istence as a nation-are in trial, I shall make no excuse for discussing, perhaps less popularly than may seem desirable to all, the nature of our government; and for stating my views of the manner of its growth, from the earliest formation of organized society, to the present combination of intelligence and freedom, in which it has long excelled all others. To begin with the first elements of this subject I call your attention to some remarks, which I promise shall be very brief, upon the subject of government. The test of a good government is two fold. It must combine security to the citizen with opportunities for progress. The first of these elementssecurity-is essential to the existence of any government worthy of the name. It does not, therefore, depend upon the form of a government. It may be perfectly consistent with an irresponsible despotism. Under an absolute monarch-wise, energetic and influenced by a sense of duty, the lives and property of his subjects may be as secure as under any other form of government. But the blessings to be enjoyed under such a rule are contingent entirely upon such a "happy accident" as the sovereign described. At his removal, matters return to their former condition, with increased temptations to the rapacity of his success, or in the wealth acquired by his people during a beneficent riegn. It is not in the condition of things that a continued succession of good rulers can be ensured in a despotic government, and thus those who speak of the blessings of a patriarchal rule ^as the happiest state for a people, can only do so as a matter of abstract speculation. If any truth can be assumed from the teachings of history, we may be assured that no rights are secure except they be in the hands of those interested in retaining them-not only able, but habitually disposed to defend them. But, admitting that an ideally perfect despotic government may chance at some time to exist, it can belong only to those who are in the childhood of their political life. and must be broken through to permit of advancement.

The second test of government-Progressbelongs only to States where the ruler is responsible. In this view, I deny entirely the popular idea that one government is best for one nation, and another for another. This means only that one nation has attained a greater political advancement than another, so as to be able to exercise powers not yet safely to be trusted to its neighbor. But there is an absolutely best form of government-one suited to the development of the highest and best powers and qualities of man. This is self-government. How this is to be attained, and what its form when its principles shall have been fully investigated-this is the great problem of political science. The discovery of truth is the great object of man's pilgrimage. The secrets of nature demand his investitigation, and they repay the search, even when unsuccessful, by exalting the powers of the searcher. The absolutely best form of government is, as yet, not less a secret than other mysteries which nature is to yield to scientific investigation, and it is man's duty as a citizen to strive to develope it, just as it is his mission as a scholar to bring forth mental, and, as a Christian, moral truth. This, it is obvious, can be done only in a free State. It can only be where the demands of the people must be granted by the ruler, and this is only the case when the ruler is responsible to the people.

The adage of Jefferson is somewhat hackneyed—"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" —and yet, even now, it cannot be too closely impressed upon the minds of a free people. It lies at the root of all self-government and all popular institutions. It is analogous to the care with which man must guard his own life and health—do his own business, and perform all his duties, if he would have them done. The citizens of a nation may delegate away its authority, but if they exercise it, they must do so as jealously as they would guard any other possession.— To delegate it —except under the most absolute guaranties of responsibility—this is not to exercise it. It may be that a nation cannot wisely exercise its political rights—it may be forced by jimminent anarchy to surrender its powers. So far this may be prudent, but it is like the confession of the inebriate who enters the asylum, of his own accord, or like the bankrupt, no longer permitted to manage his own affairs. In a free and healthy state, every man has a sacred trust which he has no right to put away. In its exergise he is solemnly bound to accumulate the political light which is his debt to posterity. The talent buried in the ground shall as surely be required of him with usury, if he fail to discover to vindicate and to exercise his true rights, as if he waste his other gifts in sloth and self-indultruce.

By the orbits of the second and s

Civilization and liberty appear in history as antagonists. We have seen that the latter must be surrendered to secure the first step towards the former, and examples are innumerable where liberties, just acquired and dearly prized, have been necessarily surrendered to avoid the disorganization of society. This is the secret of almost all military despotisms, immediately following a popular revolution. On the other hand, the destruction of ancient civilization and a relapse to comparative barbarism, was necessary to save Europe from the torpor of the Asiatic races. Thus only could a higher freedem be prepared. In these adverse elements of society —elements never constant, but varying as greater intelligence made greater freedom safe, and on the other hand making a stronger government necessary, as powers had been too rashly snatched —we can form some conception of the difficulties of the problem of self-government. We can also rejoice that the problem had begun to be fully stated before our nation's lot had been fixed in this western world—that the idea had obtained some credence in the mother country, before she sent forth her colonists, that the true source of government was the consent of the governed.

He who would understand our institutions and the origin of our national spirit, cannot merely take up the history of this continent, but must go back to other lands and obscure times, for the events which formed the character and inspired the views of successive generations leading after many centuries, to enlightened republican sentiments in those who first landed on our soil, and gave birth to our government. From the mixture of races in England, and the fact that no race became permanently dominant, their views

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f political rights became a matter of compromise it a much earlier period than on the coniment of Europe. Even there they dawned erry slowly, and although from the earliest peiod the English nation had been intolerant of ppression, yet it was not until the 17th century that a movement was organized which advoated as its principle, the right of the governed to control the acts of their governors. This cry was hushed in military despotism, but it had made itself heard, and had awakened the perceptions of the men of England to rights after which they have never since that day ceased to struggie. But in our land the truth was born over unadulterated by those whorefused to rest under the authority which had hushed its utterance. Our political career begins where the congervatism ofrank and the authority of an established church had checked aspirations for a freer social system. This was found here when denied at home, and the doctrine of self-government was asserted, and gradually grew up under more favorable circumstances than the world had ever seen.

was asserted, and gradually grew up under more favorable circumstances than the world had ever seen. But even then, other provinces were preparing on this continent for the growth of principles which had driven our forefathers from their homes, and in the midst of what was to become a part of our country, developed sentiments and institutions of which we are now reaping the bitter fruit—sentiments widely at variance with those upon which rests our whole system of social and political equality. While the Northern Colonies received the seeker after that freedom and those political rights which had been denied to him at home, the settlement of the extreme South was the result of aristocratic and court patronage in the mother country. The Proprietary grants—of which South Carolina was the most marked example, and whose influences have controlled her to the present day—were the very highest reach of official favor. They conferred the exclusive right of government as well as ownership of the soil. Under the Lords Proprietary, orders of nobility even were established, and as marked distinctions of hereditary rank initiated as ever grew from the most arbitary feudalism. That such an offshoot of royal and aristocratic favor should grow up atverse in principle to the sentiments and institutions which make our Northern Republicanism, can be easily understood. Continuing, as they did, a resource for the patronage of favorites at court and the pensioning of the younger scions of the nobility, it is but natural that such a social system should remain less open to the advancement of equal rights than England itself, and that it should have been, at the Revolution as now, in strong contrast with the views of our Northdoctrine of equality make, in that region, any but the slowest growth.

The development of self-government in the Northern Colones cannot be passed by in this hasty manner. These were founded by enlightened, thinking men—men seeking to work out their theories of progress for which they had fought but which they had not been permitted to test in their old homes—men who entered the State with all the intelligence of civilization, and yet entered it as free men—the first example of a distinctly formed social compact—the first founding of a State by men who fully understood the terms on which they entered into its new society. These were men who had learned already the lessons requisite for social life—who needed no instruction in that first lesson of obedience—a lesson so dificult to learn, which, in the infancy of races, makes society absolutely incompatible with freedom.

Each small province having its political existence secured under its own particular charter, and each being too weak to sustain itself alone against any formidable attack, they soon learned to rely upon one another for support, without re-linguishing or fusing any of their own institu-tions. They thus learned the Federative princiche at an early period. From frequent exposure o danger, they were forced to develope that nost essential democratic element of recognizing nost essential democrate element of recomplig-nerit wherever it existed, and using it to their own preservation. The influence of character, rom these circumstances, prevailed over that of pirth, and the constant tendency was towards the consolidating and perfecting of the republican views with which their forefathers had set forth when denied the right of testing them at home. As they grew into large communities, modifica-tions of their instituions became requisite—with such an increase of population, these could no longer rest upon pure democracy. Authority must to some extent be delegated—the repre-sentative must make its way, but not altogether. To one institution they still clung and will cling, so long as our republicanism shall end ure. They have kept if unchanged now that we are a vast nation, as when it originally existed the sole government of the first few settlers on the coast. It still forms the basis of our political education—our first exercise in the art of art of governing ourselves and our fellow-men.— Through it our country may remain republican forever—its institutions equally suited to a petty State or to the most colossal nation on which the sun has ever shone. I refer to our system of lo-cal self-government, the principle of which is

cal sergovernment, the principle of which is seen at our fown meetings. The theory of local self-government is that the people have reserved to themselves the right to legislate with respectto the matters which more immediately concern them. It exercises this power as self-possessed, and not as conferred by the government. It starts with the idea that each community knows its own business, and will display more wisdom in transacting it than can be done by any superior amount of intelligence which has no interest in its necessities. The great mass of their own business can be transacted by the various towns, without calling for the assistance of any others, and by acting thus independently it would be no more cumbersome for a million of communities than for a single one. This species of legislation prepares the way for that of the counties which, unlike that of the towns, is representative, but under the immediate observation of every citizen. These town and county organizations are of vast importance in the aggregate amount of their acts which are more numerous than those of a legislature and bearing infinitely more upon each citizen than those of the national government.

Suppose that the whole of the interests how
exercised, without interference with each other, by
the several towns and counties, were to be immendiately surrendered to our representatives in
Congress. The picture is both ludicrous and application.
galling. If every day had a thousand hours it
would be insufficient to complete its business,
the or could a thousand intellects do the proper
work of a single legislator. As in other count tries where a strong central authority rules, the
n work would not be done which is needed for the

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ment is made easier to us than it has ever before been made to man. To realize to a slight extent the beneficent workings of this system of local self-government, I have but to call the attention of this audience to the municipal authority under which they live. This must be stronger than is necessary in smaller towns and villages. The reaunal more nearly resembles a barieture and is necessary in smaller towns and vinages. The council more nearly resembles a legislature, and the executive is more like the governor. The necessity of this cannot be disputed where aggre-gated elements of discontent might work fearful ruin, or where individual selfishness or obstinacy night check all schemes of good. The effect, however, is to furnish us a faint, very faint type of what would be the effect of State legislation applied directly to the people, with-out the intermediate circles which now separate them. Lear a new faint two, hereaver, with a out the intermediate circles which how separate them. I say a very faint type, because, with all their power, the members of a city government are far more under the eye of their constituents, and can have interests far less at variance with and can have interests in ress at variance with any of them than is the case with a legislature acting for widely separated tracts of country, with interests apparently adverse. And yet, who does not remember loud complaints of oppres-sive action by the municipal authorities? This

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must be the case where action adapted to large bodies, is brought to bear directly upon the gov-erned—where individual hardship cannot be allowed to enter into consideration as it would be in smaller communities. In its necessary in-flictions, such authority gives us some idea of the organizations which make up the whole govern-ment of other countries without supplying the antecedents which have made their tone of public thought harmonious to it. Another advantage to be remarked in this [Continued on Fourth Page.] must be the case where action adapted to large

make the day ring with glee as of old. Whi our friends from the country were kind enot to pay us a visit, we have no doubt they we astonished at the apathy of our own people. Th day itself was most propitious. Between 6 an 7 o'clock in the morning a most delightful rai set in and cooled the atn osp here to a point (moderation that could not . ut be appreciated b the sweltering multitude. The railroads brough in large delegations from various points in the country, and it needed no very close observation to detect the fact that our Buffalo cele bration was witnessed and appreciate more by friends from the rural dis tricts than by our own citizens In our movements we found, that above and beyond every thing else in importance was the expected news. Everywhere, we were met witl the nervously put questions "What is there thi morning?" "Will you issue an Extra?" and it not a few number of instances the despairing query was put "What do you think about it?" We could only assure our numerous interroga tors that the office would issue an Extra, the moment that anything of importace could be received over the lines. We only speak of our reportorial experience, to show the anxiety of all. whether from the country or belonging to our own city. We may safely say that we never saw a more anxious assemblage.

But the programme must be carried out as far as practicable, whatever the news of the conflict between Generals Meade and Lee might be, and so the celebration went on.

At sunrise a morning salute was fired at the Arsenal by a detachment of Capt. A. M. Wheeler's Light battery, and with the ringing of bells the day was inaugurated.

At 9 o'clock the procession formed on Niagara square, in accordance with the programme, and at 10 o'clock the procession moved, in the following order:

Col. Wm. F Rogers, Marshal. Capt. P. C. Doyle, Capt. Daniel Meyers, Jr., Lieutenant H. H. Halsey, Aids.

FIRST DIVISION,

Under the direction of Lieut-Col. Jonathan Austin, Ass't Marsh d. Cavalcade of commissioned afficers of the Regular and Volunteer service, Col. H. K. Viele commanding. 'Inion Cornet Band.

Very Second Seco

Under the direction of Lieut. Robert Cottier, late of the 116th Buffalo Regiment.

Miller's Band. Miller's Eand. Thos. B. French, Chief Engineer and Ass't Engineers, EHook and Ladder Co. No. 5, Walter Savitz foreman, Neptune Hose Co. No. 5, Wnn. S. Sage foreman. Niagara Hose Co. No. 7, Andrew Cable. Hydraulic Engine Co. No. 9, John Ziea foreman. Columbia Hose Co. XI. H. O. Dee foreman. STEAM FIRE ENGINES. C. J. Wells, Niagara, Seneca, Huron.

Huron Perry. Buffaio. THIRD DIVISION

Under direction of Lieut. Col. C. W. Sternberg, 21st N. Y. Vol. International Band. Turners Society.

Turners Society. FOURTH DIVISION-Under direction of Lieut. Wm A. Bird, Jr. Seneca Indian Band. Carpenters and Joiners' Union. Bricklayers and Plasterers' Union. Brass Band. Braffalo Laborers Union. Carmen on Horseback.

Carmen on Horseback. , TFTH DIVISION. Under the direction of Capt. Robert P. Gardner. Young's Band. The Mayor, Chas. Beckwith, 'Chaplain, Rev. Dr. In-gersoll; Orator, Ellicott Evans; Reader, Colonel James C. Strong. Officers aed Soldiers of the War of 1812. Members of the Common Council and City Officers

The procession moved down Pearl street to the Terrace, through the Terrace to Main street, up Main to Tupper street, through Tupper to Delaware street, down Delaware to Niagara street, along Niagara to Eagle street, thence to St. James Hall, where the procession was formally dismissed, and the excercises at this point commenced.

The grand feature of the procession was the Buffalo Laborers Union. The association numbered about 2700 men, so far as we could estimate the number. They were the subject of universal admiration. Marching with their coats hanging on their arms, they literally displayed their full strength, and one could only think how many men as fine looking as they, had been mowed down since the present terrible rebellion was inaugurated. The society was led by Mr. Thomas Hanley and Mr. Daniel Fitzpatrick .----1 "he banners, mottoes, and badges were very nea * and appropriete.

Th & 21st Regiment, under Capt. Layton, turn_ ed out . About fifty strong, and looked well. Hook & Lrdde." Co. No. 1. appeared to fine advantage. The carria ge was bea utifully wreathed, and each man bore a bouquet in his hand. The Hose carts and steam fire engines were exquisitely decorated. Hose Co. No. XI turn, 'ed out well, and were led by a martial band of the c.'ld style. But it is unnecessary to particularize. The procession was as complete as it could be made in the absence of the Buffalo regiments, the 65th and 74th, and the non-attendance of the Continentals, and civic societies that were expected to participate.

AT ST. JAMES HALL.

The procession having been brought to a close, the exercises at the St. James Hall commenced about 11 o'clock. On the stage were the Orator, Chaplain, the Mayor pro tem., the Aldermen of the city; and the Soldiers of the war of 1812, whose names, residences and ages we take the liberty to give. They are as follows :---

110010	0 5100	The function of the function o			
Gen. W	n. Wárren.	Aurora	eđ	79	
Philip P	eckham	Lancaster	6	777	
Elisha	Morse	Cha. Co		70	
Daniel (). Carv	Alden	4	69	
Dan Bri	stol	Buffalo	4	81	
	arson	"	+	78	
	Sloan	<i>ii ii ii</i>	4	74	
Wm. W	ilcox	"	6	74	
	race	44	(f)	73	
Samuel	Lake	"	F4.	73	
Perez C	obb	"	s ç	72	
Moses	Baker	"	"	71	
Jas. C. J	Hall	64	"	70	
Samuel	Pine	- 63	"	69	
Beni, H	oman	56.	"	68	
Nathan	Walds		66	66	
Henry]	ovejoy	4.	Ģ	33	
		ng to the rumor that had ga	in	eđ	
		is to the runter that had ge	-		L

currency that it was filled to overflowing, did not entertain so large an assemblage as we should Ilke to have seen. An appreciative audience w. " present, however, and we know that those who were there had reason to congratulate them-After a Voluntary, by the Union Cornet selves Band, the Chaplain, Rev. Dr. Ingersoll, read a most eloquei Sprayer. The reading of the Declaration of 1. dependence by Col James C. strong, of the 38, % N. Y. V., who was wounded at Williamsburg, wa 's, as it seemed to us, listened to with unusual intere st. The Oration by Prof. Ellicott Evans, of Ham. 'lion College, proved particularly satisfactory to the thinkers of the audience; and we hazard but little in making the declaration that no finer; adt Tress was delivered in the country on Saturday la: It.

The oration will be found in full on our second and fourth pages this morning, and we advise every reader of the Courier to 1 ead it, and make t a study. At the close of the oration the Hon. Horatio Seymour, jr., was introduced to the . '2dience by Mayor Beckwith, and read from the proof sheet, the special dispatch to the Courier office, announcing the glorious success of the

Army of the Potomac. Each dispatch was accepted with a perfect storm of applause, and as Mr. Seymour finished the last sentence, the enthusiasm became absolutely sublime. The anxious faces became softened, the rigid, solemn lines which had been noticeable on almost every physiognomy during the day, disappeared, and a general determination to enjoy the Fourth, seemed to succeed the circulation of the Federal victories over Lee. A Benediction pronounced by Chaplin Robie, brought the exercises to a close, and the audience separated.

So far as the programme is concerned, it involved in addition to what we have given a National salute at noon and ringing of bells; an evening salute at sunset and ringing of bells; and a display of Fire Works on the Terrace under the supervision of Morris & Son. We should take great pleasure in saying something handsome about the enterprise of our well known pyrotechnists, Messrs Morris & Son. We scarcely ever knew them to fail in doing justice to the city when they agreed to do it; but we are forced to say in all candor that the display of Saturday night on the Terrace was nothing more nor less than a grand pyrotechnic fizzle.

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Outside of the regular order of the d nd n perhaps first in importance, was the dinner of $\mathbf{b}\mathbf{f}$ the Continentals at the Mansion House. Our inevitable reporter was there, and he informs us that at half-past four the party sat down to dinner, mine host, one of the Continentals, being numbered among the absent. Hon. George R. Babcock, President of the Continentals, presided. The dinner, which was a good one, being disposed of with all imaginable gusto, the President called the Society to order, and as at substitute for the first regular toast, read a letter from the Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Lord who was compelled to be absent. at time the samepresenting the Chaplain's toast. The first regular toast announced was The Day we celebrate.

To this the Hon. N. K. Hall responded in a most appropriate manner.

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To the next toast, which our reporter failed to remember, Hon. Henry W. Rogers responded. The Memory of Washington was drunk standing in silence.

Hon. George R. Babcock spoke to the sentiment, the

President of the United States ;

and Hon. A. M. Clapp made a neat speech to The Army and navy. To the

Trade and Commerce of Buffalo,

O. G. Steele addressed himself; and

The Press

was well taken care of in a somewhat elaborate and well written speech by C. F. S. Thomas, Esc.

Our Volunteer Army

called out S. G. Cornell, Esq., who did the subject justice.

Perhaps the most exquisite speech of the afternoon was made by Asher P. Nichols, Esq., in response to that most inspiring of all toasts; The Ladies.

We have full reports of the various speeches made on the occasion, but we have not the space for any of them at present. At some future time it is possible that we may do the subject full justice. To-day, in our somewhat hasty report, we can only mention the dinner of the Continentals as one of the features of the Fourth of July in Buffalo.

Several pleasant affairs have come under our notice, and we shall refer to them at some other time, but we cannot overlook a presentation made on the morning of the Fourth, to Columbia Hose Co., No. XI. It consisted of a magnificent silver trumpet, donated to the company by none other than the foreman H. O. Dec. It is needless to say that the giftcalled forth all necessary gratitude. In the afternoon the Company threw open the doors of their house to the ladies of their particular neighborhood, and the banquet ing that prevailed can better be imagined than déscribed.

Our notice would lack completeness did we fail to accord the proper credit to Chief Darcy and his force. The Main Street squad, organized by the Chief recently, and of which we shall have something to say hereafter, appeared to good advantage in every position assigned to them, while the day force attended to duty in a manner that gave satisfaction to all. And thus we have told the simple story of the Fourth of July in Buffalo.

INCIDENTS OF THE FOURTH.—The celebration of the Fourth, on Saturday, was attended by few accidents. Stephen Mulhall, a civil constable of the 8th Ward, was injured in the face while firing off a cannon near his residence in the forenoon. He had overcharged the gun, and in the act of firing it off some of the powder flash-

ed up in his face and burned it considerably.

A fight occurred among some Germans in front of the St. Louis church, during the afternoon, which resulted in damaged heads and faces to several of the participants.

At the Grove where a dance was advertised, a large congregation, made up of the worst characters of the city, assembled, and during the afternoon about thirty distinct fights occurred. In the evening, about half past seven o'clock, officer Nisnel, while undertaking to arrest a disorderly man on one of the cars, was attacked by a party of about fifty, and the man was rescued. Several of the cars on the Main street road were broken down by their overweight of passengers, much to the discomfiture of the occupants, and those who were going and returning. There is a fatality hanging over the place known as the Grove, and if our tax payers could only furnish a police force to take care of it, it might be made respectable, although perhaps not as profitable to the Main Street Railroad Co.

During the afternoon a disturbance occurred at the saloon of Mr. Horace Thomas on Main street, a party we understand claiming that they were overcharged. In the melee Mr. Thomas nd one of his assistants were rather severely an dled. We do not learn that any of the of india's parties were arrested.

THE RIOT .- The riot was not continued vesterday as many had 'feared it would be. Those participating in it either satisfied with the outrages hey had committed or fearful of the just anger of the community which began to threaten them with prop r punishment, refrained from further acts of vioence. Several of the supposed ringleaders have been urrested and are now in jail. The injured negroes save been cared for, and it is now thought that all of them will recover.

Yesterday afternoon, on the arrival of the propeller Mendota, five colored men employed upon her were taken to the Chief's office by officers Watts, Marvel and Milla. No demonstration was made against them.

The colored cre v of one of the N. Y. C. Railroad propellers were transferred to a tug outside the breakwater and conveyed to Canada.

THE RIOT AT BUFFALO.—The Buffalo Express says: The riot was not continued resterday as many had feared it would be. Those partic pat-ing in it either satisfied with the outrages they had committed or fearful of the just anger of the community which began to threaten them with projer pun shment, refrained from further acts of violence. Several of the supposed ring-leaders have been arrested and are now in jail. The injured negroes have been cared for, and it is now thought that all of them will recover. Yesterday afternoon, on the arrival of the propeller Mendota, five colored men employed upon her were taken to the Chiel's office by officers Watts, Marvel and Mills. No demons-tration was made against them. The colored crew of one of the N. Y. C. Rail-road propellers were transferred to a tug our-side the breakwater and conveyed to Ganada. A gentleman residing in this city who witnes.

A gentleman residing in this city who witnessed the whole of this brutal affair, gives us a few particulars, which differ from the accounts of he Buffalo papers. The riot first originated in : beer salcon, where the negro was sitting. A boy came in to get a drink and asked "all lands" up, when the negro availed himself of the invitation.

To this the boy objected, and a fight ensued, when the negro drew a pistol and shot the boy, wounding him severely. From this the riot arose the dock swarmed with over 5,000 of the excited mob, and the air was periectly black with stones and other missiles. One negro was thrown from a vessel into the water and being anable to swim was drowned. Another got hold of the stay chains and attempted to pull himself out of the water, when a man reached down and kicked him in the head until he released his hold and fell back and sunk. h-

m General Doubleday Ordered to Buffalo. eir Major General Abner Doubleday, has been he ordered to Buffalo to take command of the depot in∝ of drafted men to be established at this point ny Capt. Tidball, who was first detailed for this duty 3e-

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