

COMPOSED AND PRONOUNCED

AT

Danidbornton, Wew-Hampshire,

July 4th, 1808.

BY SAMUEL HAINES, ESQ.

Quis est enim, cui non possessio Libertatis Sit cara, dulcis, atque jucunda?

CICEROS

For where is the man, to whom the possession Of Liberty is not precious, sweet and delightful?

Concord :

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JULY-1808.

SANDBORNTON, JULY 4, 1808.
3 o'clock, P. M.

SIR,

THE Committee, appointed to wait on you, beg leave to return the thanks of the Audience, for the truly patriotic Address, by you pronounced before them this day, and request a copy thereof for publication.

We have the honor, Sir, to be,

Your's, respectfully,

JOHN TAYLOR, A. T. CLARK, S. C. HAZELTON,

Samuel Haines, Zeq.



SANDBORNTON, JULY 4, 1808. 4 o'clock, P. M.

GENTLEMEN,

MR. HAINES presents his compliments, and assures the Committee, that he feels duly sensible of their complaisance and politeness, and is happy in granting their request.

With the greatest respect,

Gentlemen, I have the honor to be, your most obedient and very humble servant,

SAMUEL HAINES.

John Taylor, Esq.
Dr. A. T. Clark,
Mr. S. C. Hazelton,



Dration.

FATHERS, FRIENDS, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

TO commemorate the glorious anniversary of American Independence, patriotic millions this day approach the sacred altar of republican liberty. From the heights of Maine to the Mexic gulph, the free-born sons of Columbia again assemble to celebrate, with festivity and joy, the natal morn of their political existence.

UNITED America once more glories in the happy privilege of procleiming to the universe, that she still continues a free, sovereign, and independent Republic; that, under the fostering hand of a beneficent Providence, she is yet able to assert her national freedom and independence; that, notwithstanding the deplorable ravages of war and the wreck of empire in the old world, she still remains the sublime, and, it is to be hoped, the imperishable monument of her revolutionary achievements.

In remembrance of the origin of these distinguished and invaluable blessings, the tongue of eulogy and of patriotic eloquence this day speaks forth, with rapture, the sentiments of the most happy and prosperous people on the habitable globe.

WHILST the nations of Europe are arrayed in dire conflict with each other, and the gigantic monster of despotism, spreading havoc and devastation far and wide, stalks terribly amongst them, Republican

Columbia sits "beneath her own vines and fig-trees," celebrating her memorable emancipation from transatlantic tyranny.

Though threatened with destruction by the lawless tyrants and the insatiable plunderers of the East, she spurns their ambition and defies their power: Though her sister Republics are swept from the face of the earth by the overwhelming torrent of Bonapartian conquest, yet the American Republic, the alone residence of liberty in the four quarters of the globe, stands firm and unshaken amid the warring elements of the political world.

As yet, mindful of the causes that dismembered the American Colonies from the British Empire, and grateful for the beneficial consequences of the separation, the patriots of the United States, at each returning anniversary, invoke the celestial Genius of SEVENTY-SIX, and emulate each other, with enthusiastic ardor, in support of the liberties of their country. The annual renewal of our national allegiance to that government, which the venerable fathers of the revolution founded upon the broad basis of equal rights, is an irrefragable proof that the true spirit of liberty still animates the American people; that the principles of Republicanism, which inspired the valiant heroes of Columbia, in the days of peril and of revolutionary calamity, are still cherished and revered by their grateful posterity.

HAVING full possession of all the enjoyments and political privileges that result from the most perfect and free government recorded in the annals of history, our most anxious solicitude and first object should therefore be to preserve, in purity, the grand fountain of these innumerable blessings. The liberal republican form of government, which our magnanimous fathers established upon the ruins of monarchy and despotism, at the expense of immense blood and treasure, should be regarded as our richest inheritance, as the inestimable birthright of Americans.

To preserve the political system under which we live, and continue its operations with energy and success, is only to keep alive and burning that hallowed flame of patriotic liberty, which electerized the invincible heroes of the revolution, in the terrible days that "tried men's souls!" While the love of country holds the ascendency in the American bosom, usurpation and tyranny will slumber in their native regions of darkness. It was this most virtuous and sublime passion of human nature that gained our independence; and the want of this will give our country to tyrants.

The most perfect and free constitutions and political charters, ever devised by human wisdom, are mere empty shadows, without the energy and voluntary force of public spirit to support them. A government may be excellent in theory, and appear free and plausible on parchment; and at the same time be tyrannical and oppressive in its administration.

In such an event, nothing short of a prompt and energetic exercise of the elective franchise can work the remedy and remove the oppression. When the representative legislators and rulers of a free people become corrupt and arbitrary in their measures, then is the application of political virtue indispensable; then is the full expression of the public will (the only sovereignty in popular governments) alone competent to apply the necessary corrective.

This constitutional right of removing "the powers that be," by the judicious substitution of a different description of statesmen, and thus to renovate the national councils, is one of the most prominant characteristics of a free country. It is, when exercised with wisdom and discretion, that powerful political alchymy, which analyzes public sentiment; which separates patriotism and integrity from intrigue and corruption; which detects and kills treason in embryo; in short, which purges the sanctuary of legislation from all political iniquity.

The sacred right of universal suffrage, which is so liberally enjoyed in this country, is the great Golden Ball which forms the grand Capitolium of our stupendous Republic; and whose radiant glories, like the sun's meridian splendor, spread throughout the world, and eclipse the most magnificent states and empires of the earth. The privilege of exercising this natural and unalienable right for the liberal and wise purpose of originating equal laws, and of carrying on self-government, is the most glorious attribute of the American Republic. No other nation, under the canopy of heaven, can, at present, boast of this constitutional prerogative.

The happy union and co-operation of the elective and federative principles, which form the most distinguishing features in our republican system of government, are unexampled in the history of civilized nations. A mighty and flourishing people, spread over a vast and fertile territory, governing themselves in grand community agreeably to the fundamental principles of the social compact, are justly considered a phenomenon in the political world.

The tyrants of Europe may boast of their superior strength in arms, and of the false grandeur of their despotic institutions; yet their governments are founded in violence and fraud, and supported by fear and military compulsion. The Genius of Liberty, wearied in contention with the fell spirit of extermination, has fled from the inhospitable regions of the east, to the more congenial climes of the western hemisphere. The enslaved and miserable inhabitants of those subjugated countries lament her untimely departure, and repine at their deplorable state of human degradation! When this celestial Genius will return to her forsaken habitation, remaineth with Him who holdeth in the palm of his hand the destiny of nations.

It seems a new and momentous era hath commenced. More astonishing scenes and changes are now acting on the great political theatre of the world, than hap-

pened even in the revolutionary days of an Alex-ANDER, or a CASAR.

An all-conquering monster has made his terrific appearance on the earth, holding Ætna in one hand, and Vulcan's thunders in the other! He walks terribly amongst the nations, breathing pestilence and war.—He overturns thrones and principalities; and states and empires crumble to pieces under his feet. Desolation and famine, and carnage and plunder, and conflagration, mark his all-devouring career of violence! The ambition of this mighty conqueror of Europe, and scourge of the world, appears as immeasurable as the universe, and as insatiable as the grave.

Nothing less than universal domination is commensurate with the all-grasping ambition of Napoleon. Had he the power, it is believed he would make other worlds tributary to his vast empire on the earth. The self-crowned monarch of the most powerful nation on the globe, he already commands the continental powers of Europe; and God alone knows the bounds of the astonishing military achievements of this mighty man of war.

THE most renowned conquerors of both ancient and modern times were Lilliputian warriors compared with the present Emperor of France. The lightning of Napoleon's vengeance, like the blazing artillery of heaven, carries swift destruction to his enemies, ere the thunderings of his might give warning of danger!

SWITZERLAND, the last refuge of transatlantic liberty; and Italy, the famed seat of the Roman Empire, where lay the mouldering ashes of the mighty men of old; Holland, the country that once dared to assert her independence of her Spanish oppressors; Germany, with her long established confederation of kings and princes; and Royal Prussia, sacred to the memory of the great and good Frederick; have all, in rapid succession, fell mangled victims to the invincible arms of the Corsican Usurper!—These lately in-

thependent and powerful states and kingdoms now lay in humble prostration at the footstool of the Imperial Throne of France. And even Russia herself, with her iron host, has bowed obsequious obedience to this tremendous son of Mars!

OLD England, the great Leviathan of the deep, appears alone able to resist the overwhelming torrent of Bonapartian subjugation. Insulated from the continent of Europe, by that providential element which has hitherto shielded her from the grasp of foreign invasion, she may possibly, under the smiles of Neptune, preserve her national sovereignty from the general wreck of empire. Though she reigns tyrant of the ocean, and feeds on plunder, she is less to be feared than her arch enemy of the continent, because she is less ambitious and warlike.

Equality regardless, however, of the immemorial laws of nations, France and Great-Britain balance each other in the scales of national justice and moral consideration. Equally hostile to neutral countries, in their violence and unprecedented policy, their governments are equally detestable in the eyes of a just and christian world.

The late surreptitious and outrageous invasion of neutral Denmark, by the British, forms the blackest page in the history of national violence. The unprovoked capture of Copenhagen, by the English fleet, will remain an everlasting memorial of the tyranny and injustice of the British Cabinet. The indignant smoke of that devoted city will ascend to heaven forever and ever in judgment-testimony against her rapacious plunderers.

The more than savage cruelty and outrage of the blood-thirsty cannibals of Britain, have extended even to the pacific shores of America. The deliberate and unprovoked murder of American citizens within our harbors and national jurisdiction, is another flagrant instance of British injustice and abominable assassination!

The fierce and implacable collisions of the great belligerent powers of Europe have set the world in commotion, and disturbed the neutral tranquillity of the most distant and pacific nations. In their inveterate conflict with each other, the most corrupt, despotic, and revengeful passions of the human heart have been developed in their cabinet-councils, and put into practical operation. The most sacred rights of neutrality, and the most solemn existing treaties, have been wantonly sacrificed at the unhallowed shrine of their exterminating policy.

Casting an envious eye on the rising glory of America, the rival monarchs of Europe have blown an Eolian blast, and swept our commerce from the ocean. Desirous of drawing our peaceful country into the dread vortex of European hostility, they have, by means of their pretended retaliating Decrees and Orders, overturned the fundamental principles of national and commercial law, and thus dried up the sources of all neutral trade.

The violent and hostile measures, which France and England are exercising towards this country, bring America to an alarming and momentous crisis! At no period, since the establishment of our national independence, have the United States had such real cause of fearful concern, as at the present impending danger.

of Europe, and with the plundering tyrant of the ocean, our republican fabric trembles almost to its deepest foundation. The days of Seventy-six seem again returned:—Whether our national sovereignty shall continue on that proud eminence of independence, on which the magnanimous fathers of the Revolution placed it, appears to be the real question at issue between the two countries:—Whether we shall preserve our sacred temple of Liberty from the contaminating touch of foreign influence, or yield to the consummate arrogance and imperious requisitions of foreign despots, and thus revert to our former colonial humili-

ation, seems the substantial ground of the great national controversies.

Having exiled the Genius of Liberty, and extirpated every vestige of republicanism from the eastern continent, the green-eyed monster of despotism longs to revel on the spoils of the American Republic. The natural and irreconcileable enemy of all Republics, he pants for an opportunity of disgorging his devouring legions upon the Columbian shores, to eradicate from the face of the whole earth the only remaining asylum of freedom and the rights of man.

Smould our political fabric once sink in ruins, tyranny and oppression "would cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." Should the Goddess of Liberty forsake Columbia, and ascend to her native skies, the mammon of political unrighteousness would reign triumphant throughout the world.

Bur, fellow-citizens, shall it come to this? Shall the embalmed ashes of the sainted Martyrs of American liberty be profaned with the unhallowed footsteps of the brigands of Europe and the enemies of man? Shall the laurelled tombs of the departed heroes of our country be touched with sacrilegious hands? The Genius of the Revolution forbids it; the mandates of JEHOVAH protest against it. Before our beloved country shall become the residence of usurpation and tyrannic sway, every foot of earth shall become a Thermopylæ, and every American citizen a Leonidas.

In addition to the internal strength and patriotism of our common country, it has pleased an all-wise Providence to spread between his chosen people, and the warring nations of the earth, an immense ocean of that guardian element, which overthrew the sanguinary hosts of the unrelenting oppressor of the children of Israel.—The vast Atlantic forms no inconsiderable portion of our national defence. This natural barrier, together with those artificial fortifications which the extensive resources of our country are able

to throw upon our coast, appears sufficient to defend America against all ordinary exterior aggression.

THE instrument, which will most probably work the dissolution of our national compact, if it ever happen, is that rancorous spirit of faction, which has so often proved the bane of Republics. The more liberty a people enjoy, the more frequent are the irruptions of the volcanic fire of faction. But even these, unless they enkindle the firebrands of civil war, are as transient as the meteors of the night, and as imperceptible as the dust of the balance, in comparison with the into erable evils of monarchies and despotic institutions. -" Peace on earth, and good will unto all men," are the benign and christian attributes of enlightened and well organized Republics: but war, and violence, and an insatiable thirst of military glory, are the predominant passions of absolute governments.

From experimental demonstration of the unexampled harmony and prosperity of the American people, since the adoption of our Federal Constitution, our republican system of government may be justly pronounced the "most stupendous fabric of human invention." It is therefore believed, or at least to be hoped, that no political party, or factious description of men, can be found in our country, who desire a dissolution of our national compact, or who breathe the rebellious spirit of insubordination to the constitutional laws of the land.

By means of the unjustifiable violation of the most sacred rights of neutrality by the perfidious and lawless powers of Europe, and of their hostile invasion of American commerce, our National Councils have been driven upon the most critical ground of official responsibility. To decide the all-important question of peace or war with the great belligerent nations of the world, has been the momentous subject of Congressional deliberation. To avoid a hazardous and unprofitable conflict with foreign powers, and hold our resources and means of commerce at home in safety,

till the warring convulsions of Europe shall be hushed in general peace, or our commercial rights be established on a more sure foundation, the collected wisdom and supreme Legislature of our country have adopted an extraordinary and vigorous measure.

Prough the expediency of a general embargo on American shipping, at the present exigency of our political affairs, is questioned by many, and its operations, in part, evaded by the smuggling adventures of the avaricious speculators of our country; yet the sound policy and wisdom of this independent measure are acknowledged by the greatest and most patriotic portion of our community. To rescue our commerce from universal piratical depredation, or yield it the general proscription of the imperious decrees of usurped authority, has been our nation's only alternative. The suspension of all foreign commercial intercourse, and a temporary retirement to our country's internal resources, at the present critical juncture of our foreign relations, seems no less expedient and wise, than dignified and independent.

Though the total suspension of trade, and the consequent discouragement of agricultural enterprize, in a degree, obstruct that rapid accumulation of national and individual wealth, which has hitherto been such an eminent proof of America's prosperity; yet our citizens, in fact, realize the enjoyments of a paradise, in comparison with the extreme sufferings of the enslaved and impoverished millions of other countries.

Let that complaining and restless portion of our community, who are continually denouncing their most cordial anathemas against the patriotic authors of the present embargo, travel, even in imagination, across the Atlantic, and there for a season become the humble subjects of the tyrants of Europe: Let the ungrateful complainants of the present administration of the American government, for a moment, imagine themselves in the forlorn condition of the unfortunate Portuguese, who are daily falling shrieking victims to

French proscription, and the more tortured prey of a murderous famine; or let them even meet the stern tythe and tax-gatherers of subjugated and oppressed Ireland, who wrest from the hand of industry half of its yearly substance: and then, return to the land of liberty and plenty, and shut, forever, the mouth of complaint and groundless censure.

Like the petulant cries of pampered children, are the sullen murmurings of those who exclaim " Jeffer-son and starvation," when the magazines of our country are overflowing with provisions.

A PERPETUAL embargo is preferable to the haze ards and unavoidable calamities of a long and consumeing war. America, with freedom, had better be eternally encircled with a wall as high as the heavens that cover her, and as broad as the oceans that surround her, than to be for a moment entwined with the galling chains of tyrants.

THE best of governments, and the most percectly organized bodies politic, are liable to disease, and exposed to the painful contusions of external violence; and when the powerful remedies of strong political medicine are prescribed, they should be endured with patience and manly fortitude. It is in the trying days of national adversity, when the strength of unanimity and patriotism are required.

In a crisis like the present, when all the latent energies of the nation are necessary for self-defence, should there be found, in community, a character enjoying a station of high official responsibility, or an individual even in the lower walks of private life, advocating, in opposition to administration, the unjustifiable cause of our common adversaries, he should be considered more detectable than a Tory of Seventy-five, and be denounced as a treasonable enemy of his country.

INFLUENTIAL characters, who endeavor to instile into the public mind principles incompatible with the nature of our government, and hostile to that unanimity of sentiment which is so absolutely essential to the very existence of our Republic in times of peril and foreign invasion, cherish in their hearts "treasons, stratagems, spoils, and the blackest of crimes." More dang rous than the open traitor, who exposes his person to the just vengeance of the law, are those secret conspirators, whose indirect machinations operate under the veil of patriotism, and thus elude the heavy hand of justice.

Though a strict vigilance of our rights, and a liberal investigation of the conduct of our rulers, are the high prerogatives of American citizens; yet, when individuals make them instrumental in propagating political delusion, in fanning the wild-fire of faction, in carrying on a systematic and indiscriminate opposition to administration, and thus indirectly sapping the foundation of liberty, they merit the destiny of Roberspierre and his incendiary associates.

Ir Americans lose their present system of Republican government, which is so precious in the eyes of philanthropy and freedom, ages of oppression and barbarism may roll upon future generations. Should the Sun of Republicanism, which pours his refulgent glories upon the western hemisphere, be extinguished from the world, for want of that energy and patriotic vigilance which should always animate American freemen, the clouds of political darkness would veil our land in dreadful gloom, and the injured Ghost of departed LIBERTY would haunt COLUMBIANS forever and ever!

ODES,

COMPOSED BY THE ORATOR, FOR THE OCCASION.

I.

AGAIN, Columbians, hail the day, That gave Amer'can freedom birth; That brake the chains of Britain's sway, And shed new glories on the earth.

In praise of great Jehovah's name,
With strains seraphic touch the string:
'Twas God who put the foe to shame,
Acknowledge him your sov'reign King.

The deeds our valiant fathers won,
Repeat in patriotic strains;
In praise of matchless Washington,
Recount the feats of Monmouth's plains.

With fadeless laurels strew the graves
Of those who fell in Freedom's cause,
Who swore they ne'er would be the slaves
Of despots and tyrannic laws.

"Rejoice, Columbian sons, rejoice,"
That our country yet is free,
"Unite, with heart and hand and voice,"
For our nation's sov'reignty.

Though tyrants rule the eastern world,
And plundering pirates sweep the sea,
Columbian banners are unfurl'd,
To union, peace, and liberty.

At home we'll live upon our farms,
And sit beneath our vines in peace,
'Till God shall hush the din of arms,
And give the captive "sweet release."

Should Europe's hosts invade our shore, And strive to raise their standard here, Our thundering cannon then shall roar, And hurl them from our inemisphere. We'll meet our foes with dauntless soul, Our Country's freedom we'll defend, Until old Ocean cease to roll, And elder Time shall have an end.

II.

THE Goddess of Liberty smiles on the throne Of that Independence our fathers have won; The rays of her countenance beam o'er our land, While freedom and justice she holds in each hand:

The despots of Europe may boast of their arms, And spread desolation, and war's dread alarms; Columbian freemen forever will toast The virtues of peace, their brave Washington's boast.

The graves of our heroes shall ne'er be profan'd With those crimson horrors fell tyrants have gain'd; But unfading laurels of triumph shall bloom, And shed sweet ambrosials on th' green tufted tomb.

Remote from the scenes of European wars, We never will kneel at the altar of Mars; But rival, in prizing the pleasures of home, "The wisdom of Greece and the glory of Rome."

When old Ocean swarms with the pirates of hell, Our tars shall be "off," and no more on her dwell; More safe on the land, they'll bid Commerce adieu, 'Till Neptune shall swallow this infernal crew.

We'll lock up our treasures secure from the world, Until Europe's banners of peace be unfurl'd; Contented at home, we will live on our farms, And starve all our foes, 'till we bring them to terms.