

AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED AT BOSTON, JULY 4, 1815,

BEFORE THE

SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH,

AND THE

MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY AND CITIZENS OF THE TOWN,

IN COMMEMORATION OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

=====
BY LEMUEL SHAW, ESQ.
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BOSTON :
FROM THE PRESS OF JOHN ELIOT.
1815.

VOTE OF THE TOWN.

AT a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of BOSTON, duly qualified and legally warned, in public town-meeting, assembled at Faneuil Hall, the 4th day of July, 1815.

On motion voted, That the Selectmen be, and hereby are appointed, a committee to wait on LEMUEL SHAW, Esq. in the name of the town, and thank him for the elegant and spirited oration, this day delivered by him at the request of the town, upon the anniversary of American Independence, in which were considered the feelings, manners, and principles, which produced the great national event, and the important and happy effects, general and domestic, which have already, or will forever flow from that auspicious epoch; and to request of him a copy for the press.

Attest,

THOMAS CLARK, *Town Clerk.*

ORATION.

DESIGNATED by your municipal government, to assist in the services of the day, permit me, my fellow citizens, to congratulate you on another peaceful return of this joyful anniversary, to exult with you in the interesting events, which it is designed to commemorate, and to retrace some of those "feelings, manners and principles," which led to the declaration, and terminated in the triumphant establishment of our national independence. In performing this annual duty, allow me to solicit your most liberal indulgence. Recollecting how often you have been delighted with the glowing eloquence of my predecessors, I should utterly despair of success, were I not supported by the conviction, that the subject, apparently exhausted as it is, will never cease to be dear to the heart of every patriotic American. The lapse of time, whilst it may impair something of our original interest in the event, will confirm the principles of the revolution, and add weight to the lessons of wisdom, which it is calculated to impart.

In recurring to the period of our emancipation, what are the objects presented to our view? A virtuous and magnanimous people, without political organization, without military force, without financial re-

sources and without allies, struggling against oppression, conscious of the purity of their views and the soundness of their principles, animated by an ardor which no discouragement could allay, impelled by a determination, which no danger could appal, relying upon the smiles of heaven and their own brave hearts, bidding a proud defiance to a great and victorious power, resisting to blood, and resisting with success! If such a spectacle could hardly fail of inspiring even the passing stranger with the deepest interest, with what enthusiastic admiration ought we, my countrymen, to dwell on the picture. Some of you fought the glorious battles of the revolution in the field, or maintained its principles in the senate. Many of you participated in the hopes and fears of that eventful period, cheered the efforts of the combatants by your smiles, or sustained their fortitude by your example. Many are the ~~descendants~~ descendants of those who fell in the arms of victory, or triumphed in the arduous conflict; and all of us are this day reaping the fruits of those fields, which their bravery defended, enjoying the blessings of those institutions, which their energy secured, and exulting in the deathless fame, which their valour and wisdom have shed on our country.

This celebration, therefore, cannot be regarded as a mere holiday, designed to amuse the eye and delight the fancy of the idle, the vulgar and the dissipated, with the exhibition of splendid and unmeaning pageantry; let it rather be consecrated to the purpose of reviving and impressing the best lessons of political wisdom, and of inspiring that ardent and exalted love of country, which is the surest basis of

national greatness. In this view, the observance of our national anniversary, is consistent equally with the dictates of good feeling, and the maxims of enlightened policy. It brings to the aid of patriotism the powerful principle of sympathy, and adds to the convictions of reason the energy of enthusiasm. It invites us to lay aside other cares and attractions, to unite in tracing our humble origin, our steady and rapid progress, in recounting our dangers and sufferings, our triumphs and successes, in recognizing the relation that constitutes us one people, and tracing the duties and obligations arising out of that relation, and in animating our hearts with glowing images of national glory and national greatness. Where is the heart so cold, or the mind so perverse, that it can turn away from a participation in such a solemnity, without feeling enlightened in the course of social duty, and animated to more active exertion in pursuing it?

Whilst with these views we celebrate our emancipation from the parent state, let us, my countrymen, guard against all dangerous errors of feeling and of judgment, to which it may lead. Let not the bitterness of animosity mingle with our joy. God forbid that we should set apart a day, for the unholy purpose of cherishing hatred and perpetuating revenge. Upon this subject, the declaration of independence reads to us an instructive lesson. In the heat of the arduous conflict, the authors of that paper, designed expressly to set forth the wrongs and grievances which compel them to the measure, have the magnanimity to declare, that henceforth they will regard Englishmen like all other people, enemies in war, in

peace friends. The war of emancipation turned upon a great question of right. Many of the most enlightened men in England, in and out of parliament, warmly espoused the American cause. The administration which took the opposite ground has long since passed away, and the passions and resentments of the contest have passed away with them. The commercial and intellectual intercourse, which with liberal views we maintain with England, may be of the most beneficial and interesting nature, arising from the community of origin and language. From her have we derived our laws, learning, taste, literature and science, our principles of government and our love of liberty. And we cherish the hope, that the period is not distant, when our country shall reflect back some portion of that light, which the genius of England has so liberally shed on the western continent. Every consideration, therefore, of enlightened policy, of manly feeling, of moral and religious duty, conspire to recommend the magnanimous sentiment of the declaration of independence.

Let us now take a rapid view of the circumstances under which America was placed, and the great question upon which the war of independence turned. The character and condition of the British colonies, the precise nature of their relation to the parent state, had never been defined, and was in fact little understood, by either party. Amidst the contentions that agitated the British empire, during the first century of their settlement, these colonies, flourishing in silence and obscurity, were thought too insignificant to attract much attention. The early emigrants to America, were actuated by no ambitious views of aggrau-

disement ; their sole design was to found a state, in which they and their descendants might enjoy their civil, social and religious liberties in security and peace. They however were no levellers, no advocates for licentious doctrines, which, under the specious name of liberty, have since been so prolific a source of misery and of crimes. They gloried in the constitutional rights of Englishmen. They acknowledged their allegiance to the crown, but they uniformly maintained their right to regulate their own internal concerns, through their provincial legislatures. Industrious, intelligent and enterprising, although emigration nearly ceased after the first twenty years, the colonies increased with unexampled rapidity, until at length England, and all Europe, became deeply impressed with their value and importance. But the spirit of colonizing America, was not confined to England ; France too, her ancient rival in commerce and in arms, had large possessions on this continent. In the north and the east, no effort was spared to extend her own power, and crush that of her rival. This vexatious contest was continued with feeble efforts and various success, almost up to the period of the war of 1756. It came at last to be distinctly understood or fully believed, that a preponderating ascendancy in America, must decide the long and arduous contest, between those rival powers. It was certainly a singular phenomenon, that a great question of national aggrandisement, between the courts of London and Paris, should be decided in the interior of America. Such however was the fact ; and the banks of the St. Lawrence and the shores of the American lakes, were destined to be the theatre on

which this great prize was to be contended for. The vigor of the contest was proportionate to the magnitude of the stake. The efforts of England were cheerfully and powerfully seconded by those of her colonies, through four successive years, until at length the plains of Abraham witnessed the triumph of their united valor, and the gallant and lamented Wolfe planted the cross of St. George upon the towers of Quebec. The peace of Fontenbleau, which soon followed, secured the conquest, which valor and perseverance had won. France relinquished her pretensions, and left Great Britain without a rival, on this extensive field of glory and of enterprise.

The American colonies, as they had made extraordinary efforts and sacrifices in maintaining this struggle, reasonably expected to share liberally in the glory and advantages of its successful issue. A new career was opened to their enterprise, and a new spring given to their hopes. It was hardly to be expected, that this moment of joy and of triumph would be seized by the administration, as the occasion of imposing new burthens on the colonies, and of asserting dangerous and alarming claims. Such however proved the event. Great Britain, heavily pressed by her national debt, enhanced by the prosecution of the late war, with all her national glory, bore her burthen with some impatience. Although, in fact, British views and interests had been the leading motive to that war, the administration affected to consider, that the protection, extension and security of the colonies were more exclusively the cause of waging it, and therefore, that they ought to contribute liberally to alleviate the burthen, which it had imposed on the

mother country. There was at least enough of justice or of plausibility in this suggestion, to produce an impression on superficial and interested minds. England had now witnessed and felt the growing strength and resources of the colonies. Parliament, seconding the views of the ministry, without stopping to inquire into the true nature of the relation in which the colonies stood, affected to regard them as an integral part of the British empire, over which their power of legislating was unquestionable and unlimited. Within two years after the peace of 1763, the right was deliberately asserted, and the attempt practically made to raise a revenue in America. America solemnly protested against the assumption of the right, and boldly resisted the execution of the measure. She acknowledged the duty of allegiance and fidelity to the crown, she allowed the right of the parent country to regulate her external commerce, and was content to yield her a monopoly of that commerce; but she strenuously denied that she was bound by acts of parliament, in which she was not represented, to which she had given neither an express nor implied assent, she asserted that her own provincial legislatures exercised the functions of parliament, within the sphere of their jurisdiction, that she had always manifested a willingness to bear her share of the common burthens, that the alarming assumption of power on the part of Great Britain, was an entire subversion of her whole constitution and frame of polity, equally a violation of the privileges of the colonists, guaranteed by charter, and their unalienable rights as British subjects. These considerations were repeatedly urged on the part of America, with a force of reasoning which

ought to have produced conviction, and a warmth of eloquence, which should at least have conciliated respect. During ten years, Great Britain persevered in this attempt by a series of measures, by some of which she simply asserted the right, without attempting to enforce it, and by others implied the right, without expressly asserting it. But America was too sagacious not to perceive, and too determined, not to resist the attack, whatever shape it might assume. During this period, many measures of coercion were adopted, too formidable not to excite alarm, and too imbecile to compel acquiescence. Great Britain at length perceived the necessity of abandoning her pretensions altogether, or of maintaining them by military force. In an hour of fatal delusion, she adopted the latter alternative. America had no alternative, but to join in this appeal to arms. She asked for no change, she wished for no revolution; up to the very moment of the declaration of independence, she professed her attachment to the king, the government, the laws and institutions of Great Britain. She desired only to be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of rights, essential to her existence as a free people. But finding herself not only abandoned but attacked, by the power to which she had been accustomed to look for protection, nothing remained but to dissolve all connection with that power, to implore the blessing of heaven, and to provide for her safety by the organization of an independent government. The events that followed are too well known to require recapitulation. America fought bravely, she fought successfully, and the peace of 1783 confirmed the sovereignty and independence of the United States. God

grant that it may forever secure them the blessings of equal laws and free government.

Soon after the establishment of peace, experience demonstrated the utter incompetency of the first rude system of confederation, to maintain our respectability abroad, and more especially to extend adequate protection to commerce. The good sense of the country loudly demanded a more perfect form of government, better adapted to its condition and wants. Hence our present constitution originated. That constitution was formed and adopted, successfully carried into operation, and ably administered by Washington, the beloved and renowned military chief, who had so often led your armies to victory, and who thus added the crown of civic honor to the imperishable laurel, which already bound his victorious brow.

It becomes us, on an occasion like this, to endeavor to make a just estimate of the value of independence, and to consider its effects, in the present condition and future prospects of our country. By her declaration of independence and the principles expressly asserted or practically maintained by the constitution of general government, and those of the several states, America has hazarded a bold attempt to establish a more perfect state of civil liberty and popular government, than the experience of the world has yet witnessed. The whole form and theory of her polity is founded on the principle, that the happiness of the people is the only legitimate object of government. They profess to guarantee to every individual, by fixed and permanent laws, the security of life, liberty, property, reputation and the pursuit of

happiness, the right of free discussion upon every subject, by speech, writing and printing, the most unlimited exercise of the rights of conscience and of worship, and an entire and absolute exemption from all exercise of arbitrary power.

At the period of the settlement of America, the principles of government had begun to be freely discussed, in Great Britain, and the rights of the people to be maintained, by some of her most eminent civilians. The extension of commerce and the arts, the diffusion of wealth and intelligence, the influence of learning and industry, had greatly altered and elevated the condition of society, and brought forward a new class of men, who knew their rights and felt their power, and who could not long patiently submit to a state of feudal vassalage, which had its origin in an ignorant and military age. It was perhaps the irregular, violent and ill-directed efforts of men like these, struggling against the high prerogative claims of a capricious monarch and a jealous aristocracy, which brought the first Charles to the block, and terminated in the usurpation of Cromwell. But the revolution of 1688, forever consecrated the triumph of civil liberty and popular rights, and practically declared, that a free government, securing the happiness of all, by just and equal laws, is the constitutional prerogative of Englishmen, and that whenever government shall cease to grant protection, subjects may lawfully cease to yield obedience. At the period of our emancipation, these principles, always cherished with complacency, had made a deep impression upon the minds of the American people. They justly regarded England as the only model of free and energetic govern-

ment. But not feeling the immediate influence of the monarchical and aristocratical branches, most of their notions of such a government were taken from the popular branch of the British constitution. They were too liberal and enlightened, even with the feelings of repugnance towards Great Britain, which they then entertained, not to avail themselves of all the advantages of such a model.

These principles of civil liberty, and this system of popular government, America has attempted to maintain and perpetuate, principally by the more complete extension, developement and practical adoption of the principle of representation. This principle is the great and capital improvement of modern times. Nothing at all similar or equivalent to it, was known to the governments of antiquity. It consists in a judicious selection of a few, to exercise the powers of government in trust for the whole. It is, in fact, the only mode, by which a numerous people can exercise any direct control over the administration of its government. This principle has been long recognized and valued, and seems interwoven into the very form and texture of our society. Its use is as familiar in private as in public affairs. Whenever any number of individuals have occasion to act in concert, whatever may be the nature of their organization, or the object of associating, a select number is delegated to deliberate and act for the whole. It is worthy of remark, that this great leading principle in our government does not derive its sanction from the constitution, but on the contrary, gives to that constitution all the sanction it possesses. The adoption of the constitution itself, the highest act, which a people can exercise,

was entrusted to representatives delegated for that purpose. As the practical operation of this principle, may be extensively beneficial, it is also capable of great and dangerous abuses. But when properly modified and regulated by a due adjustment of the right of suffrage, its only effect should be, to elevate to office men of capacity and integrity, having a common interest in the trust they are to exercise, and who will exercise it under a deep sense of duty and responsibility. The representative, will then be a precise miniature of the constituent body, concentrating and preserving all its lineaments and features in exact proportion. A government thus constituted, will combine strength with freedom. It will command the talents, sagacity, prudence and experience of its most enlightened citizens, in devising measures, and the moral and physical energy of the whole people, in supporting and executing them.

But I hasten from pursuing this detail, to present the subject in a point of view, perhaps more interesting. Looking at the actual extent of the United States, the unsettled lands within its acknowledged boundaries, our disposition to emigrate even beyond those boundaries, the rapidity with which population and settlement is advancing, may we not anticipate the time, at no very remote period, when the whole northern continent of America shall be inhabited by a people, speaking one language, possessing the arts and enjoying the comforts and refinements of civilization, enjoying an unlimited foreign commerce and internal intercourse, ardently attached to the principles of civil liberty, and practically familiar with the forms of representative government?

With the improvements rapidly taking place in the world, may we not aspire to a degree of national grandeur more elevated, a state of society more refined and perfect, than the world has yet witnessed? Oh may these bright prospects prove not the airy visions of an ardent imagination! It depends on yourselves, Americans, whether so fair a prospect shall be blasted. Military corruption or political depravity, the mad ambition and profligacy of rulers, or the degeneracy and debasement of the people, can alone eradicate the principles of liberty, blast the hopes of refinement, and bring back another age of darkness and barbarism. How solemn an admonition is this, my countrymen, how powerful an appeal to the heart of the patriot and philanthropist, to cherish the national and manly virtues, to banish all narrow, selfish views, to frown with indignation on the arts, and frauds, and intrigues of designing men, to cultivate the higher powers of intellect, to cherish the nobler feelings of patriotism, to diffuse useful and practical truth, in order to qualify and sustain us for the high career of national glory, which Providence has opened to our view.

The occasion requires, that we should take a nearer view of the actual condition of our country, with reference both to its external relations and internal policy. The happy return of peace, for which our gratitude is so justly due to the protecting mercy of Heaven, having relieved us from suffering, agitation and alarm, allows us leisure to survey our condition, and prepare for our future destiny. Although a season like this, divests the political interests of the day, of that deep and earnest interest, which we feel under

the pressure of more trying circumstances, the occasion will be improved by the wise and reflecting for calm deliberation. But how painfully does this scene of tranquillity and repose contrast with the deep and awful note of preparation, which reaches us from Europe. Oh who can cast a momentary view

O'er the vine-covered hills and gay regions of France,

and not turn away with mingled emotions of horror, indignation and pity. Twenty-five years have now elapsed since the French revolution burst upon the view of the astonished world, and opened a scene of wretchedness and of crimes, of atheism and profligacy, utterly without a parallel in the annals of history. The American revolution has suffered an irreparable injury by being compared with that of France. But they differed not less in principle and in object, than in the means, with which they were conducted, and the manner, in which they terminated. The leaders of the French revolution, manifesting an utter disregard to all principle in their measures, and sincerity in their professions, actuated by deadly hatred to all that was eminent and respectable in character, or amiable and elegant in manners, or fixed and settled in the institutions of society, and instigated by a boundless ambition, readily seized on the enthusiasm themselves had excited, to gratify their malignant passions. After a few feverish years of liberty, this horrible revolution terminated, as all reflecting men had foreseen that it must terminate, in a government of physical force, a cruel, ferocious military despotism. The rule of Bonaparte was little more than a continued scene of oppressive outrage, and contempt

of social rights. No spot within the extent of his empire was too elevated or too humble to be the object of his regard. The palace and the cottage, the sanctuary of the church, the halls of science, the universities and schools, the counting-house of the merchant, the work-shop of the artizan, the hallowed abode of domestic retirement, incessantly felt and lamented his oppressive influence. Had Bonaparte been content to confine the sphere of his relentless tyranny to France alone, the world would have had less reason to complain. It would have been a question for high-minded Frenchmen alone, whether they would submit in silence to the total subversion of their liberties, or take measures for their emancipation. But Bonaparte was ambitious; and with the most powerful military force ever brought to act at the will of one man, grasped at universal conquest. Europe bore witness, not only to his ambition, but its fatal success. Nearly every capital of continental Europe, had submitted successively to the triumph of his arms. These indeed were times which appalled the firmest minds. They began to apprehend, that the sun of freedom had set forever, and that society was destined to sink back into darkness and barbarism. But suddenly the light of hope and of joy burst with splendor from the north, the conqueror is defeated, his hordes are scattered, himself a fugitive. Such was the joyful acclamation, which all Europe responded. The fatal blow indeed was struck. After a few vain and fruitless struggles, the proud and haughty conqueror was glad to purchase his life by the humiliating surrender of his throne, and to seek in the little island of Elba, a humble asylum from the

contempt and execration of mankind. We, my friends, did rejoice, most sincerely and cordially rejoice in this series of events, not merely because we had suffered injuries and indignities from the despot, nor because his fall would promote our prosperity, but because we considered it as the triumph of the cause of justice, of liberty and humanity, and because we sincerely believed, that it would restore happiness to France, and safety to the world.

Who then can regard with cold indifference, the tremendous struggle which is again approaching, which has already converted the borders of France into a camp, perhaps ere this, into one wide waste of desolation and of death. Can all this be done to satiate the cravings of one man's ambition? And is it possible to regard that man with any feelings, other than those of horror and detestation? I will not stop eolly to discuss the question, whether the French people have a right to choose their own government, and elect their own rulers, and whether other nations may lawfully interfere. Nor is this necessary, until I am taught, that the acclamations of a venal and rapacious soldiery, are to be considered as the deliberate voice of a free people. Bonaparte had solemnly renounced his pretensions to the throne of France, in the face of all Europe. His subsequent conspiracy with the army of Louis, to replace him on that throne, was equally perfidious on his part and treasonable on theirs. Perhaps no part of this transaction exhibits a more disgusting spectacle, than that of the gross insincerity, treachery and cruelty of those distinguished men, who, having accepted the honours and received the confidence of the unfortunate Louis,

combined with Bonaparte to supplant him. After their measures were in fact taken, they professed their warmest attachment to their injured king, their determination to maintain his cause against the usurper, and kissed his royal hand with disgusting sycophancy, at the moment they betrayed him.

It is not indifferent to other nations whether Bonaparte is at the head of the French empire. With his known character and views, were he again in possession of so formidable a power, the other nations of Europe would again be in danger of falling successively under his sway, and thus contributing to swell the tide of power and of conquest. To guard against this danger, those nations must become essentially military, be compelled to relinquish the arts, the embellishments and pursuits of peace, to abandon all moral, social and intellectual cultivation, and devote themselves exclusively to maintain large standing armies, at once burthensome to their resources, ruinous to their morals, and dangerous to their liberties. The safety and the happiness, therefore, not of France only, but of the world, require that the usurper be instantly crushed. God speed the cause of the allies, of justice, of liberty, and of peace !

Whatever may be the eventual issue of this tremendous conflict, we rejoice in the belief, that the danger which we once feared from the ascendancy of French power, and the more contaminating influence of French principles, is forever removed. The secret spell, which seemed to bind us in willing chains to the conqueror's car is forever broken. No sophistry can again deceive us into a belief, that the cause of Bonaparte is the cause of social rights, or create a mo-

mentary sympathy between the champion of despotism, and the friends of civil liberty.

One of the most alarming points of view, in which the sincere opponents of the late war with England regarded that measure, was, that it tended to cement and perpetuate that dangerous and disgraceful connection. The commercial restrictions of America, corresponded in principle and in object, with the continental system of France. We declared war at the moment, when Napoleon had prepared the whole force of his empire, to strike the last fatal blow against the liberties of Europe, by the conquest of Russia. Of the character of that war, we have often expressed our strong and decided opinion; and it is not my design to anticipate the sentence of censure and condemnation, which history will pronounce on its authors. Let us rather turn from the revolting subject, to the more grateful task of contemplating the lustre, which it has given occasion to shed on the American character. Oh who shall hereafter recollect the gallantry of our little navy, the memorable exploits of our ocean heroes, their skill and bravery in battle, their moderation in victory, their dignity even in defeat, without higher emotions of pride and satisfaction in the name and character of an American? That navy, one of the few remaining fruits of better counsels, had survived only amidst the utter contempt and neglect of those, whose administration it has since contributed to emblazon. But it has justified the ardent hopes, and realized the high expectations of its early and constant friends, and redeemed the reputation of the country. It is now justly the favourite of all; the nation are its patrons, and it must and will be cherish-

ed. I certainly mean to bestow the highest praise on the late American army when I say, that in most instances, they have well sustained the high military reputation which crowned the arms of America, in the war of the revolution.

Fas est ab hoste doceri.

“If,” said general Burgoyne, in his memorable defence before parliament, “if there can be any persons, who continue to doubt that the Americans possess the quality and faculty of fighting (call it by whatever name they please) they are of a prejudice, that it would be very absurd longer to contend with.” This reputation the battles of Niagara, of Plattsburgh and the Mississippi, will have no tendency to impair. In this review, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to mention with merited commendation, the courage, the spirit and patriotism of the American militia. Sensible of the danger, as well as the burthen, of supporting a large standing force, it has been the policy of America to arm and discipline her citizens, and in cases of sudden emergency, to entrust the safety of the country in some measure to their zeal and courage. The vigorous defence of Plattsburgh, of Baltimore and New Orleans, has well justified the confidence reposed in them. I may add with pride and with pleasure, that the alacrity, with which the militia of Massachusetts recently rallied at the call of their illustrious chief, in whose judgment, courage and patriotism, they justly reposed unlimited confidence, the ardour and discipline they exhibited, the patience and courage they manifested, proved, if proof were wanting, that the

soil of freedom will never be surrendered by its proprietors, but with their lives.

What is to be the future conduct of the United States, is a subject of most interesting inquiry. Our remote situation happily exempts us from the necessity of interfering in the wars of Europe. Although with ardent minds, it is impossible not to take a deep interest in the present conflict, to have our hopes and sympathies, to feel "the strong antipathy of good to bad," yet when our interests are untouched, and our safety not endangered, it would be the mere madness of quixotism to interpose with our arms. Our duty then is plain, to preserve the strictest impartiality, and to maintain this character with firmness, dignity and perfect good faith. The course of our domestic policy is, we apprehend, marked out in characters, too plain to be misunderstood. Let us hope that the day of idle theory, of frivolous experiment, and of dangerous trifling with our great national interests, which commenced with the administration of Mr. Jefferson, has passed away, and that it will be succeeded by the prevalence of good sense and practical measures. We can no longer mistake apathy for fortitude, a cold indifference to the interests and glory of the nation for moderation and impartiality, or the contempt of experience for the dictates of philosophy. Let it be the constant object of the government and people of the United States, to preserve the national honour and national character, to cherish our resources and maintain publick credit, to strengthen and enlarge the navy, to maintain a small efficient army, to encourage and perfect the militia, to give the most ample protection to commerce, to agriculture, and to every lau-

dable pursuit, to promote learning, piety, useful information, just and liberal sentiments, and above all, to cherish the union as the means of national security, happiness and glory. Should the time ever come, when one portion of the union, influenced by a mistaken estimate of local interests, governed by false views and unworthy prejudices, shall entertain sentiments, and adopt measures hostile to the rights and liberties of another, should faction, seizing the high places of government, with the aid of a numerical majority, endeavor to give to usurpation and injustice the forms of law, should the spirit and design of the constitution be openly perverted to lend its sanction to these measures, should all reasonable means of redress prove unavailing, and such a course be systematically persisted in, nothing would remain to the injured party, but to prepare deliberately for the crisis, and to exclaim in the spirit of the declaration of independence, perish the union, perish the constitution, they have ceased to preserve our liberties and our rights. From such a crisis, may God in mercy long preserve our beloved country. It belongs to the people of the United States to cherish the union, in the spirit with which it was formed, as the means of justice, of security, of safety and happiness to all. Let the great sections and divisions of the United States banish the local prejudices and narrow jealousies, which affect vulgar and superficial minds, and let them learn to respect the character, the views, the interests and feelings of each other. Experience has shewn that much of that prejudice is unfounded; its consequences are obvious and lamented. Between the different great sections of the union, it would be

easy to demonstrate an intimate community of interest; but I forbear. To the integrity, the good sense and intelligence of the American people, their happiness is entrusted.

Americans, let me once more remind you of your illustrious origin, and your high destination. Oh stain not the purity of your youthful virtue, tarnish not the lustre of your early fame. Banish from your counsels the traitors, who would poison your sentiments and abuse your confidence. Impress on the minds of your children, an early and ardent love of country. Cherish a national character, cultivate the national virtues, so shall you prove to a remote posterity, that the solid fabric of freedom and independence, which you have now raised, is but the foundation of a loftier monument of national glory, happiness and fame.