

## ORATION, &c.

*Fellow citizens*—The part, which has been assigned to me, on this important occasion, is, to deliver to a crowded audience of my fellow citizens, a few remarks, delineating the progress of the American people, in their passage from the murky dungeon of despotism, to the bright chambers of liberty and glory. Inadequate, as I feel, to the performance of so important a duty, yet, so far as my feeble powers may permit, I will endeavor to discharge it, with as much credit to myself as may be: and, if possible, at least, so, as not to disgrace those, who have honored me with the appointment. I cannot but hope, my fellow citizens, will make some allowance for the brevity of my remarks, as well as the crudeness of the composition and the manner of delivering it—I must claim to myself, some indulgence on that ground, for since my appointment to this duty, my labors at the bar, and my attendance at the court as it's ministerial officer, has engrossed all my attention, except about six or eight days, which was necessarily devoted to a divided duty between this task, my office and my family. This is all the apology, I think necessary to make, as I know I am addressing a liberal public, together with a number of my friends, with whom I have a personal

acquaintance, who, in a sensible view mankind with a philosophic eye, and, who know that the most brilliant acquirements and commanding talents are still but the appendages of mortality.

It will not be expected, in a discourse of this kind, were I able, that I should drive back beyond the flood and endeavor to trace up a mysterious providence, through all it's various windings and intricacies, ursue the thread of fate that led to the discovery of a new world, unknown before to all but savage men and beasts of prey; nor will it be expected, that I should trace every footstep of that new world in her march from the dark jail of bigotry and superstition to the full blaze of her present splendor. He who views the rise and fall of empires and governments with an eye of philosophy, will easily discover the ascendancy that reason is gaining over sophistry and speculation—it exhibits to the mind, in the most striking colors, the progressive genius of man: the soul rising from the lethergy and stupor imposed upon it by the fury of religious frenzy and priestcraft, is assuming it's dignity and is taking it's place in that sphere, designed for it by the creator. In our progress, through the motly scene which the history of our beloved country exhibits, we shall discover this principle most clearly developed, that however tyranny may lord it over the human race for a while—that, although it may bow their heads to the earth, to even lick the dust, let

the goddess of liberty glance a smile upon their misfortunes, and in a moment they arise, fierce as the lightning, terrible as the desolating storm—the tyrant may wave his contemptuous sceptre in vain—in vain, denounce his feebled vengeance—Hercules-like they rise victorious, break down his battlements and redeem themselves from the galling chains which surround them. In the darkest ages of antiquity, before the human mind became expanded, so as to comprehend principles of government, and before they had even a defective idea of the forms now established, while they were in a state of nature, this same principle seems to have been the ruling dictate of the heart—this same principle dwells with, moves and operates upon all nature, with the greatest uniformity: if the brute is robbed of its liberty, it struggles to regain it, and falls a victim to its own exertions—if you confine the vegetable, and shut it out from the light of Heaven, it dwindles, fades, falls and dies; then, it is not to be wondered at, that an evil so odious to every particle of created matter, as is restraint, or in other words, slavery, should be abhorrent to man. But to the main subject of the discourse.

The discovery of this new world was reserved for the enlightened mind, and shining talents of a republican. Various citizens and subjects of various nations have pretended to claim the honor of discovering Ame-

rica—the Carthaginians ; the Welsh and the Norwegians have vainly combatted for, and claimed that honor. None, but the aspiring soul of Christopher Columbus, a citizen of Genoa, was competent to so great an enterprise ; nursed in the lap of freedom, his genius was expanded—his mind enlarged, and capable of comprehending great things. He saw that, without something more than the three continents : Europe, Asia and Africa, the earth could not poize upon it's centre ; that, unbalanced, it would cease to roll it's diurnal round, upon it's own axis—would forget it's centre of gravity—the great luminary of Heaven, and wander, comet-like, in boundless space. This reflection, first induced an opinion in him, that there must be a large body of land somewhere in the west, to balance that in the east. This idea, was strengthened by a variety of circumstances : one in particular, which was, that two dead bodies, of uncommon features, which were found floating on the bosom of the ocean, near the Azore islands, driven before a westerly wind. The ardent mind of Columbus, ever restless—ever in pursuit of his darling object, the discovery of this new continent, applied, first to his own government ; who treated his plan as a mere chimera—then to the various governments of Europe, and, unfortunately for Columbus, it was at a period of human existence, when the mind of man was locked up in religious bigotry and false philosophy. He had to contend with the ig-

ignorance and superstition of the priesthood—the craft and ambition of politicians—the stupidity and incredulity of potentates, and the parsimony and timidity of individuals; he, at length, however, rather prevailed over the weakness, than convinced the judgment of Isabella, queen of Castile, in Spain; over whose mind, he had so far prevailed, that she even proposed pledging her jewels for raising the money for defraying the expenses of the enterprize; the measures were executed—the expedition prepared, and on the third of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from his moorings, destined to plough a tractless, boisterous ocean, unknown, unheard of before; destined to encounter hardships and privations of every kind—to stem the rude wave and brave the howling tempest, in pursuit of a world which existed only in idea. To follow him in that wayward, divious track, which he pursued from his native land till he reached the before imaginary country, would be tedious, burthensome and unnecessary: suffice it, to say, that on the 12th of October, 1492, his anxious eye caught the long looked for continent—the towering mountains and lofty forests caught the hero's view, while his glad heart danced for joy.—Then, it was, he triumphed over all his difficulties and, as he thought, had broken down every obstacle to preeminence and glory. A new spectacle now burst upon the eye of the astonished world. A new theatre was opened for the display of human genius. A coun-

try arose, as it were, from the bosom of the great deep, whose shores were confined only, by the limits of the two vast oceans that lav'd them—a country, teeming with all the luxuries of nature, whose cloud-capt mountains bore in their bosoms the virgin gold and argent mineral; a scene, calculated to attract the eye of the adventurer and, even the potentates of the earth were proud to participate in the glory of Columbus. The old world soon began to empty itself into the new—some, fled from the griping famine—some from the cause of political tyranny, and still more, from the desolating scourge of religious persecution; people, from all quarters, flocked to those new discovered regions;—colonies were formed—governments were instituted, over which, the powers of Europe wielded the alternate sceptre—gorged their rapacious souls with full draughts of rapine and plunder, and grew rich upon the spoils they wrested from the weakness and imbecility of virtuous industry.

*Fellow citizens*—If there is any thing truly sublime in nature, it is found in the contemplation of the vast scene that surrounds us—a country, stretching itself no less than 136 degrees north and south and three thousand, six hundred miles east and west, buffeted by the waves of two immense oceans—dignified with a ridge of the most enormous mountains, which pervade it's whole length from north to south: down whose awful sides roll the dark waters, wide and deep, varia-

gated with hills, woods, lawns; adorned with rich verdure and blooming foliage, among which the feathered chresters whistle their wild, though cheerful notes to the morning sun. It would have been strange indeed, if a country so situated—adorned with so many beauties and promising so rich a harvest of wealth to the industrious and enterprising, should not have invited many to its salubrious climes. The old world, in its ebullitions, occasioned by the violence of the times, poured its thousands into the new; providence, in its unbounded munificence, seems to have bestowed upon man, this beautiful country, at a time, when it was peculiarly necessary for the peace and happiness of the world, and at an instance too, when it was most favorable for its speedy settlement. Feuds and schisms had taken place among the sects which composed the church of Christ, in the old world; papery, had for years, chained down the mind of man to a form of religion, without the substance, till meekness, humility and virtue groaned and bled beneath the heavy scourge—it had so long swayed it's iron sceptre over the human mind—so long, bound the neck of it's votaries, under the spacious name of religion, that it forgot it's duty and even the precepts that it taught; it became a handle and pretext for oppression—a means of acquiring wealth and opulence, and had become so firmly rivetted upon the necks of the people, that it threatened the downfall of the liberties of the world.

While this violence was prevailing in the old world, civil discord in one country—religious persecution, in another—princely tyranny, in another: America was reaping a rich reward of their misconduct. It seems, that, in the year 1584, queen Elizabeth granted a patent to two of her subjects to take possession of lands in America in her name, and in pursuance of that patent, sir Walter Raleigh and Gilbert Adrian, in that same year, took possession of that part of America, known by the general name of Florida, and in honor of their virgin queen, called it Virginia; which name, it continued to bear until king James. the 1st, of England, by patent, divided it into north and south Virginia, in the spring of the year 1606, making two colonies out of the one—thus, it continued to bear the name of north and south Virginia until the year 1614, when a British subject, by the name John Smith, brought over a number of settlers and after regulating the affairs of the settlement, drew a map of the country and called, what then called, north Virginia, New-England, which name, it has borne ever since. These were the first divisions of this part of North-America, which is now the United States, made by the crown of Great Britain, which claimed an exclusive jurisdiction over them; and, as they increased in wealth and population, the British crown drew closer and closer the reins of government, until, in process of time it became irksome and oppressive. The A-



American colonies, thus situated, opened great prospects of speculation and promised a productive source of future wealth; consequently, an object of great consideration, with the British government, and, although a great majority of the settlers of these new colonies were Englishmen, yet the hardships and misfortunes to which they had been exposed, in the settlement of their new country, had, in a great measure, erased and annihilated that high tone of spirit, natural to Englishmen—had reduced them to a proper mediocrity, and left them their dignity of mind, without their conceit and arrogance. Much pains and labor were made use of to convince the American, that he was a creature of inferior order, and that he ought to bow with submissive reverence to the mandate of a Britain—much pains and labor was bestowed by the British government, to convince a set of men who, its base intrigue and detestable policy, had made strong, that they owed their political existence to it, and that they could not possibly survive without it. Not satisfied with a fair, honest and beneficial traffic with their brothers and neighbors—not satisfied with a rich reward, of an exclusive trade—not considering, the weakness and infancy of their new colonies; but, ever penurious—ever rapacious, drew upon them for great contributions, which they, in their infancy and weakness, were entirely unable to pay, and do justice to themselves. Still, they thought it better to brook those encroachments upon

their rights, than suddenly and abruptly to absolve themselves from the British crown. That principle, which some false philosophers have pretended was established in nature, that *power gives right*, is a principle, dangerous to the liberties of mankind, and is a calumny against human nature itself; for, however correct it may be, when applied to insensitive matter, it is contrary to every idea of moral agency. Power, as applied to mere matter, commands, restrains and ceases—reason, examines, compares and determines accordingly.

This must have been the principle which governed the British cabinet, when they dared to break through every league they had entered into with the infant colonies.—This same principle must have governed the British parliament, when they took upon themselves to tax the colonies, without their consent—to compel them to contribute to the maintenance of a government, which had neither rendered them support or protection. Nature is uniform in all her operations; she proportions the greatness of the mind to the objects that it contemplates—so, the mind of the American citizen, accustomed to view nature in her most awful solemnity & grandeur, his soul rises in proportion to the grandeur of the surrounding scene—his genius, becomes expanded—his ideas, enlarged. Hence, it comes, that he possesses a more extensive share of firmness, strength, vigilance and perseverance, than usually falls to the lot of

human nature. *Fellow citizens*—You have heard the declaration of independence read—you have heard, delineated in a language, which I am not master of, the long list of wrongs, aggressions and insults, that were offered to America—you have heard delineated the threats, indignities and degradations which she suffered, contempts pocketed, insults unavenged, wanton outrages committed by inferiors, unredressed by superiors, stigmas cast upon her national character—robbed of every source of national wealth and national happiness, deserted, contemned, despised, left only the sad alternative: either to linger on, in worse than Barbarian slavery—worse than chained to the Algerine galley; or, to unsheath the sword and plunge it in the heart of the tyrant oppressor. Is there a coward heart on earth would have borne such a black infernal list of wrongs and not have revolted; he deserves not the name of man, who tamely submits to a wrong without resenting it in a becoming manner. Remonstrance on the part of the colonies followed remonstrance, prayer after prayer, for the redress of those wrongs, was submitted to the councils of Great Britain, until remonstrance and prayer was clearly proved to be ineffectual; they were unheeded, or if heard, disregarded. It at length, became necessary to fly to arms, the dernier resort of oppressed nations. War, with all its horrors, was resorted to, to settle a controversy

between two nations, whom a conformity of language and manners ought to have united in the indissoluble bonds of friendship. You, my worthy citizens, whose heads are silvered over with age—who have been eye witnesses to the sad scene, which I portray; you, can tell, what were your emotions, when the peal of war was rung in your ears—when the sad order came, that bid you raise your arm to plunge the spear into the heart of your brother. Such were the hard terms imposed upon you, by a detestable policy of the mother country: either, tamely, to submit to the basest indignities—surrender your liberties to a country, odious, by the wrongs she had committed against you; or, make war upon men, whom, not long since, you had hailed to your homes and greeted as brethren. This proves, that a government may be at war with the people.

It will not be expected, that, in a discourse of this present kind, I should delineate with minuteness, the progress and footsteps of a war, which terminated in the emancipation of a large portion of the human race, from the yoke of bondage and oppression—suffice it, to say, that it became necessary for a people who had the name of revolting against a government, who pretended to claim the right of governing—to declare themselves an independent nation—to avoid the stigma of traitors; and, in so doing, to call upon the nations of the earth, to sanction their declaration. This was done, and the instrument,

read to you, by Mr. —, was the result of the deliberations and wisdom of the nation, produced upon that occasion. Yes, fellow citizens, this day, forty years ago, the republic of America received its birth—this day, forty years ago, the genius of liberty smiled upon your destinies! your chains were broken—your fetters burst from around you—you were emancipated, disencumbered of the shackles, that had so long bound your ankles to the earth. If the dead are permitted to take any concern in the interest of the living the shade of the departed hero, in Heaven, must smile at a croud of patriots, rejoicing and rallying round the standard of liberty, which his hand had implanted on earth.—Fellow citizens, let not the remembrance of that day pass away like a light cloud, wafted upon the wings of the wind; let it remind you, that you once was enslaved—that, that day you were set at liberty; let its remembrance be handed down to your posterity as the harbinger and herald of every national blessing; let it only be forgotten, when the night of despotism shall close upon the effulgent sun of liberty. If there ever was a signal interposition of the hand of providence it was in the emancipation of these United States from their yoke of bondage. Without men—without money, without the means of procuring munitions of war—laboring under difficulties apparently insurmountable, from circumstances not within our control; on our van, the combined forces of Britain

and Germany; in our rear, the fierce and fell savage. While our cities and seaports were ravaged, in the day time, by the strong hand of combined Europe—the solemn hour of midnight was lighted by the flame of the solitary cot, and alarmed by the yell of the fierce savage. Assailed from without—disordered by internal opposition and worse than savages lurked in the bosom of our country, and added fuel to the flame of civil discord; laboring under all these difficulties—destitute of almost every requisite for making war, or prosecuting it with effect; scattered over a large extent of country, without any settled form of government—composed of a mixed multitude of inhabitants, assembled from every quarter of the globe, whose pursuits and sentiments were as various as the languages they spoke, nothing but a general national calamity, and the cause of liberty, could have united such a heterogeneous mass of mankind, and have determined them to pursue the same object. Philosophy teaches us, that the pressure of misfortune bears down the mind, and enervates the faculties; but here philosophy had to yield to experience and abandon the controversy.—In this case, the intrepid American, instead of suffering his mind to be borne down by defeat and disaster, every defeat every disaster seemed to add strength to his intrepidity, and give a new spur to his vigilance, would have flown to the standard of liberty when the cause of suffering humanity was at stake

—who would not have hazarded his life, his fortune, to have liberated from bondage so large a portion of the human race, and entail upon his posterity, the matchless blessing; Great events were now preparing in the womb of futurity—the infant republic was to have been smothered in the cradle of its infancy. The potentates of Europe saw their thrones tottering upon the brink of progressive knowledge, they saw the sun of freedom rising in the west and spreading its beams a round the globe, and beheld, with a jealous eye, its progressive influence upon the human mind—they reasoned upon philosophical grounds: that, as science and knowledge becomes more and more prevalent among mankind, the more easily they will be able to investigate their nefarious plans, and the more readily avoid their smarts. The only effectual means, by which, men can be enslaved, is, to keep them immersed in abject ignorance; for, the moment, that science and knowledge begin to expand the faculties and develop the powers of the soul, that moment the chains of despotism become irksome and a struggle is made for releasement. This, the crowned heads of Europe saw, and trembled with alarm—this, produced among them an enmity against the infant republic, and induced a coalition, which was intended to work the downfall of this government; but an overruling providence which was over the concerns of nations, seemed in this

instance, particularly, to have interposed, and averted the impending blow. At this critical moment, aid was required—aid was asked to maintain a right, which no one dared to dispute, upon rational principles; a right, for a nation to be free. People groaning under calamities and distresses imposed upon them by the hard hand of despotism, unsanctioned by justice—unjustified by right sought aid from christian powers, who, by a denial, gave the lie to the holy religion they professed and defamed the ordinances of God. France, a benevolent and generous people, were the only nation, on earth, at that time, which had the good of mankind sufficiently at heart, to step forward, the patron and defender of suffering humanity; they were the only people on earth, who were willing to espouse the cause of an infant nation, struggling for it's freedom, against the combined powers of half europe. Some aid was received from France; but, that aid, being chiefly confined to the ocean, much was left to be done by America herself, and that aid, inconsiderable as it was, cost France the best blood of her country. How mysterious are the plans of providence? how deep to fathom? how high to reach? It should seem that France had learned from America, the blessings of liberty; that, to support the extravagance of a crown, cost too much blood and treasure. Her noble sons, who had fought under the banners of America and rallied round the standard of freedom, could,



no longer brook the idea of crouching at the foot of magisterial power, after having been admitted the equal and companions of a free man. Having, thus, beheld the beauties of liberty, the benefits arising from the enjoyment of equal rights, Frenchmen, at once, determined to be free; determined to throw off the regal yoke, which had so long bound their necks. A struggle, for that purpose, was made. The crown of France was deposed, and a foundation was laid for erecting the altar of liberty, upon the ruins of despotism; but, too often, the clouds of adversity, darken the morning sun of prosperity. France had scarcely seen the independence of America established—had scarcely opened the door to the accomplishment of her own great views, when all Europe, as it were, with one accord, raised their united arm and levelled a dangerous blow, not only at the liberties of France, but, at the peace and harmony of the world. So odious is the empire of reason, to the herd of despots, that enslave Europe, that the first dawnings of it are extinguished, by an overwhelming flood of opposition. Frenchmen, like the rest of mankind, are inclined to pass from one extreme to another, so, when they had thrown off the yoke, and released themselves from regal authority, they became ambitious of power—forgot the cause for which they were fighting and became, in their turn, emulous to excel in imperial pomp and grandeur; and, thereby, gave occasion to the Christian princes to join

in a coalition against them. So long, as Frenchmen fought for liberty, they were victorious, and bore down all opposition; but, the moment, they forgot that cause, the tide of fortune turned against them and they became the sport and football of combined powers; they fought in vain—in vain, the crimson torrent flowed, their liberties were cloven down, and their privileges scattered to the four winds of heaven. I hope, I may be excused, for this digression, as it goes to shew, the wise though mysterious determinations of the great ruler of the universe, that, the moment man forgets his duty, as a man, and steps aside from that path marked out to him by the creator, the providence of God deserts him; surrenders him up to the ravings of his own vain imaginations, and, however strong he may be—however well, he may concert his measures, they prove abortive and ineffectual, and he soon falls the victim to his own wild ambition. To our theme.

The conflict between America and the mother country terminated in the liberation of these United States from their dependance upon Great Britain, and the establishment of a republic—a government of the peoples' own choosing—a government depending upon the will of the people alone—a government of reason and rational liberty. If ever a people were truly favored, it was the people of the United States. At the time, when

our liberties were assailed—when the red bolts of war were shot, with fury, through our land, when every species of danger threatened us from within and without—when we had not even a form of government to secure to us our natural rights and privilege—when every means were used, by the foe, to corrupt our citizens, and allure them from the cause, in which they had embarked.—What a constellation of heroes, patriots and statesmen arose who, by the wisdom they possessed and the confidence they inspired, united all hearts together and themselves to the people? The name of Washington will ever continue to be revered, while freedom and virtue shall be esteemed among mankind; the wisdom of his counsels conducted us with safety through the political storm that prevailed around us and landed us securely beyond the noisy waves of civil commotion.

Republics are always said to be ungrateful and if there is an evidence of it on earth, it is to be found in the shameful neglect of our government towards the remains of the departed hero. He, whose extensive mind planned our deliverance, and with an unerring hand guided the councils of his country in safety, through the most perilous vicissitudes, is now permitted to lay beneath the green sod; the grave unadorned by the bounty of his country. He, who won unfading laurels, in the field, while fighting for the emancipation of his countrymen, lay unmired in silent dust, without a monument to

direct the foot of the devoted stranger to the place which contains his mouldering form—he, great soul, saw the storm of war passed by, he saw his country safe delivered from the ruthless hand of power—he erected the altar of liberty on the ruins of despotism, and consecrated it to the God of all mercies—peace was again restored to a distracted country, which the ravages of war had almost rendered desolate; no longer the roar of the destroying engine was heard, no longer the midnight air was lighted by the flame of the solitary cot—or rent with the yell of the fierce savage; but balmy peace, again, visited, with it's soft dew and our torn country diffused pleasures unspeakable, heightened by the sufferings we had indured.—Agriculture, arts, science, commerce, and all the enjoyments of life, succeeded the fatigues, hardships and horrors of a state of war and calamity; wealth poured in, from every source, and the ravages of a long and bloody war, were soon repaired by the application of industry. A country, possessing so rich a soil—situated within the temperate zone, with an outlet, so ample for exportation, promised the farmer, not only a rich harvest; but a beneficial market for his produce. The hope of gain gives a spur to industry; industry is the great source of wealth to a country; wealth gives opulence; opulence, dignity and importance; dignity and importance commands respect. Then, with all these advantages attached to a country, it is not to be wondered at, that it should increase in population, and while it increased in population and wealth it was not wanting in genius and talents to mould a form of government, suited to the si-

uation of the country as likewise to the manners, customs and habits of it's occupants. Thus, fellow citizens, you can discover from whence came the population, dignity and splendor of your country ; it is to be found within its own bosom—it is indiginous, and when we suffer ourselves to wander from home and leave the soil that gave us birth : we are like lost sheep, wandering from the fold. To prove, by argument, the necessity of confining our industry to our own soil, would be, like proving a self-evident truth, proving that twice two was four, which is evident of itself ; but such is the rage for commerce, with a portion of our citizens, that the whole of their exertions, seem pointed to that object, regardless of almost every other. Did we possess, but a small portion of land, in comparison to our numbers, inasmuch that we could not subsist by the culture of the soil, it would, then, not only be politic, but absolutely necessary to engage in commercial concerns for the maintenance of our inhabitants and the dignity of the government ; but while our forests are yet cumbering the ground and only furnishing resorts for beasts of prey—while every man can, by a small share of industry, procure a sufficiency of land for every purpose of life, would it not be madness in the extreme, to roam from clime to clime, in quest of gewgaws and novelties, which only nurse luxury and contribute nothing to the comforts of life or the wealth of the nation. It may, indeed, be necessary that thrones and imperial domes should be decorated with gewgaws and fripperies to awe the sycophants and slaves that surround them ; but they disgraced the temple of reason and are but contemptible pageantry in the eyes of free-

men. I would not wish to be understood, as discarding commerce altogether. or driving from the ocean, the little navy we have acquired; I think the one may be necessary for carrying to market our surplus of raw materials and bringing back the exchange in such things as we find it most inconvenient to manufacture, while the other would be useful to guard our seaport towns and our extensive maritime frontier from the ravages of an enemy, should we have one. Fellow citizens, I wish I could here forever drop a curtain over the scenes of war and blood which has visited our country and continue the bright picture of joy—I wish I could be permitted to lead you along the verdant lawns, and downy pastures, through the elysiumfields of peace, where pleasure, health and mirth abound—But alas I am again called to view the imbattled field, and noisy camp, where Mars with his fiery bolts, has strewed his slaughtered thousands—Again has the horrid trump of war been sounded in our ears, and bid us march to protect our invaded rights and guard our liberties against the encroachments of a merciless and unprincipled foe :—England ever arrogant, ever ambitious, pretending to the right of giving law to every nation under heaven (supposing she had the power) under pretext of a right to search, which she said she had by treaty—impress'd our seamen, plundered our merchantmen, insulted our flag, murdered our citizens, broke treaties which she had entered into with us violated the most sacred principles of the laws of nations, trampled under foot the rights of independance, treated with contempt the overtures offered her—and drove us to the said

alternative, either to make war upon her—or sacrifice every spark of national honor. compelled us either to make war upon her, or suffer in silence. the degradation of seeing thousands of our worthy citizens seamen. languishing in their floating dungeons as captives—and pirate-like, coerced to fight every nation under heaven, friend or foe. Who of you, as an individual would have tamely submitted to the shameless wrong? Who of you, could have rested your head upon your pillows. while your father—your brother or your child, was wreathing beneath the scourge of an impious tyrant, compelled to shed the blood of his friend—father or brother, or feel the deep wound of the indignant last?—The last, is a war. which must ever reflect disgrace upon the British nation; and if I might be permitted to predict has sunk the mine, that is to blow it out of existence. It has taught the world that their navy is not invincible—that it is possible to beat them with equal force upon what they proudly boast of being their own element, the ocean.

This will create an emulation in other nations to vie with them on that element, seeing they may be beaten, and when conquered or frustrated there. they. like the whipped bully. will become contemptible; they will be despised by their cotemporaries, and in the end must become the sport and football of every petty power in Europe. On the contrary, it is calculated to reflect much honor upon America; for if we even admit, that we have not gained the whole of what we warred for. we have, at least, liberated thousand of our worthy sons from captivity; we

have taught England a lesson of humiliation; we have taught the world, that our rights are not to be trampled on with impunity. We have proved to the despotic powers of Europe, that there is sufficient energy in republics, to war successfully upon their invaders. It has evinced to ourselves, that forty years of peace, has not swept all our heroes to the tomb. Lake Erie, thy name is as immortal as my theme. the day we celebrate—upon thy broad bosom is written, in indelible letters of blood, the skill and intrepidity of a Perry; and, thou, lake Champlain, canst tell to ages yet unborn, how a M'Donough silenced thy boisterous waves with the thunder of his cannon, and how often thou has drank the crimson flood that flowed from British hearts. It is not upon the lakes alone, where marine valor has exhibited feats of skill and prowess, the Atlantic bears the records of American heroism, and even the distant Pacific, has heard our thunder; while a Porter bled—and, but late, the Mediterranean trembled while a Decatur hurled his fiery bolts among the unchristian Turks, and broke the chain that had so long bound and enchanted half the world—Taught the proud Mahometan that his claim to contributions was founded only in an evil policy, and not in a just and reciprocal exchange of benefits. No more majestic rides the annual gifted bark, conducted by honest American tars, across the rude Atlantic wave, to swell the pirate fleet and add new strength to a power intended to enslave the christians. The brilliancy of the American arms has not been confined to the lakes and the ocean, the wilderness in the scorching south has resounded with our



cannon's roar, while the cold canadian snows have drank the hearts blood of the enemy—A Hull may have been traitorous—a Smyth indiscreet, a Winder overawed, weak and pusillanimous, but these are lost in the blaze of valor exhibited by a Jackson, a Brown, a Harrison, a M'Comb and a Ripley. We regret the departed Pike, with a few of his brave followers; while England mourns her Brock and Pakenham, with thousands of her most intrepid sons, who have bit the dust in anguish, as their sanguinary current drenched the parched earth.— Then if the war has been necessary in its commencement, glorious in its prosecution, and honorable in its termination, why should we regret the loss of a little treasure, or even the lives of a few of our heroic sons, whose deaths have covered them with immortal fame? Peace is again restored to us, our rights secured and our strength and consequence established in the world. The horrid clang of war has passed by, and the smiling Goddess again invites to bland mirth and, pleasing enjoyment:—again the plowman pursues in peace his plow—the mechanic his labor—the merchant his trade—the divine his bible, and the lawyer his book. Matters of domestic concern, now begin to attract and engage our attention—more particularly, we who inhabit this part of the United States—a new scene begins to open upon our views; we are about to pass from a state of dependence, to a state of sovereignty and independence. About to try a path by us untrod before, another new star is rising in the west, and which is to add one more diamond to the crown of liberty—one more satalite to the great luminary of freedom.

It behoves us, much, to mark well, the very first step we take in the road to sovereignty and independence. Government is a complicated machine, that requires skill and virtue in its management to render it beneficial to the governed. If all men had wisdom to discern, what was for their real good, and had virtue to pursue that good with rectitude, governments would be unnecessary and useless; but under the present predicament of mankind, were we as virtuous as angels, it would be necessary that some frame of government should be established, owing to the weakness and imbecility of our minds, for we cannot, shrouded as we are, in the gloom of mortality, see what is truly for our greatest good, if we had even the greatest inclination to pursue it. This truth is clearly evinced in every particle of animate and inanimate nature—every page of sacred history teaches it, and even God himself has spoken it in the language of divine intelligence. Then, as some frame of government is necessary to govern even the most virtuous, how much more so to govern the vicious.—There must, fellow citizens, be rules established—their must be bounds and limits set, beyond which we cannot pass; our rights and our duties must not be left to float upon the tide of opinion, or every new judge would make a new law: what would be right to day would be wrong to-morrow.—what would be applauded as a great achievement to day would be punished to-morrow as a venious offence. We should be continually wandering in uncertainty; rights unsecured—wrongs unbounded, anarchy, civil war, bloodshed and horror would ensue and carry us headlong into barbarism and extinction. Then

fellow citizens, as form is necessary, let the first step we take in our new government be to establish that which has been found to be the best calculated to secure to every man his rights and privileges; let us not run after novelties, nor suffer those to meddle with public affairs who are running after them they are cankerworms in your country, who blast and contaminate all they touch, and if there is any thing in nature, calculated to stamp the epithet of ignorance and folly upon a man, it is a disposition to run after novelties. There are certain forms which every civilized nation under heaven, acknowledge and sanction, and would it not be madness, nay wickedness, to discard or overthrow them.

Let us give encouragement to learning and industry, for upon this depends our future happiness and prosperity—let us give the greatest encouragement to the industrious poor, for they are virtuous and sincere; they are the faithful heralds of approaching tyranny, and while their voices are heard in the councils of our country, there is no danger of vice, corruption and contamination—give to them a liberal share in the creation of your legislative body—give them an equal voice with the more wealthy, and, my word for it, we shall be more homogenous, more stable; the tide of political sentiment will flow in a more even current—a few may be precluded from the decorated dome, the gaudy parlor, or swinging in the gilded church; but a more equal distribution of property, will be likely to be preserved, and a universal cheerfulness will pervade all classes of people.

The goodness of a government is to be seen

in the plenty and contentment which are to be discovered among the poorer classes of men, while its evil are to be discovered from the penury and discontent which they suffer; let the first encroachment upon our liberties be checked with becoming severity, and teach those who conduct our public affairs, that our rights and privileges are sacred and not to be trampled upon with impunity. Let this be our motto: that a day, nay an hour of virtuous liberty, is worth a whole eternity of bondage.