent a new implement, — you cannot succeed in shortening the bones of a pig, straightening the back of a cow, or rendering the fleece of a sheep finer, —but the experiment is sure to be repeated in the United States; where, at the same time, there is a vast amount of intelligence, energy, and common sense steadily at work in every branch of industry, and daily producing results which are felt in this country, — less, however, in agriculture than in some other pursuits.

I am happy to believe that this community of interest is destined not only to continue, but to increase; and that it will promote good feeling between the two countries. The great objects of this society are eminently of a peaceful character, at the same time, as his royal highness has well observed, they have a very intimate connection with the other interests of civilized communities. I am sure that the people of our two countries have the strongest reasons to be good friends; and I know of nothing better calculated to make and keep them so, than to multiply the points of friendly contact between the mind of the people in Great Britain and the United States respectively. I hope Mr Smith, therefore, will persevere in his important experiments; and while he is teaching us his system of thorough draining, I have no doubt that the bitter waters of national controversy will be drawn off at the same time, and a warm and genial soil created for all the fruits of literary and moral culture.

But I am taking up, sir, too much of your time. I cordially respond to all the good wishes which you have expressed. I desire nothing more than the utmost harmony between our two countries. I have no warmer wish than that the subjects in discussion between the two governments may be adjusted honorably for both parties. My humble exertions to promote this end have not been and will not be spared. I am happy to be able to add that, from all the sources of information at my command, such an adjustment is likely soon to take place.* These clouds blown over, I hope to see the two kindred nations engaged heart and hand in the emulous pursuit of all the great objects which improve the condition and ennoble the character of man.

Mr Everett shortly afterwards rose again, and said, —

It is proper that I should state to the company, that after having just occupied so much of their time, I should not rise

* The treaty of Washington was signed in less than four weeks after these remarks were made.

again but at the special command of the chair. I have been requested to propose a toast, which I am sure will be received with enthusiasm. It is that of prosperity to the great society under whose auspices we are assembled.

This is a duty which I perform, sir, with much satisfaction. I discharge in so doing a debt of gratitude, inasmuch as you have informed me that the council have been pleased to make me an honorary member of the society — a compliment which I highly value, although I fear I shall prove a very unprofitable associate. But I perform with pleasure the duty assigned me for higher reasons. I am persuaded, from what I have witnessed and heard, that no similar institution in the world is doing more good than the Agricultural Society of Great Britain — good of the very highest character. It has passed into a proverbial expression, that he is the greatest benefactor of mankind who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before. I take it, however, that the improved husbandry of modern times has done more than this. I have, this morning, seen statements, apparently authentic, which show that within the last generation, in fact within twenty years, the agriculture of some portions of England has increased its productiveness in a higher ratio than two for one. I suppose it is beyond doubt, that if all the practical and philosophical knowledge that has been accumulated on the subject of agriculture, since the foundation of this society, and in a due degree through its agency, were applied, under the utmost possible coöperation of capital, to the improvement of the agriculture of the whole country, its produce would be more than doubled.

What is this, sir, but a new creation? What is it but doubling the extent of your territory, not by ruinous wars of aggrandizement, but by the peaceful conquests of useful science. To introduce such improvements is to raise new islands from the encircling sea; to call up from the bosom of the deep another England, with all her

> "Deep waving fields, and pastures green,
> And gentle slopes, and groves between;"

a new realm added to the dominions of your youthful and beloved sovereign, without the cost of a pound sterling, (that does not yield a full return,) without shedding a drop of blood. What is there in all the exploits of all the Alexanders and Cæsars that ever wasted mankind, compared with conquests like these? These, sir, are the triumphs of your society: let them so remain: *Hæ tibi erunt artes;* not made for England alone, but peaceful triumphs which other nations share; achievements in which all the industrious tribes of man bid you God speed. I propose to you, sir, —

Success to the Royal Agricultural Society of England.

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY AT WALTHAM.*

My Lord Duke:

Though you had prepared me beforehand for a kind reception, I must say my most sanguine expectation has fallen short of the reality. The cordiality with which I have been welcomed by this large and respectable company has, I own, taken me by surprise. Indebted to your grace for the unostentatious hospitality which has at once made me at home beneath your princely roof, I am again indebted to you for my favorable introduction to this large and intelligent assembly, who have evinced towards my country and myself a kind feeling which demands my warmest thanks.

I need not say how sincerely I share the satisfaction expressed by your grace, with the evident approval and sympathy of the company, that the discussions so long carried on between the two governments have been brought to a satisfactory close; and that their relations are placed upon a basis, as I firmly hope, of permanent concord. I cordially concur in every thing that has been so kindly said respecting the importance of the two countries to each other. Too much credit, in my opinion, cannot be given to the friendly spirit which actuated her majesty's government in instituting the special mission of Lord Ashburton; and it is doing no more than justice to the government of the United States to say, that they met this amicable feeling half way, and showed themselves sincerely disposed to come to a reasonable understanding on the difficult points which had been so long contested

* In reply to a complimentary toast from the president of the society, (the Duke of Rutland,) at the public dinner, on the 26th of September, 1842.

between the two governments. With these dispositions on both sides, it is not to be wondered at that the intrinsic difficulties of some of the questions were overcome. Although I look at the various matters at issue in the light in which they have with great unanimity been viewed on our side of the water, I am able to do justice to the equally confident opinions which prevail in England on the other side; and I can truly say that, in the treaty lately negotiated, to which your grace has alluded, the points of dispute have, in my judgment, been compromised fairly and honorably to both parties; most creditably to the distinguished negotiators, Lord Ashburton and Mr Webster, and most advantageously to the two countries.

Henceforth let there be no emulation or rivalry between us, but in the cultivation of the beneficent arts of peace. Whatever glory crowns the achievements of war, these arts are still the most beneficial, the most dignified, I will say, the most godlike, which man can pursue. What a striking illustration of their superiority was furnished by your grace, in that intercepted Chinese letter, to which you alluded! When that vast empire, with its almost uncounted millions, was reeling under the blows of the late war, what was it which struck those barbarians, as we are perhaps too ready to call them, most forcibly? It was not the strange spectacle of seventy armed steamers, which you had sent from the antipodes into their rivers; not the three-deckers which prostrated their fortresses with a broadside. The blind Tartar courage was not subdued by these formidable demonstrations. But it was the approach of those who practised the arts of peace — the physician and the surgeon, skilful ministers of relief, who did not confine their benevolent aid to their countrymen, but equally extended it to their prostrate enemies. These were the unarmed antagonists with which the Mantchoo sternness could not cope; this was a power to which they were not ashamed to yield.

Of all the arts of peace, none can claim precedence over that of agriculture, for the promotion of which we are this day assembled. It is eminently the handmaid of that over-

ruling Providence, to which the reverend chaplain has so appropriately called our attention; the steward which provides their daily bread for the great family of man. Let us hope that our two countries will aid each other in the cultivation of this great and beneficent pursuit. I am sure it would be to our mutual benefit. There are indeed points of considerable difference between the two countries in reference to agriculture; but this circumstance will not prevent their intelligent farmers from studying each other's husbandry to advantage. In the United States, as in many of the British colonies, the government is the proprietor of a vast body of land, lying in a state of nature. Much of it is extremely fertile; but the government offers the fee simple of it to the purchaser at about five shillings sterling an acre. With this temptation to establish new farms in the interior, there is a great emigration from the older states. This keeps the population from becoming crowded; the wages of labor are consequently high; and among other effects of this state of things, that high finish which characterizes the English husbandry is not frequently seen in America. Another difference is in the climate itself. Our summers are hotter than yours. To this we owe that invaluable crop, our Indian corn. Your winters are milder than ours; and to this you are indebted for that turnip culture which is the basis of your husbandry. But notwithstanding these differences, there must be much similarity between the agriculture of almost any two countries lying in the northern half of the temperate zone. In all that concerns implements of husbandry, the modes of draining and enriching the soil, the breeds of animals, the grasses, grains, roots, and fruits, and the enemies that prey upon them, — there is an ample field for mutually advantageous inquiry and comparison.

Our two countries, as your grace has well observed, whatever points of difference in any respect may exist between them, have more in common than any other two nations now on the stage, — perhaps than any two of equal strength and magnitude known to history. This is a circumstance which puts it in their power very materially to coöperate with each

other in promoting objects of great national concernment. It authorizes mankind to look to their joint efforts for all the improvements of which our modern civilization is susceptible. There is something invidious in the predominant influence of a single powerful state; but where generous rivals combine, nothing practicable is beyond the reach of their joint efforts.

My opinion has been asked, since I entered the hall, as to the probable effect of the new corn law (that of 1842) on the importation of grain from America. If, gentlemen, as the noble chairman has stated, there is a general exclusion of political topics on the present occasion, I certainly am the last person present by whom they could with propriety be introduced. But inasmuch as the wish has been expressed that I would say a word on the topic alluded to, I must avow my entire concurrence with the chair, that it is too early to form a confident opinion on that subject. It is, however, my opinion, that whatever may be the case with some other foreign countries, America is too remote to be much affected by the recent modifications of your corn law. From the price of wheat now and for several years past in the United States, I am not of opinion that a great effect will be produced on prices here by importations from America, under the law of last winter. Undoubtedly, in times of great and continuing scarcity, when they unfortunately occur, an important part of your relief will always be derived from the United States. A certain quantity of American flour has always found its way to your markets. The quantity may increase, but in common years I think not greatly. There will, too, no doubt, under the recent modifications of your laws, be a considerable importation of salted provisions from the United States, though not probably to the extent of materially disturbing your markets. Whether the amount of these importations be great or small, they will be paid for (always leaving out of view exceptional cases of great scarcity) by British manufactures. The habits and tastes of the Anglo-Saxon element — vastly the preponderating element — in our population lead to a great consumption of British manufactures.

Our own manufacturers aim chiefly at the coarser fabrics Although we are becoming your rivals in some branches of this description, there are still a multitude of manufactured articles which we shall continue for a long time to purchase from you. This being the case, you need not fear that your American customers will, like his grace's friend, whom he told us of, be put to the blush at having to receive a large price in money: whatever they send you of provisions or grain will be paid for in British merchandise. The fabrics of Leicester, and other manufacturing towns which are fed by you, will go to pay for whatever is imported of the growth of the American soil. Equalized as the effect will be over the entire manufacturing and agricultural industry of the two countries, I do not apprehend any derangement to either.

It is not my lot, gentlemen, to be a cultivator of the field, but it is my business and my pleasure, on behalf of my own country, to cultivate a good understanding with yours. This is a part of my instructions which I am not likely to forget; could I so far fail in my duty, it would be recalled to my mind by this day's kind reception. My first obligation is, of course, to my own government; but since the auspicious settlement which has just been made, I cannot perform that duty to my own country without doing all in my power to promote a good understanding with this. In taking my seat, I beg leave, with your grace's permission, to express my best wishes for the success of the Waltham Agricultural Society, in the pursuit of their benign art, and for the prosperity and welfare of every member of this respectable company, and of the community from which it is gathered, from the noble landlord, whose territorial possessions date from the Conquest, to the humblest farm laborer, that dwells contented beneath the shelter of his towers

YORK MINSTER.*

My Lord Wharncliffe:

It is with very great hesitation that I present myself before you; to the company certainly a stranger, and, I am afraid, perhaps an intruder, scarcely warranted in taking any part in the business of the day. The direct appeal which was made to me by the reverend gentleman who first addressed us, (Mr William Harcourt,) and to whose address we all listened with so much delight, will, however, form, I trust, in your opinion and in that of the company, a justification for my venturing to say one word on the interesting question before the meeting. You are well aware that I do so most unexpectedly to myself; but there is an aspect of the subject, in which even I, a visitant from the other hemisphere, may claim to take an interest in it. This noble building, my lord, which you now propose to repair and renovate, was erected long before America, my native country, was known to exist in the civilized world. It was built by men from whom my fathers are as much descended as yours. And shall not I, therefore, as an American, be permitted to claim some part of the common feelings of admiration and pride which are entertained for this ancient and venerated minster by the citizens of the county now assembled?

I cannot permit you to monopolize those feelings; you must allow me to share them. When the political separation between our two countries took place, I feel that we were

* Remarks made at a meeting held at York on the 6th of October, 1842, on the subject of the restoration of the minster, Lord Wharncliffe in the chair.

entitled to carry with us a full portion in the common intellectual inheritance — of respect for an illustrious ancestry, of veneration for the great works of our forefathers. The reverend gentleman who first addressed us did me the honor to ask what my feelings must have been on entering your noble temple for the first time. I am, probably, the only individual in this assembly who for the first time visited this venerable building so lately as yesterday. I should be almost ashamed of the feelings I then experienced if I were able to express them : they are feelings which cannot be uttered in words, and it is only those who themselves have, for the first time at mature age, entered a temple like this, who can do justice to them.

I come from a new country, where private fortunes are small, where the public resources are limited, and where, consequently, it is not in the nature of things that edifices of such stupendous cost as your minster should be erected. Our fathers, on landing in their new country, two centuries ago, were at first obliged to worship that Being, who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, beneath the branches of a spreading tree or within a rudely constructed building. And though the people in after time, and of the present day, have, according to their means, built large and commodious places of divine worship, it has not been in their power — as, in fact, it is not in the power of any the oldest and richest country at the present day — to erect such temples as that which you now propose to restore, forming, as it does, with other buildings of the same class in this country and on the continent, one of the most astonishing achievements of human resource, power, and skill.

It may be because we have no buildings of this description in America that we behold with still stronger impressions of reverence — with feelings of awe not impaired by familiarity — these sacred monuments of the piety of our ancestors. I went a hundred and fifty miles out of my way last week to see an ancient church — that of Boston in Lincolnshire, the place which gave its name to Boston in America, of which I am a citizen, and which was so called in honor of John Cot-

ton, the vicar of that church in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is true there was a motive for my pilgrimage, proceeding from this historical association; but I would willingly, under any circumstances, have made the journey to see that beautiful church. Beautiful, however, as it is, eminently so among the churches of its class, it is, of course, not to be compared with one of these grand cathedrals; nor can I describe my emotions on entering for the first time the great temple of York minster — one of the noblest structures that were ever raised by the hands of man.

The reverend gentleman who first addressed you spoke of the utility of such buildings in the highest acceptation of the word — their effect in encouraging a religious sentiment. And assuredly, if religious feeling is not awakened in the heart of a man on entering such a building as the minster, it never can, by human means, be awakened. If he does not, in such a building, gain some new views of the dignity of his own immortal nature; if he does not derive some new conceptions of the power of the spirit that dwells within himself, — a spirit able to conceive, and to execute, works destined to outlive for ages the hands of those who raised them; still more, if he does not acquire a more elevated idea of the greatness and unapproachable majesty of Him to whom those walls were erected, — that man is beyond the reach of all ordinary religious influences.

We are told by the ancient writers, that it was a custom for each wayfarer to add a stone to the Hermal statues.* I believe that if it were physically possible for every individual whose heart has been made better, whose religious feelings have been elevated, whose sense of the vanity of human things, and the greatness of things more than human, has been strengthened by entering within the walls of one of these venerable minsters, — if every such individual had it in his power to contribute at once a stone to the restoration of this time-honored building, though it had been levelled with the ground, instead of being partially injured, it would rise again

* Phurnut. de Naturâ Deorum, p. 168.

like an "exhalation from the soil." That is not physically possible, but it is possible for every one who takes an interest in the achievement of this great object, to do something to promote it. It is in the power of every one to contribute his share towards the restoration of the minster; and I hope you will not deny to me, though a stranger and a foreigner, the privilege of contributing my most humble mite. It is but a pebble, but I hope you will permit me to cast it on the pile.

LORD MAYOR'S DAY.*

MY LORD MAYOR:

I RISE, at the request of my brethren of the diplomatic corps, to make our united acknowledgments to you for the honor of the last toast. My respected colleagues present are so well acquainted with the English language, that any one of them could have performed the duty in the most creditable and acceptable manner. Since, however, they have desired me to speak for them, I have much pleasure in assuring you that the members of the diplomatic corps present derive the highest satisfaction from being permitted to partake the splendid hospitality of this important occasion. It has been justly remarked by the right honorable gentleman at the head of her majesty's government, (Sir Robert Peel,) that the importance of this great commercial emporium is felt throughout the civilized world. We are all aware that nothing which deeply interests the city of London can be matter of indifference to any foreign country. There is not one of us who can enter your resorts of business without meeting several of his countrymen; not one of us, representing a maritime state, who can go down to your crowded quays, without beholding the flag of his country at many a masthead. The prosperity or adversity of this great emporium has its influence in every country we represent, nay, in the remotest region and most distant island on the face of the globe. On the other hand, by the same powerful — I had almost called it mysterious — sympathy of trade, the condi-

* Reply to a toast complimentary to the foreign ministers at the lord mayor's dinner on the 9th of November, 1842.

tion of every considerable foreign country is felt upon your exchange. You and they prosper together, and, as Cicero remarks of the commercial relations of Rome and the Asiatic states, "Ruere illa non possunt ut hæc non eodem labefactata motu concidunt."

It is one of the happiest results of the modern civilization, that it has multiplied the ties of mutual interest which unite the families of men. In the ancient world, the word stranger was synonymous with enemy; in modern times, it more commonly means customer. To this result, owing mainly, perhaps, to the prevalence of a religion of peace and good will, the spirit of trade has also largely contributed. While those powerful ancient despotisms, which, one at a time, successively overshadowed a large part of the human race, have been, in the progress of ages, resolved into a large family of states, politically independent of each other, the influence of a world-embracing commerce has, in modern times, guarantied the peace and safety of the common ocean, and, to some extent, reunited the different nations, for their mutual benefit, into one great commercial republic.

It is in the nature of things that this community of interest should be accompanied with feelings of mutual respect and kindness, which are so well calculated, in their turn, to produce a still greater extension of commercial intercourse. I cannot but congratulate your lordship upon the good understanding which exists at this moment between all the principal nations. There must always be minor subjects of discussion, territorial or commercial, between powerful states, belonging to the same national family; but there is certainly nothing in the relations to each other of the leading governments which threatens the slightest disturbance of the general peace. And if you will allow me to say a single word in my individual capacity, I cannot but express the liveliest satisfaction, that the matters which have, for a good many years, been the subject of a perplexed and embarrassing discussion between her majesty's government and the United States, have, within a few months, been happily adjusted on conditions honorable and advantageous to both parties.

In conclusion, my lord mayor, permit me, on behalf of my brethren of the diplomatic corps, to tender to you our best wishes for the success of your administration of this honorable trust, assured as we are that when, at the close of the year, it shall pass to your successor, the ancient escutcheon of this great metropolis, now committed to your keeping, will be found without a stain.

THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.*

Mr President:

I rise with real diffidence before a company like this. Your worthy ex-president (Mr Murchison) has very ingeniously established a claim to the favor of geologists, on behalf of my much respected colleague, the ambassador of France, in consequence of the allusion to *transition rocks*, in his excellency's History of the Fronde. I do not know, sir, that I can set up any claim to your good will, in reference to transition rocks, but there is a certain primitive rock in my native state, on which I never think but with admiration and gratitude; on which a band of pilgrims from old England, above two hundred years ago, first set foot, when they came to found a free state in the new world, and brought the language, the laws, and the religion of England to the western hemisphere.

I feel truly grateful to you, Mr President, and to my friend, your distinguished associate, who has just taken his seat, (Mr Lyell,) for the honorable manner in which he has mentioned me to the company, in connection with the scientific surveys of my native state. Personally, he has done me more than justice. The work was first undertaken under one of my enlightened predecessors, (Governor Lincoln,) and two editions of Professor Hitchcock's first geological survey of Massachusetts were published under his administration. When a wish was expressed some years afterwards, by Mr Hitchcock, to be permitted to make a renewed survey of the state,

* Reply to a complimentary toast from Mr (now Sir Charles) Lyell, at the anniversary dinner of the Geological Society of London, Henry Warburton, Esq., M. P., (president of the society,) in the chair.

in consequence of the progress of the science in the interval, I had indeed the satisfaction, as far as I was able, in the office which I then filled by the favor of my fellow-citizens, to encourage him in this undertaking, the credit of which, of course, is due to himself and the legislature of Massachusetts; and I think I may, without impropriety, claim for the government of that little state, (for, with a population not much exceeding seven hundred thousand, it must, of course, deserve that name, in comparison even with the smallest of the leading states of Europe,) the credit of having evinced great liberality in the encouragement of science, particularly that branch of it to which your society is devoted.

The geological survey of Massachusetts was originally projected in reference to the construction of a map of the state. The process of triangulation was carried on, at great public expense, for several years, and with it a most laborious and extensive series of astronomical observations was executed. From these materials a map of Massachusetts has been prepared, and is now, I am informed, in the hands of the engraver. I trust in due season it will reach the hands of men of science abroad, and furnish new proof of the disposition of the legislature of Massachusetts to encourage these interesting and important researches. In addition to the geological survey and the map of the commonwealth, a highly intelligent commission has been employed on the forest trees, on the general botany, and on the zoölogy of Massachusetts, in all its branches; and at the same time, the agriculture of the state has been the subject of a report, which is favorably known in this country.

I ought, perhaps, to apologize for dwelling so long on these topics, after the handsome manner in which you, sir, as well as Mr Lyell, and your late president, in his instructive discourse this morning, were pleased to speak on the subject of the general cultivation of science, and particularly of geological science, in the United States. Mr Lyell has done but justice to the zeal and liberality shown by the states visited by him, some proof of which is before the British public, especially in the volumes of the noble publication now in

progress, containing the results of the scientific surveys of New York. These researches are not confined to the old and long-settled states on the Atlantic coast. No, sir, if you or any one of your learned associates were to visit the newest of this new family of republics, he would find that his fame, and a taste for the science you cultivate, had preceded him. He would every where find that, amidst all the inconveniences, and under all the difficulties, which attend literary and scientific pursuits in new countries, not a few have made themselves familiar with the latest results of European inquiry, and explored the phenomena around them, under the lights thrown upon geology by the most recent foreign discoveries.

Mr Lyell has told you something, sir, of the reception which he met with personally from the geologists of America; but there is one portion of what befell him in the United States which his modesty has not allowed you to learn from him. A few years since, a young Bostonian, (Mr John Lowell, Jun.,*) who had increased a handsome inherited property by the successful pursuit of commerce, formed the design of founding an institution in his native city, for courses of lectures on the most important branches of moral and natural science. This generous project was matured and consummated during an extensive tour in Europe and the East. His last testamentary dispositions were made in a state of declining health, while he was at Thebes, in Egypt, on his way to India, where he died. The ample funds which he bequeathed for the purpose above mentioned, having been applied with great judgment by the kinsman to whom, as the sole trustee, the execution of this important trust was confided, the Lowell Institute is now in the fourth year of most successful operation. Classes as large as were ever perhaps assembled, have, from the first, attended the courses of lectures delivered on this foundation.

It was before this institution that Mr Lyell was invited to deliver a course of lectures on geology. The lecture-room,

* See the Memoir on John Lowell, Jun., the founder of the Lowell Institute, at Boston, in an earlier part of this volume.

sir, is probably as large an apartment as was ever before appropriated to such a purpose, having been built as a theatre; and this immense hall, orchestra, parterre, and boxes, from the stage to the roof, was, as I am informed, (for I was not myself then in the country,) regularly filled by Mr Lyell's audiences; which, after all, composed but half the class, so that it was necessary to repeat the lectures at a different hour for the other half.

My esteemed colleague, the French ambassador, (the Count de Ste Aulaire,) in the very handsome remarks with which he has just favored the company, in his native language, has established the connection between the duties of our official station and those of literary and scientific men. He has remarked to us that, in the peculiar province of a foreign minister to cultivate the relations of peace between friendly states, he has no coadjutor more efficient than the enlightened man of science, engaged in those studies which have a common interest for all mankind. Of no science can this just remark be more emphatically made, than of that which is the peculiar object of your labors; for there is none where a comparison of facts, as they exist in different and distant countries, is more necessary; and where the final generalizations draw in such magnificent spaces on the surface of the globe.

What an illustration of this truth, if illustration be necessary, was contained in the discourse of your learned ex-president this morning! In speaking of those extraordinary footmarks described by Professor Hitchcock of Massachusetts, discovered by him in the old red sandstone of Connecticut River, and which he has called ornithichnites, Mr Murchison, in doing the fullest justice to the labors of Professor H., said that he himself had long hesitated in admitting that these footprints belonged to an animal of an ornithological character. He was reluctant, in opposition to the analogy of the science, to recognize the traces of such an animal in the formation in which these marks are found. And how did he overcome these doubts? By calling comparative anatomy to his aid; by evoking a witness, if I may so express myself,

from Western Australia; by conjuring up from beneath the soil of New Zealand a monstrous ostrich, — *Deinornis*, I think he told us Professor Owen had called it, — to authenticate the not less monstrous footmarks in the red sandstone on the banks of Connecticut River. How beautiful, sir, this mutual scientific dependence of remotest countries, and the different branches of inquiry! Do I doubt the character of these paradoxical marks? Here are the remains of a winged animal that could have made them. Do I hesitate as to the existence of a bird of these stupendous proportions? *Agnosco vestigia:* here are his footsteps impressed on the everlasting rocks.

But it was certainly not my purpose to engage in so bold an undertaking as a geological discourse before an audience like this. My duty — and a most pleasing one it is — is performed, when I have thanked you, sir, my friend, Mr Lyell, and this enlightened company, for the honor done me, and especially for the liberal and friendly feeling evinced towards my country; and if you are disposed to think that there is any exaggeration in what Mr Lyell has told you of his kind reception in the United States, I will only express the wish, that whoever entertains that doubt would do us the favor to come and see for himself.

ROYAL ACADEMY OF ART.*

Sir Martin Archer Shee and Gentlemen:

I rise, at the request of my colleagues of the diplomatic body, to make our joint acknowledgments for the honor done to us in the toast just drank. I beg to assure you, on their behalf and my own, that we esteem it one of the most agreeable of the privileges of our position, that it procures us, by your courtesy, the gratification of being present at the opening of your exhibition, and of partaking the hospitality of the Royal Academy on an occasion so important to all who take an interest in the fine arts.

It is in fact, sir, not an unnatural view to take of the delightful arts to which the Academy is devoted, to regard them as furnishing a common language to cultivated men in all countries; a mode of expressing some of the finest conceptions of the human mind in a dialect equally intelligible in all nations. The different forms in which man embodies the creations of his intellect or fancy have each its peculiar advantage; generally perhaps what is gained in precision is lost in universality. Painting and sculpture, the arts which you cultivate, in this respect have an advantage over the sister arts of poetry and eloquence; which, however superior in range of subject, and in capacity of descriptive or historical illustration, must certainly yield to sculpture and painting in

* In reply to a toast in honor of the foreign ministers, at the anniversary dinner of the Royal Academy of Art, on the 6th of May, 1843, Sir Martin Archer Shee, president of the Academy, in the chair. This dinner is given in the principal gallery of paintings, at the opening of the annual exhibition of painting and sculpture.

this power of addressing all ages and nations without an interpreter. If Demosthenes could rise up at the present day, the eloquence which "shook th' arsenal and fulmined over Greece" would be a *brutum*, not to say a *mutum fulmen*, to the greater number of modern hearers; but what time has spared from the chisel of Phidias is as significant to us as it was to the Athenian, who gazed upon it the first morning that the scaffolding was thrown down from the friezes of the Parthenon. The strains of Tasso and Ariosto are a dead letter to the great majority of those whose spirits are attuned by nature to the music of poetry; but there are no Alps for the canvas of Raphael. It addresses the same language to the cultivated eye upon the Tiber and the Thames, the Neva and the Hudson. This idea has been admirably expressed by a great master (Dryden) of one of the arts alluded to, in his address to Sir Godfrey Kneller: —

> "But poets are confined in narrower space,
> To speak the language of their native place.
> The painter widely stretches his command, —
> Thy pencil speaks the tongue of every land."

Yes, sir, although there may be no two of the diplomatic body, on whose behalf I have now the honor to address you, who speak the same language as their native tongue, the beautiful works which look down upon us from these walls, the product of English taste and skill during the past season, address each one of us in an idiom which needs no translation.

Before I take my seat, sir, you will pardon me, and my respected colleagues will bear with me, if I say a single word as the American minister. In that capacity I cannot but have the highest satisfaction in reminding you of my countrymen, living and departed, who have filled and still occupy a distinguished place among your associates or fellow-laborers. I might with propriety allude to the venerable artist (Mr West) who so long presided over the Royal Academy; and when I repeat the names of Copley, of Stuart, and of his nephew, Stuart Newton, among the deceased; of Allston

and of Leslie, (to whose pencil the present exhibition is so highly indebted,) among the living, — I think I shall have vindicated for my countrymen the honor of having furnished their share of the talent, taste, and success with which the art of painting has been cultivated under your auspices. With respect to sculpture, our youthful artists have generally been trained in Italy ; and when I mention the names of Greenough, Powers, and Crawford, I have done enough to show that a school of no ordinary promise is growing up among us in this department of art.

In taking my seat, sir, allow me to repeat the thanks of the diplomatic body for this hospitable reception, and to express our best wishes for the prosperity of the Royal Academy and the progress of British art.

ROYAL LITERARY FUND.*

My Lord Duke:

I feel deeply grateful, not merely for the kind reception given by the company to the toast just proposed from the chair, but also for the very handsome manner in which your grace has spoken of the interest felt in England in the literature of the United States. I think indeed, considering the variety of languages spoken by modern civilized nations, and that each in consequence has its own literature, that the cultivation of letters should be regarded as the great interpreter between the different families of the human race — a source in itself of kindly sympathies, and the medium through which all friendly international associations must operate.

If this is true in reference to nations speaking different languages, it must be eminently so in reference to states politically independent, but speaking the same language. The relation between the United States and Great Britain in this respect is of a peculiar kind. I cannot but think that in this great public consanguinity, and in this community of language and literature between Great Britain and the United States, which is one of its consequences, there is something not merely beautiful to contemplate, but of great importance to the largest interests of humanity. The power of literary influences over the relations of the two countries, although it has at all times, no doubt, received some consideration from reflecting minds, has perhaps hitherto been too lightly deemed

* Reply to a complimentary toast given at the anniversary dinner of "the Royal Corporation of the Literary Fund," on the 10th of May, 1843, the Duke of Sutherland in the chair.

of, on both sides of the water. I am persuaded that his grace has not merely made a courteous remark, but spoken a great philosophical truth, in saying that England is deeply interested in the literature of the United States.

History and experience show that it is difficult to extend any particular type of civilization beyond the pale of the dialect in which its principal monuments are recorded; and that, on the other hand, literature is but one of the influences which go abroad with a great cultivated tongue. The prevalence of the Greek language throughout the east of Asia and the north of Africa, seems, as far as human means are concerned, to have been the instrument of the propagation of Christianity through those vast regions. The Latin language, through the medium of the Roman military colonies, extended the influence of the civil law over the continent of Europe, and caused its partial admission into your own island. In like manner, and by a much happier series of political causes, the same English language which carries Shakspeare and Milton, is carrying representative government, the trial by jury, and the freedom of the press, through the American Union to the shores of the Pacific.

A curious circumstance in the literary history of England, during the last century, shows in a single case the important consequences traceable to this community of language. When Gibbon entered upon his career of authorship, he sent a copy of one of his first essays at historical composition to David Hume. Gibbon had lived a good deal on the continent, and shared in the prevailing notion of the universality of the French language, in which the Essay in question was written. Hume, in his letter of acknowledgment, written in 1767, inquires, "Why do you compose in French, and carry fagots to the wood, as Horace says with regard to the Romans who wrote Greek? I grant that you have a like motive to those Romans, and adopt a language much more generally diffused than your native tongue. But have you not remarked the fate of those two ancient languages in following ages? The Latin, though then less celebrated, and confined to more narrow limits, has in some measure outlived

the Greek, and is now more generally understood by men of letters. Let the French therefore triumph in the present diffusion of their tongue; our solid and increasing establishments in America, where we need less dread the inundation of barbarians, promise a superior stability and duration to the English language."

The progress of events wholly unforeseen by Hume has furnished a remarkable illustration of his sagacity. It is an interesting reflection that England may be in some degree indebted to this almost casual reference of Hume to America, for Gibbon's decision to write his great work in his mother tongue. Since this prophetic language of Hume was uttered, and in a period much shorter, I am sure, than he could have anticipated, his own History and that of his great contemporary have been carried by the advance of American civilization beyond the Alleghanies, — beyond the Mississippi. They will in this way, in no long time, unquestionably be read by the descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race on the western shores of the continent. In the mean time, the children of England in the United States are already sending back to the mother country historical compositions that support the comparison with the best of their own. Facts like these abundantly justify the remark of the chair, that Englishmen feel a deep interest in the literature of the United States, and they furnish the strongest inducements to the men of letters in America to spare no pains to keep up the language, as written and spoken on our side of the water, to a pure standard of accuracy and taste.

With respect to the association whose anniversary we are celebrating this evening, it is one of its most honorable features that its benefits are not confined to Englishmen. Several cases have fallen within my own knowledge in which foreigners, both from the continent of Europe and my own country, have been liberally assisted by your bounty. No questions of nationality are raised at your treasury. Since I entered the hall, I have heard from the friend who sits beside me (the Earl of Arundel and Surrey) a statement which well supports this observation. When M. de Chateaubriand was first

in this country, a fugitive from the reign of terror in France, he found in the Literary Fund a timely resource in the hour of adversity and distress. Your beneficence was the more praiseworthy, as he had not then acquired a celebrity which would enable him to give *éclat* to your bounty. Years passed, and after great vicissitudes of fortune, the Vicomte de Chateaubriand returned to England as the ambassador of France, and among the most distinguished of her statesmen and men of letters. In that capacity he had the privilege of being present as the representative of his country at this your annual dinner, and of acknowledging the kindness which in his friendless youth he had received at your hands. Happy the institution which can boast of having administered seasonable aid to such a person; and happy the man who, at the height of his prosperity and fame, had the good feeling to come back and acknowledge the obligation!

Allow me, in resuming my seat, to renew my thanks to your grace and the company for their cordial reception, and to offer you my best wishes for the prosperity of the Royal Literary Fund.

THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY AT DERBY.*

After acknowledging the toast given by the chair in honor of the United States and the American minister, Mr Everett proceeded as follows: —

You have done me, my lord, no more than justice, in ascribing to me the kindest feelings towards the land of my fathers. I am a great believer in the efficacy of race and blood, as far as nations are concerned. I have no idea that this is a matter which is important solely in reference to short horns and Herefords, or to South Downs and Leicesters. History warrants us in believing in races of men, as well as of inferior animals; and what I have been accustomed to say at home I may without impropriety repeat here. I am decidedly of opinion that the Anglo-Saxon race, from which we Americans trace our descent, is surpassed by none other that ever existed. Attached as I am — ardently attached — to my native land, desirous of serving her to the utmost of an humble capacity, willing if need be to fall in her defence, I yet rejoice that my ancestors were the countrymen of yours, — the sons of England. The sound of my native language beyond the sea is music in my ears. I rejoice, in speaking my mother tongue, that I speak the language also of a great and kindred free people. And if there is any occasion which may with propriety bring us together as brethren of one national family, it is certainly a meeting like this, composed of persons who are devoted to the cultivation of

* In reply to a complimentary toast from the president (the Earl of Hardwicke) at the public dinner of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, at Derby, on the 13th of July, 1843.

the great parent art of agriculture — the common interest of all civilized nations. It is truly the art of peace. The highest authority has taught us that when the happy time shall arrive, that nations shall cease to learn war any more, they shall beat their swords into ploughshares ; and I am convinced, if a hundredth part of the skill, the energy, and the treasure that have been expended in the fierce and deadly struggles of what is commonly called the "field," had been employed in a generous emulation which should excel the rest in the peaceful art to which this society is devoted, that you farmers would have superseded us diplomatists ; or, at any rate, that very little would be left to be done in the way of angry international discussions.

Your lordship has alluded to the important commercial relations of the two countries. They are undoubtedly of great magnitude, and destined, no doubt, to be much augmented. I am certainly very sensible to the importance of the commerce of such a country as England or the United States. But in this connection, I was led, by the remarks which fell from the chair last evening on the vast importance of the agricultural interest, to ask myself a question, as to the relative magnitude of the commerce and agriculture of Great Britain. You are aware that the entire commerce carried on by Great Britain and the United States, — by which I mean the aggregate of your exports to that country and your imports from it, — is fully twice as large as your commerce with any other country. And yet what is its annual amount ? Its annual value is about equal to that of the crop of oats and beans in Great Britain, as given on the authority of Mr McCulloch, in the essay of Mr Pusey which your lordship cited last evening. These two articles of agricultural produce alone are equal to the exports and imports exchanged by the United States and Great Britain. I will adduce one more fact of a similar character. The whole foreign commerce of Great Britain, for which you overshadow the ocean with your fleets, and plant your colonies in the remotest corners of the globe, is actually surpassed in value by the annual crop of grass in the British Islands.

It would not become me, I will not say as a stranger, for you have courteously forbidden me to regard myself in that light, but as your guest, to enter into details in reference to the various objects which have received your attention at the present meeting. I will say, however, that in examining the show of implements, and the stock yard this morning, it occurred to me, that whatever ground of complaint may at any former periods have existed in any branch of your husbandry, (for such complaints I find in your agricultural works,) there is certainly little apparent ground for similar complaints at the present day, as far as a judgment can be formed from this year's exhibition. It seemed to me, as I made the circuit, that there was evidence of an amount of science, of mechanical skill, of practical sagacity, — of countenance and sympathy on the part of the higher orders, of diligence and thrift on the part of the laboring classes, — all in a degree of close combination for the promotion of agricultural improvement which I have nowhere else seen equalled. If great advances in husbandry are practicable, it would seem impossible that they should not be made, under the encouragements and appliances which are now brought to bear upon the subject.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact, if I may be pardoned so general a reflection, that till quite lately, all the great improvements in agriculture seem to have been made in the very infancy of mankind. Who can tell when that humble instrument was invented which lies at the basis of all civilization? — I mean the plough. Who can tell when man first called in, as the humble partners of his toils, the horse, the ox, the cow, the swine, the sheep, and raised them to a profitable alliance with himself? I do not know that in the entire period embraced by authentic history, one has been added to the list of the domesticated animals. If it were possible to find out the man who caught the first wild dog, and taught it to share the shepherd's labors, he would deserve a nobler monument than ever was raised to monarch or conqueror. Who is able, at this date of the world's history, to tell when the olive and the vine, when any of the cereal grains, or

generous fruits, or the esculent roots were first brought to their present condition? There is but one of these — the potato — of which the history is known. The story of the rest runs back into those recesses of antiquity, into which we cannot penetrate. These products were first cultivated in ages when our common ancestors were roaming as painted savages over the wild hills and moors of this now beautiful and merry England, and when even the primitive inhabitants of Greece and Rome were subsisting upon beech nuts and acorns.

It would seem, in fact, that men, in their agricultural progress, had followed, to some extent, that curious law of nature, so happily illustrated at the council dinner yesterday by Professor Owen, which exists in reference to some of the ruminating animals within the tropics. He told us that some of these have a large hump of fat between the shoulders, which during the first half of the year is nourished, and attains a great size, by the abundance of food then existing. On the store of fat thus laid aside, as it were, for a season of scarcity, the animal subsists for the rest of the year, when the ground is parched, and the herbage fails. Such seems to have been very much the case of the civilized nations, in reference to their advances in agriculture. In the infancy of the race they made these great improvements — pressed the olive and the grape, tamed the ox and the horse, contrived the plough, educated a few wild grasses into nutritious grains; in a word, accumulated a lump of fat like that described by Professor Owen, and have been living upon it almost ever since. Virgil, in the Georgics, describes to us the plough, as it was made in his day; and the self-same plough which he describes is still to be seen, after seventeen centuries, in use in the south of Europe. We can still see Virgil's plough in *bas relief*, in the marble relics of ancient art; and truly, for any improvement which has taken place in seventeen hundred years, the ploughman on the marble has done as much as the living ploughman in the field. We may certainly boast that the revival of agricultural life and energy, in these latter days, is due to that Anglo-Saxon race of which you, my

lord, have just spoken. It has been left to you, and, if you will allow me to say so, to us, living though we do in these austere climes, and beneath these ungenial skies, which are now weeping as if in penitence for their own rigor,* — it has been left to you and to us to accomplish what they have not even attempted beneath the unclouded suns of Italy and Greece. And do we not owe our superiority in this respect to the want among us of those tropical luxuries, the absence of the balmy but enervating breezes of the south, the enjoyment of which would have cost us that hardihood of frame and energy of will, which are worth all the spices and perfumes of Arabia?

> "Man is the nobler growth our soil supplies,
> And souls are ripened in our northern skies."

I beg pardon of the company and your lordship for the length of time during which I have detained you. I thank you for the indulgence with which you have heard me; and I beg to assure you that when these shouts of approbation shall be heard across the Atlantic, as they will be in fourteen or fifteen days, a response as cordial will be returned by my countrymen.

* The rain was falling in torrents upon the canvas roof of the pavilion in which the company were assembled.

RECEPTION AT HEREFORD.*

Mr Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I rise to make my grateful acknowledgments for these unexpected honors; I wish I could find words that would do full justice to my feelings. My first thanks are certainly due to my friend and host, your worthy representative, (Mr Clive,) who has done me the honor to introduce me to your hospitality. I am bound to thank him for all his kindness, and not least for this last act of kindness to us all, that of procuring us the gratification of the presence of the ladies of Hereford at this festive board.

I am indeed, Mr Mayor, under the greatest obligations to you for this most unlooked for and courteous reception. When I left town a few days since, it was with no other expectation than that of a little repose after the duties of the season, a mouthful of pure country air, a glimpse of the lovely scenery on the banks of the Wye, a hasty glance at your venerable cathedral, — one of the most interesting of those consecrated and time-honored structures, for whose restoration I beg to express my best wishes, — and a passing survey of the field of the labors and charities of your Herefordshire philanthropist, (the Man of Ross,) whom Pope has immortalized. This is what I promised myself; temptation enough, you will think, with that of the hospitality of a respected friend, to draw any one from London in September. But to all this you have been pleased to add the gratification of honors and

* Remarks made at a public reception at the city of Hereford, on the 9th of September, 1843, in acknowledgment of a toast given by E. P Clive, Esq., M. P.

courtesies, public and private, as flattering as they are unexpected.

Little, certainly, did I think, sir, when, a few years ago, I had the satisfaction, in my own country, of making the acquaintance of the gallant relative (Colonel Clive) of your respected chief steward and representative, that a short time only would elapse before I should have the pleasure of meeting him again in his own home, and receiving at his hands, and those of his honored parent, these distinguished attentions. I trust that an increased facility of communication between the two countries will have the happy effect of making us all better acquainted with each other; and that the mighty ocean, which seemed spread between us as a barrier, will become more and more the highway of a kindly intercourse.

It has gladdened my heart, since I came to Hereford, to hear the sentiments of good will towards America expressed by so many gentlemen who have visited it. I can say for my countrymen, that they are never happier than in receiving with merited kindness the worthy and intelligent from the father-land. During the past year, a nobleman, towards whom there is but one feeling of respect and good will in his own country, (I need scarcely say that I allude to Lord Morpeth,) has traversed the United States, winning golden opinions in every part of America, and showing my countrymen that the highest rank and oldest blood are not incompatible with the simplest manners and most sterling qualities of character.

We can, for the most part, offer to the traveller from Europe but the attractions of a new country, the wild charms of unimproved nature, the interest of a recent civilization. To the American traveller in England there is an interest of a peculiar and opposite kind. It is different from the gratification of a tourist's curiosity in visiting spots made famous by historical association; different from the food which is furnished to a classical enthusiasm in Italy and Greece. The American visits England with something of the feelings with which a dutiful son, after wandering long in foreign climes,

returns to the roof which sheltered his infancy, and makes his pilgrimage to the churchyard where his parents are laid to rest: —

> "Where'er I tread 'tis haunted, holy ground;
> No spot of thine is lost in vulgar mould."

I am sure, Mr Mayor, I shall not here or elsewhere be misconceived in uttering these feelings. I am a loyal son of America, and I desire at all times to discharge my duty to the government and country which I have the honor to serve, as you, sir, would wish an English minister to a foreign government to discharge his duty to his own, — zealously and faithfully. But I rejoice above all things when I can unite with this paramount obligation the pleasing office of cultivating kind feeling between the land of my birth and the land of my fathers. The right reverend bishop, in his eloquent remarks to the company, has observed, that it is the duty of the clergy, as ministers of a pure religion, to promote peace on earth and good will towards men. It is scarcely less the province of the ministers of friendly, and especially of kindred nations, to coöperate in the same good work. There are no two countries on earth united by ties like those which bind the United States and England; none which possess within themselves equal means of being mutually beneficial to each other. Let us hope that, in all coming time, their only struggle will be, which shall outstrip the other in the race of civilization, — their only emulation, which shall bear the palm in the arts that adorn and improve our common nature.

I renew to you, Mr Mayor and gentlemen of the corporation, my sincere thanks for your kindness, and tender to you, and to each person in this most respectable company, my most sincere good wishes.

SAFFRON WALDEN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.*

After making his acknowledgments to the president of the society and to the company for the toast which had just been given, and avowing his concurrence with the opinions expressed from the chair, on the subject of the treaty of Washington, Mr Everett said, —

It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction that I find myself a visitor to the ancient and respectable county of Essex. It is a name familiar to me as that of one of the four counties into which the ancient colony, now state, of Massachusetts was divided, in the very infancy of the settlement. Many of the first emigrants came from this part of England, and the affection which they cherished for their native country was shown by perpetuating the names of its counties, cities, and villages in their new home. A great majority of the names of places to which I have been accustomed from childhood, meet me again in different parts of England.

Nor is it familiar names of places only that I encounter. In every part of England which I have visited, I find local recollections, which, though perhaps weakened for you by familiarity, possess a great interest for us. Your lordship has acquainted me with a circumstance of which I was ignorant before, — that one of the greatest men in the history of modern science lies buried in this neighborhood. I refer to Harvey, the illustrious discoverer of the circulation of the blood. After the troubles and vicissitudes of a life which,

* In reply to a toast from the president of the society, (Lord Braybrooke,) at the public dinner at Saffron Walden, on the 13th of October, 1843.

notwithstanding that brilliant discovery, might be called an unfortunate one, Essex received him at last to close his mortal trials, and he lies buried at Hempstead, four miles from this spot. His career (if I may adventure an allusion so far from the immediate business of the day) teaches us a useful lesson. When the great idea of the circulation of the blood was first propounded by him, the age was not ready to receive it, especially in his own country; he lost his practice as a physician, almost his good name. But the lapse of time has redressed the contemporary wrong; his name has taken a place in the list of great discoverers; his fame is coëxtensive with the civilized world; and I have the happiness this day, a pilgrim from a country scarce known to exist when that discovery was made, to offer this humble tribute to his memory.

There is, perhaps, no subject, my lord, in reference to which the experience of other countries can be more advantageously consulted than agriculture, whether we have regard to climate, natural products, or modes of husbandry. When North America was settled by emigrants from Europe, it was almost wholly in a state of nature. Indian corn and one or two other vegetables were rudely cultivated by the native tribes; but in general the new-comers were dependent on what they brought with them, and the crops to be raised from European seeds, roots, and trees, propagated on the other side of the ocean. Such is our obligation to Europe, in the temperate regions of America, in reference to the fruits of the earth. But this debt we have in some degree repaid. I need not tell you that the husbandry of the old world is indebted to America for the article which, next to the cereal grains, furnishes food to the greatest number of persons. I allude, of course, to the potato. There is another agricultural product of vast importance to us, and well known, though not cultivated in England. I mean the maize, or Indian corn. Some of your agricultural writers have thought that it might be domesticated in this country; but your summers are probably not hot enough to ripen the grain. There is another American agricultural product; I do not know if I can safely name it here; I am not an admirer of it myself

anywhere. But if, within the sound of my voice, there is an officer who has derived comfort from it while on duty at the outposts in a cold night, — if there is a mariner present, who, as he paces the deck, under cover of darkness and the storm, has found solace in this same fragrant weed, — they will excuse me, I am sure, for reminding them that they are indebted to America for tobacco.

It is not probable that we have reached the limit of the beneficial exchanges of this kind between the two hemispheres. It is not unlikely that, in the vast regions of America as yet wholly unsettled, — partially explored, — there may be vegetable products of great value, with which we are as yet unacquainted. It is not at all unlikely that in the west of Europe new articles of human food will be brought forward in the progress of husbandry; as new flowers are daily introduced into our conservatories. And it is in the highest degree probable that, in proportion as the recesses of China and the East in general are penetrated, we shall find fruits, grains, and seeds unknown to us as yet, of great value, and capable of being naturalized into our fields and gardens. This remark holds particularly in reference to China and the United States, whose climate, under the same local conditions, is nearly identical, — so that what is indigenous in one country may admit of reproduction in the other. I have, since I came into the hall, been told that there is a clover growing in this neighborhood brought from Affghanistan; a more valuable acquisition, if it succeeds, than the sovereignty of that region. Mr Gwilt has told us of Gama grass, which he thinks could be introduced to advantage. Thus we hear in the county of Essex of a new clover from Central Asia, and a new grass from the slopes of the Andes.

While you are thus turning your attention to the remotest regions, our farmers are also endeavoring to derive benefit from the observation of other countries, particularly of this. There is now in England a highly accomplished American agriculturist, known, I doubt not, to some gentlemen present,*

* The late lamented Mr Colman.

who visits this country for the sole purpose of studying its husbandry. Great interest is felt at home in the success of his inquiries, and I doubt not that they will prove of much advantage to our countrymen.

There is one circumstance affecting your husbandry, and closely connected with the state of English society, of which, in my humble opinion the importance cannot be overrated. I refer to the deep interest taken in rural pursuits by the persons of greatest consideration and influence, from those of the very highest rank in the country down through all the gradations of social life. Instead of concentrating its vitality in a metropolis, as is so much the case on the other side of the channel, the strength and the substance of England are in the country. It is here, far more than in city life, that the orders of society, though strongly marked in your ancient monarchy, are brought into close and friendly connection with each other. The direct benefit which accrues to rural pursuits is great, but it is not the only nor chief advantage of this state of things. It binds your population together by the interchange of good offices; and contributes, in a great degree, — if you will pardon the expression of an opinion on this subject from a foreigner, — to the stability of your country.

And this reflection, gentlemen, brings me, by natural association of ideas, before I take my seat, to the discharge of a duty which, I dare say, our noble chairman would rather I should leave unperformed. I could not, however, neglect it, without injustice to my own feelings, and equal injustice, I know, to yours. Though I have been but a short time in this neighborhood, yet what I have seen and heard convinces me how much it is indebted to the kindly relations which exist between it and the worthy nobleman in the chair. I need not say that nothing is more conducive to the welfare of a community like this than the example, sympathy, and efficient coöperation of men like his lordship, belonging to a class whose influence for good or for evil is so powerful. In which direction his influence is thrown, it would be an affront to this company to think it necessary to say; and I feel myself honored in being their organ in an expression of respect

and gratitude to himself and family. I am particularly anxious to include in the toast, which I shall have the honor to propose to you, the health of the distinguished lady, with whose company we were favored at the distribution of the prizes this morning, and whom we saw engaged with so much unaffected interest in the business of the day. I think I could not be mistaken as to the visible and kindly effect of her presence, even on this single occasion; others can bear witness to the happy influence of a life of active Christian beneficence. I should invade the sanctity of domestic life if I should go there, as I might else do, for other titles to your respectful and affectionate consideration.

Mr Everett concluded his remarks by proposing a toast in honor of Lord Braybrooke and his family.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT CAMBRIDGE.*

At the conclusion of the discourse of Sir John F. W. Herschel, president of the association for the year, Mr Everett rose at the request of the committee of arrangements, and spoke as follows: —

I shall be readily believed when I say that I rise under some embarrassment, at the request of the officers of the association, to address a few words to the assembly, which I do without premeditation, or any expectation, till I entered the hall, of being called upon. If that distinguished philosopher, who has just taken his seat, felt it necessary to say that he was prepared to address the meeting only from written notes, with how much diffidence must I present myself before an audience like this, without any preparation whatever. But the few remarks which I have to offer you are of a character that needs no premeditation, and implies no effort; they will come from the fulness of the heart. I rise to propose a vote to the meeting, in which I am sure every one present will be gratified to join. I mean a vote of thanks to the illustrious president of the association, who has just delighted and instructed us by his masterly discourse.

I deeply regret, gentlemen, that there is no man of science from the United States present to perform this pleasing duty, and who would have been able to do it in a more appropriate manner. But though I have no claim to speak to you as a man of science, I can state with great confidence that, in

* Remarks made in the Senate House of the university at the general meeting of the British Association for the Promotion of Science, in the evening of the 19th of June, 1845.

proposing a vote of thanks to Sir John Herschel, I am fairly and fully representing the men of science in my own country. I feel that I am doing no injustice to any other eminent and honored name, when I say that, in the estimation of my countrymen, the name of Herschel stands among the first of the living men of science. From the time of the world-renowned father "who gave the lyre of heaven another string," and brought a star, which for ages had shone without being particularly noticed in the firmament, into the great solar family as one of its primary members, — a star whose majestic orbit has not been completed since its planetary character was discovered, — from his time to that of the still more distinguished son, the name of Herschel has been as familiarly known in America as in Europe. If our illustrious president would visit the western, as he has the southern, hemisphere, — if he would cross the ocean to the new continent, as he has visited the southern extremity of the old continent, in his ardent pursuit of science, — I can assure him that instead of being left alone with his stars, his southern cross and magellanic clouds, he would find himself surrounded by men who would look upon him with admiration, — men whose own researches would enable them to appreciate his, and who would listen with well-prepared minds to his instructions.

There was one topic in the president's address in reference to which I feel authorized to promise the coöperation of the men of science of the United States, — I mean the simultaneous observation of magnetic and meteorological phenomena. The efforts made in this kingdom and on the continent of Europe for the establishment of a series of observations of this kind have been cordially seconded in America. I have myself had the pleasure of putting into the hands of Sir John Herschel the observations made at Cambridge, in New England. I hold, too, in my hand, the answer of Professor Loomis, of New York, to the circular of Colonel Sabine, which contains a sentence or two so apposite, that I think the company will be pleased to hear an extract.

"We want a chain of meteorological posts extending indefinitely northward from the great lakes across the British possessions. There is nothing which would hold out a prospect of so rich a harvest to American meteorology as the establishment of such a chain of posts; and this can only be effected through the agency of the British government. It would be desirable to have stations at intervals of one hundred miles, extending northward to the farthest outpost of civilization. Ten pounds will provide a station with instruments, and, with a little painstaking, competent men might probably be found to make the observations gratuitously. The United States are admirably situated for a grand meteorological crusade. We have here a vast territory, covered by a population all speaking the same language. We have more than a hundred observers who are now keeping registers, besides the observations at sixty military posts, mostly situated on the frontier. With a generous coöperation on the part of the British government in procuring registers from their extensive possessions north of the United States, our own observers would be inspired with new enthusiasm, and we might speedily hope for richer conquests than have been hitherto made in the domain of meteorology."

Most earnestly do I hope that an emulation on subjects such as these may rapidly increase between Great Britain and the United States, and take the place of those less amiable discussions which have lately occupied the public attention in reference to a portion of the same region which is alluded to by Professor Loomis. I beg to assure the audience, the last I shall probably have the honor of addressing in England, that if any effort in my humble sphere — any opinion or counsel of mine on either side of the water — can avail to that end, it will not be, as it has not been, withheld.

It is one of the most pleasing points of view in which the researches of modern science can be regarded, that they naturally draw the different members of the family of nations into these amicable rivalries and coöperations. It is supposed, — but, surrounded as I am by men of science, I ought to speak on such a point with diffidence and reserve, — that one of the probable results of these simultaneous observations will be, to prove that the mysterious phenomena of magnetism obey one general law throughout the globe; and that the pulsations of this incomprehensible influence are synchronous. Should this be established, it will be considered one of the most extraordinary and beautiful achievements of

modern science. But this fact, however significant and fruitful as a scientific proposition, what is it, compared with the law which regulates the action and sympathy of the intellectual world? That simultaneous action which is expected to be established in reference to the magnetic system of the globe, what is it, compared with that unity of force in the intellectual system, which makes every word uttered in one country intelligible in every other, and subjects the understandings of men all round the globe to one uniform influence of reason and truth?

I ought, perhaps, to apologize for taking up so much of the time of the company; but I own that I speak in this place with peculiar emotion. I perform the duty assigned me this evening with peculiar pleasure, assembled as we are at the university of Cambridge in England; for there is also in New England a university at Cambridge, of which I am an humble child. Whatever I am or may hope to be in this world, I owe, under Providence, as far as collegiate education is concerned, to the instructions of my transatlantic *alma mater*. I had the honor, about three years ago, at a very interesting academic festival in this place, to inform the company that the foundation stone of that Cambridge in New England was laid by one of the sons of your Cambridge, — a graduate of Emmanuel College, within whose halls we were then assembled. Sir John Herschel has spoken in impressive language of the members of this university, who, after an absence of a few years, return to the place of their education; how kindly they meet, how warmly they salute each other, with what earnestness they inform themselves of the welfare of their *alma mater* in the interval. Could that benevolent and pious individual, (John Harvard,) who, two centuries ago, laid the foundations of the American university at Cambridge, have looked forward and foreseen how it would fare at the end of two centuries with the sons of old England, who carried the Protestant religion, the laws, and language of this country across the ocean, what emotions of gratitude would have swelled his bosom! What must be my feelings, an American educated on that foundation, to be called upon

on behalf of the men of science in the United States, within the senate house of the university at Cambridge, to speak for them on an occasion of so much interest as this. I will not, gentlemen, enlarge on this topic, but conclude by proposing that the thanks of the members of the association be given to Sir John Herschel for his luminous and instructive discourse.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.*

AFTER some remarks of a personal nature, in acknowledgment of a toast proposed from the chair, Mr Everett proceeded as follows: —

But it is more than time, Mr President, that I should pass from every thing having in any degree a personal reference; and yet how, after what we have heard with delighted ears, from those who have preceded me, how can I address myself to the peculiar topics of the day? How can I, after what has been said by the most gifted among us, on this and other occasions, attempt to place the events which we this day commemorate in any new light? The sufferings of our fathers, the toils and the sacrifices by which this precious inheritance was won for us, have been so wrought into the habitual contemplations of every dutiful child of New England, that to attempt to illustrate them at the present day is to "gild refined gold and paint the lily." And yet, sir, I fear it will be found that, as far as it is possible by the torchlight of antiquarian research, to penetrate into any of the dark corners of the labyrinth of their wanderings, we shall find that if in any thing we have fallen short of the truth, it has been in not fully conceiving of the extent of their privations. Within two or three years, a more accurate research than was ever before made has been instituted by our ingenious countryman, Mr George Sumner, into the condition of the Pilgrims at Leyden; and grievous indeed it is, to find that almost

* In reply to a toast from the president of the day, (Hon. C. H. Warren,) at a public dinner at Plymouth, (Mass.,) on the 22d of December, 1845.

every alleviation of their hardships, which possessed a traditionary existence, vanishes on investigation. It does not appear, as had been supposed, that they enjoyed any special favor or protection on the part of the magistrates. The belief that one of the ancient churches of Leyden was granted to them for their worship seems to be unfounded; and almost the only positive fact, which the most laborious scrutiny has added to their history, is, that when the truly apostolic Robinson sunk prematurely under the labors and sorrows of his hard pilgrimage, the sum of nine florins (about three dollars and a half of our money) was paid for the hire of a four years' resting-place for his mortal remains. Yes, sir, for the man to whose prudence, fortitude, and Christian courage, as much as to those of any one of his associates, we owe the inheritance of this broad and beautiful New England the Old World could not afford the poor allotment of a permanent grave!

No, sir, the condition of the Pilgrims at Leyden, with the exception of their freedom of conscience, — a grand exception, it is true, — to them it was every thing, — was one of unmitigated severity, beneath which the elders bowed and the children pined and sunk. They had fled, under circumstances of extreme hardship, chiefly from Lincolnshire and the neighboring counties of England. Accustomed at home to agricultural pursuits, they were obliged in Holland to employ themselves, under every disadvantage, in the various handicrafts. Families in that forced emigration had been divided. Strange manners and a foreign tongue cut them off from the social charities of life. They were permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences; and yet, though they were of the class of Christians who entertained the most severe views of that simplicity which belongs to the worship of the Great Being who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, yet they were *men*, and they must have thought with yearning hearts of the time-hallowed churches of their native land. No part of England more abounds in them, than the counties from which the fugitives at Leyden chiefly came; and among them all, I might say

among the parish churches of England, there is not a finer than the church at Boston, almost a cathedral in size, and unsurpassed by any of its class in the beauty of its architecture. I went many miles out of my way to behold this venerable pile; and while I mused beneath its arches, ascended its grand tower, and stood before the altar at which Cotton ministered, (whose blood flows in the veins of my own children,) I gained new impressions of the Christian heroism, the spiritual grandeur of the men who turned their backs on all this sacred grandeur and beauty, as well as on all the comforts and delights of civilized life, that they might freely worship God in cabins and garrets, under exile and penury in the Old World, and in face of the gaunt terrors of this unsubdued wilderness.

It would, of course, be of all tasks the most superfluous, to undertake, in a company like this, to eulogize or defend the Pilgrims. You would all cry out, *Quis vituperavit?* It is, however, undoubtedly true, that among many persons on either side of the Atlantic, who have but a general knowledge of the history and literature of the time, they are regarded merely as one of the extravagant sects which sprung up in the sixteenth century. Many, no doubt, see only in the followers of Robinson those Brownists of whom Lord Bacon says, "that when they were at the most, they were a very small number of very silly and base people, here and there in corners dispersed, and now, thanks be to God, and the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out." Even the kind-hearted Shakspeare, whose page has distilled a drop of bitterness for no other class of his contemporaries, jeers at the Puritans. These and other lower authorities, uniting with polemic partiality, have led many persons to regard the Pilgrims as a handful of impracticable fanatics, endangering the state by doubtful allegiance, and disturbing the church by indecent extravagancies. A most unjust and erroneous view! In one aspect, as you, sir, have correctly stated, they were the heirs and representatives of the bold barons of Runnymede, animated by the same spirit, and pursuing a kindred object; and even in reference to their distinct

and characteristic peculiarities, it is capable, I think, of proof from the history of the times, that before the separation of the non-conformists from the church, their principles were probably held by a majority of the Protestants of England; and that after the separation, in the class to which the fathers of New England belonged, there was a fair share of the education and learning of the time. Not only so, but in the middle, if not in the higher classes, and in proportion to their numbers, there was a fair share of the wealth and respectability of the kingdom. Their ministers and leading men were educated at the English universities in the divinity and philosophy of the day; and in reference to that part of learning which best shows good taste and good sense, — the knowledge of one's mother tongue, — if there is, in all the literature of the age of the Pilgrims, including the works of Lord Bacon himself, a finer piece of composition than Robinson's farewell address, I must own myself unacquainted with it. Recent research has, in some degree, shaken its authenticity, as the production of Robinson, in its present form. But it was of course written, if not by him, by one of his disciples or followers. As for his spirit and temper, which in all events it faithfully represents, it is so far before his age, that it would be idle to institute the comparison.

There is another thing to be borne in mind, to the lasting honor of our fathers — that they stood, from first to last, on the foundation of the constitutional liberties of England. The persecutions they suffered were legal only in name. The hardships which drove them from England were not in accordance with the analogy of the ancient law of the realm, either as to the substance of the enactments or the mode of enforcing them. Judges and juries were, in those days, far from affording adequate protection to the subject in any struggle with the crown; but it was neither judge nor jury by which such men as Robinson, and Brewster, and Carver, and Bradford, were driven from England. It was that detestable Court of High Commission, of which Burleigh himself said that "their interrogatories were so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that he thought

the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend or entrap their preys." There is not one of the acts for which the fathers of New England were dragged from prison to prison, and driven into an exile, into which, at the same time, it was made as hard as possible for them to escape, for which a man at the present day could be fined a shilling. And however unimportant we may think some of the practices and ceremonies against which they waged their strenuous warfare, they are matters now generally admitted, in Protestant countries, to be rightful matters of private judgment, in which the state has no concern. That they are so admitted, — that this great battle for freedom of conscience has been fought and won, — is distinctly and historically traceable to the resolution and courage of the Puritans.

Nor was it won for themselves alone. We must not think the benefit of this victory is confined even to Protestants in England or elsewhere. Paradoxical as it may sound, Catholic emancipation in Great Britain is the late, but the necessary and natural consequence of their principles; and not the less so because unforeseen by themselves. Such a truth, once established, is established for all sects, for all nations, and for all time. The tide must rise on both sides of the channel. Those great doctrines of religious freedom, which made it impossible to rekindle the fires of Smithfield, made it equally impossible that the same fires should blaze at Lisbon and Madrid. Beaten down or unsustained at every other forum, in every other field, imperfectly applied by themselves, this great right was fought into a substantial existence by the Puritans; and to them it is mainly owing that not the Protestant Saxon countries alone, but the Latin states of the south of Europe, have been delivered out of that open hell of persecution which raged in the sixteenth century.

Nor was it merely as the assertors of religious freedom that the Pilgrim fathers are entitled to our gratitude. What did Hume mean, when he said that "the absurdities of the Puritans were the shelter of liberty"? and a graver authority than Hume on such a question, (Mr Hallam,) that "the stern and exasperated Puritans were the depositaries of the sacred

fire of liberty"? What volumes of eulogy are written in these words! It is not liberty in the abstract that is meant; no closet theory. It is not the liberty of their own neglected colonial establishments to which these distinguished writers refer. It is the ancient constitutional liberty of England, which, in the hour of its peril, was preserved by the Puritans.

Even in the relations of the colonial governments to the crown, I believe the indomitable spirit which the Pilgrims brought to America, and propagated here, was of inestimable service to the cause of constitutional liberty in England. The rule of distant colonies is at best an anomaly in a free state. If it is a military despotism, it is so by confession; and even when founded on charters which assume the character of constitutions, when we consider the necessary relations of the colonial authorities to the governments on which they depend, and to which they are responsible, on the one hand, and to the people over whom they are placed, on the other hand, it is obvious that the leaning, if unresisted, must be to prerogative rather than right. The struggle was not, perhaps, of sufficient magnitude, in the seventeenth century, to act with distinct effect on the government of the mother country, convulsed, as it was, by domestic causes, for a great part of that period; but I am convinced that, from the time things settled down after the revolution of 1688, the steady pressure of colonial affairs on the ministry and privy council must have had an excellent effect in keeping their attention fixed upon the great constitutional landmarks. When, in the latter half of the last century, the great revolutionary crisis drew on, it was felt and admitted by the liberal statesmen of the day — some of the greatest and most sagacious men that England has ever produced — that the colonies were fighting the battles of English liberty. "In order to prove," says Burke, "that the colonies have no right to their liberties, we are every day subverting the maxims which preserve the spirit of our own." Lord Chatham, from the first, compared the opposition to American taxation with the resistance to ship-money and the other illegal impositions of Charles I.

He declares that he knows not how many of the living are willing to join him in maintaining with their blood the principles of American freedom, but that from the dead he could call up a host innumerable; and he adds, "My lords, at this day there are many sound, substantial, and honest whigs who ought and who will consider the American controversy as a common cause." Can any one at this day doubt that it should be so regarded? Does any one of any party believe that if this war, literally waged by the crown against the people of America, had been pushed to a triumphant issue, the cause of free principles, of ministerial responsibility, and of wise reform would have stood where it now does in England? No one can think it. The colonies had reached a point when separation was inevitable; their growth in numbers, population, intellectual improvement, and self-respect, made the separation necessary. Humanity must deplore that this great national consummation could not have been brought about without the waste of treasure and blood; but no one can doubt that as a struggle for constitutional principles, the result of the contest was as beneficial to England as to America. I say nothing, of course, in this connection, of the commercial advantages resulting from our independence — a hundred fold beyond any thing to have been hoped from colonial taxation.

But I have taken up, to the full, the time which falls to my share, in a company containing so many to whom we would all gladly listen. I will only add the expression of my satisfaction, that there is present so large a representation of the sons of New England from other states. They will feel with peculiar force that the character of the Pilgrims is a precious inheritance for United America. I rejoice to believe that this feeling is not confined to their descendants. Our earlier and our later history contains the record of eventful scenes, in which all the various elements of the national character have been happily felt, in the vigor and temper of the public councils. Different as they were in the causes and principles of their colonization, it would be easy to show, without a stretch of ingenuity, that the three great classes of

settlements — the southern, the northern, and the central — have afforded to each other strength, consideration, and stability; that, in human probability, they could not have stood and prospered — certainly not to the same extent — alone. In the great revolutionary and constitutional crises, the harmonious action of old Virginia and old Massachusetts, and the groups of states that followed their lead respectively, was the ark of our safety. Since those eventful days, another great sectional interest has been added to the Union in the west, carrying with it the principles both of contrast and assimilation which exist in the older states. The historian of America (Mr Bancroft) calculates that one third part of all its citizens, however dispersed, are of Pilgrim descent. May we not, without partiality, say, that to whatever portion of the common inheritance they are called, they will have no reason to be ashamed of their origin; and that the warmest local patriotism can form no wish more auspicious for the younger members of the republic, than that they may grow up on the good old foundation, to which this day and this spot are sacred?

The natural products of the earth vary with its latitudes, and every climate has its growth. There is but one soil on which national prosperity and greatness can flourish, and that is the soil of justice and truth. The hand that conducted the Mayflower across the pathless wilderness of waters, is the only hand which can with safety guide the caravan which, laden with the destinies of future states, is even now winding its way across the desert to the rocky portals of the western mountains.

I do not mean, Mr President, to indulge in extravagant eulogy. I am not blind to the imperfections of the Pilgrims. I mourn especially that they did not recognize in others the rights which they asserted for themselves. I deplore their faults, though the faults of the age. I am grieved that in pursuing the simplicity and purity of the gospel, they could not have imbibed more of its lovely meekness. But so often as I revert to this painful contemplation, I am checked by the doubt, whether the great work could have been done

by softer instruments. I doubt whether we have a right, living as we do in ease and luxury, to take for granted that this heavy burden could have been borne by more delicate frames and gentler tempers. By their fruits ye shall know them. Not by the graceful foliage which dallies with the summer breeze, not by the flower which fades away with the perfume which it scatters on the gale, — but by the golden, perfect fruit, in which the mysterious life of the plant is garnered up, which the genial earth and the kindling sun have ripened into the refreshment and food of man, and which, even when it perishes, leaves behind it the germs of continued and multiplying existence.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.*

The institution under whose auspices we are assembled is considerably the oldest of the kind in the United States, and is probably the oldest establishment for secular education on the western continent. Its foundation was a part, very early executed, of the great work of transferring the civilization of the Anglo-Norman race to the new-found hemisphere — a work in which the first settlers of New England bore so large a share. They brought with them those forms of municipal organization in which so much of the machinery of our present republicanism lay dormant; the idea of representative government further developed than in the mother country; the general system of English jurisprudence, and especially its most characteristic feature, the trial by jury; and still more, those peculiar principles of Protestantism, which, at the time of the emigration, were struggling towards the mastery in the state, which was soon after won and lost. With these institutions and principles, — honored companions of their exile, — the civil and religious fathers of New England brought with them an affectionate attachment to the universities of their native land, and especially to the university of Cambridge, at which so many of them had been reared.† They seized the first opportunity to make provision, in the home of their pilgrimage, for the education of

* An Address delivered on occasion of the inauguration of the author as president of the University at Cambridge, on the 30th of April, 1846.

† See the result of the patient and accurate inquiries of Mr James Savage on this subject, in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. VIII. pp. 246—251.

their children on this model. To rival the majestic piles of their *alma mater* — already many of them of venerable antiquity — could not have entered even into their sanguine imaginations; but they fondly gave the name of Cambridge to this spot, which they had chosen for their infant seminary. The course of studies — limited, it must be owned — was copied, we have reason to think, from that which was pursued at the time in the parent country; and the literary honors of the newly established institution were carefully declared to be conferred "pro more academiarum Anglicarum."

As there is no institution which so directly carries us back to the cradle of New England, and connects us beyond it, by unbroken intellectual tradition, with the elder world, so we may confidently hope that there is none which is more sure to enjoy the continued sympathy of good citizens and true patriots, in all future time. Our civil and social condition, and every thing belonging to the political state of the country, have undergone changes so stupendous since our university was founded, as to lead us to admit the possibility of changes not less important hereafter. These, though we cannot define them, we must vaguely anticipate; but we have no reason to fear that, in any coming time, or under any change that awaits the material or political fortunes of the country, the great idea of an academical training of youth for the duties of life, foremost in the minds of our fathers through all the vicissitudes of two centuries, will cease to be cherished by the latest posterity. We have no reason to fear that the time will ever come when our beloved *alma mater*, who has this day gathered us into her venerable presence, will be less an object of affection and care to our children's children than she is this hour to us.

We shall not, therefore, be devoting our attention to any theme of passing interest, if we employ the hour set apart for this portion of the day's ceremonial in the consideration of the objects of a university education, as understood at this time in our ancient seminary, and in the other similarly organized American institutions. Such, in fact, seems to be the most appropriate topic of discourse on the present occasion.

It must be observed, however, in the outset, that it is the subject rather for an elaborate treatise than for an occasional address. I can hope only to glance at the leading points of a discussion which volumes would be insufficient to exhaust.

The constitution of the commonwealth, in a chapter exclusively appropriated to the subject, bestows the name of the "University at Cambridge" on our venerable foundation. This word "university" has been variously applied to places of education. In France, under the empire, — and in this respect the system is unchanged, — it was used to denote the aggregate of all the schools and academies in the kingdom. The term was employed in a similar acceptation in New York, at a still earlier period,* and is so used, I believe, in some other of the states of our Union. In most of the other countries of the continent of Europe, particularly in that whose universities are most numerous and prosperous, — I mean Germany, — the universities are professional schools. They are resorted to by young men, after receiving their academical education at institutions of various name, — lyceum, gymnasium, or college, — for the purpose of studying the three learned professions, usually so designated, with an addition in the German universities, and perhaps in others, with which I am less acquainted, of a fourth faculty, called the "Philosophical," in which are included the branches of classical, historical, and general literature, adapted to the academic career, or to an education for the public service, or to a life of liberal leisure.

The English universities, originally founded or early modelled† on a monastic type, and retaining an intimate connection with the established church, are nevertheless mainly academical institutions, of a very peculiar character, however,

* The "Regents of the University of the State of New York" were established by charter in 1784.

† I state this point in the alternative, as it is one of some controversy as a matter of antiquarian detail. The works of Meiners on the German universities, and Hüber's late work on the English universities, translated by Professor Newman, can be consulted.

as compared with others of the same name. They consist respectively of an aggregate of several colleges, each of which is a seminary by itself, varying greatly as to the means of carrying on the work of education; but all united, for certain purposes, into one confederate body, and subject to one academical jurisdiction. The education they afford is classical, mathematical, and philosophical; that is, academical, serving as the supplement to that received at school, and as preparatory to professional studies.

Such, also, is the character of our own university, as far as the collegiate portion of it is concerned. The average age of those resorting to it falls, perhaps, a little short of that of the students of the English universities, but the range of study is not, I think, materially lower.*

Till after the close of the revolutionary war, our university was a place almost exclusively for academical education. Not long after that period, a medical school was established at Cambridge, in close connection with the university; the theological school was founded at a somewhat later period; and about the same time the foundations were laid of the law school, which, within a few years, has risen to its present respectability and importance, and to which I cannot make even this passing allusion without bearing my humble testimony to the eminent talent, the indefatigable exertions, and genial influence of the illustrious jurist and magistrate (Mr Justice Story) whose loss the university, in common with the country at large, has been so recently called to deplore.

The university at Cambridge accordingly now consists of two parts — the academical and the professional — affording the means of a complete education for all the liberal pursuits of life, according to the standard of our age and country, and the requirements of the society in which we live, as they have hitherto been understood at our higher seminaries of education. It is a question well worthy to be entertained,

* The average age of one hundred and four individuals who have entered Harvard College the present academic year (1845—6) is seventeen and a half years.

whether the time is not arrived when a considerable expansion may be given to our system, of a twofold character; first, by establishing a philosophical faculty, in which the various branches of science and literature should be cultivated, beyond the limits of an academical course, with a view to a complete liberal education, and secondly, by organizing a school of theoretical and practical science, for the purpose especially of teaching its application to the arts of life, and of furnishing a supply of skilful engineers, and of persons well qualified to explore and bring to light the inexhaustible natural treasures of the country, and to guide its vast industrial energies in their rapid development.

These, however, are topics on which it would be out of place to enlarge on this occasion; and in what I have further to say in this address, I have in view not the later professional additions which have been made to our establishment, but the general system of academical training, which, modified and improved from age to age, constitutes its broad foundation. In this understanding of the term, the objects of a University Education appear to be —

I. The acquisition of knowledge in the various branches of science and literature, as a general preparation for the learned professions and the other liberal pursuits of life;

II. In the process of acquiring this knowledge, the exercise and development of the intellectual faculties, as a still more important part of the great business of preparation; and

III. The formation of a pure and manly character, exhibiting that union of moral and intellectual qualities which most commands confidence, respect, and love.

A few words on each of these topics are all that the limits of the occasion will admit.

I must first observe that, in defining the objects of a university education, I have omitted one which ought, as I think, to find a place in every complete system of generous training; I mean that of exercising our physical powers, with a view to health and strength, to the improvement of the senses, and the cultivation of the tastes and accomplishments which depend upon them, and to the more effectual attain-

ment of what heathen wisdom considered one of the first objects of prayer — the blessing of a sound mind in a sound body. I omit the consideration of this subject, not because I undervalue its importance, but because I cannot think that such a revolution in manners and opinion will soon take place, as to give to physical education in our colleges any thing like the degree of attention which it deserves. I cannot, however, but propose it as a question well deserving more consideration than is usually given it, whether regular provision ought not to be made, at our schools and colleges, for such kinds and degrees of manly and generous exercise as would most conduce to health and strength, and best develop and strengthen all the wonderful capacities of the human frame. There can be no doubt, that, for the want of these exercises, and from the neglect of the other conditions on which the enjoyment of health depends, the foundations are in many cases early laid of the diseases which condemn so many of the educated classes to a suffering and comparatively ineffective career, and to premature decline. We dig our own graves in youth.

A celebrated German philosopher (Herder) has thrown out the idea, that possibly new senses may lie dormant in our frames for want of judicious training, which may be unfolded in some higher state of being.* This is, of course, but fanciful speculation; but no one can doubt that those senses which most men possess in some degree, and which, even in savage life, attain extraordinary acuteness, might be rendered, in all men not wholly destitute of them by nature or the effect of disease, much more vigorous, keen, and delicate. Beginning with the great laws of health, — and particularly with the divine law of temperance, in its widest comprehension, — it would, no doubt, be possible to pursue a course, by which most men might attain a much more symmetrical bodily development, and be made comparatively indifferent to the elements; by which sight, and hearing, and touch would

* Herder's *Philosophy of History*, Book IV. Chap. III. and Book V. Chap. VI.

be rendered greatly more acute; by which the susceptibility to music would be increased, and become more common; the perception of the beauties of art and nature be quickened; and a far more intimate relation than now exists be established between man and the world around him. Milton seems to have had this now neglected part of discipline in view, when, in his Tractate to Master Samuel Hartlib, he recommends that his seminaries should be in the country, and that the young men should be early habituated to every species of military* and gymnastic exercise; and when he pronounces it, "in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, an injury and sullenness against Nature, not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth."

But passing over this topic, however important, as not falling distinctly within the purview of the present occasion, the first object of our universities is, as I have observed, to furnish the means of obtaining a great amount of knowledge, in science and literature, as a preparation for the learned professions and the other liberal pursuits of life. This, though erroneously regarded by many persons as the exclusive object to be pursued at a place of education, is the first in the order of ideas, and is of great and undoubted importance. Some knowledge of the usual branches of academic learning, to be acquired at a place of education or by private study, is admitted to be necessary for the comprehension of the text-books and elementary treatises of the professions, and for a creditable entrance on their active duties, especially as far as the great art of communication is concerned. Observation and experience show, not, certainly, that there is a constant proportion, but that there is a general correspondence, between the extent and accuracy of this acquaintance, and the efficiency, grace, and success with which the professional duties of after life will be performed. While numerous brilliant

* In proposing a military organization for his schools, Milton was probably influenced by the state of England at the time this treatise was written, which was in 1644.

exceptions prove that the knowledge acquired in youth, at seats of learning, is not the indispensable condition of subsequent professional eminence, the general consent of mankind has decided it to be the most fitting and hopeful preparation; and there is no one, probably, in this assembly but will admit the justice as well as the beauty of the terms in which Cicero has described the relative importance of natural capacity and learned discipline: "Ego multos homines excellenti animo et virtute fuisse, et sine doctrinâ, naturæ ipsius habitu prope divino, per seipsos et moderatos et graves extitisse fateor. Etiam illud adjungo, sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrinâ quam sine naturâ valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam confirmatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere." *

Whatever reproaches may at some periods and in other countries have been cast upon university education, as not being directed to acquirements which form a real and efficient preparation for the duties of life, I think it must be allowed that our *alma mater* is free from the censure, and the same credit is due to the other well-conducted American seminaries. Our course of studies has, by gradual adaptation, been made to conform to the condition and wants of the country and the age. Besides the principles of natural religion and the evidences of Christianity, it includes thorough instruction in the learned languages, usually so called, and in their criticism; in the five leading modern tongues and their literature, (for which provision has been made at Harvard within the last twenty years, more ample, I believe, than exists at any other seminary, English or American;) in the various branches of the pure and mixed mathematics, and in all the great divisions of natural history; in intellectual philosophy; in the leading departments of moral science, including political economy; in ancient and modern history; and in the use of our own language in all the forms of the written and spoken word. This instruction is given by faithful and accomplished

* *Pro Archia Poeta*, Cap. IV.

teachers, aided by libraries, cabinets, and every other kind of scientific apparatus, guiding their pupils in the use of the best text-books, and making them acquainted with the present state and the most recent improvements of the progressive branches of knowledge. It is plain that in such a course there is nothing wanting to a complete and finished system of academical instruction, as preparatory to any of the liberal pursuits of life. The objection lies rather in the other direction, namely, that the student is taken over more ground in a short time than he is able thoroughly to explore; and that, of the branches of study to which his attention is called, all cannot be equally important for the future uses of life in its various callings.

These difficulties are really serious, and among those with which it is hardest to deal. They are the direct opposite of those which were felt under the ancient systems of education, in which what Lord Bacon calls the professory branches* — principally the divinity, rhetoric, and logic of the schools — were exclusively taught; and as far as the attainment of useful knowledge goes, scarce any thing was done in the way of direct preparation for the secular callings of life. In striving to remove this objection, our seminaries have perhaps gone to the other extreme. They have so multiplied the list of academical studies, that, in the period of four years assigned to the collegiate course, — with the usual allowance for vacations, — three months is the aggregate of the time which would be given to any one branch, if equal attention were paid to all, reckoning the two ancient languages but as one study, and the modern languages as another.

* "Neque rursus silentio prætermittendum est hanc collegiorum et societatum in usum tantummodo doctrinæ professoriæ dedicationem non solum scientiarum incrementis inimicam fuisse, sed etiam in regnorum et rerumpublicarum detrimentum cessisse. Hinc enim fieri solet, ut principes delectum habituri ministrorum, qui rebus civilibus tractandis sint idonei, ejusmodi hominum miram solitudinem circa se reperiant; propterea quod non habeatur educatio aliqua collegiata in hos usus destinata, ubi scilicet homines a natura ad hoc facti et comparati (præter artes alias) historiæ, linguis modernis, libris et tractatibus politicis præcipue incumbant, et inde ad civilia munera magis habiles et instructi accedant." — Lord Bacon, *De Augment. Scient.* II. Præf.

It is, however, to be borne in mind, that as the student comes to the university with several years of preparation in some of the studies, so it is expected of him, while there, only to extend the acquaintance which he has formed with them, and to lay a good foundation in the rest. It is, of course, a popular error of the crudest kind to suppose that any one branch of study is to be exhausted at a place of education. There is not a department of learning pursued at our universities, which has not given, and is not giving, ample employment for their whole time to men of diligence and capacity. All that academical education proposes is to aid and encourage the student in the further prosecution of the studies commenced at school, and to introduce him successfully to those reserved for college. With respect to both, he will indeed make greater or less progress, according to the maturity of his mind and the vigor with which it is applied ; but with respect to neither can he do more than put himself in condition to make such further advances as necessity, interest, or inclination may dictate. Although it is a matter of constant regret to the faithful instructer that he can command so little of the time of the student for any one branch, yet, little as it is, it will, when faithfully employed, not be found inadequate to the purposes now indicated. It is, however, greatly to be wished that the means could be found of wholly relieving the academic course of a portion of the studies now included in it, with a view to their being pursued more advantageously at an advanced stage, under some new department organized for that purpose.

The difficulty under any such change would, however, still remain, that the general academic course must embrace studies not equally useful in all professions, nor equally congenial to all tastes, and therefore not likely to be hereafter pursued either from interest or inclination. From this cause it may result, — in point of fact, the complaint is often made, — that much time is spent at school and in college in the pursuit of studies not afterwards turned to valuable account. It may be observed, however, that this complaint, at the worst, applies only to the various studies as means of acquir-

ing useful knowledge, and does not pertain to the other and still more important object of education, to which we are presently to advert, namely, the training of the intellectual faculties. A complaint nearly similar might be made of the waste of the time employed in bodily exercise. No actual profit attends any of the healthful exercises of youth; nor is there any direct preparation for professional duties and business pursuits in walking, riding, swimming, rowing, or in any other athletic and invigorating sport. It never was required, that a man who wished to exercise his limbs and stir his blood should place himself on a treadmill which gives motion to some useful machine. In this respect, the gymnastics of the mind stand on as good a footing as those of the body.

But we have not in this institution rested satisfied with this solution of the difficulty. Recognizing a marked diversity in the taste and capacity of individuals, and in the various pursuits which it leads them to adopt, and perceiving, at the same time, the pressure made in some cases upon the time and faculties of the learner by dividing his attention among the whole circle of studies, the elective system has within a few years been introduced among us, which, under the proper reservations, affords the student a choice of those studies deemed most likely to promote views of future usefulness, or to fall in with the present taste or bent of the faculties. The theory of this system seems reasonable; it has, however, been introduced since my own academical experience terminated, and I have had as yet no means of forming an opinion for myself of its practical operation.

When all has been done in this way that can with any safety be admitted in places of education, where due consideration must be had of the uncertainty of future pursuit, and where the present indications of taste are immature and often doubtful, there will, no doubt, hereafter, as heretofore, be cases of persons — they may be a considerable proportion of those educated at our universities — who complain that their youth was passed in studies which have afterwards yielded no fruit. But the true ground of complaint ought generally, I suspect, to be rather a matter of self-reproach. It is not that the

studies pursued at the university are of no use in life, but that we make no use of them. The Latin and Greek — to instance in these branches — are indeed often thrown aside as useless; but is the lawyer, the statesman, the preacher, the medical practitioner or teacher, quite sure that there is no advantage to be derived in his peculiar pursuit from these neglected studies, either in the way of knowledge directly useful, collateral information, or graceful ornament? Is not the fault in ourselves? We have laid a foundation which we neglect to build upon, and we complain that the foundation is useless. We learn the elements, and, neglecting to pursue them, we querulously repeat that the elements are little worth. We devote years at school and college to the study of languages, till we are just able to begin to use them for their chief end, the reading of good books written in them; and after a life passed without opening a Greek or Latin author, during which time what we knew of the languages has gradually oozed from our minds, we reflect with discontent, if not with bitterness, on the loss of time devoted in youth to what we stigmatize as useless studies.

On the other hand, I am quite confident that the young man who should, while at school and at the university, diligently pursue the study of the ancient languages, (which I name again as the branch of academical learning most apt to be abandoned as useless,) who, on quitting college, instead of turning his back on the great writers with whom he had formed some acquaintance, — on Homer, on Thucydides, on Plato, on Demosthenes, on the great Attic tragedians, on the classic authors of Rome, — should regularly devote but a small part of the day, a single hour, to their continued perusal, would, at the meridian, and still more in the decline of life, experience and admit that, both for instruction and pleasure, these authors were some of the best, the most useful, of his reading; that, if in public life, he addressed juries and senates better, after refreshing his recollection with the manner in which Demosthenes handled a legal argument or swayed a deliberative assembly; that the Iliad and the Odyssey bore a reperusal as well as Childe Harold or Marmion,

(without disparaging Byron or Scott;) that the glimpses into the heart of ancient Oriental life which we obtain from Xenophon's historical romance (a work which such a man as Scipio Africanus never wished to have out of his hands*) are as trustworthy and interesting as the vapid changes rung in modern works of imagination on contemporary fashionable life in England; in a word, that the literature which has stood the test of twenty centuries is as profitable as the "cheap literature" of the day, — if that can be called "cheap," in any sense of the term, which begins by costing a man his eyesight, and, if it have any influence, must, much of it, end in depraving his taste and subverting his morals.

But it is more than time to emerge into a higher sphere, and to turn to our second topic of remark, namely, the exercise and development of the faculties of the mind as a great object of liberal education, — an object not only distinct from the acquisition of useful knowledge, but far more important. Of the great work of intellectual preparation, which forms so important a part of the economy of our natures, this is the most momentous portion. The knowledge to be acquired at the university may be, and sometimes is, attained at a later period, by private study; but the loss of these four precious, impressible years in the discipline of the understanding is far less easily retrieved. The efficacy of a well-conducted university education in this respect is not sufficiently considered; and in confounding, in a vague way, the acquisition of knowledge in the usual branches of study with the general formation and training of the faculties, erroneous conclusions are formed, both as to the value of particular branches of study and of a liberal education in general.

It is, perhaps, the general opinion that, as a man, in the course of nature, and without any particular discipline for that purpose, grows up to the possession of all the usual faculties of the body, according to his natural organization, he will, in like manner, and without any discipline to that end, grow up to the possession of all the great intellectual facul-

* Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* Lib. II. c. 26.

ties of a rational being; that he will find himself, at the age of manhood, endowed with the powers of reason and of judgment, as surely as he will of sight, hearing, and taste.

We have already observed that the first part of the proposition needs some qualification, in reference even to the corporeal powers. In every thing which touches the grand mystery of the mind, it becomes us to speak with twofold caution; but I am disposed to think that the more we meditate on the subject, the more we shall incline to the conclusion that the mental faculties are in some very peculiar manner modified, strengthened, and perfected by discipline. The great cardinal powers of attention, perception, memory, judgment, abstraction, and imagination, seem to be — not all indeed to the same degree, nor equally in all men, but all of them to a great degree in all men — dependent for their growth and power on culture.* This, in fact, as has often been observed, is the chief difference between the instinct of brutes and the reason of man. The powers of instinct, admirable as they are, appear to exist, if not to the same degree in each individual of the species or variety, at least to the same degree in the successive generations. The lower animals have little power of self-improvement, still less of deriving benefit from the experience of others of the same race, and but a limited capacity of being trained by the superior intelligence of man. The human intellect, on the other hand, appears to be given us by the great Author of our being as a principle of boundless capacity, susceptible of unlimited improvement in the individual, and of being carried, in the steady progress of successive generations, to a point of perfection hitherto undefined and probably indefinite. Or if the laws of our compound nature impose any limits on the progress of the mind in the present sphere of existence, — a proposition much more easy to take for granted than to establish by conclusive arguments, — we have abundant reason to

* "The power of reflection, it is well known, is the last of our intellectual faculties that unfolds itself, *and in by far the greater number of individuals it never unfolds itself in any considerable degree.*" — *Stewart's Diss.* Introd. Part I. ch. 2, p. 110, Camb. ed

conclude, from all we know of its nature, that it is designed and adapted to a higher stage of being, where it will enter on a career of improvement absolutely without measure.

Now, it is the object of university education to carry on this great work — already commenced at the fireside and at school — of forming and developing by wise discipline the various mental powers; not merely to teach the meaning of a few thousand words in the ancient and modern languages, or to impart a critical acquaintance with their authors; not alone to afford a knowledge of the elementary truths of science, or of the facts by which they are illustrated, nor of the speculations of ingenious men on the philosophy of the mind; but in a well-conducted and earnest study of these and other branches, to train to the highest attainable degree of method, promptness, and vigor, the faculties by which they are pursued.

Hence the importance of the choice of the studies which form the principal occupation at seminaries of learning. Are they, in themselves, and in the mode of pursuing them, well adapted thus to form and develop the faculties? Are they well calculated to train the mind to its highest perfection, and to give a generous expansion to the whole intellectual nature, or to cramp and enervate it? This evidently is a question of vast interest. The popular views of the history of the human mind ascribe its narrow range in the ancient world, its pause at the very threshold of some of the most important branches of human inquiry, and the deplorable decline and retrocession of philosophy, which existed during a thousand years, to the false logic early adopted in Greece, and cultivated with superstitious rigor in the middle ages. If the attainments of the pupil are a test of the method of the master, we may doubt the justice of ascribing effects like these to the system of the illustrious philosopher, who trained his pupil, the son of a petty mountain prince in the north of Greece, to go forth to the conquest of the world at the period of its greatest refinement in antiquity, and to found an empire, of which the influence has been felt in the fortunes of our race in all subsequent time. I am disposed to think that

the intellectual phenomena of the dark ages are to be ascribed to remoter causes than the influence of a false logic; that they belong to some secular fluctuation of the great ocean of human fortune, to be referred, perhaps, to laws beyond the grasp of our powers of observation. But no one can doubt that, at any given stage of progress, the degree to which the general intellect of the community will be cultivated, and superior minds trained to the highest point of improvement, will depend almost entirely on the manner in which the forming years of life are passed at the places of education.

It would be manifestly impossible, on an occasion like this, to enter with advantage into the comparison of the two general classes of studies, — the classical and mathematical, — whose relative value as a discipline of the mind is one of the most important practical inquiries connected with education. The American seminaries, I believe, generally — certainly our own has done it — have aimed at a practical solution of a question, often disputed with acrimony, by allotting a proportionate share of attention to both these departments. In this way, instead of jealous rivals, they become the most efficient auxiliaries of each other. That there is something in the study of language extremely congenial to the mental powers of most men is sufficiently shown in the almost miraculous facility with which, even in infancy, the vast circle of a language is substantially mastered. On the other hand, the signs of thought are so intimately associated with thought itself, that the study of language in its highest form is the study of the processes of pure intellect.* In the study of foreign and the ancient languages, and in the various departments of literature connected with their criticism, and that of our native tongue, several of the mental faculties find

* Great caution, however, is required, in the pursuit of this department of the study of language, not to be led astray by ingenious speculations, like those of the "Diversions of Purley," which there is a disposition in some quarters to revive. They appear to me, in the main, obnoxious to the censures passed on them by Stewart, in the fifth of his *Philosophical Essays*, p. 201. Mr Stewart's estimate of the value of *etymology* was, however, perhaps too low.

almost exclusively their appropriate exercise. This is the region of poetry, eloquence, and wit. Not that the study of language is sure to make a poet or an orator; though many of the most eminent of either class have notoriously trained their faculties in that school, from Demosthenes to Milton. But it is almost exclusively the study of language which enables us to enjoy these divine arts of poetry and eloquence, as far as other tongues are concerned, — for poetry and eloquence are nearly untranslatable, — and to some extent, also, as far as concerns our own. By this we are elevated to a sympathy with the most gifted minds, and become, in some degree, partakers of their inspiration.

There is, undoubtedly, a department of poetry and eloquence which appeals to the deep master passions of our common humanity, and is felt and enjoyed by the uncultivated mind. But as this appeal must be made through the medium of language, it would seem that he who is most conversant with its powers — other things being equal — would be best able both to produce and enjoy its effects. The simple airs, which, though rudely performed, touch the untutored ear, are woven by the consummate musician into a strain which affords an exquisite pleasure to a refined taste.

So, too, there are breathings of the poetical and oratorical spirit which find utterance even in barbarous life, although what is called the poetry and eloquence of the savage is generally that of his civilized reporter. We are apt to confound conditions and relations from which the materials of poetry may be drawn, with the power to produce and enjoy it. But with the largest admission of the authenticity of the specimens of poetry and eloquence attributed to uncivilized tribes, the difference between them and the Oration for the Crown or Paradise Lost is not less than that which exists between a well-contrived wigwam and the Parthenon or Westminster Abbey. To appreciate and feel this difference, — in other words, to comprehend some of the higher elements of our civilization, — belongs to the study of languages, and a taste for the literature of which they are the vehicle.

But in thus commending the classical studies as a disci-

pline of the mind, I am far from being insensible to the value of the exact and the moral sciences. Our system holds them in equal respect as means to the same great end; and ascribes to them equal importance as branches or parts of an academical system. Rejecting all controversy as to the comparative merits of different departments of knowledge, we make provision for a sound and thorough instruction in each. We receive it as a fact, that some minds are so constituted as absolutely to require for their nurture the severe logic of the abstract sciences; that rigorous sequence of ideas which leads from the premises to the conclusion, by a path, arduous and narrow, it may be, and which the youthful reason may find it hard to mount, but where it cannot stray; and on which, if it move at all, it must move onward and upward. We believe that minds of this description, if confined to classical studies, would not only make no valuable progress in them, but would, perhaps, be prevented from making generous advances in fields of inquiry of another kind, equally broad and useful.

Even for intellects of a different character, whose natural aptitude is for moral evidence and those relations of ideas which are perceived and appreciated by taste, the study of the exact sciences may be recommended as the best protection against the errors into which they are most likely to fall. Although the study of language is in many respects no mean exercise of logic, yet it must be admitted that an eminently accurate practical mind is hardly to be formed without mathematical training.* It has accordingly been observed in

* It is a matter of some curiosity to learn the views entertained by a man like Cromwell on the subject of practical education. "I would have my son mind and understand business, read a little history, study the mathematics and cosmography; these are good, with subordination to the things of God. Better than idleness, or mere outward worldly contents. These fit for public services, for which a man is born." From a letter written on shipboard, on his way to Ireland, August 13th, 1649. This refers, however, not to school or college education, but to the manner in which he wished his son, now married and living in the country, to pass his time. — *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, bv Thomas Carlyle, New York ed. Vol. I. p. 371.

England of the study of the law, — though the acquisition of the most difficult parts of its learning, with the interpretation of laws, the comparison of authorities, and the construction of instruments, would seem to require philological and critical training; though the weighing of evidence and the investigation of probable truth belong to the province of the moral sciences, and the peculiar duties of the advocate require rhetorical skill, — yet that a large proportion of the most distinguished members of the profession has proceeded from the university (that of Cambridge) most celebrated for the cultivation of mathematical studies.

There are some departments of exact science which must be regarded as forming the grandest study of which the mind is capable, and as eminently calculated, for this reason, to give it strength and elevation. The vastness and multitude of the heavenly bodies, which form, for instance, the subject of astronomy, — bodies which the highest calculus is as little able to number and weigh as the humblest arithmetic; the grandeur of the laws which it discloses and applies; the boundless distances which it spans; the periods, all but eternal, which it estimates, — impart a solemnity to this branch of science, which lifts the soul to the heavens. It is, indeed, the glory of science, in every branch, that it gives life and beauty to every thing which it touches. It has but to cast a ray of light on a drop of dew, to people it with races of alert and sportive organisms. It throws its glance upon the sap-vessels of an humble weed, and traces in them, in full flow, the silver tides of vegetable circulation. It but touches a bar of steel, and makes it beat with the pulses of that mysterious influence, which throbs simultaneously around the globe; and in language which we may well repeat, since the wit of man cannot mend it, —

> "Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

But while each and every part of knowledge, in thus giving voice to the pebble and the star, and awakening from all nature a concert of the divinest music, is directly calculated

to strengthen and elevate the mental faculties, the palm seems justly due to that grand philosophy, of which faint glimpses were caught by the early sages of Greece, of which the foundations were nobly strengthened and enlarged by the successive discoveries and labors of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo, and on which Newton at last, with the rarest mixture of qualities which the world has witnessed, — now shrinking with a childlike humility from his own discoveries, now scaling the heavens with the Titanic boldness of his generalizations, — was enabled to establish the system of the universe.

And thus we are naturally brought to the consideration of the last object of a liberal education, and one which I most unwillingly dismiss with a far briefer notice than its importance merits. We have thus far considered it as designed, in the first place, to furnish an ample store of useful knowledge, by way of preparation for the duties of life, and secondly as intended to unfold and exercise the mental powers. But these objects, important as they certainly are, and filling in their attainment too often the highest ambition of parents and children, are in reality but little worth, if unaccompanied by the most precious endowment of our fallen nature, a pure and generous spirit, warmed by kind affection, governed by moral principle, and habitually influenced by motives and hopes that look forward into eternity. It is the first duty and the highest merit of a place of education, of whatever name or character, — school or college, academical or professional, — to unite with all its other working an effort towards the formation of such a character.

Happily this object is in the strictest harmony with all the other objects of a place of education. Although it cannot certainly be maintained, that, in the character of every individual, the moral qualities are sure to keep pace with the intellectual, it may be safely asserted, that the general and final tendency of intellectual culture is moral, though capable of being counteracted, and that for periods in human history of long duration, by adverse influences; that ignorance or error lies at the foundation of wrong; that truth suggests

grounds and motives of virtue; and that the general elevation and expansion of the understanding are favorable to the influence of the kind affections, the sound principles, and the high motives which belong to a sterling character. When, therefore, a place of education exerts itself to form such a character, it strives but to carry on to their final result the labor and care which it had bestowed on the other portions of the work; and if it ever happen that moral and spiritual influences are less earnestly called into exercise than strictly educational energies, it is, no doubt, for the very reason, that an exemplary character is considered not so much a distinct part, as an essential concomitant of every part of academical discipline and training.*

But moral education is much too important an object to be left to follow as an incidental effect from mere literary culture. It should be deemed the distinct duty of a place of education to form the young to those habits and qualities which win regard and command respect, — gentleness of deportment, — propriety of conduct, — the moral courage "that will make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong," — willing obedience to the laws of virtue, — and a profound reverence for sacred things; and of these traits of character, I know of no reliable foundation but sincere and fervent religious faith, founded on conviction, enlightened by reason, and nourished by the devout observance of those means of spiritual improvement which Christianity provides. In the faithful performance of this duty, I believe that a place of education, whether in Europe or America, renders, at the present day, a higher and more seasonable service to society, than by any thing that ends in mere scientific or literary culture. The understanding, in every department of speculative or practical knowledge, has advanced of late years with a vigor and success beyond what the world has witnessed at any other period;

* The close connection of educational strictness with moral improvement is well expressed by the Duc de Broglie, in a luminous report on a bill relative to secondary instruction in France, made to the Chamber of Peers, 12th March, 1844, p. 97.

but I cannot suppress a painful impression, that this intellectual improvement has not exerted, and is not exerting, its natural influence in purifying the moral character of the age. I cannot subdue the feeling, that our modern Christendom, with all its professions and in all its communions, is sinking into a practical heathenism, which needs a great work — I had almost said a new dispensation — of reform, scarcely less than the decrepit paganism of Greece and Rome. Christians as we are, we worship, in America and in Europe, in the city and the field, on the exchange and in the senate, — and must I not add in the academy and the church? — some gods as bad as those of the Pantheon. In individual and national earnestness, in true moral heroism, and in enlightened spirituality unalloyed by mysticism, the age in which we live is making, I fear, little progress; but rather, perhaps, with all its splendid attainments in science and art, is plunging deeper into the sordid worship of

> ——— "the least erected spirit that fell
> From heaven, for even in heaven his looks and thoughts
> Were always downward bent, admiring more
> The riches of heaven's pavement, — trodden gold, —
> Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
> In vision beatific."

It may be feared that a defect of this kind, if truly stated and sufficiently general to mark the character of an age, will prove too strong for any corrective influences but those of public calamity, and what are called, in our expressive national phrase, "the times that try men's souls." But I have long thought, that if, in a period of prosperity and by gentle influences, any thing can be effected towards the same end, the work must be begun in our seminaries of liberal education, and that they have a duty to perform in this respect, which cannot be too strongly urged nor too deeply felt.

How it should be discharged, it would be at once unseasonable and arrogant to endeavor, on this occasion, minutely to set forth. All, however, who hear me will agree, — every parent, every good citizen, will agree, — that the object itself,

the formation of character on Christian principles, is that last great object of a place of education, to which all else is subordinate and auxiliary. For this reason, it is the duty of all intrusted with the control of such an institution, to conduct it conscientiously, as an instrument of mighty efficiency foi good or for evil. The branches of study, the influences under which they are pursued, and the whole discipline of the place should be, as far as human wisdom can make them so, such as are most friendly to sound moral principles, and they should be conducted by men whose heart is in the work, and whose example teaches more and better than their precept.

To all that can be thus effected by indirect association and influence should be added that kind and degree of direct religious instruction which circumstances admit. I am not unaware of the difficulty which attends the performance of this duty, in consequence of the differences in doctrinal opinion which prevail in the community. It is felt more or less throughout Christendom. It forms, at this moment, the subject of the most violent controversies in France, and constitutes the greatest impediment to the progress of popular education in England. In a country, however, like ours, where there is no religious establishment, and consequently where no one communion has a right to claim any preference for its doctrines, the difficulty alluded to exists rather in theory, than in the practical administration of a place of education by earnest men, bent, not on making proselytes to their own doctrinal views, but upon inculcating a sincere reverence for religion. There can, I think, be no difference of opinion as to the propriety and practicability of imparting instruction in the great truths of natural religion, in the principles of Christian ethics, and the evidences of the Christian revelation, under the guidance of text-books which unite the confidence, at least, of all classes of Protestant Christians; and if others exist, or can be prepared, to which even this qualification need not be made, they would be doubly welcome. With this provision for direct instruction in those branches of theological knowledge, which are of equal concernment

in all the professions and pursuits of life, our university has ever enjoined a reverent attendance on the daily devotional exercises, and on the religious services of the Lord's day, either in the chapel of the university, or in such other place of Christian worship as may be preferred by the parent or guardian of the student, or by himself if of legal age. Could the means be found (and this remark is of general application to the churches and communities of professing Christians throughout the world) to raise these religious services above the paralyzing, the killing influence of routine and habit; to give a sense of reality to the most solemn acts in which men can engage, but in which they engage too often as if they were the most barren of forms; to infuse life into those duties, which, performed with earnestness, give energy and vitality to every other purpose and act; — could this be done, it would mark a new era, not merely for schools and colleges, but for communities and nations. An influence over the minds of men would begin to prevail, under which, by the divine blessing, our nature, refreshed and purified, would start up with a truth and vigor of moral action, as far beyond the existing standard of conduct and morals as this is, in many respects, beyond the standard of heathen antiquity.

But the space assigned me in this day's ceremonial has been more than filled up, nor will I trespass on the patience of the audience, but, with a few brief words of kindly salutation to you, young gentlemen of the university, who must hereafter — you and your successors — fill so large a place in my cares, my thoughts, and my affections; and of whom I would beg, — as the all-sufficient means of attaining the great object of all our labors, of all your efforts, of the hopes and prayers of those who, however distant in abode, dwell with a most intense spiritual presence within these walls, — that you would yourselves but give your hearts to the duties and studies of the place. I do not say, that absolutely with this alone the heights of intellectual cultivation can be reached, — that books, and teachers, and cabinets are of no

account compared with the frame of mind that exists on your part. Such a paradox, absurd in any place and on any occasion, would be doubly unbecoming here. But this I say, that till the kindly and generous affections are enlisted, all else is comparatively unavailing; till the heart is engaged in the service, it moves with a heavy step. Study is oppressive, and discipline is vexatious. The page is languidly turned; its contents make a feeble impression, and nothing but long continued and weary repetition fastens the lifeless doctrine upon the memory. But let some strong and kindling passion engage in the work, and a light like that of the prophetic vision seems to flash from every character. The attention is aroused, the mental perception penetrates all difficulty and all obscurity, and the memory clings with hooks of steel to the most complicated, the most repulsive details. It may be, and I fear too often is, no higher passion than emulation; but even under that excitement, low and selfish as it sometimes is, the intellect is continually braced to the most extraordinary efforts. But if, instead of this, the least elevated of the nobler sentiments, the love of pure excellence gain the mastery of the heart, — the love of truth, the love of nature, the love of art, the love of country, the love of moral greatness, the love of man, the love of God, — it awakens the powers of the mind to an energy, which no inferior principle can kindle. Then, in the language of Burke, "our passions instruct our reason." When the all-pervading loveliness of nature, as it is even now budding and bursting around us, has profoundly touched the soul; when a pure and refined taste has learned to pay an innocent homage to the sweet idols of art; when the perception of intellectual beauty has been acquired, and has become distinct and real like that of material form, proportion, and grace, till it affords a tranquil pleasure, which no indulgence can satiate; when, above all the delights of sense, and taste, and intellect, sweeter than the voice of eloquence or music, the loveliness of virtue, the august beauty of spiritual excellence, has revealed itself to the youthful heart; — then, indeed, it matters little what else is given or taken

away. This is the life-giving principle, the vital spark, caught from no mortal altar, kindled by that

> ———— "SPIRIT, that doth prefer
> Before all temples the upright heart and pure,"

and warming into energy the whole intellectual and moral nature.

THE NEW MEDICAL COLLEGE.*

It is probably understood by most of those present, that by our academical organization, the president of the university is the head of each of the professional faculties attached to the institution; and a wish has been expressed, on behalf of the medical faculty, that I should address a few words to the company assembled at this time. It will readily occur to every one that my participation in the affairs of the medical school can only be that of official form; but the occasion which has called us together is certainly one deserving the public notice of the academic authorities. It has its origin in the growth of this department of the university to such a degree, as to require the abandonment of the edifice which thirty years ago was erected, not only for the immediate accommodation of the school, but with due reference to its prospective increase. Such a circumstance affords sufficient evidence of the skill and success with which this branch of the university is administered. It adds the strongest confirmation of that which is apparent from other indications not less satisfactory, that our Medical School has sustained its reputation under the competition of rival institutions, and the steady elevation of the standard of professional merit throughout the country. I should but be repeating the statistics contained in the circular lately put forth by the medical faculty, if I were to lay before you the facts which authorize this statement. There can certainly be no occasion, no place, where

* An Address delivered at the opening of the new Medical College in Grove Street, Boston, on the 4th of November, 1846.

it is less necessary than now and here, to produce an array of documentary evidence to illustrate the growth and prosperity of the Medical School.

It would be ungrateful not to acknowledge the public and private liberality which has come in aid of the resources of the university, and enabled us thus to enlarge this part of our institution. The expense of the edifice in Mason Street, now lately abandoned, was principally defrayed from a grant of the legislature of the commonwealth, which appropriated the proceeds of the tax on the state banks (sixteen thousand dollars per annum) for ten years, to the three collegiate institutions then existing in the commonwealth: viz., Harvard, Williams, and Bowdoin. Of this generous donation, the sum of ten thousand dollars per annum for ten years was assigned to the university at Cambridge; the last act of patronage, I believe, for which we have to be grateful to the government of the commonwealth. About a fourth part of this liberal endowment was employed in the erection of the Medical College in Mason Street, and supplying it with the apparatus required for medical instruction. These premises, having in the lapse of thirty years become too narrow for the accommodation of the school, have been sold, and the proceeds of the sale have yielded a considerable part of the funds required for the new building. The liberality of one whom I should leave unnamed, if I felt it right in such a connection to consult only his own feelings, (Dr George Parkman,)* has furnished the ground for the new edifice; and the sum still required to complete it has been chiefly drawn from that fountain, which, though always flowing, is never exhausted, — I mean the munificence of the men of wealth in Boston.

I hope this often-repeated compliment is not out of place on this occasion; for though the amount of the subscription needed to complete our new edifice is not very large, we stand in a neighborhood where the most magnificent and enduring monuments have been reared to the liberality of Boston. If I mistake not, the adjacent establishment, the

* See note A, at the end of this address.

Massachusetts General Hospital, with which the Medical School is so closely connected, has in its two branches, the Infirmary and the Asylum for the Insane, been more liberally endowed than any similar institution in the Union. While the great parent institution, of which the Medical School is a department, — the university at Cambridge, — the favored child as it has been of the bounty of the state and of liberal hearts in different parts of the country and even in foreign lands, is more especially, and in all its departments, a monument of the public spirit and generosity of Boston.

I cannot say that I think our men of wealth, in these liberal appropriations of a part of their ample means, are guilty of any improvidence. In other words, I am disposed to think that a wise endowment is, in every higher sense of the term, a good investment; meaning, of course, not an investment which yields the greatest pecuniary interest at the moment, but that from which, all things considered, the benefactor derives the highest satisfaction; which is productive of the greatest amount of good to himself and others; which reacts most effectually upon the prosperity of the community; and will yield the richest crown of well-merited praise to the liberal benefactor. Natural affection and natural justice require, as the general rule, that property should pass from parents to children. But as far as feelings of family pride are concerned, it deserves consideration how seldom it happens in this country that fortunes are kept in the same family beyond the third generation. How often does inherited wealth prove but another name for a bribe, with which parents from their tombs tempt children to learn the too easy lessons of indolence and dissipation! How often are the hard earnings and the fond accumulations of years wasted in a few days and nights of profligacy and excess! On the other hand, that portion of accumulated wealth which is appropriated to the endowment of charitable and educational foundations, which is invested in these noble trusts, which builds, furnishes, and maintains our asylums, hospitals, athenæums, our schools, colleges, and churches, and thus provides for the relief of suffering, the diffusion of knowledge, the conservation of good

principles, and the spread of religious truth, — does it not effect an amount of good not to be achieved by any other mode in which property can be employed? What disposition could Harvard have made of his seven hundred and fifty pounds, by which any thing like the same amount of good could be effected, and so much honest fame acquired? In what other way than public benefaction could a thousand times that sum have purchased to an equal extent the blessings of after ages? In what other way could the Hollises have so well invested a few thousand pounds of their property? The portion transmitted to their heirs has already passed into the possession of strangers to their name and race, while that which was bequeathed to our university will proclaim their name from the shelves of our library, and stand as a monument to their liberality in the walls of our public edifices, till New England is swept from the family of nations.

It would be, of course, a work of supererogation to descant, before the present audience, on the importance of the institution for whose accommodation the present building has been erected. The claims of the medical profession to public respect and confidence are fully admitted in this community. The services of the intelligent physician are felt by all to be inferior to none, humanly speaking, which man can render to his fellow-man. With a considerable part of mankind, in highly-civilized countries, either by the necessary hardships and exposure of their condition, by neglect of exercise, by recklessness or thoughtlessness, the first half of life is so passed, as to make habitual or frequent medical advice necessary for its prolongation through the other half. I believe that with a large part of the community the degree of comfort they may enjoy materially depends, in a considerable degree, on the skill and good judgment of the family physician. It is accordingly a matter that comes home to the business and bosoms of every man, that the state of medical education should be such as to secure a regular and adequate supply of physicians and surgeons, competent to aid us in warding off or mitigating the attacks of chronic disease, and

into whose hands our lives may be safely committed, at those critical moments when their preservation hangs on a thread.

It may be hastily thought by some, that this is not a matter of high public concernment; that if the community in which we live does not furnish the means of good medical instruction, it can be had abroad; in short, that it is a profession that will bear the cost of an expensive education. This, however, is true only of those who draw its higher prizes. By the majority of its members, a good professional education must be had in their native country, or it will not be had at all. If our own institutions do not furnish an adequate supply of well-instructed physicians and surgeons, the major part of the community will fall into the hands of those of an opposite description. If we wish to protect the great mass of our fellow-citizens from the cruel frauds, of which the poor and uninformed are sure to be the victims at the hands of unprincipled quacks, I do not know how it is to be done so effectually, as by making the means of a sound medica education more easily accessible. I am disposed to think that this is a department of practical charity not enough reflected upon, and that the number is at all times quite considerable of those who are both plundered and poisoned by ignorant and corrupt pretenders.

There are other considerations connected with the peculiar nature of the medical profession, which make it highly desirable to place the education of its members on the best footing. This must be relied upon as our safeguard, — not against pernicious errors of theory and practice, on the part of individuals, — from that there can be no security, — but as the most effectual protection against their general adoption and prevalence. Owing in part to the really inscrutable nature of the human frame, and of its mysterious functions, and in part to the peculiar activity of the imagination, in all that relates to disease, — the healing art seems at all times to have been much exposed to the rise of fantastic theories and methods, which have their day, enlist their teachers, and unhappily slay their thousands, before the intelligent and well-educated part of the profession, supported by the common

sense of the rest of the community, makes effectual head against the pernicious novelty.

These considerations pertain to the ordinary practice of the profession. If we measure the inducements for the improvement of medical education, by the amount of good which may occasionally be effected by the talent and sagacity of an intelligent physician, it would not be easy to speak without using the language of exaggeration. Take, for instance, the increase of human comfort which has resulted from vaccination. I allude to the increase of human comfort, rather than the economy of human life, for I am inclined to think that the terror which marched in front of that fearful pestilence, now so completely disarmed, was its most formidable feature. Dr Holland, in his "Medical Notes and Reflections," mentions as a fact not generally known, that when the small-pox, after a long period of exemption, made its appearance in Iceland, in 1707, out of a population of only sixty-five thousand, nearly sixteen thousand perished.* It is quite clear, that besides the fourth part, which thus fell victims to the disease, the other three fourths must have passed the season of its prevalence in a state of alarm of the most cruel and paralyzing description. This, far from being an isolated case, was for several centuries at almost all times the condition of some one country in Europe or Asia. When it is considered that this once terrible foe of life and happiness has now ceased — perhaps more than could be wished — to be an object of terror, and that one of the most formidable of human maladies has become more completely subject than any other to the control of human skill, I do not know whether, in the long roll of the benefactors of humanity, we can find a brighter name than that of Jenner.

It is not to be expected, that discoveries like Jenner's can frequently reward the investigations even of the most sagacious. To exterminate a disease which has desolated mankind for centuries, is of course an achievement not to be often repeated. But discoveries and improvements of all kinds are

* Medical Notes and Reflections, second edition, p. 411.

likely to keep pace with the advance of education in general and professional studies. The greater the number of individuals whose perceptive powers have been awakened and guided by sound studies and wise discipline, the greater the probability that some sharpened glance will penetrate the yet undiscovered mysteries of nature.* Although a suggestion from me on such a subject can have but little value, I cannot suppress the remark, that the great principle of analogy seems to authorize the hope, that within the range of the diseases that can commonly be had but once, further discoveries may be expected, scarcely less brilliant than that of vaccination.

So, too, in reference to the whole department of physiology, which seems one broad and inviting field of inquiry. The great discovery by Harvey of the circulation of the blood was made at the time when the science of anatomy, compared with its present condition, was in its infancy. Is it too much to expect, with all the light which has within two centuries been thrown upon almost every part of the human frame and the vital economy, that some new disclosures may before long take place, akin to that which has immortalized the name of Harvey? Does there not seem some approximation to such disclosures in the state of modern speculation in reference to the nervous system? Is there not reason to think that, in the progress of discovery in the department of electro-magnetism in one direction, and of animal electricity in the other, some brilliant generalization, embracing both, may before long be established?

If any such discovery takes place, it may of course, like the first rudiments of galvanism, be the result of chance; although the popular accounts to that effect appear to be discredited by the recent researches of Matteucci. But accidents of this kind generally befall the intelligent and well instructed. Harvey himself, after having had even his academical education shaped with a view to his future profession, passed five years at the best medical schools of France, Germany, and Italy. The illustrious discovery of Jenner was the mature

* See note B, at the end of this address.

result of a happy conception, formed in his mind at the very commencement of his professional studies, and pursued for more than twenty-five years of sagacious investigation.*

Not only are great discoveries, even when seemingly fortuitous in their immediate origin, most likely to spring from exact knowledge of facts already ascertained, but, in consequence of that sublime connection which binds all the branches of science together, and makes them cast light on each other, the paths are most diverse which lead to the same result. In whatever direction the zealous student pushes a well-conducted investigation, he may reap his reward. A most brilliant illustration of this principle has just been furnished by the sister study of astronomy. It might have been expected, that the discovery of a new planet would be reserved for some one of those, who, with well-trained eyes, are nightly sweeping the heavens with telescopes of the most improved construction and mounting. It was thus that Uranus was discovered, and the five small planets † that fill the space between Mars and Jupiter. But the last great achievement in this department of science, of which the intelligence has just reached us from beyond the sea, was accomplished by the sagacious comparison of facts in a different order of inquiry. "In thus placing beyond doubt," says M. Le Verrier in his communication to the Academy of Sciences, of the first of June, — "in thus placing beyond doubt the existence of a planet hitherto unknown, I have inverted the order hitherto observed in the calculation of planetary disturbances. Instead of having to measure the action of a determinate planet, I have been obliged to depart from the known irregularities of Uranus, in order to deduce from them the elements of the disturbing body, to establish its position in the heavens, and to show that its attraction furnishes a perfect explanation of the apparent irregularities of Uranus." ‡

* See the details in the highly interesting work, "The Life of Edward Jenner," by Dr John Baron, 2 vols. 8vo.

† Now (1850) ten.

‡ Récherches sur les mouvemens d'Uranus. Comptes rendus des seances de l'Académie des Sciences, 1 Juin, 1846. See note C, at the end.

Having thus invaded the domain of astronomy, and perhaps at greater length than is proper on this occasion, I will still ask your indulgence for lingering within it, for the purpose of reminding you that of the seven planets which, within three fourths of a century, have been added to the solar system, two were discovered by a practising physician. I well remember the feelings of interest with which, nearly thirty years ago, I visited the venerable Dr Olbers, at Bremen, and entered the modest observatory, (if observatory it could be called,) at the top of his dwelling-house, from which, with instruments of no extraordinary power,* this distinguished member of your profession had found time to make discoveries of the most brilliant character — two planets and a comet of determinate period. After alluding to the peculiarities of this last-named body, a countryman of Dr Olbers exclaims with just warmth, "Our Olbers, the fortunate Columbus of the planetary world, was the discoverer of this wonderful star. Science and her votaries feel the most lively interest in this uncommon man, who in his peaceful path, marked by intellectual energy, has discovered to us three new worlds. In the strict sense of the word, he may be called the favorite of the heavens and the earth, useful to both; in the day stretching forth his helping hand to relieve the distresses of suffering humanity, and in the darkness of the night penetrating into the farthest recesses of the starry firmament." *

Although it cannot often fall to the lot of the members of any profession to cultivate with success like this an independent department of science, yet from the nature of the case, and especially in this country, the medical profession must be depended upon to furnish a considerable part of those who pursue natural science. I should only repeat the names of a good number of the men of science in the United States, if I were to enumerate the members of the medical profession who have done themselves credit in one or more of its branches.

* North American Review, Vol. X. p. 268.

I cannot, gentlemen, close this hasty address, without expressing the opinion, that no profession or pursuit in the community has it in its power, by general influence and extra-professional effort, to render greater service than yours to the cause of morality and religion; as there is certainly none whose members are, by the very nature of their studies, more directly led to take serious views of the highest objects of human contemplation. To none are presented so steadily, and under such powerful lights, the proofs which organized nature affords of the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. One of the great masters of your profession in antiquity, (Galen,) in the course of his treatise "on the use of the parts of the body," (of which many a section would bear a comparison with any thing that Paley has written on the subject,) exclaims, that he is unwilling, by dwelling on the depraved ideas of some sensualists to whom he has alluded, to degrade the discourse, which he would compose as a hymn of praise to the Creator; adding, "and I think that this is true piety, not to sacrifice to him many hecatombs of bulls, nor ten thousand offerings of frankincense and cassia, but if I first learn to know him myself, and then to set forth to others what he is in wisdom, power, and goodness." *

If such was the wisdom of heathen antiquity, do I err in saying to the intelligent physician and surgeon in an age of Christian light and hope, that he has it in his power, beyond all other persons except those whose express business it is to minister in holy things, to promote the virtue and piety of others? He approaches them when levity is sobered, when pride is subdued, when apprehension is awakened, and men are predisposed to give willing entertainment to thoughts which at other times are repelled, or pass through the mind without leaving a deep impression. A seasonable word dropped unobtrusively at times like these by a serious man, who stands at the bedside clothed by the imagination of the patient, if not in reality, with the power of life and death, will often sink deep into the heart.

* Hippocratis et Galeni Opera, Ed. Charter. Tom. IV. p. 361.

Especially in reference to the young, it is often in the power of a conscientious physician to mingle with professional advice such information, counsel, and warning, as may prove the safeguard not merely of health, but of morals and character, when all are trembling together in a doubtful balance. He can teach them that they are in danger of drinking a worse poison than hemlock from the tempting wine-cup, and that the deadliest contagion which can send rottenness into the bones is that which besets the paths of sinful indulgence.

Nothing remains, gentlemen, at the present time, but that I should tender you, on behalf of the academic authorities, our best wishes for your success, whether as teachers or learners; and if any exhortation were needed to the strenuous exertion of your powers, let it consist in reminding you, in the words of your great master, one of the oldest and wisest of heathen antiquity, that "Life is short, and art is long, and occasion sudden, and experiment doubtful, and judgment difficult."*

* Hippocratis Aphorismi, § 1.

NOTES.

Note A, p. 520.

In revising this address at the present time, (April 15th, 1850,) I cannot but recognize with awe that mysterious connection, which sometimes providentially unites events and actions seemingly insignificant with the most momentous consequences.

The liberal donation by the late Dr George Parkman of the land on which the new Medical College was built, led him, it appears, to think it possible that, in the ceremonial (not then arranged in its detail) for opening the edifice, he might be called upon to reply to some complimentary allusion to his gift, like that contained in the foregoing address. In this expectation he procured a set of artificial teeth. The peculiarity of their construction and fitting, the circumstances connected with their manufacture, and their indestructibility, furnished the chief means of identifying the remains of Dr Parkman, as found in the chemical laboratory at the new College.

Note B, p. 525.

I am not sure that since these remarks were delivered, a discovery has not been announced, which fully realizes the predictions of the text. I allude to the discovery of a method of producing a state of temporary insensibility to pain, by the inhalation of a prepared vapor. A full account of this discovery is given in a paper, by Dr Henry J. Bigelow, in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal for November 18th, 1846. Dr Bigelow ascribes its first suggestion to Dr Charles T. Jackson, and its application, under his advice, for the purpose of mitigating pain, to Dr W. T. G. Morton, dentist, both of Boston.

I witnessed a very successful instance of the application of the prepared vapor on November 18th, and was informed at that time by Dr Morton that he had employed it in several hundred cases of dentistry. It has also been made use of with entire success at the Massachusetts General Hospital, and elsewhere in Boston, in capital operations of surgery. The few cases of failure may perhaps be ascribed to irregularities in the process of inhalation, or to peculiarities of temperament or constitution on the part of the patient.

I understand that great confidence is placed in this discovery by the most distinguished members of the medical profession of this vicinity; and that they are disposed to regard it as an effectual method of inducing complete insensibility under the most cruel operations, by means easily applied, entirely controllable, and productive of no subsequent bad consequences. It seems not easy to overrate the importance of such a discovery.

Such is the account given of the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether in the original edition of this address. The opinion in the text as to the probability of some brilliant discovery within the domain of medical science was expressed in complete ignorance of the experiments then just made but not yet announced. The preceding note is believed to contain the first allusion to this all-important discovery in any non-professional publication.

Note C, p. 526.

Not content with having made the discovery of a new planet by a process which has excited the admiration of the scientific world, the ardent mind of M. Le Verrier is already meditating still further achievements in the same sublime field of investigation. In the fifth and last part of his memoir "On the planet that produces the perturbations of Uranus," (*Comptes Rendus* for October 5th, 1846, p. 659,) after pointing out with honest satisfaction that the place which he had assigned to the planet then undiscovered, on the 31st of August last, differs from its observed place by only 0° 52′, he proceeds in the following striking manner: "Ainsi la position avait été prévue à moins d'un dégré près. On trouvera cet erreur bien faible, si l'on réfléchit à la petitesse des perturbations dont on avait conclu le lieu de l'astre. *Ce succès doit nous laisser espérer, qu'après trente ou quarante années d'observations de la nouvelle planète, on pourra l'employer, à son tour, à la decouverte de celle qui la suit, dans l'ordre des distances au soleil.* AINSI DE SUITE: on tombera malheureusement bientòt sur des astres invisibles, à cause de leur immense distance au soleil, mais dont les orbites finiront, dans la suite des siècles, par être tracées avec une grande exactitude, au moyen de la théorie des inégalités séculaires!"

The law of the distances from the sun at which the planets succeed each other in our system is unknown. We may at present assume Bodi's law, or, still more simply, a geometrical progression, as an approximation to the truth sufficiently near for popular purposes, though signally failing in reference to Neptune. If with this foundation, we admit the distance assigned by Bessel to the star 61 Cygni, regarded as the nearest sun to ours, and suppose that the attraction of our sun prevails over one half of that distance, and acts in those remote spaces of the heavens by the same laws as within the limits with which we are better acquainted, there will be room

for ten new planets, and nearly the eleventh, as yet undiscovered, outside the orbit of Neptune. If it were ever safe to set bounds to the progress of science, we might venture to say, that there is no probability that man will ever command the instrumental power which will enable him to discover many of these remote bodies. It must be remembered, however, that it is but little more than a hundred years since the opinion was expressed by an English astronomer, that the power of the telescope had then (1729) nearly reached its limits. Since that time, twelve primary planets and eleven secondaries have been discovered.—See Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I. p. 178, and Memoirs of A. A. S., Third Series, Vol. III. Appendix, p. 282.

THE FAMINE IN IRELAND.*

I RISE, Mr Chairman, at your invitation, to unite with the gentlemen who have addressed the meeting with such ability, in recommending the passage of the resolutions. I scarce know in what manner to express myself on the occasion. The general topics of remark which suggest themselves have been exhausted by yourself and the gentlemen who have already spoken. I am unwilling — I may say I should be ashamed — to think that any labored argument, or any studied words of persuasion, were necessary to convince an assembly of the citizens of Boston of the duty, or to awaken in them the desire, of speeding relief to the sufferers by famine in Ireland. If it be our only object to lay the most important facts of the case before those who have not particularly turned their attention to the subject, the task is not without difficulty. Since I received the invitation of the committee, the evening before the last, to attend this meeting, I have looked over the newspapers brought by the last steamer from Liverpool, and I find it hard to make a selection from the painful accounts with which their columns are filled. Mere general statistics do not answer the purpose. We read of the large proportion of the population deprived of their accustomed food; of the numbers who offer themselves for labor on the public works, beyond the utmost power of the official agents to employ them; of the numbers, still more wretched, who

* Remarks made at a meeting for the relief of the Irish and Scotch, in Faneuil Hall, on the 17th of February, 1847, His Honor Josiah Quincy, Jun., mayor of Boston, in the chair.

knock at the doors of the almshouses, and find them closed; of the reputed numbers even of those who perish by starvation, or the diseases produced by scanty and unwholesome food. All these matters, stated in general terms, fail to bring the dreadful reality of things with sufficient vividness to our minds. If we seek to go further, and attempt to repeat the horrid details of striking cases of destitution and suffering, we are in danger of plunging into scenes too dreadful to be recited in public. "Of all the maladies," says the great master of English eloquence, to whom you, sir, have referred, "which beset and waylay the life of man, this plague of hunger comes the nearest to the human heart; and is that wherein the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is. But I find myself unable," he adds, "to manage it with decorum. These details are of a species of horror so nauseous and disgusting; they are so degrading to the sufferer and the hearer; they are so humiliating to human nature itself, that, on better thoughts, I find it more advisable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and leave it to your general conceptions."

Mr Chairman, it is universally known that there are above two millions of people in Ireland who subsist almost exclusively on potatoes. It is scarcely necessary to say that, in the very best of times, and under prosperous circumstances, they live on the borders of starvation. What is looked upon as plenty by this part of the Irish population, would be regarded by us as little better than famine. There is nothing to fall back upon, in case of hard times; no retrenchment in the quantity, no reduction in the quality, no substitution of cheaper articles. They already live upon the smallest quantity of the cheapest food; and I have been told that it is a practice to eat the potatoes under-boiled, because in that condition they will lie longer in the stomach, and thus delude its craving emptiness. Two disastrous seasons have, in some parts of the country almost wholly, in others altogether, cut off the accustomed scant supply of this, the cheapest article of food; and the alarming question is, How is the want to be supplied? how are the horrors of general starvation to be

staved off? To which question I can only answer, Heaven knows. It must be, I fear, a more sagacious person than any in this assembly, who can return a satisfactory answer. The wisest heads in England and Ireland seem confounded at the extent of the evil. The government has contrived a very extensive scheme of employment on public works, which seems to have had but partial success; in fact, such is the infirmity of human counsel, to have been productive of some positive evils of a serious nature. At any rate, it is plain, that to employ two millions of people, or indeed any considerable portion of them, of a sudden, in an unaccustomed way, by public authority, must be a very dangerous experiment upon the regular march of industry; and if it were otherwise, what are the unemployed to do? Nay, what are the employed to do, with their pittance of wages, in districts where there is little or no food; where what little there is can be bought only at what is called, with dreadful significance, a famine price?

The natural and necessary consequence of this state of things is that death — death by starvation — is now a common event — is daily happening. The plague, having done its work on the lower animals, has fallen on man. The cow of the small farmer, all-important as she is to his family, has perished or been killed; the pig, the poultry of the cottier have in like manner died for want of food, or been killed to eke out a few days' miserable sustenance to their famished owner, — the watch dog has been drowned, (and the poor peasant, who has perhaps no other living being he can call friend, had almost as lief drown a child,) — every wretched substitute for wholesome food, — bark, roots, apple parings, turnip skins, — have been exhausted, and now famine in all its horrors stalks through the land. To what actual extent the work of death had gone at the last accounts, it is not easy to say. There is unavoidable over-estimate in the first reports of such general calamities. I hold in my hand an extract from the proceedings of a large meeting of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, held at Dublin on the fourteenth of January, which is the latest authentic statement I

have seen ; and I find one of the gentlemen who spoke using this language, "that five thousand had already perished by want and by disease ; fever had made its appearance in many parts, and was daily cutting off the people by hundreds. The sole cause was want of food." Mr O'Connell at the same meeting, or on some other recent similar occasion, is reported to have said, that three hundred were dying daily ; and as far as I have been able to form an opinion, by running my eye over the provincial accounts transferred to the London papers, I should think that one death daily from every neighborhood in the south and west of Ireland, was not an extravagant estimate. If this be so, Mr O'Connell's statement is quite within the bounds of the dreadful reality.

Then, Mr Chairman, as you have well remarked, these accounts come down to the end of the year, at farthest to the middle of January. Six or seven long months are yet to pass, before any harvest of grain can ripen and be reaped. What is to carry the people of Ireland through these dismal months, in which famine, despair, and death will be doing their work on a population already driven to the verge of madness? It cannot but be that the demoralization already commenced will go on. In the nature of things, due care to make ready the land for the coming season will be neglected. Seed corn and seed potatoes, as you have observed, where they exist, will be consumed for food. Outrages on property, under the spur of this sharp necessity, will take place. Those who have a little will hoard ; those who have nothing will plunder. In the midst of frightful want. there will be still more frightful waste ; till, in the action and reaction of these physical and moral causes, there is great reason to fear that the framework of society, none too well compacted in this unhappy country, will wholly break down, and that horrors will be acted out in Ireland, in the course of the ensuing spring and summer, for which language has no adequate terms of description. God grant it may be otherwise ; and nothing can do so much to prevent these forebodings from being realized, as to show to the people of Ireland, in the most effectual manner, that the eyes of a sympathizing

world are upon them. But I do fear, sir, if not checked by some such genial influence, that her fertile plains and lovely valleys will be the theatre before long of woes and horrors which it sickens one but to think of.

And now, Mr Chairman, we have come to consult together what we can do to contribute towards the mitigation of this great calamity; or rather to encourage each other to do the utmost in his power. What little I thought to say on this topic, has been anticipated by the gentlemen (Mr Stevenson and Dr Howe) who have already addressed you with such feeling and pertinence. It is true that no individual, no community even, can do much to relieve the sum total of this mighty calamity; but every community, every individual, can do something, and the aggregate of these somethings is to form, sir, for months, the only stay of famishing millions. Don't tell me we can do but little, when the *little* that we and others can do is the *all* of a starving country. And this I will say, sir, that there is no community on earth that can do more than this; I mean that there is not another, of its size, embracing a wider extent of prosperity. The glorious sun in the heavens, that looks down on the misery of famishing Ireland, does not, in his wide circuit, shine upon a spot more abounding, in proportion to its size, with the physical comforts of life, and therefore better able to minister of its surplus to the relief of that misery. I shall therefore be surprised — I shall be deeply grieved — if on the list of contributions for the mitigation of this truly appalling calamity, the name of any place shall, in proportion to its numbers, stand higher than that of Boston. Indeed, I have no fears that it will be so. If unhappily I am disappointed, I shall at least hope, Mr Chairman, that not much will be hereafter said of what we have been willing to regard as the proverbial liberality of Boston.

Liberality, sir! I am almost ashamed to use the word at all on this occasion. The liberality of giving from your abundance, to save the lives of men, women, and children who, to all intents, as was so well said by the eloquent gentleman (Dr Howe) who preceded me, are starving upon your

door-step! If we call this liberality, I should like to know what we should consider a duty. I rejoice to believe that I speak in the hearing of those who regard the work in which we now engage as one of duty, and that of the most imperative kind — a duty so high and sacred, that, could we neglect it, I should almost expect that the walls of our massy warehouses, filled almost to bursting with every article of food which enters largely into commerce, would fall and crush us as we passed.

You carried our minds, Mr Mayor, by an interesting allusion, to the distant East. There is a dark tale in the traditions of a less distant foreign land, which has haunted my recollection, in reference to some of the sad details of the suffering which prevails in Ireland, as I have seen them in the English papers. It is hardly appropriate to the business character of this meeting, but I have not been able to get away from it. An Italian nobleman, in the middle ages, fell into the power of his enemy, — he and several children, — who threw them into a prison, and after long confinement, determined to starve them to death. The door of the dungeon was locked, and the key thrown into the Arno. This much, I believe, is matter of history. The secrets of that prison house are known only as they were revealed to the imagination of Dante. After the first day passed without food, the father too well foreboding the doom that awaited them, a dear child, his little Anselm, plaintively asks the cause of his gloomy silence. Another and another day passes, and still no food. The parent, not so much from hunger as in frenzy, gnaws his own hands. His children, duteous even in that dire extremity, supposing that the pangs of starvation were more keenly felt by their father than by themselves, implore him, instead of devouring his own limbs, to feed on them, and thus take back the wretched flesh with which he had clothed them. On the fourth day, Gaddo crawls to his wretched parent's feet, and feebly crying, "My father, why do you not help me?" dies.

This piteous tale, embalmed with the tears of five centuries, is no longer a remote poetic vision. It is, in all the substantial features, a horrid reality, passing within a fortnight's sail

of us. There is not a foot of terra firma, sir, between the city over which you preside and the scene of these woes. They are taking place, not in a solitary instance, but in hundreds; not within the walls of a dungeon, amidst the fury of civil wars, in a benighted age, but within open doors, by the way side, beneath the blue sky, in the face of heaven and of men, — in the nineteenth century; in this all-daring, all-achieving, all-boasting nineteenth century; and astonished Europe and astonished America stand looking on, paralyzed, as it were, by the extent of the calamity; — but paralyzed, I trust, sir, but for a moment. A spirit of Christian charity has been awakened on both sides of the water, worthy of the occasion; and well I know that Faneuil Hall is not the spot where it will burn with the least fervor. Let me only beseech you, what you do, to do quickly. It is a fearful thought that, do what you will, not a barrel of flour, purchased with the funds provided this evening, can be laid down within the Cove of Cork under six weeks, at the very soonest, taking the average chances of sailing vessels at this season. Before it gets there, the man, the family, which it might have saved, will have perished. Yes, sir, while I fill your ears with these empty words, some of our poor fellow-Christians in Ireland have starved to death.

AID TO THE COLLEGES.

At the commencement of the legislative session for the year 1848, a petition was presented to the two houses, praying for aid to the colleges. The particular mode of granting aid to the colleges suggested by the memorialists was, to provide for the accumulation of the school fund beyond its present legal limit, ($1,000,000,) till it should reach $1,500,000, and to divide the additional half million in some suitable proportion between the three colleges. The petition was signed by the presidents of the three colleges, on behalf of their respective boards of trustees; and it was supported by memorials in favor of the object from a large number of persons of respectability and influence in different parts of the commonwealth. This petition and these memorials were referred to the joint committee of education, who granted a private hearing to the friends of the colleges on the first of February. This meeting was attended by the president (Mr Everett) and the treasurer (Mr Eliot) of Harvard College, by Rev. Dr Hitchcock, president of Amherst College, Hon. W. B. Calhoun, secretary of state and a trustee of Amherst College, John Tappan, Esq., also a trustee of Amherst, Edmund Dwight, Esq., of Boston, and by a few other gentlemen, friends of education and of the colleges.

A letter was read by the Hon. Orin Fowler, chairman of the joint standing committee, from Rev. Dr Hopkins, president of Williams College, expressive of his regret that he was unable to attend.

The chairman of the committee, having read the memorial of the institutions, invited the gentlemen present, and repre-

senting them, to submit to the committee such statements as they might think proper. Mr Everett observed that he was, with the treasurer of Harvard College, in attendance on the committee, and ready to give them all the information in their power. He had not come prepared to make any formal address, which seemed, in fact, to be excluded by the place and the occasion; but he thought it probable that they should be able (the treasurer and himself) to satisfy the committee on any point on which they might wish to receive information.

The chairman then read an order which had been passed by the legislature, to the following effect, and observed that it might aid gentlemen in the choice of subjects to which they might choose to ask the attention of the committee: —

"Ordered that the joint standing committee on education be directed to ascertain from the presidents or other officers of the several colleges in this commonwealth the amounts which they have severally received from individuals, societies, or this commonwealth, since their establishment;

"Also the amounts respectively of their funds available for the purposes of education, at this present time, together with the value of their buildings and grounds, whether used in connection with the colleges or otherwise;

"Also the number of volumes in their respective libraries for the use of undergraduates, and the extent and value of their philosophical and other apparatus;

"Also the number of undergraduates now pursuing collegiate studies within the same."

Mr Everett stated that, as soon as this order was placed in his hands, no time should be lost in furnishing the desired information, as far as the university at Cambridge was concerned. A statement of all the donations and bequests to that institution had been drawn up and printed by the treasurer three years ago. A revised edition of this statement was in the course of preparation, and should be furnished to each member of the committee. In the mean time, he held in his hand a copy of the last Annual Report of the treasurer, from which a considerable portion of the information sought for in the first inquiry of the committee might be derived. Following that document as a guide, he

would ask the attention of the committee to a brief account of the state of the funds of the university at Cambridge, and of the wants of the institution.

Very exaggerated ideas, continued Mr Everett, prevail on this subject. The university, no doubt, is richly endowed. I certainly am the last person to speak disparagingly of its resources. Thanks to the munificence of the public in early and latter days, and to the bounty of a long line of private benefactors, its foundations are numerous; its endowments liberal; its income considerable, although this last is often extravagantly overrated. But large as the means of the institution are, it remains not the less true, that the funds at its command for general purposes of expenditure are small; that it has no means whatever applicable to many objects of great importance in a place of education; and that several of the items which swell the aggregate of its funds add nothing to its ability to carry on the work of education. All this will be made to appear to the entire satisfaction of the committee.

Mr Everett then entered into an explanation somewhat in detail on the amount and appropriation of the several funds of Harvard College, pointing out how much of the nominal amount was given for objects not connected with the business of education; and how much was applied to the support of the professional schools forming a part of the university. He also called the attention of the committee to the circumstances, that most of the funds given for specific foundations yield an inadequate income, and consequently create a demand on the general treasury. He also gave some explanations on the subject of salaries.

I proceed now (continued Mr Everett) to the question, for what purposes the aid which the colleges ask of the legislature is desired. What should we do with the income of the fund to be created, should the prayer of the memorial be granted? It might be answered generally, that it would certainly be applied by the trustees of the several colleges for those purposes deemed most important in carrying on a plan of collegiate education, and which are of g eatest urgency to the institutions respectively. Speaking for Cambridge,

however, sir, I should say, in the first place, that there are public objects of great interest to the institution, to which, nevertheless, we should not think of applying it. We need additional buildings for the residence of students, new lecture-rooms, a new conservatory at the botanic garden, and more than all, a new chapel. These, however, are objects which we do not expect to compass from the legislative grant; for which we must look, if any where, to the ever-flowing streams of private munificence, for which our commonwealth has been so nobly distinguished among our sister states.

Supposing that it would be more satisfactory to the legislature, in creating a fund for the colleges, to have its income appropriated to certain specific purposes, known and approved by the two houses, the following may be mentioned as those which would be recommended for that purpose by the university at Cambridge: —

I. The reduction of the general expense of education. This at Cambridge is somewhat higher than at most other collegiate institutions in the country. We certainly do not admit that it is exorbitant. The entire charge for instruction and for the use of the library is seventy-five dollars per annum. The additional charge of fifteen dollars per annum, for rent and care of room, is not more than half what would be paid for the same accommodations in private boarding-houses in Cambridge and the vicinity. The charge of seventy-five dollars per annum, were it all considered as a charge for instruction, is less than is paid for the instruction of children of both sexes in several of the private *day schools* of Boston and other large towns. It will be borne in mind that at college provision is made, not merely for instruction, but for general supervision and care, three quarters of the year. No parent but must feel that this is a service well entitled to compensation.

Again, it is to be considered that the students at Cambridge may be divided into three classes; viz., those, on the one hand, whose circumstances are affluent or very easy; those, on the other hand, whose circumstances are very narrow;

and a middle class, the sons of parents who have little to spare, and are obliged to study economy. In reference to the first class, — the sons of the rich, — there is no reason whatever why public or private benevolence should be taxed to furnish them a cheap education. As things are, there is no other mode in which parents of this description are able, or would be likely, to give their children an education on such easy terms. With respect to the opposite class, they enjoy the benefit of the funds given for the aid of meritorious students in indigent circumstances, and in this way the expense of education is reduced for them nearly or quite to nothing. About forty students of this class receive assistance ranging from forty to eighty dollars annually, averaging at least sixty dollars per annum, and reducing the expense for instruction, &c., to fifteen dollars per annum. I deem it scarcely necessary to state, that these beneficiary funds are administered at Cambridge with entire impartiality, — that no question is ever asked as to the religious opinions which may be entertained by the applicants.

For the remaining class of students, — the young men of moderate circumstances, — a reduction of the annual charge for instruction would be desirable, and would be gladly made by the corporation, should the legislature furnish them the means of reducing that portion of their income which is derived from tuition fees.

II. The next object to which the legislative bounty, if granted us, might be advantageously applied, is the procuring of apparatus in the various scientific departments, the increase of the mineralogical and other scientific cabinets and collections, and the completion of the set of instruments required at the observatory. It will readily be understood, that objects of this kind are of prominent importance in a place of education. The departments of science to which they pertain are progressive. New truths and facts, requiring new experimental illustrations, are constantly discovered in natural philosophy. Without taking into account deterioration by use, antiquated apparatus in the lecture-room is as useless as antiquated machinery in a manufacturing establishment. The

advancement which has been made within thirty years in spinning and weaving, is not greater than that which has taken place in physical science. Hence the necessity, in a well-provided lecture-room, for a constant supply of new and often expensive apparatus. This remark applies with equal force in chemistry, with the additional consideration, that of the apparatus and the substances required for experiments in chemistry, a considerable portion is consumed and destroyed in the using. In like manner, constant accessions must be made to a mineralogical and a geological cabinet, to keep it up to the standard of the science. We have an ample mineralogical cabinet at Cambridge, formed chiefly within the last twenty-five years, containing, also, very valuable articles belonging to the geological branch. We have, however, nothing that can be called a systematic geological collection, and the formation of such a collection will be one of the first objects to engage the attention of the professors in our new scientific school. For this purpose, and to make those additions to the cabinet of minerals which are required for the illustration of a progressive science, a moderate fund is needed. If these additions are not made, the value of the collection is soon impaired. It sinks by degrees into a scientific toy-shop, — a mere exhibition. A collection of minerals formed and arranged a century ago, would have but little more value, for the illustration of the present state of the science, than a collection of porcelain. As for geological systems, they are the growth of the last fifty years.

The wants of the observatory for the present will be less urgent than those of the other scientific establishments, but will be constant. New and improved instruments will be from time to time required. Our observatory is amply furnished for almost every description of celestial observation, but astronomy is as much a progressive study as any other branch of science. Although we had at Cambridge, before the new observatory was built and the new instruments procured, a good many instruments, mostly presented from time to time by the friends of the institution, during the period which has elapsed since the burning of Harvard Hall in 1764,

— instruments some of them of considerable cost, and deemed at the time of value, — there was not one of them with which an observation of the heavens of any scientific value could be made.*

Now, for the purposes I have enumerated, we have no funds at Cambridge whatever. However great may be the necessity for adding an article of philosophical apparatus, a series of minerals, a new astronomical instrument, we have no means of doing it but those furnished by the general funds, or by a separate appeal to the liberality of our friends. It is in this last way that a magnificent mastodon was procured two years ago, at an expense of three thousand dollars, and still more signally, it is in this way that we have been provided with our great telescope, at an expense of twenty thousand dollars. But these are efforts of liberality not often to be repeated. Recourse ought not to be had to *extra* bounty for the supply of regular wants. Establishments kept up by casual supplies of this kind will inevitably be stinted; particularly in matters which, though important, are too small to warrant an appeal to the liberal friends of the university. Besides this, the persons actively engaged in government and instruction, being those who are best acquainted with the wants of the college in all these respects, have full occupation for their time, and have no leisure for the work of habitual solicitation. Finally, there is such a thing as wearing out one's welcome.

III. Another very important object of expenditure is the library. I would call it the *most* important, if I knew degrees in these matters, all of first-rate interest and necessity. Our library, it is true, is large; at least it seems so in this country. It exceeds fifty-three thousand volumes, which is one tenth part of the estimated size of the library of the British Museum, — one twentieth part of the reported size of the Royal Library at Paris. Still it may be asked, are not fifty-three thousand books enough? Can any mortal man

* In a few months after these remarks were made, the observatory received the munificent bequest of one hundred thousand dollars by the will of the late Mr Edward B. Phillips.

read fifty-three thousand volumes? To which I readily reply, no one can read a tenth or a fiftieth part of that number of books, to any advantage; at least if they are of the size of many of the mighty folios that adorn our shelves. But a public library is not for the use of any one man, or any one class or set of men, having the same tastes, objects, and range of study. It is for our numerous body of instructers in their several departments; for four or five hundred students, graduates, and undergraduates; for a long list of other persons, having, by the standing laws, the right of borrowing books from the library; and it is for the public at large; for no individual having occasion to consult it, for any serious purpose, literary or scientific, is ever refused.

Again, of the fifty-three thousand volumes, a portion are of no great value. Many volumes are given to public libraries, because they are hardly worth the room which they occupy on the shelves of private collections. Then the value of books is changeable, as of most other human things. Hundreds of volumes in every department, once useful, or thought so, cease to have any value for present use; except as they illustrate the history of the human mind, or incidentally establish a date or a fact. There is, I admit, a real use, in this way, even of the poorest book. Public libraries reject nothing that is not abominable. It may sometimes be important, in literary history, to prove that a book is worthless, — to show that the doctrines it teaches have no foundation, or that it teaches them in an unprofitable manner. It is valuable in the library, because it may be important, for some purpose, to prove that it is valuable nowhere else.

This, however, is but a very subordinate object in what may be called a *working library*, such as we wish ours to be. Such a library must be well provided with books of direct, positive utility. These are of two classes — the great standard works which are never antiquated, and the valuable new books which are constantly appearing in every department of science and literature. Our library is amply supplied with many of the books belonging to the first class; thanks to the bounty of the Hollises and other noble benefactors in

earlier or later days. But it is surprising how small the number is of books which are of unchanging value, — I mean, sir, in reference to the wants of a library. Take, for instance, the Grecian and Roman classics, which of all human compositions are those which have longest commanded the admiration of mankind. As writings, their value has stood the test, in many cases, of more than two thousand years. But the value of any given *edition* is transitory. In many cases, each generation requires a change. Critical learning is not less progressive than science. I do not mean that the old edition becomes worthless, but the new edition cannot be dispensed with. It would look like pedantry to try to establish this proposition by examples. I will only say, in general, that there is not a critical dictionary, Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, not a critical edition of the Greek or Hebrew Scriptures, or of a Latin or Greek classic, not an Encyclopædia, nor a general work of reference of any kind, published before the commencement of the present century, which would answer all the wants of a thorough student at the present day. There are old books not to be dispensed with, but none which make the new ones unnecessary. Of most of the works belonging to the classes enumerated, I might say the same, taking a period, not of fifty, but of twenty-five years.

And then, sir, the progressive portions of science and literature properly so called. Take the great modern science of geology, which may be said, in its systematic form, to date from Cuvier and the close of the last century, — a science which comes so near to the interests of the miner, the agriculturist, and the engineer, and in reference to which thousands of volumes have already been published, and hundreds are annually appearing. There is not a work a hundred years old of any systematic value in this department. I do not say there are no old books which contain valuable hints and facts; but that there is no elementary treatise of earlier date, which has a present scientific value. The modern science of chemistry is a little older, but not much. It dates from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. You cannot have a bleachery, print-works, or a dyeing establishment,

without knowledge, and that in the most recent form, derived from this science. The books of a hundred years old will not give it to you; they have no other than an historical value. The whole fabric of the science is of later date; many of the most important discoveries have been made within a very few years. Similar remarks may be made of almost every branch of natural philosophy. Electricity, galvanism, magnetism, crystallography, optics, pneumatics, must be all studied in very recent books. The most brilliant discoveries in almost all of them are the product of the present century. It would be unjust to bring the date of modern astronomy lower down than the time of Newton; but a man might know the *Principia* by heart, and not be able to lecture to a village lyceum on the present state of the science. Although he discovered the great law by which the motion of the heavenly bodies is regulated, six only of the primary planets were known to him. Ten more have since been discovered, and five within the last two years. In most branches of intellectual and moral science, the really useful books — I mean those of most practical utility — are comparatively recent. All which have been contributed by Germany to the general stock are of this description. So, too, of voyages and travels, statistics, ethnography, — departments in which the modern press has been unusually prolific. This class of books contains many new publications of great cost and value; we have but very few of them, even of those which pertain to our own continent, though our collection of books relative to America is said to be larger than that of any other public library.

Now, sir, for new books in all the departments of art, literature, and science, we have barely eight hundred dollars a year, — a sum inadequate to the purchase of the new works of value which annually appear in any one department. What is the consequence? It is twofold; — first, all who have studies which must be pursued, are obliged to have private libraries of their own, a steady drain on small incomes; and, secondly, they are obliged to endure at every turn the mortification and disadvantage of remaining in ignorance of the

present condition of the sciences, or to take it at second hands from the reviews. There can be no cheerful progress, no first-rate scholarship, under such circumstances.

Nor is it for the immediate benefit of the university or its members that the library is useful. Although of necessity they are most directly benefited, yet we strive to make it generally useful to the public and the country. It is at all times open to the studious and inquisitive. Our books and the appliances for using them are always at their command. In special cases, books are sent to remote parts of the country. We have, since I have been connected with the university, permitted them freely to be sent, not merely to distant parts of our own state, but to New York and Washington. I believe this has always been the practice. This favor would never be refused, unless the rarity and value of the book were so great, as to make it improper to take the risk of transportation to a distance. We should be glad to make the library still more useful, by making it regularly accessible to larger numbers. It must be considered, however, that this implies an increased number of attendants; and that the support of the establishment to the amount of more than three thousand dollars per annum, is a charge upon the university, which, for want of funds, is necessarily assessed on the students. But I must pass from this topic to the consideration of the last with which I will trouble the committee; which is,

IV. Assistance to meritorious young men in indigent circumstances. This is an object to which we should gladly apply greater means than we possess. I have already stated that there are two funds available for this purpose at Cambridge, viz., the Beneficiary Fund of the college, yielding an income of thirteen or fourteen hundred dollars, and the "Loan Fund," yielding an income somewhat less. These funds are by us distributed without regard to sect or party; but our university is entirely without the range of the great educational charities. One student only at Cambridge, at the present time, as far as is known to me, receives aid from any one of them. Now, there is a class of young men, whom it would be very desirable to help beyond the extent of our

present means; young men of rare talent and promise, who, though barely able to get along with the assistance of public and private bounty, are compelled to make efforts and seek occupations by which their progress is delayed and often their health impaired. I know such cases, sir; they have painfully excited my deepest sympathies. I have known instances of young men, of the finest powers and the most exemplary characters, supporting themselves for fifty or sixty cents a week, and I have scarcely dared ask myself the question, how the twenty-one meals are to be got out of this sum. These, sir, are the young men to be helped. They deserve it; they will repay it in valuable service to their day and generation.

I know that the fountains of private charity are deep and perennial. But is it quite right to draw exclusively upon them? Does the state owe nothing to these its most meritorious children? It is an acknowledged duty of the legislature to support the common schools; but I am not aware that this duty rests on any other grounds, than those which equally enjoin a reasonable care for the higher places of education.

I apprehend, sir, that there is some misconception on this point, and that, while it is admitted and felt to be a popular interest to provide for the common schools, and see that their advantages are within the reach of the entire population, it is not thought to be equally a popular interest to facilitate the acquisition of a collegiate education. This seems to me a radically erroneous view; and, unless we are prepared wholly to deny the benefits of such an education, we must admit that the poorest children of the community, who show peculiar aptitude for the purpose, ought, to some practicable extent, to be aided in obtaining it. Unless this course is pursued, you in reality confine the advantages of a college education wholly to the wealthier classes, except so far as private benevolence may extend them to those less favored of fortune.

I must say, sir, that this does not strike me as a popular doctrine, in the proper sense of the word. It is not such a

doctrine as tends to the improvement of the *people*. With all our republicanism, we might take a lesson on this head from other governments. There is much ampler provision by law in Massachusetts for extending the blessings of a common school education to the whole community than there is in any country of Europe, with perhaps a single exception. It is not so in respect to higher education. Numerous ancient foundations in England afford the means to a considerable number of persons, in the humblest walks of life, of obtaining the best education which the country affords, and of eventually rising in this way to the highest posts of church and state.

I hope I shall not be understood to intimate that a college education is essential to greatness or usefulness in any of the walks of life. I do not forget that we are in the city where Franklin was born and Bowditch died. I claim for such an education only what the universal consent of mankind allows it to be — the appropriate training, in the majority of cases, for the professional career, for scientific eminence, and literary distinction.

I have thus, sir, gone through, in rather a desultory manner, and without premeditation, such remarks as occur to me in support of our memorial, or in explanation of its objects. I presume not to enforce upon this honorable committee the duty of the commonwealth to foster *all* institutions for education. What was done in former days is known to all who have read the history of the state. You will find, sir, on the list of grants and gifts prepared by the treasurer, that, for a long course of years, and out of the slender means of the province, annual provision was made for the support of the president and one or more of the professors of Harvard College. Yes, sir, in the poor old colony times, in paper money times, in "old tenor" times, in time of war as well as peace, — the current of the public bounty never ceased to flow in that direction. Since the revolution, — the great era of our prosperity, from which nearly all the disposable wealth of the country, public as well as private, dates, — that current, as far as the colleges are concerned, has all but dried up. The

last of the annual grants to Harvard College dates from 1786 I have not forgotten the munificent appropriation, in 1814, of sixteen thousand dollars a year for ten years to the three colleges in the state, of which ten sixteenths were allotted to Cambridge; an act of public bounty never to be mentioned but in the language of admiration and gratitude. A fourth part of this sum was given in aid of the education of meritorious young men in indigent circumstances, and the residue was appropriated to building the Medical College in Boston, and University Hall at Cambridge.

I am not, however, of the number of those, if any there are, who have despaired of the renewal of the public patronage in favor of our colleges. Our ancient and venerable commonwealth has not changed her character. Old and prosperous, she will not cast off the interests which she found means to foster in her youth and her poverty. If in this generous career she has paused, it has been to gather strength to move onward more vigorously. She has had other great objects of her bounty. She has had hospitals to found, and asylums to endow, and she has done it with a munificence that gladdens the heart of her dutiful children. The wealth of the Indies could not purchase for her the riches of character she has laid up for herself in these endowments; and now that she has provided for these worthy objects, has established an ample fund in aid of her schools, has taught the blind to see, and the deaf to hear, and gathered the forlorn and desolate of every name into her maternal bosom, she will renew, I doubt not, that care for the higher interests of education which formed her glory in other times.

By the constitution of the commonwealth, it is made "the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the university at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns." Since the formation of the constitution, three new colleges have been chartered by the legislature, two of which have, equally with Cambridge, a claim on the parental bounty of the commonwealth. The constitution recom-

mends them equally with us to your fostering care. I rejoice in the liberal grant to one of them the last session, as an indication that a feeling, on the part of the legislature, in favor of extending the public patronage to the collegiate institutions, is still alive and active. It is one of the pleasantest circumstances connected with the present application, that the several colleges are united in it. We are happy — I know I may speak for my brethren as well as for Cambridge — thus to coöperate with each other; and in asking a boon for ourselves, to ask it at the same time for our sister seminaries. I will not pretend to say I had *rather* it should go to them than to us. We are not commanded to love our neighbor more than ourselves; but I do say, with great truth, that, should we obtain the aid we ask for, it will heighten our satisfaction that it is shared by our colleagues.

EULOGY ON JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

A considerable resemblance will be perceived, in the narrative part, between the following eulogy and other discourses of the same description, which have been published since President Adams's decease. This similarity arises from the fact that the biographical portion of all these performances (as far as I am aware) has for the most part been derived, directly or indirectly, from a common source, viz., the memoir prepared for the National Portrait Gallery, in 1839, by Mr C. W. Upham, of Salem. That memoir was drawn up from authentic sources, and is the principal authority for the biographical notices contained in the following pages. It has, however, been in my power to extend some of the details, and to add others wholly new, from materials kindly furnished to me by Mr Charles Francis Adams, from the papers of his honored father. A few facts have been given from personal recollection; and their number could have been greatly increased, had the nature of the occasion rendered it proper to enlarge upon the subject of Mr Adams's administration, during the whole of which, as a member of Congress possessing his confidence, and for the last half of his administration as chairman of the committee of foreign affairs, I had occasion to be in constant and intimate communication with him.

The communications of the Hon. Joseph E. Sprague to the Salem Register, written during the period preceding the presidential election of 1824, contain a great deal of information of the highest value and interest, relative to the life, services, and career of Mr Adams.

Some new facts of interest are contained in the admirable funeral sermon delivered by Rev. Mr Lunt, at Quincy, a performance rendering any further eulogy superfluous.

A few passages in the following discourse, omitted in the delivery on account of its length, are inserted in the printed copy.

Cambridge, *17th April,* 1848.

* Pronounced in Faneuil Hall, on the 15th of April, 1848, at the unanimous request of the legislature of Massachusetts.

EULOGY.

May it please Your Excellency,
and you, Gentlemen of the Legislature:

You have devolved upon me the honorable duty of delivering a eulogy on the life and character of the late President Adams; but the performance of that duty has been already, in no small degree, anticipated. Most eloquent voices in the two Houses of Congress, inspired by the emotions which the great closing scene was so well calculated to produce, have been heard in commemoration of his talents, his services, and his worth. Distinguished members of your own honorable bodies have given utterance, on behalf of the people of Massachusetts, to those feelings of respect and admiration, with which they claim him as their own. The funeral obsequies have been performed, in the most solemn and touching manner, at the seat of government. The population of the great cities of the Union has formed, I had almost said, one mighty funeral procession, to pay the last passing tribute to the mortal remains of the departed statesman, as they have been borne through the country, with that unexampled and most honorable attendance of a congressional delegation from every state in the Union. Those honored relics have been received with every demonstration of public respect within these venerated walls; and they have been laid down in their final resting-place, with rites the most affecting and impressive, amidst the tears and blessings of relatives, friends, and neighbors, in his village home.

Falling, as he has done, at a period of high political excitement, and entertaining and expressing, as he ever did,

opinions the most decided in the boldest and most uncompromising manner, he has yet been mourned, as an object of respect and veneration, by good men and patriots of every party name. Leaders, that rarely met him or each other but in opposition, unite in doing honor to his memory, and have walked side by side in the funeral train.

His eulogy has been pronounced, as far as some of the wisest and ablest in the land can do justice to the theme. His death has been lamented, as far as such a close of such a career can be a subject of lamentation. The sable drapery that hangs around us still recalls the public sorrow, with which all that was mortal of the lamented patriot was received beneath this consecrated roof. Gladly, as far as I am concerned, would I leave in silence the illustrious subject of these mournful honors to the reverent contemplation of his countrymen, the witnesses of his career; of the young men who will learn it, in part, from still recent tradition; and of those who succeed us, who will find the memorials of his long, laborious, and eventful life, in the archives of the country and on the pages of its history.

But you, gentlemen of the legislature, have ordered otherwise. You have desired that a more formal expression of respect for the memory of our illustrious fellow-citizen should be made, at this time, on your behalf. You have wished to place on record a deliberate testimonial of your high sense of his exalted worth. Leaving to the historian of the country to fill some of his brightest and most instructive pages with the full description of his various, long-continued, and faithful services, you have wished, while the impression of his loss is still fresh upon our minds, that those services should be the subject of such succinct review and such honest eulogium, as the nature of the occasion admits, and as it has been in my power, under the pressure of other engagements, most imperfectly to prepare.

Permit me to add, gentlemen, that I find, in the circumstances under which you have invited me to this duty, the rule which ought to govern me in its performance. By a legislature composed of members belonging to the various

political parties of the day, I have been unanimously requested to undertake this honorable and delicate trust. I see, in this fact, the proof, that it is as little your expectation as your wish that the eulogy should rekindle the animosities, if any there be, which time has long since subdued, and death has, I trust, extinguished forever. I come, at your request, to strew flowers upon the grave of an illustrious fellow-citizen, not to dig there, with hateful assiduity, for roots of bitterness. I shall aim to deprive my humble narrative of all the interest which it would derive from espousing present or past controversies. Some such I shall wholly pass over; to some I shall but allude; on none shall I dwell further than is necessary to acquit my duty. Called to survey a career which commences with the revolution, and covers the entire political history of the country as an independent nation, there are no subjects of absorbing political interest, ever agitated in the country, which it would not be easy to put in requisition on this occasion; subjects, in reference to which the roof that covers us, from the year 1764 to the present day, has resounded with appeals, that have stirred the public heart to its inmost fibre. Easy, did I say? The difficulty will rather be to avoid these topics of controversy, and yet do any thing like justice to the occasion and the theme. But I am sure that I shall consult your feelings not less than my own, if I try to follow our illustrious fellow-citizen through the various stages of his career, without mingling ourselves in the party struggles of the day; to exhibit him in the just lineaments and fair proportions of life, without the exaggerated colorings of passion; true to nature, but serene as the monumental marble; warm with the purest sympathies and deepest affections of humanity, but purified and elevated into the earthly transfiguration of genius, patriotism, and faith.

John Quincy Adams was of a stock in which some of the best qualities of the New England character existed in their happiest combination. The basis of that character lies in what, for want of a better name, we must still call "Puritanism," connected as that term of reproach is, with some asso-

ciations calculated to lessen our respect for one of the noblest manifestations of our nature. But, in the middle of the last century, Puritanism in New England had laid aside much of its sternness and its intolerance, and had begun to reconcile itself with the milder charities of life; retaining, however, amidst all classes of the population, as much patriarchal simplicity of manners as probably ever existed in a modern civilized community. In the family of the elder President Adams, the narrow range of ideas, which, in most things, marked the first generation, had been enlarged by academic education, and by the successful pursuit of a liberal profession; and the ancient severity of manners had been still further softened by the kindly influences exerted by a mother, who, in the dutiful language of him whom we now commemorate, "united all the virtues which adorn and dignify the female and the Christian character."

The period at which he was born was one of high and stirring interest. A struggle impended over the colonies, differing more in form than in its principles from that which took place in England a little more than a century earlier. The agitations which preceded it were of a nature to strain to their highest tension both the virtues and capacities of men. Of the true character of the impending events, no one seems earlier to have formed a distinct conception than the elder President Adams. He appears, at the very commencement of the Seven Years' war, and when he was but twenty years old, to have had a general anticipation of all the great events which have successively taken place for the last century. He seems dimly to have foreseen, even then, the independence of the colonies, and the establishment of a great naval power in the west. The capture of Quebec, followed by the total downfall of the French power on this continent, while it promised, as the first consequence, an indefinite extension of the British empire, suggested another train of results to the far-sighted and reflecting. History presents to us but few coincidences more instructive than that which unites the peace of 1763, which ratified these great successes of British policy and British arms, with the con-

ception of that plan of American taxation, which resulted in the severance of the British empire. John Adams perceived, perhaps, before any other person, that the mother country, in depriving France of her American colonies, had dispossessed herself of her own. The first battles of American independence were gained on the Heights of Abraham.

I revert to these events, because they mark the character of the period when the life which we commemorate began. The system of American taxation was adopted in 1764. The stamp act was passed in 1765. The Essays on the Canon and Feudal Law, of President Adams, were written the same year. In 1766, the stamp act was repealed, but the repeal was accompanied with the assertion of a right to tax America. This right was exercised the following year by the imposition of duties on several articles imported into the colonies; and on the eleventh of July of that year, John Quincy Adams was born. He came into life with the struggling rights of his country. "The cradle hymns of the child were the songs of liberty."* He received the first parental instructions from one to whom the United Colonies had already begun to look for encouragement and guidance in the mighty crisis of their fate.

It would be interesting to trace, in their operation upon the opening mind of the child, the effect of the exciting events of the day. Beneath the roof of the elder Adams, the great doctrines of English liberty, for which our fathers contended, were household words. He was barely three years old, when his father — the ardent patriot, the zealous son of liberty — appeared in court as the counsel for the soldiers who had fired upon the people in Boston, on the fifth of March, 1770. Two years later, his father was negatived by the royal governor as a member of the executive council. In 1774, the port of Boston was shut, the Continental Congress agreed upon, and his father elected one of the four delegates who represented Massachusetts in that assembly at Philadelphia. In 1775, the appeal was made to arms; and George Washington was appointed to the chief command of the American

* Mr Senator Davis.

forces, on the emphatic recommendation of John Adams. In 1776, independence was declared, on the report of a committee, on which Thomas Jefferson and John Adams stood first and second, and was triumphantly carried through Congress, mainly by the fervid eloquence of Adams. All these great events, — eras in our history, (and may I not say, eras in the civilized world? witness the convulsions now shaking continental Europe to the centre,) — although they occupy but a few chapters in the compends in which we read them, filled years of doubtful, strenuous, resolute exertion in the lives of our fathers. They were brought home to the fireside at which young Adams was trained, by his father's daily participation; by his letters, when absent; by the sympathizing mother's anxieties, hopes, and fears. There was not a time for years when, to ask the question under that roof, "Will America establish her liberties?" would not have been asking, in other words, "Shall we see our father's face in peace again?" It may fairly be traced to these early impressions, that the character of John Quincy Adams exhibited through life so much of what is significantly called "the spirit of seventy-six."

And here I may be permitted to pause for a moment, to pay a well-deserved tribute of respect to the memory of the excellent mother, to whose instructions so much of the subsequent eminence of the son is due. No brighter example exists of auspicious maternal influence, in forming the character of a great and good man. Her letters to him, some of which have been preserved and given to the world, might almost be called a manual of a wise mother's advice. The following passage from one of her published letters, written when her son was seven years old, will show how the minds of children were formed in the revolutionary period. "I have taken," she says, "a very great fondness for reading Rollin's Ancient History since you left me. I am determined to go through with it, if possible, in these days of my solitude. I find great pleasure and entertainment from it, and have persuaded Johnny to read a page or two every day, and hope he will, *from his desire to oblige me*, entertain a

fondness for it." In that one phrase lies all the philosophy of education. The child of seven years, who reads a serious book with fondness, from his desire to oblige his mother, has entered the high road of usefulness and honor.

The troubled state of the times probably interfered with school education. John Quincy Adams, I believe, never went to a school in America. Besides the instruction which he received from his mother, he was aided by the young gentlemen who studied law under his father. It is to one of these that allusion is made, in the following child's letter, written to his father, at Philadelphia, before he was ten years old, which I think you will not be displeased at hearing from the original manuscript.

"BRAINTREE, *June the 2d*, 1777.

"DEAR SIR: I love to receive letters very well, much better than I love to write them. I make but a poor figure at composition; my head is much too fickle. My thoughts are running after bird's eggs, play, and trifles, till I get vexed with myself. Mamma has a troublesome task to keep me steady, and I own I am ashamed of myself. I have but just entered the third volume of Smollett, though I had designed to have got half through it by this time. I have determined this week to be more diligent, as Mr Thaxter will be absent at court, and I cannot pursue my other studies. I have set myself a stint, and determine to read the third volume half out. If I can but keep my resolution, I will write again at the end of the week, and give a better account of myself. I wish, sir, you would give me some instructions with regard to my time, and advise me how to proportion my studies and my play, in writing, and I will keep them by me and endeavor to follow them. I am, dear sir, with a present determination of growing better, Yours,

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

"P. S. Sir, if you will be so good as to favor me with a blank-book, I will transcribe the most remarkable occurrences I meet with in my reading, which will serve to fix them upon my mind."

Such was the boy at the age of ten years!

We shall find, in the sequel, that the classical rule was not departed from, in the further progress of his character.

———————— "servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit. et sibi constet."

At this early period of his life, the horizon at once bursts widely open before him. From the bosom of a New England village, in which he had never been to school, he is transferred, before he is eleven years old, to the capital of France. Among the great movements of the revolution, no one was of greater importance than the alliance with France. It gave a character to the struggle in the eyes of the world, and eventually threw the whole political weight of continental Europe into the American scale. In the course of 1776, Silas Deane, Dr Franklin, and Arthur Lee, were appointed commissioners to France, on behalf of Congress. Deane was recalled the following year, and in the month of November, 1777, John Adams was appointed his successor. Desirous of giving his son, then ten years and a half of age, those advantages of education which his native country did not at that time afford, he took him to France. They sailed in the Boston frigate, commanded by Commodore Tucker, on the thirteenth of February, 1778, and reached Bordeaux in the month of April, after a tempestuous passage over an ocean covered with the enemy's cruisers.

The father established himself at Passy, the residence of Dr Franklin; and here, for the first time, I find any mention of the son's receiving any other instruction than that of the fireside. Here he was sent to school, and laid the foundation for that intimate acquaintance with the French language which he retained through life, and which was of the greatest service to him in his subsequent diplomatic career. It needs scarcely be added, that the occasional intercourse of Dr Franklin, and of the eminent persons of almost every part of Europe, who sought the society of the American commissioners at Passy, was not lost upon one, who, though still in his boyhood, possessed uncommon maturity of character.

The counsels of the faithful and affectionate mother followed him beyond the sea. In one of the admirable letters to which I have referred, written during the visit to France, she says, "Let me enjoin it upon you to attend constantly and steadfastly to the instructions of your father, as you

value the happiness of your mother, and your own welfare. His care and attention to you render many things unnecessary for me to write which I might otherwise do. But the inadvertency and heedlessness of youth require line upon line and precept upon precept, and, when enforced by the joint efforts of both parents, will, I hope, have a due influence upon your conduct; for, dear as you are to me, I would much rather you should have found your grave in the ocean you have crossed, or that any untimely death should crop you in your infant years, than see you an immoral, profligate, or graceless child."*

How faithfully the favored child availed himself of his uncommon privileges, needs hardly be said. At an age when the most forward children are rarely distinguished, except among their fellows at school, he had attracted the notice of many of the eminent persons who cultivated the acquaintance of his father. Mr John Adams, in a letter to his wife. of the fourteenth of May, 1779, says, "My son has had great opportunities to see this country; but this has unavoidably retarded his education in some other things. He has enjoyed perfect health from first to last, and is respected wherever he goes for his vigor and vivacity, both of mind and of body, for his constant good humor, and for his rapid progress in French, as well as for his general knowledge, which at his age is uncommon." Though proceeding from the fond pen of a father, there is no doubt this character was entirely true.†

The treaty of alliance with France had been concluded in the interval between Mr Adams's appointment and his arrival. Dr Franklin was appointed resident minister to the court of Versailles, and Mr Lee to Madrid; and after a residence of about a year and a half at Paris, Mr Adams, without waiting to be recalled, determined to return to the United States. He was invited by the king to take passage, with his son, on board the French frigate *La Sensible*, which was appointed to convey to America the Chevalier de la Luzerne.

* Mrs Adams's Letters, Vol. I. p. 123.

† The following letter, written from school to his father, is without date,

the first minister to the United States, and the secretary of legation, the Marquis Barbé-Marbois, afterwards well known through all the phases of the French revolution. They landed in Boston on the second of August, 1779. At the moment of their return to the United States, an election was in progress for delegates to the convention which formed the constitution of Massachusetts, and Mr Adams, barely landed in America, was returned for his native town of Braintree.

The convention assembled in Cambridge, on the first of September, 1779, and, having chosen a committee of thirty-one to prepare their work, adjourned to the twenty-eighth of October. John Adams was of this committee, and, on the day of the adjournment, reported the first draught of a Declaration of Rights and a Constitution. In the interval, he had received from Congress a new commission, to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, and, on the fourteenth of November, 1779, he again took passage on board *La Sensible*, on her return voyage to Europe. He had barely passed three months in the country, during which he had drawn up a constitution, that remains, after seventy years, — in all material respects,

bnt must have been written shortly after his arrival in France. It is not without interest, as a memorial of the first steps of a great mind.

"My work for a day: —
"Make Latin,
Explain Cicero,
" Erasmus,
" Appendix,
Peirce Phædrus, (qu. parse,)
Learn Greek Racines,
" Greek Grammar,
Geography,
Geometry,
Fractions,
Writing,
Drawing.

"As a young boy cannot apply himself to all those things, and keep a remembrance of them all, I should desire that you would let me know what of those I must begin upon at first.

"I am your dutiful son,
John Quincy Adams."

— the frame of government under which we live; has served, in some degree, as a model for other state constitutions, and even for that of the United States; and under which, as we hope, our children, to the latest posterity, will continue to enjoy the blessings of rational liberty. I have dwelt a moment longer on these incidents, to illustrate the domestic influences under which John Quincy Adams was trained.

He was again the companion of his father on this second wintry voyage to Europe. The frigate sprung a leak through stress of weather, and, though bound to Brest, was forced to put into Ferrol, a port in the north-western corner of Spain. Here they arrived on the seventh of December, and were obliged to perform the journey partly on horses and mules through Gallicia, Asturias, and Biscay, in midwinter, to Paris. Mr Adams was accompanied, on this voyage, by Charles, his second son, long since deceased, and by Mr Francis Dana, afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts, then acting as secretary of legation to Mr Adams. Mr Adams remained in Paris till midsummer of 1780, during which time the children were again placed at a boarding-school. In July of that year, he repaired to Holland, with a commission from Congress to negotiate a treaty with the republic of the Netherlands, for the recognition of the independence of the United States. The boys were sent to the public school of the city of Amsterdam, and afterwards transferred to the academical department of the university at Leyden, at that time not inferior in celebrity to any place of education on the continent of Europe. In July, 1781, Mr Dana, who, in the preceding October, had received a commission from Congress as minister plenipotentiary to the court of St Petersburg, started for that capital, taking with him John Quincy Adams as private secretary and interpreter, being then just fourteen years of age. In this capacity, he was recognized by Congress; and there is, perhaps, no other case of a person so young being employed in a civil office of trust, under the government of the United States. But in Mr Adams's career there was no boyhood.

The youthful secretary remained at St Petersburg till October, 1782, during which period, the nature of his occupations was such as to perfect his knowledge of the French language, and to give him, young as he was, no small insight into the political system of Europe, of which the American question was, at that time, the leading topic. He also devoted himself with assiduity to his studies, and pursued an extensive course of general reading. The official business of the American minister, who was not publicly received by the Empress Catharine, was mostly transacted with the Marquis de Verac, the French ambassador, between whom and Mr Dana, young Adams acted as interpreter.* In October, 1782, Mr Adams senior brought to a close his arduous mission in Holland, by concluding a treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce with the States-General, which remains in force between the two countries to this day. On the very next day, he started for Paris, to perform his duty, as joint commissioner with Dr Franklin and Mr Jay, to negotiate with the British envoys for peace; and, about the same time, his son left St Petersburg for Holland. The young man, then but a little more than fifteen years of age, made the long journey from the Russian capital alone, passing through Sweden, Denmark, and the Hanse towns, and arriving at the Hague in the spring of 1783. Here his studies were resumed, and pursued for a few months, till he was sent for by his father to Paris, where he was present at the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, in the month of September, 1783. I remember to have heard him say, that, acting as his father's secretary, he prepared one of the copies of that treaty.

The two succeeding years were passed by young Adams mostly with his father, in England, Holland, and France, in which several countries Mr Adams senior was employed on the public business. During this period, his attention was divided between his studies, elementary and classical, and his employment as his father's secretary. "Congress are at such grievous expense," his father writes, "that I shall have

* Mrs Adams's Letters, Vol. II. p. 157.

no other secretary than my son. He, however, is a very good one. He writes a good hand very fast, and is steady to his pen and his books." * By the time he had reached the age of eighteen, besides being well advanced in the branches of study usually taught at schools, he was, no doubt, one of the most accomplished young men of his time. In addition to a good foundation in Latin and Greek, he was master of the French ; he had read extensively in that language and in the English ; he had seen several of the principal countries of Europe ; and he had watched, with a closeness beyond his years, but required by his position, the political history of Europe during a very eventful *lustrum*. In short, since he was twelve years old, he had talked with men.

But his own judgment suggested to him that a longer residence in Europe was not, at this time, expedient. His father was appointed minister to the court of St James, in May, 1785 ; and, resisting the temptation to take up his residence with the family at London, now joined by that beloved mother from whom he had been so long separated, the son obtained the permission of his parents to return to the United States, for the sake of completing his academic education at Cambridge. He arrived in New York, in July, 1785. He was the bearer of a long letter from Mr Jefferson, then minister of the United States at Paris, to Mr Vice-President Gerry, in which Mr Jefferson says, "I congratulate your country on their prospect in this young man." He passed about six months at Haverhill, in the family of the Rev. Mr Shaw, his maternal relative, during which time he read over the books in which it was necessary to be examined for admission to advanced standing at college, none of which, with the exception of Horace, had been read by him before. He was admitted to the junior class at the university on the fifteenth of March, 1786. The usual payment required of students entering to advanced standing was, in his case, dispensed with ; "the corporation and overseers having voted, as a mark of gratitude to his father for the important services

* Letters of John Adams, Vol. II. p. 102.

rendered by him to the United States, that he should be admitted free of all charge to whatever standing he should, upon examination, be found qualified for."* Thus began his connection with the university, of which he remained, for the rest of his life, a dutiful and an honored son, and a liberal benefactor.

Possessing, by nature, talents of the highest order, especially that which is among the soonest developed in the human mind, the talent of memory, — having enjoyed great and peculiar advantages for general improvement, in Europe, — and now applying himself, with untiring assiduity, to his studies, he was soon generally regarded as standing at the head of his class. Such is the testimony of a venerable magistrate, (Mr Justice Putnam,) who permits me to quote his authority, himself one of the most distinguished members of the class. I may add, on the same authority, that Adams, though of manners somewhat reserved, was distinguished for his generous feelings, his amiable temper, and engaging social qualities, to all which were added unshaken firmness of principle, and spotless purity of life. He was, from the outset, eminently one of those, who, in the golden words of President Kirkland, "need not the smart of guilt to make them virtuous, nor the regret of folly to make them wise." He took his first degree at the commencement of 1787, receiving the second place in the usual assignment of college honors, the first having been given to a classmate who, to distinguished scholarship in other respects, was thought to add superior skill in declamation. The subject of his oration shows the mature cast of his thought. It was "The Importance and Necessity of Public Faith to the Well-Being of a Community."

He immediately commenced the study of the law at Newburyport, under the late Chief Justice Parsons, who had already attained the reputation, in this part of the country, of being the most acute and learned jurist of the day. At the end of his three years' novitiate, Mr Adams removed to

* College Records.

Boston, and established himself in the practice of his profession. Three eventful years at home; in which the constitution of the United States had been framed and adopted, and George Washington and John Adams elected to the two first offices under the new government. Three eventful years abroad; in which the French revolution — the first French revolution — had moved rapidly forward from that stage of early promise, in which it had the sympathy of the friends of liberty in England and America, towards those excesses and crimes, which caused it to be afterwards viewed with anxiety, disgust, and horror. Mr Adams was among the first who suspected the downward tendency. In 1791, he wrote a series of articles in the Boston Centinel, with the signature of Publicola, which were intended as a corrective to some of the doctrines in Paine's Rights of Man. These fugitive essays were republished in London as an answer to Paine's work, and there ascribed to the author's father, John Adams. In 1793, on the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France, a question of the utmost importance arose, how far the United States were bound, by the treaty of alliance with France, to take sides in the controversy. The division of opinion on this point, which commenced in the cabinet of General Washington, extended throughout the country. The question was at length practically decided, by President Washington's proclamation of neutrality. Before that important document appeared, Mr Adams had published a short series of articles in the Boston Centinel, with the signature of Marcellus, maintaining the same doctrine. In these papers, he developed the two principles on which his policy as an American statesman rested, — union at home, and independence of all foreign combinations abroad.* On the fourth of July, 1793, he delivered the usual anniversary oration before the citizens of Boston; and, in the course of the following winter, he wrote another series of articles for the public papers, with the signature of Columbus, in which the neutral policy of the United States was further developed and

* Mr Upham's Memoir.

maintained, and the principles of the law of nations, applicable to the situation of the country, in reference to the European belligerents, more fully unfolded.

I dwell upon these fugitive essays, thrown off, no doubt, in brief hours of leisure, amidst the occupations of a laborious profession, because they established at once the reputation of their author as one of the soundest thinkers and most forcible writers of the day. They exercised a decided influence over his career in life. They were read at the seat of government; and, in the month of May, 1794, without any previous intimation of his design, either to his father the Vice-President, or himself, President Washington nominated Mr John Q. Adams minister resident at the Hague, — a diplomatic station, at that period, scarcely inferior to the leading courts. Mr Adams arrived in Holland about the time of the French invasion, and the consequent disorganization of the government and the country. The embarrassments arising from this state of things led him to think of resigning his office and coming home; but it was the advice of the President,* accompanied with the approval of his conduct, that he should remain at his post. In the last year of his administration, (1796,) Washington appointed him minister plenipotentiary to Lisbon.

About this period of his life, and during a temporary residence in London, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty with Great Britain, and making arrangements for executing some of its provisions, the acquaintance of Mr Adams commenced with the daughter of Mr Joshua Johnson, of Maryland, — a gentleman then acting as consular agent of the United States at London. A matrimonial engagement took place, which resulted, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1797, in his marriage with the accomplished and venerable lady, who, for more than fifty years, was the faithful partner of his affections and honors, and survives to deplore his loss.

Mr Adams senior was chosen President of the United

* Washington's Works, Vol. XI. p. 56.

States in the autumn of 1796. On this occasion, he was naturally led to contemplate with some anxiety the public relations of his son. On this point he took counsel of the truest of friends and safest of advisers, President Washington, and received from him that celebrated letter of the twentieth of February, 1797, a sentence from which is inscribed on yonder wall: "I give it as my decided opinion, that Mr Adams is the most valuable character we have abroad, and that he will prove himself to be the ablest of all our diplomatic corps." With this opinion, he expressed the hope and the wish, that Mr Adams's advancement might not be checked by an over-delicacy on his father's part.

Circumstances rendering it inexpedient, at that time, to establish the mission to Portugal, Mr Adams's destination was changed to Berlin. He received the appointment as minister to Prussia on the thirty-first of May, 1797. In the summer of 1798, retaining his office as minister to Prussia, he was commissioned to negotiate a treaty with Sweden. During his mission at Berlin, he concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, after a very able and protracted negotiation, in which the rights of neutral commerce were discussed by Mr Adams and the Prussian commissioners. In the summer of 1800, he made a tour in Silesia, and wrote an interesting and instructive series of letters, containing the result of his observations. They were published without his consent in the Portfolio, at Philadelphia, collected in a volume at London, and translated into French and German. With a view to perfect his acquaintance with the German, Mr Adams, during his residence at Berlin, executed a complete metrical version of Wieland's Oberon, not being aware at the time that it had been already translated in England.

He was recalled towards the close of his father's administration, but did not arrive in America till September, 1801. In the following spring, he was elected to the senate of Massachusetts for the county of Suffolk, and in the course of the year was chosen by the legislature a senator of the United States, for the senatorial term commencing on the third of March, 1803. His term of service in the senate of

the United States fell upon one of the great periods of crisis in our political history. The party which had supported his father, and to which he himself belonged, had fallen into divisions, in the course of his father's administration. These divisions had contributed to the revolution by which Mr Jefferson was brought into power. The excitements growing out of this state of things were not yet allayed, but connected themselves, as all domestic contests did, with the absorbing questions that grew out of the foreign relations of the country, in the war which then raged in Europe, and threatened to draw America into the vortex. The senators of Massachusetts differed in their views of the policy required by the emergency; and those adopted by Mr Adams, who supported the administration, being at variance with the opinions of a majority of his constituents, he resigned his seat in the senate, in March, 1808.

The repose from political engagements, thus afforded him, was devoted by Mr Adams to the further prosecution of pursuits in which he was already engaged, and which, to him, were scarcely less congenial. His literary tastes had always been fondly and assiduously cultivated, and, for a public man, his habits were decidedly studious. On the death of President Willard, in 1804, several of the influential friends of Harvard College had urged upon Mr Adams to allow himself to be considered as a candidate for the presidency of the university. These overtures he declined; but, in the following year, it was determined by the corporation to appoint a professor of rhetoric and oratory, on the foundation of Mr Boylston, and Mr Adams was chosen. He delivered his inaugural address in July, 1806, and continued to discharge the duties of the professorship, by the delivery of a course of lectures, and by presiding over the public exercises in declamation, till the month of July, 1809.

It was at this time, and as a member of one of the younger classes at college, that I first saw Mr Adams, and listened to his well-remembered voice, from the chair of instruction; little anticipating that, after the lapse of forty years, my own humble voice would be heard in the performance of this mournful office.

Some who now hear me will recollect the deep interest with which these lectures were listened to, not merely by the youthful audience for which they were prepared, but by numerous voluntary hearers from the neighborhood. They formed an era in the university; and were, I believe, the first successful attempt, in this country, at this form of instruction in any department of literature. They were collected and published in two volumes, completing the theoretical part of the subject. I think it may be fairly said, that they will bear a favorable comparison with any treatise, on the subject, at that time extant in our language. The standard of excellence, in every branch of critical learning, has greatly advanced in the last forty years; but these lectures may still be read with pleasure and instruction. Considered as a systematic and academical treatise upon a subject which constituted the chief part of the intellectual education of the Greeks and Romans, these lectures, rapidly prepared as they were delivered, and not revised by the author before publication, are not to be regarded in the light of a standard performance. But let any statesman or jurist, even of the present day, in America or Europe, — whose life, like Mr Adams's, has been actively passed in professional and political engagements at home and abroad, — attempt, in the leisure of two or three summers, — his mind filled with all the great political topics of the day, — to prepare a full course of lectures on any branch of literature, to be delivered to a difficult and scrutinizing, though in part a youthful audience, and then trust them to the ordeal of the press, and he will be able to estimate the task which was performed by Mr Adams.

From these, to him, not distasteful engagements, Mr Adams was soon recalled to the public service. In March, 1809, he was nominated by President Madison to the court of St Petersburg, and, in the summer of the same year, returned to the important court which he had visited twenty-eight years before, in his boyhood, as secretary to Mr Dana. He came at a critical juncture of affairs, and with great means and occasions of usefulness. The whole foreign world was, at this time, shut out from the continental courts, by the iron

rigor of the system of Napoleon. America, though little known at the imperial court, was regarded with interest, as a rising transatlantic state of great importance, and Mr Adams appeared as her first accredited representative. He was master of the two foreign languages, (the French and the German,) which, — to the exclusion of the native Russian, — are alone spoken in the political and court circles. He was thus enabled the more easily to form relations of more than ordinary kindness with the emperor and leading members of the imperial government, and it is well understood to have been through this instrumentality, that the emperor was led to offer his mediation to the United States and Great Britain, in the war then just commenced. The mediation was accepted by the American government, and Mr Adams was appointed, in conjunction with Messrs Gallatin and Bayard, to conduct the negotiation. Those gentlemen arrived at St Petersburg in July, 1813. The Emperor Alexander was absent on the great campaign of that year, but the conferences of the American commissioners were opened with Count Romanzoff, chancellor of the empire. The British government declined to negotiate under the mediation, and Messrs Bayard and Gallatin left St Petersburg in January, 1814, Mr Adams remaining, as resident minister.

But Great Britain, although nominally declining to negotiate under the mediation, accompanied her refusal with an offer to treat for peace with the United States directly, either at Gottenburg or London, and this offer was accepted by the American government, the preference being given to the former place. Mr Adams was accordingly appointed, in joint commission with Messrs Bayard, Clay, and Russell, to whom was afterwards added Mr Gallatin, to negotiate for peace at Gottenburg. Mr Adams received this commission in April, 1814, with instructions to proceed immediately to the place just named. He took passage from Revel in the first vessel, after the breaking up of the ice; and, after repeated delay and detention, and great risk from the same cause, he arrived at Stockholm on the twenty-fifth of May.

He there learned that an arrangement had been made by

Messrs Bayard and Gallatin, — who were in London, — with the British government, by which the seat of negotiation had been transferred to Ghent. An American sloop of war was then at Gottenburg, having, as a cartel, conveyed Messrs Clay and Russell to that place. Mr Adams accordingly proceeded from Stockholm to Gottenburg, and, embarking with Mr Russell on board the sloop of war, landed from her at the Texel, and thence proceeded by land to Ghent. There he arrived on the twenty-fourth of June, and on that day six months, the treaty of peace was signed. Mr Adams's name stands first on the list of the negotiators.

Mr Adams had been informed by the secretary of state, (Mr Monroe,) at the time he was appointed under the mediation of the emperor of Russia, that, in the event of the conclusion of peace, it was the intention of President Madison to nominate him as minister to London. He accordingly went to Paris, and was there during the presence of the allied monarchs and their armies, and in the Hundred Days. He was joined by his family in March, 1815. Their hardships and perils, in performing the journey from St Petersburg to France, in that time of universal commotion and uncertainty, would form an interesting narrative, for which, however, this is not the place. On the seventh of May, he received official information of his appointment; and although the ordinary communications between the two countries were interrupted, and the passage not unattended with delay and difficulty, he arrived in London on the fifteenth of May. He immediately engaged with his associate commissioners, Messrs Clay and Gallatin, in negotiating a convention of commerce with Great Britain, which was concluded on the third of July, 1815.

Having thus, in happy coincidence with his venerable father's career, coöperated in establishing a peace with Great Britain, he remained, like his father, in London, for two years, as the American minister at that court. He was then, in 1817, invited by President Monroe to return to America, as secretary of state under the new administration. I believe it was universally admitted, that a better appointment could

not have been made. It will be recollected, by many persons present, that General Jackson, then just beginning to exercise great political influence in the country, spoke of Mr Adams "as the fittest person for the office; — a man who would stand by the country in the hour of danger."

But the hour of danger did not arrive at home or abroad during the administration of Mr Monroe, which continued through two terms of office, for the whole of which Mr Adams was secretary of state. During this entire period, he maintained unbroken the most friendly relations with Mr Monroe, and gave a steady and efficient support to his administration. The office of secretary of state is, at all times, one of immense labor; never more so, than in the hands of Mr Adams. I presume no person in high office ever derived less assistance from those under him, or did more work with his own hands. No opinion, for which he was responsible, was ever taken on trust, upon the examination of others; no paper of any consequence, to which he was to sign his name, was the product of another man's mind. It would be foreign from my purpose, did time admit, to discuss the measures of public interest which engaged the attention of the government and people of the country during Mr Monroe's two terms of service in the presidency. His administration will ever be memorable, in our political history, for the substantial fusion of the two great political parties, which led to his unanimous reëlection in 1821. It will also be remembered for the acquisition of Florida, which was ceded by Spain as an indemnification for spoliations on our commerce. The treaty for this cession was negotiated, with consummate ability, by Mr Adams, and signed on the twenty-second of February, 1819. The independence of the Spanish provinces on this continent was also recognized under this administration, — a measure rather assented to than warmly approved by Mr Adams, for he doubted their capacity for self-government; an opinion of which the soundness is abundantly justified by passing events.

Out of the subsidence of the old parties sprung the vari-

ously contested presidential election of 1824. For a quarter of a century, a succession had been established from the department of state to the presidency. There were certainly good reasons, on the present occasion, why this practice should not be broken in upon; but, in addition to the successful candidate for the vice-presidency, (Mr Calhoun,) the south and the west brought three presidential candidates into the field, who divided the electoral vote, though unequally, with Mr Adams. The whole number of votes was two hundred and sixty-one, of which General Jackson received ninety-nine, and Mr Adams eighty-four. But I think it was calculated, at the time, that Mr Adams's vote, in the primary assemblies of the people, was not less than his rival's. The choice devolved upon the House of Representatives, for the second time since the formation of the present government. The first occasion was in 1801, when the constitution itself had nearly sunk under the struggle, which was prolonged through the second day, and to the thirty-sixth balloting. On the present occasion, the elements of a struggle equally perilous were thought to exist; and calculation was entirely at fault as to the result. The choice was decided on the first ballot, and fell upon Mr Adams. It was made known to him in advance of the official communication, by a personal and political friend, who happened to be present; and who, to my question, a few weeks after, how he received the intelligence, answered, "like a philosopher."

Mr Adams's administration was, in its principles and policy, a continuation of Mr Monroe's. The special object which he proposed to himself was, to bind the distant parts of the country together, and promote their mutual prosperity, by increased facilities of communication. Unlike Mr Monroe's, Mr Adams's administration encountered, from the outset, a formidable and harassing opposition. It is now, I believe, generally admitted to have been honest, able, and patriotic. This praise has lately been accorded to it, in the most generous terms, by distinguished individuals, in Congress and elsewhere, who were not numbered among its supporters. That

the President, himself, devoted to the public business the utmost stretch of his Herculean powers of thought and labor, hardly needs to be told.

Two incidents occurred during his administration, which ought not to be wholly passed over in this hasty sketch. One was the visit of Lafayette, whom Mr Adams received, at the presidential mansion, with an address of extraordinary eloquence and beauty. The other was the death of his venerable father, spared to the patriarchal age of ninety-one, and to see his son raised to the presidency; and dying, with his ancient associate, Jefferson, within a few hours of each other, on the fiftieth anniversary of independence, — which they had been associated in declaring.

At the close of the term of four years, for which Mr Adams was elected, General Jackson was chosen to succeed him. Mr Adams, I doubt not, left the office with a lighter heart than he entered it. It was, at this time, his purpose, — as he informed me himself, — on retiring from office, to devote himself to literary labors, and especially to writing the history of his father's life and times. Some commencement was made, by him, of the preliminary labors requisite for this great undertaking. He was, however, though past the meridian of life, in good health. He possessed an undiminished capacity of physical and intellectual action. He had an experience of affairs, larger and more various than any other man in America; and it was felt by the public, that he ought to be induced, if possible, to return to the political service of the country. He was accordingly chosen, at the next congressional election, to represent the people of his native district, in the House of Representatives of the United States.

It was, perhaps, a general impression among his personal friends, that, in yielding to this call, he had not chosen wisely for his happiness or fame. It was a step never before taken by a retiring chief magistrate. The experience and wisdom of his predecessors had often exerted a salutary influence over public opinion, for the very reason that their voice was heard only from the seclusion of private life, by

those who sought their counsel. Mr Adams was about to expose himself to the violence of political warfare, not always conducted with generosity on the floor of Congress. But, in deciding to obey the call of his constituents, he followed, I am confident, not so much the strong bent of his inclination, and the fixed habit of his life, as an inward, all-controlling sense of duty. He was conscious of his capacity to be useful, and his work was not yet done. Besides, he needed no indulgence, he asked no favor, he feared no opposition.

He carried into Congress the diligence, punctuality, and spirit of labor, which were his second — I had almost said his first — nature. My seat was, for two years, by his side; and it would have scarcely more surprised me to miss one of the marble columns of the hall from its pedestal, than to see his chair empty. The two great political questions of the day were those which related to the protective and financial systems. He was placed, by the speaker of the House, at the head of the committee on manufactures. He was friendly to the policy of giving our rising establishments a moderate protection against the irregular pressure of foreign competition. Believing that manufacturing pursuits — as the great school of mechanical skill — are an important element of national prosperity, he thought it unwise to allow the compensation of labor in this department to be brought down to the starvation standard of Europe. He was also a firm and efficient champion of the Bank of the United States, then subsisting under a charter of Congress, and, up to that time, conducted, as he thought, with integrity. On these, and all the other topics of the day, he took an active part, employing himself with assiduity in the committee-room, preparing elaborate reports, and occasionally, though not frequently, pouring out the affluence of his mind in debate.

I shall, perhaps, be pardoned for introducing here a slight personal recollection, which serves, in some degree, to illustrate his habits. The sessions of the last two days of, I think, the twenty-third Congress were prolonged, the one for nineteen, and the other for seventeen hours. At the close of

the last day's session, he remained in the hall of the House, the last seated member of the body. One after another of the members had gone home; many of them for hours. The hall — brilliantly lighted up, and gayly attended, as was, and perhaps is still, the custom at the beginning of the last evening of a session — had become cold, dark, and cheerless. Of the members who remained, to prevent the public business from dying for want of a quorum, most but himself were sinking from exhaustion, although they had probably taken their meals at the usual hours, in the course of the day. After the adjournment, I went up to his seat, to join company with him homeward; and as I knew he came to the House at eight o'clock in the morning, and it was then past midnight, I expressed a hope that he had taken some refreshment in the course of the day. He said he had not left his seat, but, holding up a bit of hard bread in his fingers, gave me to understand in what way he had sustained nature.

Such was his course in the House of Representatives, up to the year 1835, during which I was the daily witness of it, as an humble associate member. Had he retired from Congress at that time, it would have been, perhaps, rather with a reputation brought to the house, than achieved on the floor; a reputation "enough to fill the ambition of a common man," nay, of a very uncommon one; but it would probably have been thought that, surpassing most others, he had hardly equalled himself. But, from this time forward, for ten years, (1835—1845,) he assumed a position in a great degree new, and put forth a wonderful increase of energy and power. Some of the former questions, which had long occupied Congress, had been, at least for the time, disposed of, and new ones came up, which roused Mr Adams to a higher action of his faculties than he had yet displayed. He was now sixty-eight years of age, — a time of life, I need not say, at which, in most cases, the firmest frame gives way, and the most ardent temper cools; but the spirit of Mr Adams, bold and indomitable as his whole life showed it to be, blazed forth, from this time forward, for ten years, with a fervor and

strength which astonished his friends, and stands, as I think, almost, if not quite, without a parallel. I do not forget the limits prescribed to me by the circumstances under which I speak; but no one, capable of estimating the noblest traits of character, can wish me to slur over this period of Mr Adams's life; no one but must be touched with the spectacle which, day after day, and month after month, and session after session, was exhibited by him, to whom had now been accorded, by universal consent, the title of the "old man eloquent:" and far more deserving of it he was than the somewhat frigid rhetorician on whom it was originally bestowed. There he sat, the deepest stricken in years, but, of the whole body, the individual most capable of physical endurance and intellectual effort; his bare head erect, while younger men drooped; "his peremptory, eagle-sighted eye" unquenched, both by day and by night —

——— "intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri
Non metuens."

It is unnecessary to state that the new questions, to which I refer, were those connected with slavery. On no great question, perhaps, has the progress of public opinion been more decided, both in Europe and America, than on this subject. It is but a little more than a century since England eagerly stipulated with Spain for the right to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves from Africa. The carrying trade from the same ill-fated coasts to our own Southern States, then colonies, was conducted by the merchants and navigators of our own New England. Within the present generation, we have seen the slave trade denounced as a capital felony in both countries. I am not aware that any discussion of this subject, of a nature powerfully to affect the public mind, took place in Congress till full thirty years after the adoption of the constitution. It then arose on occasion of the admission of the state of Missouri into the Union, and on the proposition to incorporate into the constitution of that state the principle of the immortal ordinance of 1787, for the organization of the territory north-west of the Ohio, viz.,

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall be duly convicted." Mr Adams was in the department of state at the time of the admission of Missouri, and was not called upon to take any part in the discussion.

The general agitation of the subject in the community at large dates from a still more recent period, commencing about the time of Mr Adams's accession to the presidency. It was animated, no doubt, by the movement which took place about the same time in Great Britain, and which, in the course of a few years, resulted in that most illustrious act of Christian benevolence, by which, in a single day, eight hundred thousand fellow-beings passed from a state of bondage to one of unconditional freedom, and that without a cry or a gesture that threatened the public peace.

The public opinion of the United States, sympathizing, as it must at all times, with that of the other great branches of the human family, was deeply interested in the progress of these discussions abroad, and received a powerful impulse from their result. With the organized agitation, in the free states, of the questions connected with slavery, Mr Adams did not, as a citizen, I believe, intimately connect himself. Towards their introduction into Congress, as subjects of free discussion, he contributed more than any other man — than all others united. He approached the subject, however, with a caution inspired by a profound sense of its difficulty and delicacy. I know it to have been his opinion, as late as 1828, that, for the presidency and vice-presidency, the candidates ought to be selected from the two great sections of the country. His first act as a member of Congress, in 1831, was to present the memorial of the "Friends," of Philadelphia, praying, among other things, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; but, while he paid the highest tribute to the motives of the petitioners, he avowed himself not prepared to grant the prayer of the memorial. But whether it was that his own opinions and feelings had shared the movement of the general mind of the age on this

subject, or that he perceived, in the course of a few years, that the time had come when it must be met and discussed in all its aspects, — certain it is that, from the time the right of petition was drawn distinctly in question, Mr Adams placed himself boldly on that ground, and, from that time forward, stood firmly at his post, as the acknowledged congressional leader. No labor was too great, no attention too minute, to be bestowed by him in receiving and presenting the petitions which were poured into his hands from every part of the country. No strength or violence of opposition, or menaces of danger, deterred him from the office he had assumed; and every attempt to dishearten and silence him but established the more firmly the moral ascendency which he had acquired in the House. His warmest opponents, while they condemned his policy, admitted his sincerity, admired his courage, and owned his power. His rising to address the House became the signal for mute and respectful attention; the distant clustered round his seat; the listless and the idle gave heed, and every word that fell from his lips was listened to almost like the response of an oracle. I say this alike to the honor of the living and the dead.

I may be permitted to recall to your recollection the opening of the twenty-sixth Congress, in December, 1839, when, in consequence of a twofold delegation from New Jersey, the House was unable, for some time, to complete its organization, and presented to the country and the world the perilous and discreditable aspect of the assembled representatives of the people unable to form themselves into a constitutional body. Fully to enter into the scene, it must be remembered that there are no two ideas more deeply imbedded in the Anglo-Saxon mind than these: *one*, the omnipotence of every sovereign parliamentary and congressional body, (I mean, of course, within the limits of its constitutional competence,) and the *other*, the absolute inability of one of these omnipotent bodies to make the slightest movement, or perform the most indifferent act, except through a formal expression of its will by its duly-appointed organs. Now, on first assembling, the House has no officers, and the clerk of the preced-

ing Congress acts, by usage, as chairman of the body, till a speaker is chosen. On this occasion, after reaching the state of New Jersey, the acting clerk declined to proceed in calling the roll, and refused to entertain any of the motions which were made for the purpose of extricating the House from its embarrassment. Many of the ablest and most judicious members had addressed the House in vain, and there was nothing but confusion and disorder in prospect. Towards the close of the fourth day, Mr Adams rose, and expectation waited on his words. Having, by a powerful appeal, brought the yet unorganized assembly to a perception of its hazardous position, he submitted a motion requiring the acting clerk to proceed in calling the roll. This and similar motions had already been made by other members. The difficulty was, that the acting clerk declined to entertain them. Accordingly, Mr Adams was immediately interrupted by a burst of voices demanding, "How shall the question be put?" "Who will put the question?" The voice of Mr Adams was heard above the tumult, "I intend to put the question myself!" That word brought order out of chaos. There was the master mind. A distinguished member from South Carolina (Mr Rhett) moved that Mr Adams himself should act as chairman of the body till the House was organized, and, suiting the action to the word, himself put the motion to the House. It prevailed unanimously, and Mr Adams was conducted to the chair, amidst the irrepressible acclamations of the spectators. Well did Mr Wise of Virginia say, "Sir, I regard it as the proudest hour of your life; and if, when you shall be gathered to your fathers," (that time, alas! is now come,) "I were asked to select the words which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give at once the character of the man, I would inscribe upon your tomb this sentence, 'I will put the question myself.'"

And thus it was that he was established, at last, in a relation to the House which no man before had ever filled. The differences of opinion, of course, were great; the shock of debate often violent; but it was impossible not to respect the fearless, conscientious, unparalleled old man. Into this feel-

ing, at last, every other emotion subsided; and I know not to which party the greater praise is due — the aged statesman who had so nobly earned this homage, or the generous opponents by whom it was cheerfully paid.

Nor was this spontaneous deference a mere personal sentiment, confined to associates on the floor of Congress. It extended to the people. In the summer of 1843, Mr Adams made a journey to Niagara, with a family party, and in the month of November of the same year he visited Cincinnati by invitation, to lay the corner stone of an observatory about to be built by the liberal subscriptions of the friends of science in that city. His journeys on these occasions resembled a triumphal procession. New York and Ohio poured out the population of their cities and villages to bid him welcome. Since the visit of Lafayette, the country had seen nothing like it. And if I wished to prove to the young men of the country, by the most instructive instances, that the only true greatness is that which rests on a moral basis, I would point them to the ex-president of the United States, on the occasions referred to, and the ex-king of the French — the one retiring to private life, an unsuccessful, but not discredited, candidate for reëlection to the chair of state; ruling, in a serene old age, in the respect and affection of his fellow-citizens; borne, at seventy-six, almost on their shoulders, from one joyous reception to another; — the other, sovereign, but *yesterday*, of a kingdom stretching from Mount Atlas to the Rhine; master of an army capable of bidding defiance to Europe; with a palace for every month, and a revenue of three millions of francs for every day in the year; and *to-day* (let me not seem to trample on the fallen, as I utter the words) stealing with the aged partner of his throne and of his fall, in sordid disguise, from his capital; without one of that mighty host to strike a blow in his defence, if not from loyalty, at least from compassion; not daring to look round, even to see if the child were safe, on whom he had just bestowed the mockery of a crown; and compelled to beg a few francs, from the guards at his palace-door, to help him to flee from his kingdom!

But I have wandered from my theme, and must hasten with you to contemplate a far different termination of a more truly glorious career. On the twentieth of November, 1846, Mr Adams, being then at the house of his son, in Boston, and preparing for his departure for Washington, walked out, with a friend, to visit the new Medical College, and was struck with palsy by the way. He recovered strength enough to return in a few weeks to Washington, but it was, in his own estimation, the stroke of death. His journal — kept with regularity for more than half a century — stops that day; and when, after an interval of nearly four months, he resumed it, it was with the caption of Posthumous Memoir. Having recorded the event of the twentieth of November, and his subsequent confinement, he adds, "From that hour I date my decease, and consider myself, for every useful purpose to myself and fellow-creatures, dead; and hence I call this, and what I may hereafter write, a posthumous memoir." From this time forward, though his attendance was regularly given in the House of Representatives, he rarely took part in the debates. His summer was passed, as usual, in his native village. In the month of October last, he made a visit to Cambridge, as chairman of the committee on the observatory, — an institution in which he ever took the greatest interest, and of which he was, from the first, a most liberal benefactor, — and shortly afterwards drew up the admirable letter in reference to this establishment, and the promotion generally of astronomical science; a letter which attracted universal attention, a few weeks since, in the public prints. This was the last letter, I believe, of considerable length, wholly written with his own hand. He returned to Washington in the month of November, and resumed his usual attendance in the Capitol; but the sands were nearly run out.

Never did a noble life terminate in a more beautiful close. On Sunday, the twentieth of February, he appeared in unusual health. He attended public worship in the forenoon at the Capitol, and in the afternoon at St John's Church. At nine o'clock in the evening, he retired, with his wife, to his library, where she read to him a sermon of Bishop Wilber-

force, on Time, — hovering, as he was, on the verge of eternity. This was the last night which he passed beneath his own roof. On Monday, the twenty-first, he rose at his usual very early hour, and engaged in his accustomed occupations with his pen. An extraordinary alacrity pervaded his movements; the cheerful step with which he ascended the Capitol was remarked by his attendants; and at about half-past twelve, as he seemed rising in his seat in the House of Representatives, he was struck with death. His last audible words were, "This is the end of earth," — "I am composed." He continued to breathe, but without apparent consciousness, till the evening of the twenty-third instant, and died in the Capitol.

Go there, politician, and behold a fall worth all the triumphs the Capitol ever witnessed! Go there, sceptic, — you who believe that matter and mind are one, and both are a "kneaded clod," — and explain how it is that, within that aged and shattered frame, just sinking into the dust from which it was taken, there can dwell a principle of thought and feeling endued with such a divine serenity and courage, and composed, because it feels that the end of earth is the beginning of heaven!

Thus fell, at the post of duty, one of the most extraordinary men that have appeared among us, not so much dying, as translated from the field of his earthly labors and honors to a higher sphere. I have left myself little space or strength to add any thing to the narrative of his life, by way of portraying his character. Some attempt, however, of that kind, you will expect.

Mr Adams was a man of the rarest intellectual endowments. His perception was singularly accurate and penetrating. Whenever he undertook to investigate a subject, he was sure to attain the clearest ideas of it which its nature admitted. What he knew, (and few men knew as much,) he knew with great precision. His argumentative powers were of the highest order, and admirably trained. When he entered the field of controversy, it was a strong and a bold man that voluntarily encountered him a second time. His

memory was wonderful. Every thing he had seen or read, every occurrence in his long and crowded life, was at all times present to his recollection. This was the more remarkable, as he had, almost from the age of boyhood, followed the practice of recording, from day to day, every incident of importance, — a practice thought to weaken the memory. This wonderful power of recollection was aided by the strict method with which he pursued his studies for the earlier part of his life, and until weighed down by the burdens of executive office, on entering the department of state. He had, withal, a diligence which nothing could weary. He rose at the earliest hour, and had an occupation for every moment of the day.

Without having made a distinct pursuit of any one branch of knowledge, he was probably possessed of a greater amount and variety of accurate information than any other man in the country. It follows, of course, that he had pushed his inquiries far beyond the profession to which he was bred, or that reading which belongs directly to the publicist and the statesman. Few among us drank so deeply at the ancient fountains. To his acquaintance with the language and literature of Greece and Rome, he added the two leading languages of continental Europe, and of these he knew French as a second mother-tongue. The orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, the philosophical and rhetorical works of Cicero; the critical works of Aristotle and Quintilian; the historical works of Tacitus, (all of which he had translated at school;) a considerable part of the poems of Ovid, whom he greatly admired; the satires of Juvenal; in French, Pascal, Molière, and La Fontaine; in English, Shakspeare, his greatest favorite, with Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Burke, — were stamped upon his memory. These were studies which he never wholly sacrificed to the calls of business, however urgent. The office of President of the United States, at least as filled by Mr Adams, is one of extreme labor; but he found time, amidst its incessant calls and interruptions, to address a series of letters to his youngest son, — some of them written in

the busiest period of the session,—containing an elaborate analysis of several of the orations of Cicero, designed to aid the young man in the perusal of this, his favorite author. At the close of one of these letters, (as if it were impossible to fill up his industrious day,) he adds, that he is reading Evelyn's Sylva with great delight. Some of these letters would be thought a good day's work for a scholar by profession. But Mr Adams wrote with a rapidity and ease, which would hardly have been suspected from his somewhat measured style. Notwithstanding the finish of his sentences, they were, like Gibbon's, struck off at once, and never had to be retouched. I remember that once, as I sat by his side in the House of Representatives, I was so much struck with the neatness and beauty of the manuscript of a report of great length which he had brought into the House, and in which, as I turned over the leaves, I could not perceive an interlineation, that I made a remark to him on the subject. He told me it was the first draft, and had never been copied; and in that condition it was sent to the press, though sure, from the nature of the question discussed, to be the subject of the severest criticism.

To his profession Mr Adams gave but a few years of his life, and those not exclusively. He had, however, mastered the elementary learning and the forms of the law, and, in the fourth year after entering upon the practice, supported himself by his professional earnings. In later life, he appeared at the bar, on a few important occasions, with distinction and success. During his residence in Russia, Mr Madison made him an offer of a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, which he declined. As a public speaker, whether at the senate or the bar, he was grave, clear, and impressive,—formidable in retort, powerful in invective,—sometimes giving the reins to a playful fancy, and, when the subject and occasion admitted, vehement and impassioned,—neglectful of the lighter graces of manner, but, at all times, riveting the attention of his audience. When, at the age of seventy-four, he came into the Supreme Court at Washing-

ton, as the volunteer counsel of the Africans on board the Amistad, he displayed a forensic talent which would have added lustre to the brightest name in the profession.

But it is as a politician, as a statesman, and a chief magistrate, that he will hereafter be chiefly remembered in the annals of the country; and it will be among those who have served her the longest, the most zealously, the most ably, the most conscientiously. Breathing, as we do, an atmosphere heated with the passions of the day; swayed, as we all are, by our prejudices, it is not for us to sit in judgment on his political course. Impartiality in our opinions of those from whom we have differed, is often the name which we give to our own adverse conceptions. It is characteristic of most men, either from temperament or education, to lean decidedly either to the conservative or progressive tendency, which forms respectively the basis of our parties. In Mr Adams's political system, there was a singular mixture of both principles. This led him, early in his political career, to adopt a course which is sanctioned by the highest authorities and examples in the country, that of avoiding, as far as possible, an intimate and exclusive union with any party. This policy was studiously pursued by General Washington. He retained in his cabinet the two great rival leaders, (Mr Jefferson and General Hamilton,) as long as they could be prevailed upon to sit side by side; and in appointing ministers to Great Britain and to France, at a very critical period of our foreign relations, he acted upon the same principle. Mr Jefferson, in his inaugural address in 1801, says, "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists;" and, in 1817, General Jackson exhorted Mr Monroe to "destroy the monster, party." It was, I think, on the same principle that Mr Adams, when the state government of Massachusetts was organized in 1802, was desirous of constituting the executive council by a fair representation of the two parties. But this policy, I suspect, can never be effectively pursued at those periods when it would be of any importance, viz., times of high political excitement. A real independence of party ties, on

great questions and in difficult times, will, I fear, rarely be asserted without great personal sacrifices and violent collisions. Those whose general views are in sympathy, if separated on individual measures of great interest, become, for that very reason, the more estranged; and the confidence and admiration of years are succeeded by alienation and bitterness. Burke and Fox, the dearest of friends and the trustiest of allies, parted from each other on the floor of Parliament with tears, but still they parted, and forever. Happy the statesman, who, when the collisions of the day are past and forgotten, shall possess titles to the abiding respect and affection of his countrymen as brilliant and substantial as those of Mr Adams!

In the high offices which he filled in the government, he may be safely held up as a model of a public servant. As a diplomatist, his rank has been assigned by Washington. As an executive officer, the duty of the day, however uninviting, was discharged as if it were an object of the most attractive interest. The most obsolete and complicated claim, if it became necessary for Mr Adams to pass upon it, was sifted to the bottom with the mechanical patience of an auditor of accounts; and woe to the fallacy, if any there were, which lurked in the statement. A "report on weights and measures," prepared by Mr Adams in the ordinary routine of official duty, is entitled to the character of a scientific treatise. In executing the office of President of the United States, he was governed by two noble principles, oftener professed than carried into full practice. The first related to *measures*, and was an all but superstitious respect for the constitution and the law. Laboring as he did, by the strange perversity of party judgments, under the odium of latitudinarian doctrines, there never lived the public man, or the magistrate, who carried into every act of official duty a deeper sense of the binding power of the constitution and the law, as a rule of conduct from which there was no appeal. The second principle regarded *men*, and was that of conscientious impartiality. I do not mean that he did not confer important offices, when the nomination was freely at his discretion, or

political friends, — the services of none others can be commanded for places of high trust and confidence, — but political friendship never was the paramount consideration. He found a majority of the offices in the country in the possession of his political opponents, and he never removed one of them to make way for a friend. He invited Mr Crawford, a rival candidate for the presidency, to retain his seat in the cabinet as secretary of the treasury. He decided a long-standing controversy about rank, between the highest officers of the army, against his political interests. He brought to every question that required his decision, however wrapped up in personal considerations, the inflexibility of a judicial tribunal.

As a man, he had, no doubt, the infirmities of human nature, (fair subjects of criticism to the happy few who are immaculate,) but not, I think, those most frequently laid to his charge. He was not, for instance, parsimonious nor avaricious. Thrown, from his first start in life, upon his own resources, he determined to live within his means, and studied a decent economy; not because he loved money, but because he loved independence. That object attained, he ceased to exercise even ordinary thrift in the management of his affairs; but he did not cease, to the end of his life, to lend an ear to every call (public or private) upon his liberality, far beyond the extent of his income. He did not, as a minister abroad, load himself with debt, that he might enjoy the satisfaction of being distanced in a race of profusion with the foreign ambassadors, whose princely incomes are swelled by princely salaries; but, from the time of his first residence at Washington, as secretary of state, to the close of his presidency, and even of his life, the hospitality of his house and of his table was proverbial. Neither office, I believe, added a dollar to his fortune. He was plain in his personal habits and dress, because he was simple in his tastes and feelings. What attraction can there be to a thoughtful, studious man, with great affairs upon his hands and upon his thoughts, in the wretched and fatiguing vanities which are the principal sources of expense? There was an occasional abstraction

and reserve in his manner, which led those who did not observe him more closely to think him deficient in warmth and cordiality. But, while he wanted a certain cheerful flexibility and sprightliness, which, when accompanied with sincerity and frankness, are a very enviable endowment for a public man, — eminently useful in making friends, — yet, in real kindness of nature, and depth and tenderness of feeling, no man surpassed him. His venerable classmate (Judge Putnam) bears witness that he contributed his full share to the hilarity of the social circle; and sure I am there must be around me some who can remember, with me, the hours for which they have hung delighted on the fascination of his social converse. As far as the higher sympathies of our nature are concerned, — the master affections, whose sphere is far above the little conventional courtesies of life, — a warmer spirit never dwelt in a human frame.

But I have left untouched the great qualities of the man, the traits which form the heroism of his character, and would have made him, at all times, and in any career, a person of the highest mark and force. These were, his lion heart, which knew not the fear of man; and his religious spirit, which feared God in all things, constantly, profoundly, and practically. A person of truer courage, physical and moral, I think, never lived. In whatever calling of life he had grown up, this trait, I am sure, would have been conspicuous. Had be been a common sailor, he would have been the first to go to the mast-head, when the topsails were flying into ribbons. He never was called to expose his life in the field, but, had his duty required it, he was a man to lead a forlorn hope, with a steady step, through a breach spouting with fire. It was his custom, at a time when personal violence towards individuals politically obnoxious was not uncommon, to walk the unwatched and desolate streets of Washington alone, and before sunrise. This may be set down to the steadiness of nerves which is shared by men of inferior tone of mind. But in his place in the House of Representatives, — in the great struggle into which he plunged, from a conscientious sense of duty, in the closing years of his life, and in the

boldness and resolution with which he trod on ground never before thrown open to free discussion, — he evinced a moral courage, founded on the only true basis of moral principle, of which I know no brighter example. It was with this he warred, and with this he conquered; strong in the soundness of his honest heart, strong in the fear of God, — the last great dominant principle of his life and character.

There was the hiding of his power. There it was that he exhibited, in its true type, the sterling quality of the good old stock of which he came. Offices, and affairs, and honors, and studies, left room in his soul for *faith*. No man laid hold, with a firmer grasp, of the realities of life; but no man dwelt more steadily on the mysterious realities beyond life. He entertained a profound, I had almost said an obsolete, reverence for sacred things. The daily and systematic perusal of the Bible was an occupation with which no other duty was allowed to interfere. He attended the public offices of social worship with a constancy seldom witnessed in this busy and philosophic age. Still there was nothing austere or narrow-minded in his religion; there was no affectation of rigor in his life or manners; no unreflecting adoption of traditionary opinions in matters of belief. He remained, to the end of his days, an inquirer after truth. He regularly attended the public worship of churches widely differing from each other in doctrinal peculiarities. The daily entry of his journal, for the latter part of his life, begins with a passage extracted from Scripture, followed with his own meditation and commentary; and, thus commencing the day, there is little reason to doubt that, of his habitual reflections, as large a portion was thrown forward to the world of spirits as was retained by the passing scene.

The death of such a man is no subject of vulgar sorrow. Domestic affliction itself bows with resignation at an event so mature in its season; so rich in its consolations; so raised into sublimity by the grandeur of the parting scene. Of all the great orators and statesmen in the world, he alone has, I think, lived out the full term of a long life in actual service, and died on the field of duty, in the public eye, within the

halls of public council. The great majority of public men, who most resemble him, drop away satisfied, perhaps disgusted, as years begin to wane; many break down at the meridian; in other times and countries, not a few have laid their heads on the block. Demosthenes, at the age of sixty, swallowed poison, while the pursuer was knocking at the door of the temple in which he had taken refuge. Cicero, at the age of sixty-four, stretched out his neck from his litter to the hired assassin. Our illustrious fellow-citizen, in the fulness of his years and of his honors, upon a day that was shaking, in Europe, the pillars of a monarchy to the dust, fell calmly at his post, amidst venerating associates, and breathed his last within the Capitol.

> "And, which is best and happiest yet, all this
> With God not parted from him, —
> But favoring and assisting to the end.
> Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail,
> Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
> Dispraise or blame, — nothing but well and fair,
> And what may quiet us, in a death so noble."

THE CAMBRIDGE HIGH SCHOOL.*

May it please your Honor:

I rise, in obedience to your call, to express my sympathy with you and our friends around, on this interesting occasion, but without having it in my power to add any thing of importance to what has been so appropriately said by you and other gentlemen who have preceded me. And I must first express my thanks to the reverend chairman of the committee on the High School (Mr Stearns) for his obliging notice. He did no more than justice to the sincere interest I feel in the occasion. Connected as I am with another place of education, of a kind which is commonly regarded as of a higher order, it is precisely in that connection that I learn to feel and appreciate the importance of good schools. I am not so ignorant of the history of our fathers, as not to know that the spirit which founded and fostered Harvard College is the spirit which has founded and upheld, and will continue to support and cherish, the schools of New England. I know well, sir, that universities and colleges can neither flourish nor even stand alone. You might as well attempt to build your second and third stories in the air, without a first floor or a basement, as to have collegiate institutions without good schools for preparatory education, and for the diffusion of general information throughout the community. If the day should ever come (which I do not fear in our beloved country) when this general education shall be neglected, and these

* Remarks made at the dedication of the High School in Cambridge, on the 27th of June, 1848.

preparatory institutions allowed to perish; if the day should ever come (of which I have no apprehension) when the schools of New England shall go down, — depend upon it, sir, the colleges will go with them. It will be with them as it was with the granite warehouses the day before yesterday in Federal Street, in Boston; if the piers at the foundation give way, the upper stories will come down in one undistinguished ruin.

I anticipate no such disaster, Mr Mayor, though it must be admitted that we live in an age of revolutions, of which every steamer brings us some fresh and astonishing account. But our revolutions are of a more auspicious character, and it occurred to me as I was coming down with your worthy associate (Mr Whitney) and your respected predecessor, (Mr Green,) to whom we have just listened with so much pleasure, that we were traversing a region in which a revolution commenced no very long time since, and is still in progress, far more important for us and our children than any of those which have lately broken out, and are now convulsing the continent of Europe. I do not now refer to the great political and historical events of which this neighborhood was the theatre, and of which the monuments are in sight from these windows; but to a revolution quiet and silent in its origin and progress, unostentatious in outward manifestation, but importing greater change and warranting brighter hopes for most of those who hear me, for our young friends before us, than any of the most startling events that stare upon us in capitals in the columns of the newspapers, after every arrival from Europe. Mr Stearns has beautifully sketched some of the most important features of this peaceful revolution.

When I entered college, Mr Mayor, (and I believe I shall not tell the audience quite how many years ago that is; you can do it, sir, but I will thank you not to,) there were a few straggling houses, shops, and taverns along the Main Street at Cambridgeport. All back of this street to the north, and I believe almost all south of it to the river, — the entire district in the centre of which we are now assembled, — was in

a state of nature; pretty equally divided between barren pasturage, salt marsh, and what I must admit had no mean attraction for us freshmen, whortleberry swamp. Not one of the high roads had been cut, which now traverse the plain between Main Street and the old road to Charlestown. East Cambridge did not exist, even in the surveyor's imagination. There was not a church nor a public school east of Dr Holmes's and Old Cambridge Common; and if any one had prophesied that within forty years a population like this would cover the soil, — with its streets, and houses, and gardens, its numerous school-houses and churches, its conservatories breathing all the sweets of the tropics, its private libraries, equal to the choicest in the land, and all the other appendages of a high civilization, — he would have been set down as a visionary. But this change, this revolution, has taken place even within the lifetime of the venerable lady (Mrs Merriam) alluded to in such a pleasing manner by Mr Stearns; and we are assembled this morning to take a respectful notice of what may be called its crowning incident, the opening of a High School in that primitive whortleberry swamp. I believe I do not overstate matters when I say, that no more important event than this is likely to occur in the course of the lives of many of those here assembled. As far as our interests are concerned, all the revolutions in Europe multiplied tenfold are nothing to it. No, sir, not if the north were again to pour forth its myriads on Central and Southern Europe, and break up the existing governments and states into one general wreck, it would not be an article of intelligence at all so important to us on this distant shore as the opening of a new school. No, my young friends, this is a day which may give an auspicious turn to your whole career in life; may affect your welfare, not merely for time, but for eternity.

There is certainly nothing in which the rapid progress of our country is more distinctly marked than its schools. It is not merely their multiplication in numbers, but their improvement as places of education. A school forty years ago was a very different affair from what it is now. The meaning

of the word is changed. A little reading, writing, and ciphering, a very little grammar, and for those destined for college a little Latin and Greek, very indifferently taught, were all we got at a common town school in my day. The range was narrow; the instruction superficial. In our modern school system, — taking it as a whole, composed of its several parts in due gradation, viz., the primary, the district, and the high school, — the fortunate pupil not only enjoys a very thorough course of instruction in the elementary branches, but gets a good foundation in French, a good preparation for college, if he desires it, according to the present advanced standard of requirement; a general acquaintance with the applied mathematics, and the elements of natural philosophy; some suitable information as to the form of government and political system under which we live; and no inconsiderable practice in the noble arts of writing and speaking our mother tongue.

It might seem, at first, that this is too wide a circle for a school. But the experience of our well-conducted schools has abundantly shown that it is not too extensive. With faithful and competent teachers, and willing and hearty learners, all the branches I have named, and others I have passed over, can be attended to, with advantage, between the ages of four and sixteen.

Such being the case, our school committees have done no more than their duty, in prescribing this extensive course, and furnishing to master and pupils the means of pursuing it. I cannot tell you, sir, how much I have been gratified at hastily looking into the alcove behind us. As I stepped into it this morning, Mr Smith, the intelligent master of the school, pointed out to me the beautiful electrical machine behind the door, with the just remark that my venerable predecessor, President Dunster, would not have known what it was. No, sir, nor would the most eminent philosopher in the world before the time of Franklin. Lord Bacon would not have known what it was, nor Sir Isaac Newton. Mr Smith reminded me of the notion of Cotton Mather, (one of the most learned men of his day,) that lightning proceeded from the

prince of the power of the air, by which he accounted for the fact that it was so apt to strike the spires of churches. Cotton Mather would have come nearer the truth, if he had called it a shining manifestation of the power and skill by which the Great Author of the universe works out some of the mighty miracles of creation and nature. And only think, sir, that these newly discovered mysteries of the material world, unknown to the profoundest sages of elder days, are so effectually brought down to the reach of common schools in our time, that these our young friends, before they are finally dismissed from these walls, will be made acquainted with not a few of the wonderful properties of the subtile element, evolved and condensed by that machine, and which recent science has taught to be but different forms of one principle, — whether it flame across the heavens in the midnight storm, or guide the mariner over the pathless ocean, or leap from city to city along the continent as swiftly as the thought of which it is the vehicle, — and which I almost venture to predict, before some here present shall taste of death, will, by some still more sublime generalization, be identified with the yet hidden principle which thrills through the nerves of animated beings, and binds life to matter, by the ties of sensation.

But while you do well, sir, in your High School to make provision for these advanced studies, I know that as long as it remains under its present direction, the plain elementary branches will not be undervalued. There is, perhaps, a tendency that way in some of our modern schools: I venture to hope it will not be encouraged here. I know it is not to be the province of this school to teach the elements; but I am sure you will show that you entertain sound views of their importance. I hold, sir, that to read the English language well, that is, with intelligence, feeling, spirit, and effect; to write, with despatch, a neat, handsome, legible hand, (for it is, after all, a great object in writing to have others able to read what you write;) and to be master of the four rules of arithmetic, so as to dispose at once with accuracy of every question of figures which comes up in practical life, — I say

I call this a good education; and if you add the ability to write pure grammatical English, with the help of very few hard words, I regard it as an excellent education. These are the tools. You can do much with them, but you are helpless without them. They are the foundation; and unless you begin with these, all your flashy attainments, a little natural philosophy, and a little mental philosophy, a little physiology and a little geology, and all the other *ologies* and *osophies*, are but ostentatious rubbish.

There is certainly no country in the world in which so much money is paid for schooling as in ours. This can be proved by figures. I believe there is no country where the common schools are so good. But they may be improved. It is not enough to erect commodious school-houses, or compensate able teachers; and then leave them, masters and pupils, to themselves. A school is not a clock which you can wind up and then leave it to go of itself. It is an organized living body; it has sensibilities; it craves sympathy. You must not leave the school committee to do all the work. Your teachers want the active countenance of the whole body of parents, — of the whole intelligent community. I am sure you, Mr Smith, would gladly put up with a little injudicious interference in single instances, if you could have the active sympathies of the whole body of parents to fall back upon in delicate and difficult cases, and to support and cheer you under the burden of your labors, from day to day. I think this matter deserves more attention than it has received; and if so small a number as thirty parents would agree together to come to the school, some one of them, each in his turn, but once a month, — or rather, if but twenty-five or twenty-six would do it, — it would give your teacher the support and countenance of a parent's presence every day; at a cost to each individual of ten or eleven days in the year. Would not the good to be effected be worth the sacrifice?

I have already spoken too long, Mr Mayor, and will allude to but one other topic. In most things, as I have said, connected with education, we are incalculably in advance of other days: in some, perhaps, we have fallen below their

standard. I know, sir, old men are apt to make unfavorable contrasts between the present time and the past; and if I do not soon begin to place myself in that class, others will do it for me. But I really think that in some things, belonging, perhaps it will be thought, to the minor morals, the present promising generation of youth might learn something of their grandfathers, if not their fathers. When I first went to a village school, sir, — I remember it as yesterday; I seem still to hold by one hand, for protection, (I was of the valiant age of three years,) to an elder sister's apron; with the other I grasped my Primer, a volume of about two and a half inches in length, which formed then the sum total of my library, and which had lost the blue paper cover from one corner, (my first misfortune in life,) — I say it was the practice then, as we were trudging along to school, to draw up by the road side if a traveller, a stranger, or a person in years, passed along, and "make our manners," as it was called. The little girls courtesied, the boys made a bow; it was not done with much grace, I suppose: but there was a civility and decency about it, which did the children good, and produced a pleasing impression on those who witnessed it. The age of schoolboy chivalry is past, never to return. These manners belong to a forgotten order of things. They are too precise and rigorous for this enlightened age. I sometimes fear the pendulum has swung too far in the opposite extreme. Last winter I was driving into town in a carriage closed behind, but open in front. There were in company with me the Rev. President Woods, of Bowdoin College, Maine, and that distinguished philanthropist and excellent citizen, Mr Amos Lawrence. Well, sir, we happened to pass a school-house, just as the boys (to use the common expression) were "let out." I suppose the little men had just been taught within doors something about the laws which regulate the course of projectiles, and determine the curves in which they move. Intent on a practical demonstration, and tempted by the convenient material, I must say they put in motion a quantity of spherical bodies, in the shape of snow-balls, which brought the doctrine quite home to us wayfarers, and made it wonderful that we got off

with no serious inconvenience, which was happily the case This I thought was an instance of free and easy manners, verging to the opposite extreme of the old-fashioned courtesy which I have just described. I am quite sure that the boys of this school would be the last to indulge in an experiment attended with so much risk to the heads of innocent third persons.

Nothing remains, sir, but to add my best wishes for teachers and pupils. You are both commencing under the happiest auspices. When I consider that there is not one of you, my young friends, who does not enjoy gratuitously the opportunity of obtaining a better school education than we could have bought, Mr Mayor, when we were boys, with the wealth of the Indies, I cannot but think that each one of you, boys and girls, will be ready to say with grateful hearts, "The lines have fallen to me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage."

To you, Mr Smith, we wish entire success. The community looks to you with confidence, to add to your high reputation as an instructer, and commits to you these its treasures, with the full assurance that you will be faithful to the trust.

SECOND SPEECH ON AID TO THE COLLEGES.

At an early period of the session of 1849, a memorial similar to that of last year was presented to the legislature of the commonwealth, praying that, when the school fund had reached the limit of one million of dollars, prescribed by law, another fund of one half a million should be allowed to accumulate for the benefit of the colleges. The afternoon of the seventh of February was appointed by the joint committee on education for a public hearing, in the hall of the House of Representatives, of the friends of the colleges, in support of the memorial. President Hopkins appeared on behalf of Williams College, President Hitchcock on behalf of Amherst College, and President Sparks and Mr Everett on behalf of Harvard College, with other gentlemen, officers or friends of the institutions respectively.

The memorial having been read by J. Lothrop Motley, Esq., a member of the committee, Mr Everett spoke substantially as follows: —

Mr Chairman and Gentlemen:

I appear before you, at the request of the corporation of Harvard College, to unite with other friends of that institution, with the learned representatives of the other colleges, and with the friends generally of collegiate education in the commonwealth, in support of the memorial which has just been read by Mr Motley; a memorial presented to the two Houses at the commencement of the session, and by them referred to the joint committee on education. You may be surprised, sir, that, having been compelled to retire from the

honorable relation in which I stood but lately to the university at Cambridge, I yet appear before you as her representative on this occasion. I do so, in one point of view, with reluctance, leaving, as I well might, the advocacy of her cause and the care of her interest in the present measure to the distinguished gentleman (Mr Sparks) who has been called to take my place. I feel that I might do so with great advantage to the institution. The talents, the literary attainments, and the character of that gentleman, are too well known to the public, by the numerous first-rate works with which he has enriched our literature, to make it necessary for me to say, that I am fully aware how well my appearance on this occasion might be dispensed with.

But, Mr Chairman, if I perform a work of supererogation, it is also a work of love. I have cheerfully complied with the request of the friends of Harvard College, that I would appear for her on this occasion, because my heart is in her cause. Having been favored, together with other friends of the colleges, with a hearing before the joint committee on education last year, there seemed no impropriety, rather a fitness, in my appearing for the same purpose before this honorable body at the present session; and I doubt not, Mr Chairman, you will pardon the well-meant officiousness of a retiring servant. You have heard of the veteran tallow-chandler, who, in the decline of his years, quitted the firm and retired to a farm in the country. He soon found his time to hang heavily on his hands, and came back to request his old associate to receive him again into partnership; or, if this would not do, at least to let him come and work with them on "melting days." Mr Chairman, I hope that this will prove such a day for the colleges; that, in contrast with the wintry scene around, your hearts and those of the legislature will be "open as day for melting charity;" though I hope to show you, before I have done, that it is not solely nor mainly as suppliants for charity that we appear in your presence. But I have not come, sir, to deal in phrases or arts of rhetoric. I come to treat a business subject, before business men, in a practical way; and I must ask your indulgence should I

acquit myself in a less satisfactory manner than I could wish; the general state of my health being indifferent, and my condition this afternoon quite adverse to any effort of mind or of body.

Having alluded to the hearing kindly granted us last year by the joint committee on education, I beg to be allowed in the outset, on behalf of the colleges, to make our cordial acknowledgments to that committee for their report in favor of granting the prayer of our memorial. That report, sir, let me say without compliment, is a most able performance. It is conceived in the spirit of the truest statesmanship. The facts bearing on the subject are collected in it with accuracy and diligence. As an argument, it is of great force and ingenuity. It presents our cause in the fairest and most favorable light; and we cannot doubt that it was owing to want of time for a thorough discussion of the subject, in all its bearings, that it failed to carry conviction to the minds of the members of the legislature.

What is the prayer of the colleges? It is, in a word, that the legislature would allow the revenue from the public lands — *after* the limit of one million of dollars assigned by law to the school fund has been reached — to accumulate for the formation of another fund, one half as large as the school fund, to be appropriated in some fixed proportion for the benefit of the colleges.

This is our request; and I do not think it necessary to dwell at all on what might seem a preliminary question, viz., the policy of appropriating a portion of the moneys arising from the sales of the public lands to educational purposes of some kind or other. It seems to be allowed, upon all hands, that this is their proper destination, a part of the settled policy of the commonwealth. Such appropriations seem, in fact, almost a part of the common law of the land. They have been made by the legislatures of the old states, and large reservations of the land in the new states have been made by Congress for the purpose of education. I have never heard a murmur of disapprobation at the appropriations made from this source in this state for the school fund; and

I think the authors of the minority report of last year — a paper of which I wish to speak with all becoming respect, although I greatly differ alike from its train of reasoning and statement of facts — do not suggest any other than an educational destination for these funds.

Passing that topic, therefore, as one not needing argument, I will say that the bare statement of the real object of our petition is a sufficient answer to an objection which met us *in limine* last year, viz., that we asked the legislature to divert the school fund to the colleges. Not only was this statement of the object of the memorialists made in several of the public papers, but the minority of the committee use the following language: "To make, therefore, liberal appropriations to the colleges to the neglect of the common schools, richly to endow the former at the expense of the latter, — the very thing which the petitioners ask, — is not consistent, we believe, with a sincere desire to promote the true interests of collegiate education."

Now, with all respect to the minority of the committee, the colleges must claim to know the object and nature of their own petition, and their motives in presenting it. We have no such wish or purpose as those ascribed to us. We do not desire to build up the colleges to the neglect of the schools; to endow the former at the expense of the schools; nor to devote one dollar of the school fund to any other purpose. But I suppose it need not be argued that all the money in the state does not belong to the common school fund. That fund has a limit, — a limit prescribed by law. The legislature, in its wisdom, fixed its amount at one million of dollars. This limit was not prompted nor advised by the colleges. We were not consulted, sir, on the subject; and sure I am, if we had been, no friend of the colleges with whose views I am acquainted has ever shown a wish to stint the school fund. The general court of the commonwealth, in its wisdom, — and as I think in the exercise of a sound discretion, (and on that topic, if I have time before getting through, I may trouble the committee with a remark or two,) — established one million of dollars as the limit of the fund; and all

that we ask is, that, when that fund shall have reached the original legislative limit, from the same sources of revenue another fund, half as large, may be permitted to accrue, for the benefit of the colleges; but not a dollar before. Well, now, sir, to say that we ask for the diversion of the school fund to the colleges, is merely to attempt to create a prejudice against us by an incorrect and invidious use of terms. It would be just as proper for the memorialists to say to those who oppose this grant, that they are trying to divert to the schools a fund that belongs to the colleges. It belongs to neither, except so far as it has been appropriated. It is not school fund beyond this, nor college fund, but state fund. A portion of it has been appropriated by the legislature to the schools; and that portion, and no more, is school fund. We ask that another portion may be appropriated to the colleges; and we submit that it is not quite fair to attempt to raise a prejudice against us, by saying that we seek to endow them richly at the expense of the schools.

But it will be said, We allow the right of the legislature to give this fund to the colleges; we will not call it a diversion of the school fund; but we maintain that the schools want more than they now have, and that it would be better policy to increase the school fund than to create a college fund. The schools (this is the argument) are not what they ought to be; the school-houses are, many of them, ill contrived, ill built, and comfortless; the teachers not as well qualified as they should be; apparatus and libraries greatly deficient. It is not true that the provision made for our common schools is adequate; and till it is made so, it is wrong to appropriate to any other purpose what might be, and therefore ought to be, given to the schools. Till better school-houses are erected in the ill-provided districts; till normal schools are multiplied to such a degree as to furnish an ample supply of well-qualified teachers; and until libraries and apparatus are provided for all the schools in the commonwealth, — it cannot be said that the state has done enough for the schools, and therefore it is too soon to call upon her to do any thing for the colleges.

I wish to state this objection as strongly as I can against

the memorialists, because it contains, I believe, the main force of the argument against their petition; and if we can answer it satisfactorily, we shall have done all that is required of us. Some plausible statements to this effect constitute, if I mistake not, the material part of the reasonings of the minority report of last year.

The colleges then respectfully urge, in reply to this objection, that it entirely mistakes the object of the common school fund. It was the design of that fund to afford aid and encouragement to the towns, and it is capable of rendering important services in promoting school education; but it never was intended to be regarded as a main resource for the support of the schools. The thing is impossible; the supposition, I must be permitted to say, is absurd. I received late last evening the report of the secretary of the board of education for the past year. I regret that I have had so little time to derive from it the information upon a variety of topics which I perceive it is so well calculated to afford; but I gather from it, if I mistake not, ample demonstration of the proposition just advanced. Sir, there was raised in the city of Boston the last year, for the three items of teachers' wages, board, and fuel of schools, the amount of two hundred and eight thousand five hundred and sixty dollars — a sum which represents a capital of above four millions of dollars. Did it ever enter into the mind of man that the state was to provide a fund of that amount for the city of Boston alone? But leave the case of Boston out of view, as in some degree exceptional. In the state at large, the whole amount raised by taxation the past year, for the three items of teachers' wages, board, and fuel for schools, was seven hundred and fifty-four thousand nine hundred and forty-eight dollars. The addition made to this sum from the state's share of the surplus revenue of the United States, formerly divided among the towns, and applied in some of them for schooling, is four thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight dollars. The two sums together amount to seven hundred and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and eleven dollars; an aggregate which, at five per centum, represents a capital of above fifteen millions of

dollars. In other words, you need a fund of fifteen millions of dollars to yield an income equal to the sums paid last year by the people of this commonwealth for teachers' wages, and board, and fuel for the school-houses. How much will you add for school-houses? The secretary tells you that, within the last ten years, two millions of dollars have been expended for school-houses, averaging two hundred thousand dollars per annum. This requires another capital of four millions; and then, if you add a fourth part as much for expense of normal schools, and for apparatus, libraries, and all miscellaneous objects connected with the common school system, you have a fund of twenty millions required to defray the annual expenditure of the schools *as they are.* How much, then, will you add to make the schools what you say they ought to be? What will it require to place in each school district, where they do not now exist, a school-house of the most improved construction; a master thoroughly accomplished for his work; with a library and an apparatus such as is now found in a few of our best appointed schools? In other words, what addition to this fund of twenty millions will it require to supply those objects, and remedy those imperfections, in the existing condition of the schools, which are brought forward as a reason for not making any provision at present in aid of the colleges? Will you double the fund? Will you say half as much again? Will you assume thirty millions, or forty millions, as the grand aggregate necessary to put the schools into a thoroughly satisfactory condition? It matters little which you assume. Call it forty millions or thirty millions, what can be plainer than that it is chimerical to think of carrying the school fund to either amount?

Then, too, consider, sir, that these enormous figures provide only for the existing wants of the present population. If you take into consideration that this population of Massachusetts is doubling itself every forty or fifty years,* and that the educational wants of the commonwealth must (without

* This may seem a low ratio of duplication for a state like Massachusetts. It is to be explained by the immense emigration from the state, which is constantly going on.

making any allowance for a steadily rising standard of culture and training) at least increase in proportion with its numbers, you perceive, that if you attempt to state in the form of a fund the sum required to support the schools of Massachusetts by an annual income, now and prospectively, you are carried at once into amounts perfectly extravagant, — fabulous, — sixty or eighty millions of dollars.

No, sir, no such idea was ever entertained by the legislature of Massachusetts. You might almost as well talk of a fund to supply the population with their daily bread. The education of their children has been recognized by the people, from the first, as one of the great standing wants of their social life, for which there can be no resource but in taxation; that is to say, (for one does not like to use this ill-sounding term in an association so high and sacred,) in a steady consecration to this great end of an adequate portion of the annual income and earnings of the community.

Such being the case, to look to the school fund to support the schools as they are, or to supply defects in their existing state, is perfectly futile. In this point of view, a hundred thousand dollars added to the school fund, or not added, is a matter of no consequence. That it must be so, is the necessary result of the fact, that your population grows more rapidly than your fund can increase, by any practicable operations of your fiscal system. But, waiving that, rub Aladdin's lamp; add a hundred thousand dollars in one night to your fund; what does it give you? Three cents apiece for the schoolable children — if I may coin a word — of the commonwealth, the children between four and sixteen years of age. And is it a subject for serious debate in the legislature of Massachusetts, whether or not they will undertake to improve their common schools by adding, for a few years longer, two or three cents a year to the fund for each child's schooling?

And here, sir, I will step aside a moment to hazard the remark, that, were it possible — which you see it is not — to make any near approach to a fund that could be regarded as entirely adequate for the support of the schools, it would be

a very mistaken and dangerous policy to aim at that end. To attain it, I have demonstrated, is impossible; and the danger would be, that, when a very large sum was accumulated, the people, fancying its capacity to be greater than it really is, would rely too much upon it, — perhaps solely, — remit all efforts on their own part, and thus run the risk, so to say, of starving in the midst of plenty. I have heard that something like this has actually happened in our respectable neighbor, Connecticut. They have, in that state, a very large school fund, and one which, according to the standard hitherto prevailing, has been thought to yield an annual amount to each town adequate for the entire support of its schools. A reliance on this fund has, to some extent, grown into a habit. It must of course be a delusive reliance. It is impossible that it should support the schools as they ought to be supported; and yet, in popular estimation, it stands in the way of an efficient resort to taxation. I have heard that such is the case. My information, I own, is not recent, and a different state of things may now exist. But of one thing no man can doubt, — that, if the legislature of Connecticut, in originally appropriating the proceeds of her public domain, had made provision to give to her noble college at New Haven a fund one quarter as large as the school fund, they would have added greatly to the means of usefulness of that most excellent institution, and left the schools on a better footing, and probably in as good a condition as they are now.

But I shall be asked how it happens that a sum, which I represent as so insignificant in reference to the schools, can be of any importance to the colleges. The reason is plain, sir, — too plain almost to be stated. There are but three colleges; there are between three and four thousand school districts; there are about five hundred students at the colleges; there are nearly or quite two hundred thousand children at the schools. A fund of one hundred thousand dollars given to the schools, is, as we have just seen, three cents to a child. Given to one of the colleges, six thousand dollars a year is enough to infuse new life into all its branches. In one appropriation, the money is all but wasted; in the other, it does great good.

In this there is nothing peculiar, nothing new. If a farmer buys a load of gypsum, grinds it to powder, and lets the wind blow it off, a few grains to a square yard, it is wasted. If he spreads it carefully on a limited space, — two or three bushels to the acre, I believe, is the allowance, — he adds to the fertility of the soil, and increases his crop. If you send a barrel of flour to a needy family, you give them bread for weeks. If you undertake to divide it among the inhabitants of a besieged city, — a thimbleful to a household, — you mock their hunger as much as if you exhibited the barrel of flour before their eyes, and then emptied its contents into the sea.

I remember, sir, when the late Mr Girard, of Philadelphia, died, and left his very large property as a foundation for a college for the orphans, in the first instance, of that city, that some discussion took place, whether it would not have been better to leave it as a school fund for the whole state. Now, that great property, I have understood, underwent some serious dilapidation. Something was lost by the failure of banks and general unprofitable management, and a great deal locked up in a very expensive building. These are accidental drawbacks on the efficiency of the fund, and might have taken place equally with any other appropriation. But I saw this very day a statement that the fund still yields an annual income of above a hundred thousand dollars; and, as it consists of real estate in the city of Philadelphia, it may be expected to become, with time, yet more productive. This is enough, of course, to carry on a most extensive establishment in the most liberal manner; to support and educate perhaps all the orphan children of Philadelphia who are in indigent circumstances. But how would it have been, had the property — five or six millions — been given as a school fund for the whole state of Pennsylvania? In aid of a comprehensive system of local taxation, such as is established here in Massachusetts for the support of schools, it would of course have been very useful; but as a fund of itself, out of which the entire expense of the common schools was to be supported, it would have yielded annually at the present time (assuming

an income of three hundred thousand dollars) less than three fifths of a dollar each to the children to be educated.

I feel rather more keenly on this subject than I might otherwise do, in consequence of having been in some degree connected with an opportunity which, as I think, was lost some years ago by the state of Massachusetts, of securing great benefits for this generation, and transmitting large blessings to posterity, by a wise appropriation of extraordinary means which Providence had put into our hands. I allude to the dividend of the surplus revenue of the United States, which was received by Massachusetts in 1837. Our share, as the first apportionment was made, was expected to be, you may recollect, sir, the magnificent sum of more than seventeen hundred thousand dollars; although the first three instalments only, in point of fact, were paid. It devolved upon me, in the office of governor, — which, by the favor of the people of the commonwealth, I then had the honor to fill, — to call the attention of the legislature to the mode of disposing of this great sum. It was necessarily a subject of deep and anxious consideration; and if you will permit me, sir, I will state the manner in which, in an address prepared for the meeting of the legislature in January, 1837, I made up my mind to recommend that it should be appropriated.

I must first state that the commonwealth had lately taken a very bold step in the policy of encouraging railroads; and never did I sign my name with greater alacrity in my life, than when, on the fourteenth of April, 1835, I subscribed it to the bill, by which the commonwealth engaged to take one million of dollars in the stock of the Western Railroad. There is a gentleman in the executive branch of the government, the present year, (Hon. George Bliss, of Springfield,) who, if necessary, could testify, that there was but little time lost after the bill had finally passed the Senate, before it was approved by the governor. Still, sir, we could not but feel that we had assumed a great responsibility. We had not the benefit of thirteen years' experience which we now possess; and you all remember the language of discouragement and condemnation with which the distinguished gentleman who suc-

ceeded me as governor, three years afterwards, commented upon the dangerous tendency of the railroad policy pursued by the commonwealth, — language in which he spoke the sense of the great majority of the powerful party by which he was supported. I naturally, therefore, sir, having taken an active part, both in and out of office, in promoting this policy, felt quite anxious to make provision for the payment of the debt which had been incurred by the state's subscription for one million of dollars of the stock. I recommended accordingly, in the address above alluded to, and which, though prepared and transcribed ready for delivery, never saw the light, that one million of the seventeen hundred thousand dollars should be set apart to pay that subscription. I still think it would have been a wise and most advantageous appropriation. It would have been yielding at this moment eighty thousand dollars per annum to the commonwealth! Then, sir, of the remaining seven hundred thousand dollars, I was for giving two hundred and fifty thousand to the common school fund, — so that you see I have no hostility to that interest; two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the three colleges, — a proof that my advocacy of the present memorial is the growth of no new-born zeal, derived from my late connection with one of those institutions; and, lastly, — shall I dare to mention it, sir? — I recommended that the remaining two hundred thousand dollars should be appropriated to erecting an astronomical observatory, under the auspices of the commonwealth, supplying it with instruments and a library, and supporting the observers. You are aware that there was, at that time, no public observatory in action in the United States, although I believe the foundations of one were already laid at Williams College.

Such was my plan, sir, prepared to be submitted to the legislature. The time for holding the session drew near, — arrived. Members from town and country came together in friendly conference. The disposal of the surplus revenue was the great topic of conversation, as it had previously been of correspondence. My plan found but little favor. A loan was thought a sufficient resource to meet the subscription to

the Western Railroad. Adequate provision had been already made for a gradually accumulating school fund. The colleges were not popular. An observatory was a thing consecrated to eternal ridicule as "a lighthouse in the skies;" it would ruin the whig party to name it. And so, sir, I was obliged to withdraw my beautiful message, after it was, if I may so say, cut and dried, and, at the very last moment, to substitute another, — in which, however, though in general terms, I recommended the same objects, with the exception of the unfortunate observatory, which it was thought unsafe even to mention.

I do not know but I ought to blush for my want of firmness. I have, however, the authority of a high example. When the award of the king of the Netherlands came to this country, deciding the controversy relative to the north-eastern boundary of the United States, General Jackson was disposed at once to issue his proclamation, declaring that award to be a final adjustment of the question. It was, however, (the award,) received with universal disfavor in Maine. The general was beset with representations that it would be the ruin of his party in that state, thus to issue his proclamation; and he was induced, contrary to his own judgment, to refer the award to the Senate, as an arrangement which needed their ratification. Thus was laid the foundation of another Iliad of controversy, negotiation, and all but war. I had this from the late Mr Forsyth, while secretary of state of the United States, and he added that General Jackson was accustomed to say, in moments of perplexity and weariness at the unsatisfactory progress of the renewed negotiations, that this was the only important occasion in his life, in which he had allowed himself to be overpersuaded by his friends; and it was precisely the occasion when later events had shown most clearly that his own view of the matter was the correct one.

To finish my story about the surplus revenue: the legislature divided it among the towns in the ratio of the population, and some of the towns — not many, I believe — divided it *per capita* among their inhabitants. A few of the towns, to the amount, (as I gather from the Report of the Secretary of

the Board of Education,) of less than one hundred thousand dollars in the whole, appropriated their dividends in aid of the school fund. Other towns may have appropriated their shares to objects of permanent utility. But with these exceptions, this magnificent fund of more than thirteen hundred thousand dollars actually received, was about as completely annihilated by extreme subdivision, as if the dollars had been taken out to sea and thrown into the Gulf Stream.

But, sir, we are still told, — and this objection in some form or other meets us at every turn, — that common school education is a popular interest, and college education is not; and that for this reason the state is bound to take care of the one and not of the other. Now, I shall not put myself in the false and invidious position of contrasting them; there is no contrast between them, — no incompatibility of the one with the other. Both are good, each is good in its place; and I will thank any person who can do so to draw the line between them; to show why it is expedient and beneficial in a community to make public provision for teaching the elements of learning, and not expedient nor beneficial to make similar provision to aid the learner's progress towards the mastery of the most difficult branches of science and the choicest refinements of literature. Sir, they all hang together; it is an abuse of ingenuity, to exercise it in showing how much can be done with one without the other. For myself I admit, if the admission is desired, that a good system of common school education is, next to religious influences, the great and solid foundation of a prosperous state. To build on any thing else is to build on straw and stubble. I honor, beyond all common names of respect, the distinguished gentleman (Horace Mann,) who for twelve years has devoted the uncommon powers of his mind, and the indomitable energy of his character, to this noble cause. He will be remembered till the history of Massachusetts is forgotten, as one of her greatest benefactors. I reflect with satisfaction, that the Board of Education was established on a recommendation which I had the honor to submit to the legislature; and that I had the privilege of coöperating in its organization, in the

choice of its secretary, in the establishment of the normal schools under its patronage, and in the other measures which marked its opening career, and by which — under circumstances of no small discouragement — it sought to promote the objects of its institution.

I owe myself a large debt of gratitude to the public schools, although fifty years ago they were in a very different condition from what they are now. My education began at the free schools of my native village of Dorchester, (for village it then was,) and of this the beloved city of my adoption. The first distinction which crowned my humble career was the Franklin medal at the reading school in North Bennett Street, when I was not much higher than that table; and if my tongue is ever silent, when it ought to speak the praises of the common schools of Massachusetts, may it never be heard with favor in any other cause! But can it be necessary? I know, Mr Chairman, before this audience it cannot be necessary to argue the cause of higher education, scientific and literary, forming as it does the best preparation for all the departments of professional life; for enlightened statesmanship; and for an efficient application of philosophical principles to the great industrial interests of the community. Who does not know, sir, that there is not a yard of cotton cloth bleached or printed in the commonwealth, without assistance from the last results of chemical research; that you cannot construct a turbine water-wheel but by the aid of the highest mathematics; nor establish a uniform standard of weights and measures, without building upon a series of geometrical operations which began with Hipparchus? The tables by which the navigator — perhaps the illiterate navigator — finds the ship's place at sea, are written in the very depths of the starry heavens; and the most learned eyes for ages have strained themselves dim, through glasses of wondrous mechanism, in deciphering the mysterious characters. The electric telegraph, which brings you the daily news, is the last achievement of a department of physical science, in which some of the brightest intellects of the last hundred years, from Franklin to Morse, have concentrated

their powers of observation and analysis. This step and that may be taken by an uneducated man, — may even be the work of chance, — but the grand result is the product of cultivated mind, strained to the highest tension of its powers.

We hear of untaught men, sir, of Franklin and Bowditch; and Heaven forbid that in the city where one was born and the other died, their names should ever be pronounced but with veneration. But, in the first place, to argue from such men as Franklin and Bowditch to the case of the generality of minds, would be like putting a roguish boy apprentice to a wool-comber, in order that when he grows up he may write another Hamlet. But what is a *self-taught* man, and what does he do? He is not an *untaught* man; nor does he go blazing through life, like a locomotive engine in a dark night, by the light of his own intuition. Sir, a self-taught man is a man of strong mind and stronger will, who, under discouragements and in the face of obstacles, acquires the rudiments of learning; and when he has done so, carries on and completes his education, by placing his understanding in contact with the cultivated intellect of other regions and other times. Franklin is certainly a most favorable specimen of a self-taught man. He was a great original interpreter of nature. The history of science has nothing more sublime than the courage with which he sent his armed kite into the thunder-cloud, and drew the electric spark with his finger from the key at the end of the cord. But Franklin was a man of books, — a studious man, — a friend of academical training. Listen to what he says about the learned languages, in his project for the foundation of a college, which I quote from the appendix to his life, in the admirable edition of Mr Sparks: —

"When youth are told, that the great men whose lives and actions they read in history, spoke two of the best languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful, and that the finest writings, the most correct compositions, the most perfect productions of human wit and wisdom, are in those languages, which have endured for ages, and will endure while there are men; that no translation can do them justice, or give the pleasure found in reading the originals; that those languages contain all sciences; that one of them is become almost universal, being the language

of learned men in all countries; and that to understand them is a distinguishing ornament, — they may be thereby made desirous of learning those languages, and their industry sharpened in the acquisition of them. All intended for divinity should be taught the Latin and Greek; for physic, the Latin, Greek, and French; for law, the Latin and French; merchants, the French, German, and Spanish; and, though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused; their English, arithmetic, and other studies absolutely necessary, being at the same time not neglected." *

Such is the estimate of college education formed by the self-taught Franklin, the poor boy who was born beneath a lowly roof, in Hanover or Milk Street, and whose parents fill an humble grave in yonder cemetery.

Dr Bowditch was perhaps, more than Franklin, a self-taught man. So far is his example from proving the inutility of academic learning, that his first youthful struggle was made to acquire the Latin language; and when we think of the scientific attainments of his after life, it does make one, who has had some opportunities of education in early life, hang his head in shame, to see the difficulties encountered by this great man in the outset; the simplest Latin words, *tamen* and *rursus*, with their significations in English, being written in the margin of the books first perused by him, in aid of a memory, which afterwards embraced the whole circle of the mathematical sciences in its iron grasp. And what was the first use made by Dr Bowditch of the Latin tongue? To read the *Principia* of Sir Isaac Newton; — a man, if ever there was one among men not technically academic, who was nurtured in scholastic discipline; a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; a professor of mathematics; a man who passed fifteen years of his life in the cloisters of a college, and solved the problem of the universe from that turret over Trinity gate-way, beneath which, you, sir, (Mr Henry Herbert, a member of the university of Cambridge in England,) have passed so often with emotions, I doubt not, of veneration towards the great mind which has given immortality to

* Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, Franklin's Works, Sparks's edition, Vol. I. p. 574.

the spot. This was the kindred intellect with which the mind of Bowditch sought its first communion. In the beautiful Memoir of his father, which the son of Dr Bowditch has presented us, we read the following interesting anecdote: —

> "From our venerable university at Cambridge he received the highest encouragement to pursue the career upon which he had entered. In July, 1802, when his ship, the Astræa, was windbound in Boston, he went to hear the performances at the annual commencement of the college; and among the honorary degrees conferred, he thought he heard his own name announced as Master of Arts; but it was not until congratulated by a townsman and friend, that he became satisfied that his senses had not deceived him. He always spoke of this as one of the proudest days of his life; and amid all the subsequent proofs which he received of the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the distinctions conferred upon him from foreign countries, he recurred to this with the greatest pleasure. It is, indeed, made the subject of express mention in his will."

Dr Bowditch sent three sons to the university; and as a member of the corporation, devoted the twelve last years of his life to the management of its affairs, giving them all the force of his transcendent talents; and I think I may add, without doing injustice to any other respected name, rendering to the institution services unequalled by those of any of his associates. Sir, if it were possible to leave the question before you to the arbitrament of Dr Bowditch, our cause would be gained.

But it is still said, The schools are for the many; the colleges for the few; the legislature must take care of the many, the few may take care of themselves; let those who want college education — the few — get it as they can.

To this there are two answers. In proportion as you cheapen college education, more will be able to avail themselves of it. You thus answer your own objection, by granting the prayer of the memorial. It will become the interest of the many, if you will let it. That is one answer, although I must say, in point of fact, I cannot think even now, that college education is unreasonably high. The charge for tuition at Cambridge, where it is somewhat higher than at the other colleges, is seventy-five dollars a year. This pays for

thorough and accurate instruction given by fifteen or sixteen able and accomplished men in the ancient and modern languages, in the exact, the critical, the applied, and moral sciences, in addition to general supervision three fourths of the year. For the instruction of a day school in Boston, five hours in the day, one hundred dollars per annum are paid. Gentlemen in practical life can say where else, for seventy-five dollars per annum, they can procure such an amount of intellectual labor to be done, requiring equal talent and preparation, and involving equal responsibility. The sum of seventy-five dollars per annum is, moreover, not quite half what the service costs the university. Some things, I know, are dear, however low the price. But when we give you, as you admit we do, the true thing, and that at half cost, you cannot say you have had a hard bargain.

But to the objection that school education is the interest of the many, and college education the interest of the few, my main answer is, that it is founded in a great fallacy. The man who makes that objection has not formed even a distant conception of the grounds of the duty which devolves upon an enlightened state, to educate its children. He is thinking of individuals. He forgets that it is the public, as such, — the State, the great, complex, social being, which we call Massachusetts, the genial mother of us all, — that it is *her* interest in the matter which creates the duty, and which gives all its importance to education, as an affair of public concernment, whether elementary or academical. It is not to teach one man's boy his A B C, or another man's boy a little Latin and Greek, for any advantage or emolument of their own, that the Pilgrim Fathers founded the college, or required the towns to support each its school. As far as individuals, many or few, are concerned, I have just as much natural right to call on the state to pay the bill of the tailor who clothes, or the builder who shelters my children, as of the schoolmaster or schoolmistress, the tutor or professor, who instructs them. The duty of educating the people rests on great public grounds, — on moral and political foundations. It is deduced from the intimate connection which experience has shown to

exist, between the public welfare and all the elements of national prosperity on the one hand, and the enlightenment of the population on the other. In this point of view, — I say it confidently, — good college education for those who need it and want it, is just as much the interest of the many, as good school education. They are both the interest of all, — that is, the whole community. It is, of human things, the highest interest of the state, to put the means of obtaining a good school education, and a good college education, within the reach of the largest number of her children.

In the nature of things there will not be so many who desire a college education, although it is a popular error to think that every one goes to college who can afford it; that the *few* who go to college are exclusively those who are sometimes invidiously called the "few." Very many sons of the wealthy are not sent to college. Of those who go to college, the majority are the sons of parents in moderate, narrow, and even straitened circumstances. The demand here, as elsewhere, regulates supply. All have not the taste or talent, are not intended for pursuits which require academic training. But I maintain that, for the limited number required to meet this demand, it is just as much the interest of the community that it should be adequately and honorably supplied, as that the wider demand for school education should be adequately and honorably supplied.

It is not for the rich that the public aid is wanted. They will obtain good education, if they desire it, in one place if they cannot in another; although it is a serious evil to have to seek it abroad. As far as individuals are concerned, it is the poor student that needs cheapened education. If he cannot get that near home, he cannot get it at all. It is not that you expect to breed up every one who goes to college into a man of eminence, — an Adams, a Channing, a Bushnell, a Webster, a Prescott, a Bancroft. The lottery of life is not all highest prizes. But you do wish to train up even minds like these in a healthy, fruitful nurture; and you do wish to prepare for future usefulness in church and state the mass of average intellect. I suppose there are not above five hundred

young men, natives of the commonwealth, now at college; but it is as much for the interest of Massachusetts that they should have a good education, as cheap as possible, as that the two hundred thousand who wish for it should have a good school education. It is one great interest; but if we must draw distinctions, the son of the poor man, whose life is cast in some obscure interior village, or in some laborious walk of city life, has a deeper personal interest in the matter than the son of the affluent in town and country.

One word more, sir, and the argument, as far as I am concerned, is closed. The colleges are not pleading their own cause, on this occasion; they are pleading the cause of the people. If you grant the prayer of the memorial, you will, it is true, somewhat widen the field of usefulness of these institutions, and, if they are true to themselves, afford them, in this way, the opportunity of gaining increased credit with the community. I do not deny that, with a generous mind, this is a selfish motive, although the selfishness is of a very refined nature. But beyond this, the colleges, and those concerned in administering them, are not to be benefited. Your bounty will not add a dollar to their salaries; it may, by increasing the number of students, add to their labors and their cares. It is the interest of the people which is to be subserved by granting the prayer of the memorial. The young man whom you will thereby enable to get an education of which he might else be deprived; the village which will have the satisfaction of seeing its promising candidate for future usefulness lifted up into the broad and cheerful field of academic training; the community whose treasures of intellect you draw out, refine, and prepare for the service of life, — these are the parties to be benefited; it is these whose cause I now commend to your favorable consideration.

Such, sir, are my views of the subject. If they are honored with your approval, Mr Chairman, and that of this intelligent committee, you will present our memorial to the favorable consideration of the House. We enter not into particulars; we do not presume to suggest a limit to your liberality, or to dictate the form it shall assume. But we do with some con-

fidence call upon you to recognize and act upon the principle, that the encouragement of academic education is one of the great interests of the state. We do ask you to reject the narrow, and, as we think, the pernicious doctrine, that the colleges are not, equally with the schools, entitled to your fostering care. This, sir, is not Massachusetts doctrine. It is not the doctrine of the Pilgrims. This commonwealth was founded by college-bred men; and before their feet had well laid hold of the pathless wilderness, they took order for founding an institution like those in which they had themselves been trained, the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, in England; particularly the former. It is not the doctrine of the stern Puritan fathers, who, for a hundred and fifty years, and through the darkest periods of our colonial and provincial history, withheld not a frugal bounty from the cherished seminary. It is not the doctrine of the revolutionary worthies. Amidst all the popular susceptibilities of the day, it never entered into their imaginations that academic education, less than school education, was the interest of the entire people. In performing the great task of constituting anew by a fundamental law the framework of society, they devoted an entire chapter to the interests of the only college then existing in the commonwealth: "It shall be the DUTY of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and science, and all seminaries of them, especially the university at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns." Sir, it is your duty to do so. I am not afraid to use the stern, old-fashioned word. It is, however, not I, but the constitution, which uses it. It is your sworn duty to cherish the interests of the colleges.

Having placed our claim to your favor on the ground of duty, I might, in addressing a committee of intelligent and conscientious legislators, safely leave it there. But if it be necessary to seek for motives of interest, I would say that the ground of expediency and policy is as plain as that of duty. If we look only to material prosperity, to physical welfare, nothing is now more certain than that they are most

powerfully promoted by every thing which multiplies and diffuses the means of education. We live in an age in which cultivated mind is becoming more and more the controlling principle of affairs. Like that mysterious magnetic influence, whose wonderful properties have been lately brought from the scientific lecture-room into the practical business of life, you cannot see it, you cannot feel it, you cannot weigh it; but it pervades the globe from its surface to its centre, and attracts and moves every particle of metal which has been touched into a kindred sensibility.

We hear much at present of the veins of gold which are brought to light in almost every latitude of either hemisphere; in fact, we hear of nothing else. But I care not what mines may be opened in the north or in the south, in the mountains of Siberia, or the ravines of California; wheresoever the fountains of the golden tide may gush forth, the streams will flow to the regions where educated intellect has woven the boundless network of the useful and ornamental arts. Yes, sir, if Massachusetts remains true to the policy which has hitherto in the main governed her legislation, and is not now, I trust, to be departed from, a generous wave of the golden tide will reach her distant shores. Let others

> "Tempt icy seas where scarce the waters roll,
> Where clearer flames glow round the frozen pole,
> Or under southern skies exalt their sails,
> Led by new stars, and borne by spicy gales, —
> For me —— "

yes, for *me* may poor old rocky, sandy Massachusetts exclaim, — land as she is of the school, the academy, and the college, — land of the press, the lecture-room, and the church, —

> "For me the balm shall bleed, and amber flow,
> The coral redden, and the ruby glow,
> The pearly shell its lucid globe infold,
> And Phœbus warm the ripening ore to gold."

It matters not if every pebble in the bed of the Sacramento were a diamond as big and as precious as the mysterious *Ko-hi-noor*, which we read of in the last accounts from India,

on whose possession the fate of empire is believed, in those benighted regions, to depend. It matters not if this new Pactolus flow through a region which stretches for furlongs, — a wide tract of solid gold. The jewels and the ingots will find their way to the great centres of civilization, where cultivated mind gives birth to the arts, and freedom renders property secure. The region itself to which these fabulous treasures are attracting the countless hosts of thrift, cupidity, and adventure will derive, I fear, the smallest part of the benefit. Could it be peopled entirely with emigrants like the best of those who have taken their departure from among us, and who carry with them an outfit of New England principles and habits, it would be well; but much I fear the gold region will, for a long time, be a scene of anarchy and confusion. of violence and bloodshed, of bewildering gains and maddening losses, of any thing but social happiness and well-regulated civil liberty.*

If we will not be taught by any thing else, let us learn of history. It was not Mexico and Peru, nor (what it imports us more to bear in mind) Portugal, nor Spain, which reaped the silver and golden harvest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was the industrious, enlightened, cultivated states of the north and west of Europe. It was little Holland, — scarcely one fifth as large as New England, — hardly able to keep her head above the waters of the superincumbent ocean, but with five universities dotting her limited surface; it was England, with her foundation schools, her indomitable public opinion, her representative system, her twin universities; it was to these free and enlightened countries that the gold and silver flowed; not merely adding to the material wealth of the community, but quickening the energy of the industrious classes, breaking down the remains of feudalism, furnishing the sinews of war to the champions of Protestant liberty, and thus cheering them on to the great

* In revising this speech for republication, it affords me great pleasure to state that the conduct of the people of California, as a community, has thus far been extremely creditable; far more so than could have been expected, under the circumstances of the first settlement of the country.

struggle, to whose successful issue it was owing, in its remote effects, under Providence, that you, sir, sit in safety beneath the canopy that overhangs this hall.

What the love of liberty, the care of education, and a large and enlightened regard for intellectual and moral interests did for the parent state, they will do for us. They will give us present prosperity, and with it what is infinitely better, — not only a name and a praise with contemporary nations who form with us the great procession of humanity, — but a name and a praise among enlightened men and enlightened states to the end of time.

AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION.*

I RISE, Mr President, with your permission, for the discharge of a yet unperformed duty. We have, sir, in the hall above, in the earlier part of the day, adopted resolutions of thanks to the worthy officers of the association; to the citizens of Cambridge; and to the associations and individuals in the vicinity who have manifested an interest in the institution, and a desire to promote the convenience and gratification of the members, and the objects of the meeting. There still remains a debt of this kind to be acquitted; and I propose, sir, before I take my seat, to endeavor to perform it, by moving a vote of thanks to the ladies who have honored the meetings of the association, both here at the social table and in the sections, with their presence and countenance.

Before I do this, I will crave leave to say a few words upon the objects of the association and the character of its meetings the present year. This I shall do with the greater boldness, even though I may be breaking through the regulation which was adopted, for very good reasons, that there should be no speaking at the dinner table. We have reached the last day on which we shall meet together, and my bad example, in this respect, cannot be drawn into an inconvenient precedent for the present year.

But I am desirous of availing myself of the opportunity to say, that, in my humble opinion, the transactions of the

* Remarks at the public table, on the last day of the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Cambridge, Mass., on the 21st of August, 1849, Professor Henry in the chair.

association, at its present meeting, have been highly creditable to its members, and to the science of the country. I had an opportunity, in 1841, of attending the annual meeting of a similar association at Florence, consisting of between nine hundred and a thousand of the men of science of Italy and the neighboring countries; and in the years 1842, 1844, and 1845, I enjoyed a similar opportunity in reference to the meetings of the British Association for the Promotion of Science. It appears to me that, in the scientific character of its proceedings at the present meeting, the American Association will compare advantageously with those of Europe. The number of men of science in attendance is much less; but I think the volume of this year's transactions, when published, will show proportionably as large a number of communications, on interesting and important topics, in most of the departments of science, and exhibiting as much original research and sound speculation, as the annual reports of any of the European associations. I make this remark with the less hesitation, because I have myself taken no part in the scientific labors of the association, which makes it improper for me to speak in this manner of its proceedings; and also because among the circumstances which have enabled the association to present such fair ground of comparison with its European contemporaries, no one can forget that European talent of the highest order is to be found in our ranks.*

I think no one, sir, could have attended any considerable number of the meetings of the Association, and witnessed its operations, but must have been satisfied, if he had doubts before, of the utility of such an institution. A meeting of scientific men from every part of the Union, with the opportunity thus afforded for entering into friendly personal relations, is itself an object of no mean importance; especially in a country so large as this, and destitute of any one great metropolis. It cannot have escaped any one's observation, that much time, labor, and skilful research, must have been

* Among the active members of the Association at the present meeting were Professors Agassiz and Guyot of Neuchatel.

devoted to the preparation of many of the memoirs, which it is highly probable would not have been bestowed upon scientific pursuits under other circumstances. Much is gained, at all times, by the actual presence of the instructer, and the animation of the living voice. They make an impression which is rarely produced by the lifeless page of the printed volume. I do not, of course, mean that lecturing can ever take the place of study; but it is an admirable assistant. Then, too, the meetings of the Association possess the advantage of affording, in the discussions to which the memoirs are subjected, an opportunity, which nothing but oral discussion can yield, for the friendly collision of intellect, and the instructive comparison of opinions. These topics might be easily expanded, but I think I should undertake a very superfluous office, if I should endeavor, more in detail, on the present occasion, to set forth the usefulness of institutions of this kind.

I am aware that it has been objected to them, at home and abroad, that they do not lead to the discovery of truth. The question is frequently asked, in reference to the great European associations of this kind, What discoveries have been made by them? Well, sir, in this demand for *discoveries* as the test of usefulness, as respects associated or individual effort, there is no little vagueness and a good deal of injustice. It appears to me quite unreasonable, as an exclusive test of utility, to demand either of scientific bodies, or of single votaries of science, that they should make discoveries. If by "discoveries" we mean matters of fact before unknown, such as the discovery of the existence of the American continent, or of the planets Uranus or Neptune, or of the effect of vaccination, it would be greatly to abridge the list of honored scientific names, to exclude from it all but a very few, who to the greatest sagacity, and generally also the greatest diligence, have united the greatest good fortune. If we set up this standard, we should strike at the root, not merely of this Association, but of almost every other specific form of scientific action. Discoveries such as I mention are, necessarily, more or less casual in their immediate origin. Or

rather, there is a happy inspiration, an unexplained, inexplicable kindling of mind, which no logic can teach, no discipline certainly produce. That the globe was spherical was not first conceived by Columbus; how happened it that he first formed the practical conception of reaching the Indies by sailing to the west? The perturbations of Uranus have been studied by astronomers for a quarter of a century; what inspired Leverrier and Adams alone with the happy thought of deducing from them the existence of an undiscovered planet?

If we use the term "discovery," in reference to great general laws of nature, such as as the Copernican system, the attraction of gravitation, the relations of electricity and magnetism, then the unreasonableness of objecting to scientific associations, that they have not produced, and are not likely to produce, such results, is still more apparent. Discoveries of this kind, even though apparently referable to single authors, to particular periods of time, and to distinct courses of research, are so only in a limited degree. They are the product of the whole condition of science at the time; they are its consummate flower, its ripened fruit. Such discoveries strike their roots far into the past; they are not made, — they have grown. The preparation of centuries has gradually opened the way for them; hundreds of minds have taken part in the discovery, hundreds of years before it is made. At length the world of science is ripe for the grand result; the fulness of time is come; the gifted genius destined to put the last hand to the work is born, and the "discovery" is made; not seldom, perhaps, in popular acceptation, with an exaggeration of its absolute novelty, an overrating of the originality of the discoverer, and consequent injustice to his predecessors. Pope beautifully says, —

> "Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night; —
> God said, 'Let Newton be;' — and all was light."

This, certainly, is very happily said, by way of epigrammatic eulogy; but it would not bear critical examination.

The illustrious philosopher, as just and modest as he was great, did not so deem of himself. Were the laws of nature wholly hidden in darkness before the time of Newton? Had Copernicus, Tycho, Keppler, Galileo thrown no light upon them? For discoveries in this sense of the term, who will undertake to say, that meetings like this do not furnish a full proportion of the necessary preparation?

So, too, — and perhaps this is a still more important reflection, — after the discovery of some such general law is made, the work of science is by no means exhausted. Even if it were true that scientific associations had no tendency to promote discovery, in either sense of the word, it might still be a matter of great importance, that they furnish occasions and facilities for illustrating and diffusing more widely the knowledge of the great laws of nature. This is a point on which, if time permitted, and I were addressing an audience of young men who needed encouragements to engage with ardor in the pursuit of science, I would gladly enlarge. I would say to them, Fear not that the masters who have gone before you have reaped the field of science so thoroughly, as to leave neither harvest nor gleaning for their successors. True, indeed, the Newtons have lived and taught; not to supersede and render superfluous, but to prepare the way for disciples and followers, worthy to be called the Newtons of after ages. The discovery of a great law is an enlargement, not an exhaustion, of the domain of science. Each new truth is a lever for the discovery of further truth. It may never be given again to the human intellect (but who shall say that it never will be given?) to attain another generalization, at once of such divine simplicity and stupendous magnitude as the law of gravitation. But it may with truth be said, that the system of the universe, resting on that law, has been more fully developed by the successors of Newton than by himself.

This important truth, that a great discovery not only leads to, but stands in need of further researches, is happily expressed in a fine apostrophe of the poet Cowley to the philosopher Hobbes, which attracted my notice in taking up the volume of his works at the bookseller's the day before yes-

terday, and seemed to me so full of wisdom as to impress itself upon my memory. Cowley addresses Hobbes as "the great Columbus of the golden lands of new philosophies." Few persons, at the present day, would be disposed to admit the claim of the philosopher of Malmesbury to this magnificent title. But the strain in which Cowley proceeds, however uncouth in point of versification, is singularly acute and discriminating.

> "Thou great Columbus of the golden lands of new philosophies!
> Thy task is harder much than his;
> For thy learned America is
> Not only found out first by thee,
> And rudely left to future industry,
> But thy eloquence and thy wit
> Has planted, peopled, built and civilized it."

The verse is rude, but the lesson is significant. Columbus may set foot on a continent before unseen by civilized man; Copernicus may sweep away the cycles and epicycles of the Ptolemaic theory, and establish the sun on his central throne; and Newton may demonstrate the wondrous law which binds every member of the system — forever attracted and forever repelled — to that mysterious centre. But after all these great discoveries have been made, there is not only room, there is urgent demand, a great intellectual necessity, for further progress. Other discoverers, other philosophers must rise to unfold the consequences of these primordial truths; to plant and people these scientific continents (if I may be allowed to carry on Cowley's metaphor) with new experiments and observations; to build them up into harmonious systems; to civilize them by a refined adaptation to the wants and service of moral beings.

This is the work left to the mass of the scientific community, and no one can reasonably deny that an association like ours is an approved and effective part of that system of concerted action, by which men advantageously unite themselves to accomplish desirable ends. And it is most cheering to learn from the example of the great discoverers, that the

materials for carrying on their work — the elements of further discovery — surround us on every side. There is no error more gross than that the knowledge of the great truths which form the glory of modern science, must be directly sought from the depths of the heavens above or of the abyss below. And when philosophical analysis enables us, in some degree, to penetrate to the mysteries of the earth we inhabit, or of the mighty universe of which it forms so small a part, it is by virtue of laws and principles exemplified as clearly in the motes that cheaply people the sunbeam, as in the mighty spheres which are held in their orbits by the sun. The law of gravitation was suggested to Newton, not by the magnificent spectacle of a comet drawn down to the sun from the outskirts of the solar system, but by an apple falling from a tree to the earth. The glass which I hold in my hand, with the water contained in it, is of itself a richly stored cabinet of scientific truth. By the ancients, the water, believed to be a simple substance, was no doubt regarded chiefly as the element designed to moisten and fertilize the earth, to quench the thirst of man, to separate Greece from the lands of the barbarians. By a great progress of art, it came to serve for the construction of a clepsydra. Modern science early took note of the expansive powers of steam; the Marquis of Worcester, Savery, and Newcomen attempted, and Bolton and Watt perfected, the machinery which has made the vapor of boiling water the life-spring of modern industry, and in the hands of our own Fulton has converted it into the great means of commerce and communication around the globe. Questioned by chemical science, the same limpid element is made to yield to Cavendish and Priestley the secret of its gaseous composition, and thus becomes the starting point of no inconsiderable portion of our modern chemistry; teaching us at the outset the somewhat startling fact, that *aquafortis* and the common air we breathe consist of precisely the same ingredients, in proportions a little varied. Physiology here takes her turn; and my friend opposite, who favors me with an approving smile, (Professor Agassiz,) is ready to subject the contents of the glass to the creative focus

of his microscope, and to demonstrate the organization, circulation, and whole animal economy of orders of beings, whose existence is apparent only under the higher powers. Not content with the harvest of science to be reaped from the water, our worthy president (Professor Henry) is thinking of the glass. To his eye it is a tolerable cylinder. His mind runs upon electricity, induction, and the relations of galvanism and magnetism, to the illustration of which he has himself so materially contributed. Here we reach the magnetic telegraph, the electric clock, and their application to the measurement of differences of longitude, and the observation and record of celestial phenomena; an apparatus so wonderful that, as we have heard in the sections, from Professor Walker, a child of twelve years old, who sees it for the first time, can observe and record the passage of a star over the wires of the micrometer, more correctly than it could be done by the most skilful observer in the ordinary way. Thus we are carried back to a more accurate observaion of the heavens, by that electric spark which Franklin first drew from the clouds.

But it is time, sir, to think of performing the duty for which I originally rose to address you. It is one of the most pleasing incidents of the present meetings of the Association that they have been attended by so many ladies. Many of the members of the Association, from a distance, have been accompanied with their wives and daughters, who, together with the ladies of Cambridge, have not only from day to day honored our social table with their company, but have given their diligent attention in the sections. The Association has, I understand, been favored in this way for the first time at the present meeting. I am sure I speak for all those who have taken part in the scientific transactions, that they have been animated and encouraged by this unusual presence; and the persevering attendance of our fair friends to the close of the session authorizes the hope that they have been gratified listeners. How much our social meetings in this hall have been enlivened by their presence I need not say. I trust the example which they have set, the present year, will be fol-

lowed at the future meetings of the Association. When we recall the names of Caroline Herschel, of Mary Somerville, — and may I not add of our own Maria Mitchell? — we need no arguments to show that the cultivation of science is by no means the exclusive mission of man. The time may come, perhaps, when my successor in the duty I now perform will be called upon to return the acknowledgments of the Association, not only to the ladies who have honored the meetings by their presence, but to those who have contributed to the volumes of its Scientific Transactions.

I beg leave, sir, to submit the following motion: —

Resolved, That the thanks of the American Association for the Advancement of Science be given to the ladies who have honored the meetings of the Association with their attendance.

The question on this resolution was put by the president, and it was carried unanimously.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS.*

AFTER some observations upon the propriety of celebrating the day on which the Pilgrims took their departure from the Old World, as well as that on which they landed in America, Mr Everett proceeded as follows: —

It may be added, sir, in favor of a celebration of the seventeenth of September, that it is not amiss that our commemoration of the Pilgrims should have its joyous as well as its pensive aspect. There is a bright as well as a dark side to their story. If we are led by the dreary snows and piercing winds of December to dwell upon the recollection of their sufferings, let us be willing to yield to the influence of the present delightful season, and trace their toils and sacrifices into the bounteous harvest of blessings for which we ought to be grateful to their memory. Of these blessings we are not likely to overrate the importance; nor whether our celebrations are frequent or infrequent, in the summer or the winter, are we at all in danger of exaggerating the consequences of that movement, in which the Pilgrims of New England led the way, — I mean the colonization of New England by voluntary emigration from Old England.

I freely admit, sir, that consequences of all kinds, — political, social, and moral, — vitally affecting the Old World and the New, have resulted from that movement which the first

* Remarks at the table at Plymouth, Mass., on the 17th of September, 1849, (Mr Webster in the chair;) this day being the anniversary of the day on which the Mayflower took her final departure from Plymouth in England.

settlers of New England did not anticipate, — which it did not enter into their hearts distinctly to conceive. But inasmuch as the movement itself was deliberately planned for objects analogous to those which have been accomplished, and in the natural sequence of cause and effect, it appears to me that the Pilgrims are fully entitled to the honors which we are accustomed to pay to their memories, as the founders of our New England commonwealths, and of so much of our common America as traces its descent to New England. You have justly observed, sir, that Columbus was entitled to the glory of his great discovery from the day he sailed from Palos. What had mere success to do with the mighty conception of his mind? He was entitled to it then or never, for the historical fact of the discovery was an accident. He sailed in the hope of finding a western passage to India; — he found a new world on the way; as modern astronomy, launching into the heavens on a voyage of discovery for a new planet at thirty-six or thirty-eight times the distance of the earth from the sun, found it at thirty. In like manner the Pilgrims sought only a shelter for their own feeble flock; but they are not the less entitled to the credit of founding our six New England republics. The corner stone of the goodly edifice may truly be said to rest on Plymouth rock.

Yes, sir, they were but a handful; just a hundred when they landed from the Mayflower, of whom one half were laid beneath the sods of yonder rising ground, before it was clothed with the next spring's verdure. They were a little community of Christians who, finding themselves wasting away in the country of their European exile, sought only a corner of the earth where they could worship God without restraint or fear; but in this little company were folded up the germs of future states, as truly as the future oak is wrapped up in the acorn.

In fact, sir, before we look with disparagement upon the insignificance of the enterprise of the Pilgrims, and feel disposed to deny them, on that account, a place in the list of Lord Bacon's *conditores imperiorum*, we should do well to consider, that, in all human probability, the final success of

their undertaking was owing to its unambitious origin; to the fact that so few, and they so humble, were enlisted, in an enterprise to all human calculation so unpromising, in a region so distant, and at that time so utterly unimportant on the map of the world. It was in all probability precisely for these reasons, that the little band of severe and thoughtful refugees from the great world of Europe were alone able to accomplish the mighty work of establishing a great political reform in connection with religious freedom, which was undertaken without success at the same time, or nearly the same time, in three different portions of Europe; at three of the greatest centres of the world's civilization, by individuals or bodies of men possessed by birth, or enabled to possess themselves by statesmanship or force, of the powers and resources of ancient monarchies. This little company, with John Carver at its head, laid the foundation, — the solid and the eternal foundation, — of that which Henry IV of France, in the preceding generation, Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, as the head of the Protestant cause in the north of Europe, and Cromwell, in England, attempted in vain. They succeeded for the very reason that, instead of being called in Providence, to shake the pillars of kingdoms and hierarchies, and to march towards their end on the high and giddy paths of politics and war, they were from a very humble station in life, and called, humanly speaking, to act on a very humble theatre. It was owing mainly to this, that they not only succeeded in all that was attempted on the continent of Europe, — that is, in laying a firm foundation for civil liberty on the basis of religious freedom, — but in adding to it what was attempted only in England, and there without success, — the superstructure of republican government.

You have instructed and delighted us, sir, by sketching in the most luminous manner the intellectual condition of England, and the leading minds which adorned and guided it at the period of the Pilgrim emigration. Allow me, for a moment, to pass to the continent, and specifically to compare the enterprise of the Pilgrims with that great movement in Protestant Germany, which commenced at the same time,

and which, at the time, was regarded, not merely by the incurious world, but by the friends of Protestant liberty, as beyond all proportion the more important movement. Curious it is to reflect that, while the tale of the Pilgrims has, in the course of two centuries, taken its place among the few great legends of humanity which are known throughout the world, from the throne to the cottage, the history of the Thirty Years' war must be studied in learned volumes on the shelves of libraries, and for the most part, as far as concerns us, in foreign tongues. This comparison will show us how difficult it is to correct great abuses in old countries by means of violent revolutions, and will satisfy us that it was the peculiar good fortune of the Pilgrims that they were called to operate on an humble scale, with the inoffensive weapons of personal sacrifice and moral influence. Whenever the great work is taken up by politicians and agitators, by statesmen and heroes, it seems of necessity to fail. The mighty traditions of ages then present their unyielding front, and interests closely twined round the very fibres of society are felt, or feared to be, in danger. Parties are created, passions enkindled; and soon the purest causes, infected with the poison of human policy and intrigue, decline and die away. The English revolution of 1688 was an exception, purchased, however, by the miscarriages of half a century. Our own revolution was a still more brilliant exception; and they stand nearly alone in history.

The first steps of the exiles at Leyden, towards realizing their project of emigration, were taken in 1618, and in this same year the first movements of the dreadful Thirty Years' war began among the Protestants in Germany. The one was the affair of a handful of persecuted religionists; the other drew into its vortex nearly all the great powers of Europe. The purpose of the Pilgrims was known but to themselves; to a few of their brethren of the faith in England; and to half a dozen great personages about court, most of whom bestowed upon it a supercilious and uncertain patronage. The movement in Germany kindled the sympathies and awoke the passions of every court and people, from

London to Constantinople. It was really much the same state of things as that which has existed during the last twelvemonth; a similar contest, on nearly the same battle-fields, and for objects not materially different. It is interesting to see how little there is in the Old World that is positively new under the sun. The colossal intervention of Russia, a power not possessed of a European existence two centuries ago, is the only quite novel feature in the recent contests. Hume tells us that when the news reached England that the elector Palatine (the son-in-law of James I.) was chosen king of Bohemia by the Protestants of that country, just rushing into a war with Ferdinand of Austria, "the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardor greater with which all the states of Europe, in former ages, flew to the rescue of the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels." Singularly enough, the feeble sect to which the Pilgrims belonged took an especial interest in these outlandish wars. The daughter of King James — wife to the elector Palatine — was believed to favor their religious opinions. Worthy Mr Prince, in his New England Chronology, which he judiciously commences with the creation of Adam, speaks of the excellent queen of Bohemia "as the darling of the British Puritans." The first great trial of arms, in this tremendous war, was the battle of Prague, which was fought on the eighth of November, 1620;* and Cape Cod was seen from the Mayflower on the following day. Two centuries and a quarter have passed away; I will not say that the cause of constitutional and religious liberty still stands exactly where it then did on the continent of Europe; but I should be sorry to be called upon to spell out its progress from the manifestos of the red republicans in France, which teach us that "property is theft," or from the bulletins of General Oudinot, of Marshal Radetzky, or Prince Paskievitch. Two centuries and a quarter have passed away. Every generation has had its bloody wars; almost every generation has had its unfruitful revolution; and the division

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 200.

lines between liberty and absolutism, on the continent of Europe, run very nearly as they did then. I do not know, upon the whole, that we rise from the perusal of the intelligence from the other side of the Atlantic, brought by the last steamer, with better hopes for the cause of representative free government in that region than were entertained when the battle of Prague was fought and lost, the day before the first glimmer of the snow-clad sands of Cape Cod was caught by the aching and tearful eyes of the Mayflower's company. I believe, sir, I may say, without extravagance, that the greatest triumph of constitutional liberty since that time has been its peaceful growth in this country. Less was lost on that disastrous day, when an army of Protestants was crushed beneath the walls of Prague, in the sight of the royal lady who was "the darling of the British Puritans," than was gained the next day, when that poor weather-beaten bark crept round the point of Provincetown harbor, and dropped her anchor on the coast of America. May I not add, that more was gained for the cause of real republicanism, when plain John Carver was, by the choice of his associates, seated in that still plainer oaken chair, which we have sometimes seen at these Pilgrim festivals, than when the throne of Louis Philippe, blazing with scarlet and gold, was carried off in triumph from the Tuileries, and burned on the public square, by a famished Parisian mob, whose ideas of republicanism, if we may judge from the events of the last sixty years, are as definite as a blind man's ideas of color.

I do not claim all this contrast as a matter of special merit on the part of the Pilgrims or their descendants. It was the happiness of the state of things in which they were placed; if I may give the name of happiness to a condition of so much privation, toil, and suffering. Still less would I taunt the sincere and honest reformers of Europe with their miscarriages, now or formerly. It is the misfortune of their position, at the present day, that the remedies attempted for the evils of the body politic are worse than the disease, while the disease is intolerable.

It is not my wish to eulogize the Pilgrims, but to do them

justice; and I will only say, in conclusion, that it is now our great duty, in the changed condition of the cause to which they consecrated their lives and labors, to set a salutary example of the temperate enjoyment of liberty to its struggling friends in Europe. If we wish our American principles to prevail in other countries, we must show that they work out here the great objects for which men unite in civil society; that religion and morals, liberty and law, order and property, science, arts, and letters, and peace at home and abroad, are safe under the ægis of republican freedom.

CATTLE SHOW AT DEDHAM.*

AFTER making his personal acknowledgments to the Chair and to Mr Webster, Mr Everett went on as follows: —

You have been pleased, Mr President, to inform the company that I am a Norfolk man. I am, sir. I was born in Dorchester, and my ancestors, from the first settlement of the country, were born and bred in this prosperous town of Dedham. I am not ashamed of my descent. My forefathers were humble men, farmers and mechanics, and pursued a most unambitious career. They left nothing to their descendants of either fame or fortune, but a good name. But as times go, he is not the worst citizen who gives himself with unpretending industry to a private career; content to embark in the ship of state as a private passenger, and if need be, to work his passage before the mast. My course of life has carried me away from the paths trod by my ancestors. But as I advance in years, I am inclined to think with his excellency, that the pursuit of the farmer is most conducive to virtue and happiness. I will not compare it invidiously with other occupations; they are all honorable and all respectable, when pursued by honest men and for honest ends; but I do think, sir, upon the whole, and for the mass of mankind, that agriculture, as it is of necessity the only occupation which could be pursued by the majority, is in its nature entitled to the preference. I believe it to be the occu-

* Remarks at the dinner of the Norfolk County Agricultural Society, at Dedham, on the 26th of September, 1849. Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, president of the society, in the chair.

pation most favorable to health, to tranquillity of mind, to simple manners, to frugal habits, and to what is of utmost consequence in a republican government — equality of condition. What more is wanted to make up an occupation in life most favorable to happiness? Certainly there is no other pursuit, which, to the same degree lies, at the basis of the entire social system. I am not speaking without warrant, Mr President, for you have told us the same thing to-day in better language. It is in fact the consenting judgment of the world.

In the infancy of our race, men could express their feelings of gratitude and wonder in reference to agriculture and its fruits only by saying that the products of the soil were the gifts of Heaven. Corn, wine, and oil, the implements of husbandry, and the skill to use them, were, to their simple apprehension, all given by the gods. The wisdom of man was not sufficient to account for the introduction of these beneficent gifts. The descriptions of China tell us that even to this day, the sovereign of that empire, the despotic master of one third part of the human race, in order to show his high esteem for agriculture, once in the year, holds the plough and turns a furrow, in the presence of his court and of all the highest dignitaries of the land. When we consider the almost idolatrous homage paid by the Chinese to their emperors, we shall better appreciate the significance of a ceremony like this. One cannot but recall the beautiful allusion of Thomson, —

> "In ancient times, the sacred plough employed
> The kings and awful fathers of mankind;
> And some, with whom compared, your insect tribes
> Are but the beings of a summer's day,
> Have held the scale of empire, ruled the storm
> Of mighty war; then, with unwearied hand,
> Disdaining little delicacies, seized
> The plough, and greatly independent lived."

But we need not, sir, go back to the past, to find the times when agriculture has been held in the highest estimation.

The gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr Webster) will bear me out when I say, that in England, at the present day, it is the great interest. Land is the favorite investment, though it rarely yields an income of more than three per centum. As soon as a man becomes possessed of a fortune in England, he buys land. If the estate be large, the greater part will be leased to tenants; but a considerable proprietor generally retains a portion of land in his own hands. Every thing pertaining to its cultivation — the improvement of the soil, the contrivance of agricultural implements, the choice and succession of crops, the warfare against noxious insects — receives a degree of attention, in that country, hardly known here. The best talent, unwearied research, and capital in abundance, are enlisted in the service of husbandry. Mr Webster, from his own observation, will tell you that the annual meetings of the Royal Agricultural Society are deemed of greatest interest by the most intelligent portion of the community. The prizes that are given at those meetings are objects of competition to all, from the consort of the queen down to the tenant farmer and the farm laborer. At these festivals, persons belonging to the highest nobility and to the wealthiest gentry in the kingdom are seen examining the condition of the animals at the pens, or carefully inspecting the implements of husbandry in the machine yard.

The character of the agriculture of any region must depend on the soil and climate. Mr Webster has given us an account of the root culture of England. We cannot have it, as he has told us, to the same extent in New England, although it will be carried, unquestionably, much farther than it has been. Nor will our climate and soil permit us to cultivate, on a large scale, what may be called, in the temperate region, the great staple of agriculture — that is, *wheat*. Much less can we produce the staples of southern and tropical climates. Still, however, I do not know that agriculture is not as important an interest in this as in any other part of the world. I believe that by the aid of our golden grain, the Indian corn, (which I imagine will prove in the end the most valuable gold dug out of the earth on either side of

this continent, eastern or western,) — I believe that with the aid of Indian corn, the invaluable potato, and the other vegetable products adapted to our soil and climate, we may have farms that will compare advantageously with those of any part of the world. I mean farms on which a moderate outlay of capital, judiciously invested and well worked, will yield a reasonable profit; and that is the most that can be done any where; for great speculative profits can never exist in the pursuit of any great permanent business, and are of course not to be taken into account in a comparison of this kind. It is true that no skill, that no thrift can make our soil yield the cotton plant, the sugar-cane, the tobacco — what shall I call it — plant, or rather weed. But we have no reason to regret them. On the contrary, it is these comparatively barren plains, these sterile hill-sides, to which we owe, in the last result, the prosperity of New England. It is precisely to these that we are indebted for that patient industry which is more than a counterbalance for a rich alluvial soil, and for that aptitude for the arts and energy of purpose which are vastly more productive of wealth than a genial climate. Who does not know that it is precisely such a region as that in which we live, that has been at all times the cradle of those inventions which seem to endow metal, and wood, and stone, with muscular activity and living sense; which enable a man to say to this piece of machinery, framed of wood and metal, "Go and remove the chaff from the wheat," and to that structure of stone and wood, "Throw out your revolving arms to the winds, and grind my corn into bread"? Where were these primitive machines, and the thousand still more ingenious and complicated contrivances of modern art, invented? On a soil and beneath a climate like our own. May I not go further, and say, that it is a soil of moderate fertility, beneath the climate of the temperate regions, that has always been the cradle of constitutional freedom, and of that passion for liberty, which are the great hereditary glories of the Anglo-Saxon race? Poor as our soil, ungenial as our climate may be, it is precisely to these

that it is owing, under Providence, that our farms are tilled by the arms of freemen.

There were some things, Mr President, that I thought to say to you; but Governor Briggs and Mr Webster have dealt with my intended speech somewhat as the farmer deals with a barberry-bush on the side of his field. They have passed their great breaking-up plough through it, and grubbed it all up. I will only speak of one circumstance which is going, as I think, to prove more favorable to our agriculture than has been generally supposed, and that is, the multiplication of railroads. We have hitherto, perhaps, thought more of the benefit resulting from these new facilities of communication, in connection with commerce and manufactures. But I believe they are to do quite as much for our agriculture. I think that this network of railroads thrown over the land, is to be of more benefit to the husbandry interest of New England, than all the gold of California. It will put it in the power of the farmer to get his supplies from the seaboard, and to carry his produce to market, much more advantageously than formerly. In short, sir, it will enable him to live three days in one; and that, if one lives wisely, is no small matter.

There is another thing worthy of consideration. You stated, sir, that our young men of enterprise had hitherto committed a great error, in leaving all other pursuits and thronging to the city. I agree with you entirely. But a counter-current is now taking place. It is getting to be much more common now than formerly, when a man has acquired the means of doing it, to go back to his native village, and to seek a quiet retreat under the trees, beneath whose shade he was born. This practice will be greatly facilitated by the railroads. Within a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles around the metropolis, we see constantly springing up a crop of these neat little cottages. Men find that they can do business in town, and yet enjoy the pure air and free elbow-room of the country, for the residence of their families, far away from the smoke, and dust, and noisy streets of the city. This

practice, sir, you will find, will prevail more and more. It has not only healthfulness to recommend it, but it is in consonance with the deepest sentiments of our nature, which bind us by the strongest associations to the homes of our childhood and to the graves of our fathers. There is a charm even in a single visit to one's native spot. I do assure you, sir, that I have not been able, even for this single day, to breathe the air of these fields where my fathers lived and acted their humble part for two hundred years, without experiencing emotions that words fail to describe.

> "I feel the gales, that from ye blow,
> A momentary bliss bestow,
> As, waving fresh your gladsome wing,
> My weary soul ye seem to soothe,
> And, redolent of joy and youth,
> To breathe a second spring."

I look to this growing custom of returning to the native village, after the meridian of life is passed, as a circumstance tending greatly to the improvement of our agriculture. The effects are already seen in the multiplication of fine farms, neat and even elegant dwellings, capacious barns, substantial and permanent enclosures, fields under the highest cultivation, and avenues of trees, planted for ornament and shade. This last point is worth the particular attention of our fellow-citizens in the country. Till lately, perhaps, this generation, following the bad example of the last, has not done quite so much in this way as might have been wished. It is a kind of instinct in the settlement of a new country, to destroy trees; and it takes a good while to restore to the community a disposition to spare, protect, and propagate them. Some public-spirited individuals, however, in our country towns, began to think of this matter, in the middle of the last century. There are in the interior of New England a great many noble trees, planted eighty or one hundred years ago; and most certainly nothing grows out of the earth, and man can put nothing upon it, so beautiful. I hope, my friends, we shall let our children and grandchildren enjoy the great

comfort to be derived from this source. Sir Walter Scott represents one of his characters as saying that his father used to tell him to be always putting down a tree. "It will be growing, Jock, when you are sleeping." It will be growing, sir, when we are sleeping to wake no more. The acorn which you cover with a couple of inches of earth, the seedling elm which you rescue in your garden from the spade, will outlive half a dozen of our generations. Cicero speaks of it as a kind of natural foresight of the continued existence of man, that men "planted trees which were to benefit a coming generation." * Yes, sir, and if every man, before he goes hence, would but take care to leave one good oak or elm behind him, he would not have lived in vain. His children and grandchildren would bless his memory.

I am afraid I have spoken too long, sir, in this rambling way; but if you will allow me one other word, I will say that there is a species of culture more important than any within the range of material husbandry, — I mean the culture of the mind. But I need not say much on this topic. You have yourself, sir, in your instructive discourse, placed its importance before the company in a clear light. Still more, sir, am I led to spare my remarks on this subject, when I reflect that I am speaking in the presence of one (Mr H. Mann) whom I may without impropriety call the very apostle of this uninspired gospel. He has told you over and over again that education is the great interest of every class in the community. I will only say, sir, that if the yeomen of New England wish their principles to prevail, or their influence to be perpetuated over the country, the only way in which they can for any length of time effect this object, is to educate their children to understand those principles, and firmly and effectually to maintain them.

Allow me, sir, in taking my seat, to thank you and this company for your very kind attention, and to express my best wishes for the prosperity of the Norfolk Agricultural Society.

* Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I. c. 14.

THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL AT CONCORD.*

When I rose this morning, Mr Chairman, the state of my health and of the weather was such, that I feared it would not be in my power to avail myself of your kind invitation. But since my arrival at Concord I have so much enjoyed the patriotic excitement of the day and the place; it has gratified me so much to visit again these hallowed scenes; I have listened with so much pleasure to the eloquent discourse of the orator of the day, and to the interesting and impassioned addresses which have been made at the table, that I am quite ready, as our venerable friend near me, Mr Amos Baker, said in reference to the day we celebrate, to say that "all things considered, I feel much better here than if I had staid at home."

It is truly gratifying to one, sir, who has taken the interest that I have in former celebrations of this anniversary, an interest to which you have had the goodness to allude in such kind terms, to come back and revive the recollections of earlier days. The familiar but freshly told tale of the nineteenth of April, 1775, as narrated by the orator, falls like music on my ear. I gaze with respectful admiration on these venerable men, the survivors, the few and sole survivors, of the eventful day, in which they bore so honorable a part. One of them, (Mr Jonathan Harrington,) who has this moment been assisted from the platform, "filled the fife" on that morning

* In reply to a toast given in honor of England, as the parent country, at the celebration at Concord on the 19th of April, 1850, Judge E. R. Hoar in the chair.

of peril and glory at Lexington. The governor has just narrated to you the incident whose heroic simplicity is unsurpassed in the annals of liberty. While I was helping that infirm old man, a few minutes since, to draw on his outer garment, as I saw him trembling with years, — the arm which held the fife on the nineteenth of April, 1775, now so feeble and nerveless, — I was ready to exclaim, since we have been alluding to him by the Christian name, "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me."

I suppose, Mr Chairman, that I am indebted for the honor of being called upon to respond to the last toast, to the circumstance that a few years ago I was the minister of the United States in England. My residence there gave me full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the feelings existing in that country towards this. I have much pleasure in saying that they are in harmony with those expressed in the toast towards England. The events of this day have there passed into the calm region of history. From the highest personages in the kingdom and the government, through all the circles of society in which I had the means of observation, I witnessed nothing but indications of good will towards the people of the United States. I therefore rejoice, sir, that you have guarded against any interpretation of the proceedings of this day, inconsistent with a similar feeling on our part towards the parent country. I was pleased to see the English flag at half mast over the spot where the two British soldiers fell at the north bridge on the nineteenth of April. I was gratified to hear the liberal sentiment of the orator, that the account of hostilities was long since closed, and that between the two kindred countries the future struggle should be for preëminence in the arts of peace. I hold, indeed, sir, that duty to those who met the perils of the nineteenth of April, 1775, and put all to risk for the liberties of themselves and their children, requires that the great events of that day should be kept in fresh remembrance. I feel it to be impossible, that we who inhabit these classical fields of our country's freedom, who have seen and known some of the leading

actors of the great drama, should ever be insensible to its interest. But I am sure that you and this intelligent company agree with me in thinking, that we shall greatly mistake the proper object of these commemorations, if we made them the occasion of cherishing any unkind or bitter feeling towards the country, between which and ourselves there are bonds of kindness and grounds of friendship such as never existed between any two other nations.

Why, sir, even at that moment of extreme exasperation which preceded the breaking out of the war, there were men in England, and those of the highest note for talent, station, and character, who entertained the most friendly feelings towards the colonies and their cause. The most eloquent voices in parliament were heard on our side. When the stamp act, in 1765, was received with a burst of opposition from one end of this continent to the other, Lord Chatham declared that he rejoiced that America had resisted. It was less than a month before the commencement of hostilities that Burke pronounced that truly divine oration on "Conciliation with America," which, in my poor judgment, excels every thing, in the form of eloquence, that has come down to us from Greece or Rome. Less than a month it was before the nineteenth of April, 1775, that he said "My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron." These kindly words, and more like them, were uttered on the twenty-second of March. On the nineteenth of April the curtain rose on that mighty drama in the world's history, of which the quiet villages of Lexington and Concord were the appointed theatre. When that day's tidings reached England, they went to many a generous heart. I often heard in that country a gentleman of great literary eminence (I wish it were proper to repeat his name) say, that when the news of the nineteenth of April arrived in England, his father, with a sorrowful countenance, announced it to the family assembled at prayers. He then ordered a suit of full mourning. Some one asked him if he

had lost a friend — a relative? "Yes," was the answer, "many friends, many brethren, at one blow, in Lexington and Concord, in America."

I do not of course mean, sir, that liberal men in England in 1775 were in favor of the independence of America. This was a result (I hardly need say) to which but a few of the more ardent even of our patriots had arrived. But as soon as the necessity of this consummation was apparent, it was embraced on the other side of the water quite as readily as could have been expected. Even the prime minister, Lord North, whom we have been accustomed to regard, on this side of the Atlantic, as the great promoter and the inflexible prosecutor of the war, was desirous, two or three years before that event took place, to retire from the ministry, that he might be succeeded by those who could consistently make peace with the United States. This fact was brought to light a few years since, by the extracts from the notes of George III. to Lord North, published in the appendix to the sixth volume of President Sparks's edition of the Writings of Washington. I had the opportunity, while in England, of seeing all of that correspondence, which has been preserved in Lord North's family, and the fact alluded to is beyond question. It was the personal and urgent appeals of the king to Lord North which alone induced the latter to remain in office. It must be admitted that these facts place in no very favorable light the inflexibility of the king and the compliance of the minister. But we all remember that when President Adams, senior, was presented to George III. as the first minister of the United States to England, the king magnanimously said, "I was the last man, Mr Adams, to wish the independence of your country; but I will be the first to respect it."

I have alluded to the stamp act, with which, in many points of view, the American revolution begins. You recollect, I dare say, sir, in that admirable speech of Burke, to which I have referred, that he vindicates the colonies from the reproach of having turned the great issues of civil liberty into a money question. He reminds the House of Commons that

"the great contests for freedom in England were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing," and it was, as I have said, from the ill-starred project of Mr George Grenville to raise a revenue from America, (not, however, I believe, original with him,) that the first movements of the American revolution sprung. We have been gratified this morning by a sight of several relics of those days, of various kinds and great interest; and I have thought, sir, you might be pleased with the inspection of one which will at least have the interest of novelty. I mean a specimen of that ever-memorable stamped paper, which, considering its great influence in bringing on the American revolution, has played as important a part in human affairs as any paper that was ever made. We may almost call it, as far, at least, as America is concerned, as Pliny the elder does the paper made of the Egyptian papyrus, *res qua constat immortalitas hominum.* I hold a half crown stamp in my hand. How I got it, sir, I believe I shall not tell you. It is sufficient to say that I came by it honestly, without infringing any man's rights and without violating any constitutional principle, which is saying a good deal, considering what it is.

Yes, sir, that bit of dingy blue paper, stamped with the two and sixpence sterling, created the United States of America, and cost Great Britain the brightest jewel in her crown; an event, however, which, in all things except the precious blood that was shed in the contest, and the sufferings of a seven years' war, was the greatest blessing, in reference both to political and material interests, which could have fallen to the lot of either country. The continued subjection of America to the restrictions of the colonial system, (even if our fathers had carried the points immediately at issue,) would have produced a prolonged state of feverish agitation and ever-reviving controversy, utterly inconsistent with any wholesome progress. On the other hand, the policy pursued by England, if crowned with temporary success, would have been attended or followed by the prostration of the barriers of liberty in that country. The prophecy of Lord Chatham would unquestionably have been fulfilled: "If America falls,

she will fall like the strong man, embracing the pillars of state, and drag down the constitution along with her." As to the material interests promoted by the separation, while the progress of America, since the adoption of the constitution, exceeds in rapidity any thing recorded in history, that of England (notwithstanding the tremendous shock of the wars of the French revolution, and the load of debt entailed by those wars upon her) has been scarcely less astonishing than our own. I suppose there is no period of the history of Great Britain in which she has grown so much in numbers, wealth, and extent of dominion, as that which has elapsed since the recognition of our independence. All that could have been wrung from us by the blue paper is but an insignificant trifle compared with the rich harvest of our mutually beneficial commerce.

It cannot, of course, be necessary in this place, before this audience, especially after what we have heard from the orator of the day, to defend the principles of the American revolution, first sealed with blood, as they were, on the nineteenth of April, 1775. The American state papers of that day have become the Pandects of civil liberty throughout the world. To wars of aggression I am vehemently opposed. They are remnants of savage barbarism, and disgrace our Christian civilization. But when a war of self-defence, a war for those rights which make it life to live, is forced upon a people, it must be manfully met. That our revolutionary contest was such a war, is now admitted by the consent of mankind. That the demands of our fathers were reasonable is shown by the fact, that concessions far beyond those demands have of late years been made by Great Britain to all her colonies deemed capable of free institutions. Our neighbors in Canada are in the full enjoyment of a responsible government. The royal governor is instructed to select his ministers, not from the party favorable to the crown, but from the party which possesses the majority in the provincial Parliament. The crown, in a recent and most remarkable case, has refused (though most strongly urged) to interpose its veto on a measure carried by the popular party in that Parliament; and what

may be regarded as throwing down the last buttress of the colonial system, the great navigation act (the real, if not the avowed, ultimate cause of the American revolution) has within a twelvemonth been repealed. The colonies are now permitted to trade with foreign countries as freely as with England. In a speech of great ability in the British House of Commons, at the present session of Parliament, the prime minister (Lord John Russell) is reported to have said, "On looking back to the origin of that unhappy contest, (the American revolution,) I cannot but think it was not a single error or a single blunder which got us into that contest, but a series of repeated errors and repeated blunders; of a policy asserted, and then retreated from; again asserted, and then concessions made when they were too late, and of obstinacy when it was unseasonable. I believe it was by such a course we entered into that unhappy contest, with what were, at the beginning of it, loyal provinces of England."*

It is twenty-five years, sir, to-day, since I first had the honor of addressing my fellow-citizens at this place, and exerting myself, to the best of my ability, to freshen the recollections of the momentous day. Twenty-five years are a great space in the life of an individual; but we are accustomed to regard it as a brief period in the life of a state. But even in the life of the country, if length of time is measured by the magnitude of the events crowded into it, one might say that America has lived an age in this quarter of a century. In 1825, we had but twenty-four states. We have now thirty, and the thirty-first, our latest born sister California, — with her golden locks, — is advancing across the continent with youthful but vigorous step. Presenting herself at the door of the Union, with her self-imposed, rather let me say self-conferred, restriction, — a richer treasure than all her mines, — she is knocking for admission with a claim not long to be resisted. When I addressed you in 1825, the popula-

* Lord John Russell's speech on the colonial question, on the 8th of February, 1850.

tion of the United States amounted to about eleven millions. It is believed that the enumeration of the present year will carry it to twenty-four millions. Yes, sir, within this period of twenty-five years since some of us now present (alas! sir, that I must say *some* only) were assembled to lay the corner stone of yonder monument, a new nation, of thirteen millions not then in being, has grown up within our borders, to whom, as well as to ourselves, a precious heritage of political liberty was bequeathed by the men of 1775. The few of us who shall assemble here in 1875, (they will be very few indeed of those who have reached my age,) at the close of the full century, will be citizens of a kindred nation of fifty millions.

On one condition, however, to which I cannot but allude. There is no law of our nature which makes such a national growth, or any growth, a matter of absolute necessity under all circumstances. I received by the last steamer a pamphlet written by a member of the French chamber of deputies, on "the Decline of France."* He states that the population of France, when she went into her revolution in 1789, was thirty millions; when she came out of it in 1816, it was but thirty millions. In twenty-seven years, in which the United States more than doubled their population, France had not added a unit to her numbers. Yet, with the exception of the first six or seven years, it was what is called a prosperous period; at any rate, a period of victory and glory. What was the cause of this stationary condition of a country, seated, like France, in the centre of Europe, and possessing all the material elements of prosperity in a greater degree than almost any other country in that quarter of the globe? The secret is soon told. The flower of her population was annually decimated. The ripened grain does not more regularly fall in its season beneath the reaper's sickle, than the flower of her young men was annually mowed down by the ruth-

* De la Décadence de la France, par M. Raudot, (de l'Yonne,) membre de l'Assemblée Legislative, Paris, 1850.

less scythe of the conscription. The car of Napoleon rolled indeed in triumph over conquered Europe: —

> "O'er shields, and helms, and helmèd heads he rode
> Of thrones and mighty dynasties prostrate;"

but the bleaching bones of his subjects strewed the pathway from the frozen clods of the north to the burning sands of Syria.

We are safe from foreign invasion. What the most powerful state in Europe could not do in 1775, when our numbers fell short of three millions, is not likely to be attempted again, now that they have reached eight times that number, and are increasing with a rapidity which it makes the head giddy to calculate. No, sir, the wars which we have to dread — the wars, if any such, to chastise our sins, are lying in wait for us in the storehouse of Providence (a catastrophe which Heaven avert) — will be wars of aggression, or wars in which our foes will be those of our own political household. A higher than human wisdom has taught us, that every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and if ever this more than kingdom of ours, — this imperial family of states, spread out between the two great oceans of the globe, —

> "Bridging the way, Europe with Asia joined,"

to gather as it were into her bosom the riches of both hemispheres and either sea, — I say, sir, if this mighty family of states, in the Providence of God and by the madness of men, shall ever be divided against itself, it will be brought to desolation. Along this curiously indented frontier of neighboring states, fitted, dovetailed into each other, like the fingers of hands approaching in friendship, the line of demarcation will soon be run with blood and fire. Our mighty rivers, that bear the world's commerce east and west from the Atlantic coast to the interior, or which, sparkling down the continent from north to south, as if the great circles of the globe were chased in living silver along its surface, — these stupendous rivers, which spring from arctic snows and pour into the

sea beneath the tropics, will become like the rivers of the Old World, the Rhine and the Danube, the Euphrates and the Indus, the boundaries of alien and hostile races, whose eternal border wars have fixed upon their necks the eternal yoke of military despotism. This it was which, in the morning of the world, brought the beaming forehead of Asia — queen of nations, cradle of mankind — to the dust. This it was that struck down the short-lived civilization of Greece and Rome, and overwhelmed it with a millennium, not of grace, but of barbarism. And if I read aright the signs of the times, it is this which is even now shaking the social system of continental Europe to its foundation. Is it not plain as day, if Germany on the one hand, and Italy on the other, had been united in well-compacted, constitutional confederacies, resting on an historical basis, cemented by a common national feeling, and possessing tribunals for the amicable adjustment of public controversies, instead of referring them to the bloody and abominable umpirage of war, that Hungary, and Lombardy, and Rome, and Sicily, instead of being trampled under the iron hoof of foreign and despotic power, might at this moment have been enjoying all the blessings of freedom and peace? And if we, blessed by the wisdom of our forefathers with such a safeguard against anarchy and wars, should rashly cast it away, what words of condemnation will adequately describe our folly?

The laws of human nature, like those of the physical universe, are the same in both hemispheres. Like causes will produce like effects. Our fathers, in the days that tried men's souls, grasped at a union of the colonies as the ark of their safety. They formed a union in the act of declaring their independence. They formed a union before they attempted a constitution. This was

> "A hoop of gold to bind their brothers in,
> That the united vessel of their blood,
> Mingled with venom of suggestion,
> As force per force the age will pour it in,
> Should never leak though it do work as strong
> As aconitum."

But I forbear, sir, to enlarge upon this all-important theme; and I offer you as a toast, in taking my seat, —

THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1775, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM WHICH OUR FATHERS SEALED WITH THEIR BLOOD:—MAY THEY BE PEACEFULLY DIFFUSED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, TILL EVERY HUMAN BEING SHALL PARTAKE THE BLESSING.

THE BIBLE *

Mr President:

I have cheerfully complied with the request that I would address the present meeting, although nothing would seem to be more superfluous in this community, than to recommend the distribution of the Bible. To say any thing new on the subject is hopeless; to repeat what has been better said before, unprofitable. It may be, however, that our reverence of the Bible is very much a traditionary sentiment; that we think it is a book which ought to be read and circulated, because our fathers thought so before us. It may be that our impressions on this subject are not those deep and distinct impressions which men form in reference to the important business affairs of life; and which we certainly ought to strive to form on this subject, if it be, as I firmly believe, vitally connected with the well-being of society, even in a temporal point of view; although this, of course, is the lowest ground on which we would wish to recommend the operations of the Bible Society to public favor.

For these reasons, sir, it may be useful from time to time to turn our thoughts to this subject; to ask ourselves why it is important that the Bible should be circulated, that it should be placed in the hands of every one that can read, and that all should be taught to read, if for no other reason, that they may be able to read the Bible; for such I take to be the principle of the Massachusetts Bible Society.

* A Speech made at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Bible Society in Boston, on the 27th of May, 1850, Simon Greenleaf, Esq., president of the society, in the chair.

It might be, perhaps, sufficient answer to this inquiry, to say that the Bible contains the records of our religion. Whatever reasons there are for our attachment to it, are so many reasons for circulating the Bible. If we wish Christianity to be extended; if we would give the widest possible jurisdiction to its law; if we would confer the blessing of its hopes and promises on the largest possible number; if we would infuse its elevating and purifying spirit more and more widely in the world, — we must think it wise and proper, nay, natural and necessary, to diffuse these, its authentic records, as extensively as possible.

It may, however, be objected (for, if I mistake not, it has been) that this is unnecessary, and if unnecessary, even inexpedient, for the proposed end. It may be said that the diffusion of religious knowledge had better be left to the studies and ministrations of the clergy; that the maintenance of religion had better repose on the public offices and ordinances of the church; that it is not necessary nor desirable to make it a subject of indiscriminate popular inquiry and coöperation. Some such view of the subject is, I believe, entertained by the Roman Catholic church, though I say this with diffidence and under correction; for I have learned to place scarce any reliance on the judgments which the different communions of Christians form of each other, however entire their good faith and honesty of purpose. But however this may be, no such objection to the circulation of the Scriptures is suggested by the principles which lie at the basis of our common Protestantism.

Nothing could be farther from my thoughts than to undervalue the importance of a learned and faithful clergy, or of the stated administration of the offices and ordinances of religion. But who will deny that, for their most effectual influence on the world, it is necessary that they should have a religiously instructed and a religiously disposed community to act upon? And I confess I know not whence this instruction and predisposition are to be hoped for, if not from the distribution of the Bible. I do not say that the possession of a copy of the Scriptures by a family will insure its being

read, nor that when read it will always be read with intelligence, reverence, and profit. But certainly the possession of the sacred volume is, in the order of things, the condition precedent for obtaining these results. They are not sure to happen with it, but they are sure not to happen without it. It may be safely left, I will not say to every serious and devout person, but to every man of common sense, to say, what state of the community is best prepared to listen with advantage to the intelligent preaching of the gospel; in what state of the community the public offices of religion are most likely to meet with a cordial support — one in which there is a Bible in every family, with the ordinary chances of its being in some wholly neglected, in others treated only with a cold conventional respect; or a community in which the Bible is never seen but in a church, nor heard but from the pulpit.

I think, sir, we shall find, on reflection, that Christianity, more than any other religion ever offered to the faith or reason of man, is the religion of the *Book;* for such, I need not say, is the meaning of the BIBLE — the *Book* or *Books*. The splendid and graceful mythology of Greece, the pompous and solemn idolatry of Rome, rested on no such basis. This is the first point of discrimination between them and the true faith, that the latter goes forth from the written word; and it has been practically felt in every age, that there was no hope of its maintenance and support but in the distribution and transmission of the record. The want of the art of printing in ancient times of course prevented any thing like the astonishing results in the way of multiplying the Bible produced by the mechanical facilities of the press; but the effectual provision which was made for the *translation* of the Scriptures from age to age is something quite noticeable, and must be regarded as a very striking fact in the order of Providence; eminently significant of the nature of the influences by which the religion, of which they are the record, was to be maintained and transmitted.

This topic has been very judiciously alluded to, in a somewhat different connection, by the reverend gentleman (Mr

Hill) who preceded me; but it is one of so much importance, that I venture to ask your attention to it for a few moments, though it may seem to lie a little out of the range of remark usual on occasions of this kind. It will be admitted, I think, sir, that there is a natural disposition on the part of a priesthood — it was eminently so with the priesthood of Egypt, the country in which the first western version of the Old Testament was made — to retain exclusively in their own hands all the engines of religious influence. The Egyptian priesthood carried this so far, as to make a mystery of the hieroglyphical characters in which their sacred traditions were recorded; in consequence of which, the knowledge of these characters was lost for ages, and has but lately been recovered, and that imperfectly. Now, in direct opposition to this tendency, (which is probably innate in man,) there have been in all ages and countries, in which the Scriptures have been received as the rule of faith, counter influences at work, which have insured the preparation of a series of translations into the vernacular idiom. As the world has moved onward, as people after people has been gathered into the household of nations, and dialect after dialect has grown up into an independent tongue, in opposition to the instinct of class to which I have alluded, — there has ever been found an occasion, an efficient demand, a providential call, for a new translation of the Bible, by which the ancient and venerable record has been made intelligible to each new people in each new tongue.

This probably began at an earlier period than that to which our historical accounts go back. There were paraphrases and versions of the Old Testament (Chaldee, Samaritan, and Syriac) at a very early period, of whose connection with the vicissitudes of the times and the regions we are ignorant. But when, in consequence of the entire breaking down of the political system of Western Asia by the conquests of Alexander and his successors, a large portion of the Jewish people had been driven westward, contrary to the course of their former dispersions, which had been eastward, we find the books of the Old Testament immediately translated into

Greek at Alexandria. Thus were the Hebrew Scriptures first brought within the reach of the European world. I have never been surprised at the legendary miracles with which the accounts of the preparation of this venerable version were garnished, for I see the hand of Providence as distinctly manifested in it as in any event in the moral history of our race. When the appointed time had come, the writings of Moses, of David, and Isaiah, locked up in a dialect which was wasting away in the cities of Judah and on the hills of Palestine, (a region at best not as large as our New England,) were transfused into the far-reaching, widely-spoken tongue, which had become the language of government, of commerce, and of philosophy, from the mouths of the Rhone to the Indus. And in this language, and at this critical juncture of religious history, though their authors were Jews, the books of the New Testament were written in Greek. When another stupendous revolution, or rather series of revolutions, had transferred the sceptre of empire to Rome, and the Latin language had acquired an almost exclusive predominance in Western Europe and Northern Africa, with some extension in the East, among the first intellectual phenomena of the new order of things we find the old Italic version of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, the parent of the Vulgate and so many subsequent translations. In this way, by means of the Roman language, which did not exist as a dialect on the lips of men when the earlier books of the Old Testament were written, — the language of a people who, in the days of Moses and David, were wandering a wild clan along the banks of the Tiber, — through this singular medium, — rather let me say this awe-inspiring instrumentality, — these old Hebrew voices — mute and unintelligible as originally uttered — are rendered audible and significant to the Western church and world. And then, as we descend the line of history, as the Latin and Greek, great world-dialects, become obsolete, — dying, dead languages, as we significantly call them, — and new tongues are created by the mysterious power of the vocal faculty, we are sure to behold, as was so well observed by Mr Hill, as an invariable consequence,

often as the first result of the change, a new translation of the Scriptures. Nowhere is this so sure to be the case as in the great national stock to which we belong. Gothic and Saxon antiquity has handed down to us, through the wreck of the dark ages, nothing older than portions of the paraphrases and versions of the Scriptures, which were made in those dialects respectively, not long after the introduction of Christianity into Germany and Britain. Indeed, in the ancient Gothic tongue I am not sure that any thing has survived but portions of the translation of the New Testament.

Thus great and wide-spread families of men have been broken up or have silently passed away, and the tongues they spoke have ceased to be a medium of living intercourse; hordes of indigenous shepherds (indigenous we call them) grow up into enlightened states; wild tribes of nomadic conquerors pour down from the north and ripen into polished commonwealths; undiscovered continents and islands filled with strange races are made, as it were, to emerge from the deep; languages that are dying out mingle on the canvas of human fortune with languages that are coming in, like the melting images of the illusive glass, till it is impossible to tell where one begins or the other ends; but the Word of God is heard along the line of the ages, distinct amidst the confusion, addressing an intelligible utterance to each successive race in the great procession of humanity. The miracle of Pentecost becomes the law of human progress, and nations that have sprung into being, cycles of ages since Moses, and the prophets, and the apostles wrote, still hear them speaking, every man in his own language.

It will be said, perhaps, that what has thus happened to the Scriptures has also happened to the profane literature of Greece and Rome, and that we may read Homer and Virgil as we read the Old and New Testament, in a translation. To some extent this is true, as far as the parallel applies to the Greek Scriptures; but I need not say that, as far as the ancient literature of Western Asia is concerned, nothing has descended to us but the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Of the language of the Phœnicians, the people who are

supposed to have invented the alphabet, nothing has escaped destruction but ten or twelve lines preserved in a Latin play, and even that fragment representing the language as spoken in a colony. But if any one is disposed to infer from the preservation of some of the Latin and Greek classics that there was no other principle of vitality concerned in the transmission of the Scriptures, I may state in reply the undoubted fact, that, as far as we can thread the chain of cause and effect, it is Christianity which was mainly instrumental in this result. It was not the knowledge of the Latin and Greek which kept the Bible from perishing, while they were the temporary vehicles of its circulation; it was the study of the Scriptures and the labors of Christian men which mainly contributed to prevent those languages from dying out. But for the organization of the Christian church and the ecclesiastical uses made of the Greek and Latin, the language of Cicero and Demosthenes might have shared the fate of those of Egypt and Assyria. On the other hand, if there had been a version of the Old Testament into the language and character of ancient Egypt or ancient Assyria, the sculptured sides of the obelisks and temples of Memphis and Thebes would not have remained a mystery and a riddle for ages; nor would the arrow-headed inscriptions of the wonderful ruins of Nimroud and Persepolis still defy the sagacity of the learned world. They would have been as intelligible as Hebrew or Arabic.

It is not my purpose, sir, to urge the importance of the Scriptures in connection with human learning in any of its branches; nor to intimate that there is any thing miraculous in their preservation from remote antiquity; although we cannot, I think, doubt them to have been the objects of an overruling and disposing Providence. What I have wished to point out to the consideration of the society and the assembly is, that kind of instinct — if I may so call it — which has led the church, (by which I understand the mass of believers,) in all ages, to provide for the reading of the Scriptures by the generality of mankind; and this in opposition to the interest which the professed depositaries of religious

truth have in most, perhaps in all, other cases, shown, to monopolize the knowledge of it. I cannot but think that it is a strong argument in favor of the circulation of the Scriptures as a basis of religious belief, deduced from the experience of the world in all periods of history.

There is another consideration of a practical nature, which I should be glad to offer to the meeting, if I have not exceeded my allowance of time. We all have pretty strong, and as I think just, impressions of the superiority of Christendom over the Mahometan, Hindoo, and Pagan countries. Our civilization, I know, is still very imperfect, impaired by many a vice which disgraces our Christian nurture, — by many a woe which

> "Appears a spot upon a vestal's robe,
> The worse for what it soils."

But when we compare the condition of things in Christendom with that which prevails in the countries just named, we find that all the evils which exist among us prevail there in a greater degree, while they are subject to innumerable others, so dreadful as to make us almost ready to think it were better for the mass of the population, humanly speaking, if they had never been born. Well, now, Mr Chairman, what maketh us to differ? I know of no final and sufficient cause but the different character of Christianity, and the religions which prevail in Turkey, Persia, India, China, and the other semi-civilized or barbarous countries; and this difference, as far as I know, is accurately reflected in their sacred books respectively. I mean, sir, that the Bible stands to the Koran and the Vedas in the same relation as that in which Christianity stands to Mahometanism, or Brahmanism, or Buddhism; or Christendom to Turkey, Hindostan, or China.

We should all, I believe, more fully appreciate the value of the Scriptures, if we compared them with other books assuming the character of sacred. I have not done it so much as I wish I had; but one reason — a main one — has been, the extreme repulsiveness of those books which I have tried

to read. I have several times in my life attempted to read the Koran. I have done so lately. I have approached it with a highly excited literary curiosity. I have felt a strong desire to penetrate this great mystery of the Arabian desert. As I have, in some quiet Turkish town, (for in the provincial Turkish towns there is little of the bustle of our western life,) listened at the close of day to the clear, calm voice of the muezzin, from the top of the graceful minaret, calling the faithful to evening prayer, — as I have mused on the vicissitudes of all human things, beneath the venerable dome of St Sophia's, — I have, I may say, longed to find some rational ground of sympathy between Christianity and Islam; but any thing more repulsive and uninviting than the Koran I have seldom attempted to peruse, even when taken up with these kindly feelings. And yet, sir, you are well aware that it is not conceived in a spirit of hostility to the Old and New Testament, but recognizes them both as a divine revelation. With such portions of the sacred books of the Hindoos as have fallen in my way, the case is far worse. They contain, it is true, some elevated moral sentiments of an ascetic cast, and some strains inspired by a sense of the beauties of nature. But the mythological system contained in them is a tissue of monstrosities and absurdities, by turns so revolting and nauseous as to defy perusal, except from some strong motive of duty or of literary curiosity, which would prompt the investigation. I really believe that few things would do more to raise the Scriptures in our estimation, than to compare the Bible with the Koran and the Vedas. It is not a course of reading to be generally recommended. A portion of the books are scarce, and, as I have said, their contents eminently repulsive; but I will venture to say to those whose professional duty it is to maintain the sacred character of the Christian Scriptures, that I know of scarce any line of reading which might be taken up with greater advantage, for the purpose of fair comparison, than that of the sacred books, as they are called, of the Mahometans and Hindoos.

One word more, sir, and I have done. It is sometimes objected to an indiscriminate distribution of the Bible, that

it may be perverted, misunderstood, neglected, and abused. And what means of improvement, what instrument of Christian benevolence, is not subject to the same drawback? The fault is in the mind of man, subject to error, to the blinding effect of passion, to the debasement of vice, in all that he does, and in all that is done for him. There are things in the Bible hard to be understood. And what is there, if we strive to go beyond the mere outside, which does not contain things hard to be understood? Even our exact sciences, constructed upon ideas which are the creation of our own minds, are full of difficulties. When we turn from revealed truth to the teachings of human speculatists on duty and morals, do we not encounter on the threshold those terrible problems of

> "Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate —
> Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,"

problems that have tasked the unaided understanding of man ever since he began to think and to reason? For myself, sir, I am more and more inclined to believe that the truth is presented to us in the Bible in the form best adapted to the infinite variety of the character and talent, intellectual and moral, to which it is addressed. It is not such a Bible as the wit of man would have conceived; but it is such a one as the nature and wants of man called for. The acceptance it has found, alike in ancient and modern times, with the learned and the ignorant, the old and the young, the high and the low, the prosperous and the wretched, shows that it is really adapted in itself, not to one country, age, or class, but to man; that it speaks to the unchanging wants, and sorrows, and frailties, and aspirations of the human heart.

THE END.