ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT

KENNEBUNK, DISTRICT OF MAINE,

in tur

ANNIVERSARY

02

. AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

JULY 4, 1803.

BY STEPHEN THACHER.

O Libertas! sonus delectabilis. —— CICERO.

U Libertas! sonus delectabilis.——Cicero.

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1803.

Kennebunk, July 5, 1803.

3IR,

THE Committee of Arrangements return you their thanks for your Oration delivered at the Celebration of American Independence, the 4th inst. and request a copy for publication.

SAMUEL LORD, Per Order.

Mr. Stephen Thacher.

ORATION.

AN

Fellow Citizens,

WE are this day assembled to celebrate the nativity of the nation. This is the birth day of the land we live in. A day which will be forever sacred; whose memory will be perpetually cherished; whose name, and whose honors, we trust, will be transmitted, unimpaired, to the latest generation. This day fixed and aggrandized the destinies of America. This day forms a luminous æra in the fates of mankind, the revolutions of empires, and the history of ages. This is the birth day of our political happiness. This day is the anniversary of the hopes of mankind. Let this august occasion be forever consecrated to the glory of the United States. With solemn triumph, with formal congratulations, with loud plaudits, with shouting and the noise of arms, with songs of joy, of praise, of victory, we celebrate the past; we contemplate and enjoy the present; we anticipate the splendid futurity of the felicities of our country. day we assemble around the altar of freedom, we rekindle her sires, and swear eternal hatred to tyranny. Here behold a sacred memorial of the REVOLUTION.

us learn the value of those blessings, for which so many hundred millions of treasure have been expended; and the lives of so many thousand heroes voluntarily sacrificed. Here let us catch the spirit, the animation which belonged to the first days of the revolution; by which the whole country was electrified, the union supported, our independence achieved, and our national destiny fixed forever.

With how many great events is this day connected; with how many sublime characters; with how many august achievements? events which have almost changed the face of the whole world; heroes and statesmen who have filled the universe with their fame; achievements unparalleled in the history of modern ages. Here, behold a mighty empire, suddenly rising out of the midst of one immense and universal desert. See the western hemisphere becoming a balance for the east. There, what stupendous events have been the consequence of our revolution! events which have changed the whole aspect of Europe; which have interested, and astonished every quarter of the globe; which seemed likely, at one time, to end in the revolution of the world.

In all its connexions, and consequences, no greater event, have mankind perhaps ever witnessed than the American revolution.

Let us glance, for a few moments, at its commencement, progress, and termination.

Pehold a number of feeble, defenceless colonies, sprung op, in a short time, from the dreary wilds of a newly discovered

covered hemisphere, suddenly attacked without the least provocation or color of justice, by one of the most powerful nations upon the face of the earth. Savage enterprize! Cruel, unnatural attack! The universal subjugation and vassalage of a brave and generous people is the object. And universal subjugation and vassalage must be their fate, merely to gratify and aggrandize a proud and haughty nation. Deplorable condition to be placed before the eyes of freemen! But without treasure, without arms; without discipline, without officers; above all, without union or government, what could we do but submit? Great Britain, indeed, intoxicated with pride and cruelty, supposed we should fall an easy prey. But she did not calculate on the aid we should derive from the justice of our cause, and the love of liberty. When, however, the cruel mandate of the tyrant came forth, and we were ordered to place our necks beneath the yoke of scrvitude, a determined spirit of resistance was, at once, awakened in every breast, from Maine to Georgia. The whole country was moved. A warmth, an animation was felt which did honor to human nature; which proved us to be possessed of freeborn souls; which demonstrated to the world that man was not made for slavery. Sustained by the stupendous impulse which animated us; strong in the consciousness of our innocence, and the protection of the Almighty, we determined to defend with our fortunes, and with our lives, the liberties of our country. The crisis was awful. The issue was uncertain. But, penetrated with the fullest sense of the justice of our cause, we committed it to the God of battles. We were willing to die for liberty; but we could not consent to live under the condition of slavery.

We first, however, betook ourselves to petition, to entreaty, to remonstrance. But our petitions were spurned; our most respectful representations were treated with contempt. Victorious fleets and armies were sent hither to terrify us into submission; but we remained undaunted. What a solemnity then rested on the minds of all! The crisis was felt with all its weight. But a kind of supernrawal force seemed to elevate and support the children of liberty.

But many of us are unable to carry ourselves back, by recollection, to the times of these transactions. We were then in our cradles; or were dandling on our mothers' knees. They were then fondly hovering over us, or tenderly pressing us to their bosoms, trembling lest we should be shortly butchered together by a barbarian soldiery. What solemn, sad adieus took place, when every man, having

having hastily buckled on his armor, with a heart prepared for the battle, set out to meet in the field the enemies this country. How many of these brave men, alas I returned to their families no more. They fell martyrs to the cause of liberty; and their memory must not be forgotten. The cause in which they perished must not be abandoned.

We who were then in our infancy were indeed insensible to the dangers of our country; but we have since learned them. We have since caught the sacred impulse which supported, which resisted, which vanquished them. We have imbibed from the lips of our parents; from our schools; from the impartial historic page; in fine, from ten thousand sources we have learnt the story of the revolution. When we go over these deeply interesting scenes, in the page of history, they seem all to be reacted before our eyes. Our bosoms are enkindled; the sacred spark of liberty is lighted up, afresh, in our breasts; and we feel ourselves prepared to offer up our lives on the altar of our country.

When we contemplate the past, what a multitude of sublime spectacles present themselves to our view! But what justice can I do to such a subject? Time does not permit to mention either characters or events. The subject can merely be recalled to our minds. Particulars, however, even sketches, on this occasion are not important. This day it is of more consequence that the revolution be felt, than that its circumstances be detailed.

But to return from a digression, into which we have been impelled by the greatness of our subject. What more wonderful

wonderful than to see so many states, use onnected with each other, scattered over such an immense territory; of various nations, and various languages, suddenly united in bands indissoluble, becoming one people, one nation? Behold, again, all the purposes of the most energetic government answered by the force of public spirit, and the interposition of heaven. Behold, in another instance, a people whom the proud government of Great Britain affected to consider as an ignorant, contemptible rabble, behold them represented in the Continental Congress by an assembly of sages who would have done honor to any nation which ever existed.

We were without officers, we were without an army. But as soon as the first blow was struck; as soon as the plains of LEXINGTON witnessed the first aggression of the British troops, and the voice of the blood of our brethren called on their countrymen—TO ARMS—behold at once, an army of an hundred thousand men.

I cannot here forbear a few details. Let them not be thought superfluous. Let us endeavor to recal to our minds the animation, the spirit, the enthusiastic love of liberty, the glowing patriotism with which every man seemed to be alive, when the news of the 19th of April, 1775, with the rapidity of a flash of lightning, was first spread abroad; and the whole country immediately flew to arms. In some instances, the alarm is spread abroad at midnight. No delay is made. The inhabitants set off in the night. In other instances the intelligence interrupts the labors of the husbandman in the field. He, without asking a question, immediately unyokes his oxen, and with

his sons, armed with rusty muskets, and hearts full of the steadiest resolution, sets off for the field of battle. Again, see an old man bending for age, whose eyes, however, brighten up with martial fire, marching at the head of a troop of youthful warriors. In another instance, see the divine service interrupted by an express, who, without any ceremony, marches directly into the midst of the house, and proclaims the alarm. See the clergyman immediately dismissing his congregation; hurrying them away; and, with his gun on his shoulder, marching at their head. I figure to myself, at this instant, in my native town, where the alarm came on the sabbath, the present governor of Connecticut, standing on the steps of the meeting house door, with his gun in his hand, attending with the other inhabitants of the town, to a short address from a venerable clergyman, before they set off to join their brethren in arms.

But the most sublime spectacle still remains. Where should we find a suitable person to take the command of the American army? Where could we find an officer, who should be able to cope with the first generals of one of the most renowned nations of Europe? Behold! from among the farmers of America, whom the British government so much despised; behold an INDIVIDUAL arise to march at the head of the armies of liberty, to take the lead of ancient and modern heroes, to astonish mankind by the greatness of his character, to prove the saviour of his country, and to fill the universe with his fame. Immediately all hearts acknowledge him; the whole country is united in him; an immense army is organized under him; and defeat and slaughter assail the mercenary troops of England.

B

His very name becomes equal to a host. But who can describe the enthusiastic devotion with which the IMMORTAL WASHINGTON was adored? Triumphal arches were erected for him; all eyes crowded to see him; the homage of all hearts was presented him. In his passage, at one time, through the Jersies, behold the affecting spectacle of a troop of young maidens, paraded for his reception, lining the bridge over which he was to pass, and as he entered upon it, strewing it with flowers. The world perhaps never beheld his equal.

Thousands have attempted, but few, if any, have succeeded in delineating a character, which is universally felt, but is perhaps too perfect for description. We would, therefore, only presume, with the utmost diffidence, to hazard a suggestion. May we not say, the greatness of Washington, chiefly consisted in his simplicity, his uniformity, his sublimity; in his intuition; in the unity, the harmony, the universality of his character; in his moral and intellectual perfection? He was the greatest of men, without an effort, without a wish, and seemingly without the consciousness of greatness. What was this, but one of those mysteries which almost exalted him above humanity? Uniting in himself, the whole force of moral sublimity, he seemed to be great, by a kind of necessity of his own nature. All his qualities however appeared to form but one individual perfection,* impossible to be analized; an incomprehensible

^{*} May we not say, that although this INDIVIDUAL PERFECTION had not in it all the glare of genius; yet genius, in all its supremacy, formed one of its constituent parts; as white, though destitute of the glare of red, has this most dazzling of all colors for one of its constituent parts?

incomprehensible unity of character which struck, astonished and enraptured all.

But we retire from such an overwhelming subject. Suffice it further to observe, he humbled the pride of Great Britain, gained the cause of freedom and independence, presided over the nation with distinguished glory, and was uniformly the father of his country. At his death, every individual of the nation was in sackcloth; and he was lamented with the tears which we shed for our nearest relations. He is gone forever. But the splendor of his name can never be tarnished; and his glory will descend unrivalled to the latest generation.

The events of the war; our victories, our triumphs, our embarrassments, the temporary exultations of our enemies, we do not dwell upon. But there is one great transaction not to be passed over, THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE!

The representatives of the colonies were assembled in Congress! Convention, such as the world had never seen! August body of sages and legislators! England and all Europe beheld you with awe. Illustrious statesmen! To you it was reserved to announce to the world the will of the Supreme Being. You had the honor of proclaiming to the whole human race the glory of your country. How solemnly were the minds of all, at this time, impressed! With what sublimity was every individual in the country elevated! What a sense of grandeur was universally felt! What satisfaction, what exultation when the high destination of our country was, in the most solemn

manner. proclaimed, THE UNITED STATES ARE SOVE-REIGN AND INDEPENDENT. A great empire is formed. A nation is ushered into existence.

This day is the anniversary of this grand event. Today we celebrate this stupendous transaction. The first of our national anniversaries, an anniversary to which we are indebted for all our public happiness, the fourth of July, is the greatest political day we know. The harbinger of the hopes of mankind, it is deeply interesting to the whole human race.

Memorable Congress! Day to be everlastingly celbrated! Immortal author of this declaration! Immortal sage who first proposed it! Immortal band of patriots, who sanctioned this declaration with your illustrious names! Jefferson, Lee and Franklin; Samuel and John Adams; Hancock, Gerry and Thompson, with your compatriots in council, the glory of this age, you will be the admiration and astonishment of all posterity.

Nor ought we on this occasion to pass over unnoticed, the important assistance which was afforded us by the greatest, most magnanimous, and most generous nation in the world. Arms and money were loaned us in the most munificent manner. Large fleets and armies were gratuirously sent to aid us in fighting the battles of the revolution. The combined armies together fought, and bled, and triumphed, till Great Britain was compelled to acknowledge our independence. But before the revolution terminated, and our independence was secured, how many great occurrences took place! What interpositions of Providence

Providence did we experience! What difficulties did we combat! What victories, what triumphs crowned our arms!

At length the war concluded, and after a few years, the Federal Constitution finished the revolution. Since that period, what scenes, what perils have we passed through! What wrongs have we suffered, what a train of blessings have we experienced! What a pitch of national prosperity and aggrandizement have we reached!

What nation upon earth is equally blessed with the United States? We have the freest government in the whole world; it is administered upon the very same principles on which we set out, at the commencement of the revolution; and a pure republican practice is now settled upon our glorious Constitution. The IMMORTAL JEFFERSON, the illustrious author of the declaration of independence, who has perhaps done more towards acquiring and securing the independence, the liberty and happiness of this country, than any man living, is now at the head of the government.

To exhibit a portrait of this great and excellent man would be a delightful task. But I have no language to express the greatness of his mind, the philosophy of his temper, the christianity of his disposition, the purity of his life, the sublimity of his genius, the lostiness of his views, the intuition of his judgment, and the perfection of his character. The profound consideration with which he is reverenced, and the affection with which he is adored; the universal respectability of the government abroad, and the unrivalled prosperity of the nation at home; the continued preservation of peace which we have enjoyed, the privileges

privileges we have gained, the rights we have secured, the boundless accession of territory we have acquired, by the wisdom of his administration; the lofty superiority with which he soars above the atmosphere of praise and censure; and the steady perseverance with which he holds on his way, in devoting himsen to the service of his country, and the interests of humanity, compose his best panegyric. The wisdom of his measures is indeed every day more and more apparent; every day affords new proofs that the system upon which he acts, is a system of practice; and that it is the only system which is calculated to promote the true interest of the United States. Not to mention the important reformations which have been introduced into our fiscal arrangements; the rigid economy which has been adopted, and the monies which have been saved; the respect and attention which has been paid to the feelings and wishes of the people at large, who are the best judges of their own interests, and to whom our beloved President is every day, more and more, endeared; not to mention the rapid extinguishment of the public debt; with numerous other measures of great national, practical and immediate utility; it now appears, as just hinted, that by the moderation, the pacific disposition, and the wise arrangements of the president, of the ministers of the government, and of congress, instead of war and bloodshed, and the tears of ten thousand families, the business of New-Orleans is amicably settled, and that all Louisiana is ceded to the United States.

This immense country, large enough to form twenty states; a country which may emphatically be called the garden of the world, is henceforth to compose a constituent part of the American republic. No occurrence of so much importance has perhaps taken place since the declaration of American independence. This single event would of itself be sufficient to immortalize the present administration, and to render forever illustrious the names of the negociators.

It deserves also in this place to be remarked, that no inconsiderable part of the splendid prosperities of the nation, is owing to the wisdom of the presidential appointments to the first offices under the government. It is true Mr. Jefferson has been censured for placing a foreigner at the head of the treasury department. May we be permitted to make a few observations on this subject, as it has long been a theme of public traduction?

It has often been remarked that Mr. Gallatin came to this country, when he was but a youth. He was indeed a citizen at the adoption of the constitution, and as such eligible, even to the high office of President of the United States. It should be remembered that foreigners, both in ancient and modern times, have often proved eminent blessings to the countries in which they lived. JOSEPH was a foreigner in Egypt. He came there in circumstances of great poverty, and was barbarously traduced; but the king justified himself in appointing him to the first office in the treasury department, by saying, Who is like kim? Mordecai, first minister to Ahasuerus, who proved such an universal blessing to the people of Persia, was also a foreigner. He had, it is true, like good men in all ages, some very bitter enemies; particularly another foreigner, whose character was as impure, as his was spotless, and who

who was his unworthy predecessor in office, and who conspired with all his partizans, to destroy him. This wicked, unprincipled Ham-n* pretended to dislike Mordecai, because he was a Jew; his own foreign nativity he did not hold to be a crime. The prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, beside others, were also foreigners. Daniel was a foreigner from his youth. His appointment to the office of first minister in the Persian empire, procured him also the most inveterate enemies, who profaned religion, by endeavouring to convert it into an engine for Their signal ruin, and the manner in his destruction. which they miserably perished in the very pit they had digged for him, ought to be a warning to those wretched politicians, who in all ages have regarded religion, only as capable of being converted into an instrument of wickedness.

Numa, the best king of the Romans; Constantine, the first christian emperor; prince Eugene, one of the bravest generals which ever led the Austrian armies; William the third, the memorable prince of Orange, with a multitude of others, too numerous to be mentioned, who have proved distinguished blessings to the countries which they have severally adopted, have also been foreigners. The immortal Count Rumford, the celebrated Mr. West, the famous astronomer, Herschel, are also foreigners. Mr. Herschel is a German, and the pride of Great Britain. Count Rumford and Mr. West are Americans. The most distinguished honors are heaped on them in the countries in which they live; countries which have too much good sense,

^{*} There is sometimes a strange and unaccountable coincidence between names and circumstances.

sease, or too little of the madness of party spirit, to entertain the narrow, ungenerous prejudice against them, at this time, in question. Even Bonaparte himself, me distributer of the fates of modern Europe, is a foreigner in France. Nor should it be forgetten, as has often been repeated, that Mr. Gallatin is not the first foreigner, who has been appointed to the office which he now holds; that Mr. jauerson has only followed the venerable example of Washington.* Those who framed the constitution, did not think on this point, as some of those do, who profess to hold it in the greatest admiration. If all foreigners must be excluded, how many of the most distinguished ornaments of the nation must be proscribed! Who, indeed, is there of us all, who is not of foreign extraction? Few can claim the honor of aboriginal citizenship. Such a man as Mr. Gallatin would do honor to any country under heaven. And shall we be deprived of his wonderful talents, merely on account of the geography of his birth? How unexceptionable must be that man's character, when no imputation will sustain against him, but the crime of foreign nativity!

But whether we consider the government, or the state of the nation, we have abundant occasion to felicitate ourselves,

* "Mr. Hamilton was born at St. Croix, in the West Indies, and came to the United States at the age of eighteen. Mr. Gallatin was born at Geneva, and came to the United States at the age of nineteen. They both performed personal services in the revolutionary war. They were both citizens at the adoption of the federal constitution. Mr. Hamilton had been in the United States from about the year 1771, to 1788, seventeen years, when appointed Secretary. Mr. Gallatin had been in the United States, from the year 1780, to 1801, twenty one years, when appointed to the same office"

selves, and to render our devout thanks to the Supreme Governor of the universe.

Let us take a slight view of some of our distinguished privileges. If we except a few piratical marauders, we are favored with universal peace, at home and abroad. The fair face of our country is no longer deformed, nor the nation disgraced by insurrection and rebellion. Nor do hostile fleets and armies now invade our peaceful shores. We have now no longer the confused noise of the warrior; nor the sight of garments rolled in blood. Our inhabitants are no longer driven from their peaceful habitations; our fields and houses are no longer exposed to pillage and plunder; nor are our towns and cities any longer consigned to general conflagration. The times of these calamities, as well as the authors of them, will not soon be forgotten; and our freedom, from them, at this time, has a peculiar claim upon this day's reflections.

From year to year, we are favored with fruitful seasons, general health, and universal prosperity. These great blessings loudly call for the religious gratitude of the nation. But especially on this day, it becomes us in the most solemn manner, to adore the Almighty Sovereign of the whole universe, that the United States is still a republic.* Our government is not only a republic in name, but a republic

* If the liberties of the country have been in danger, this danger may certainly be accounted for, without that strong implication of character which many suppose. It is alleged that the interest which has heretofe to prevailed, triumphed, and administered the government, was destitute of the animation of the American revolution; was governed by principles, views and motives, which the genius of that revolution was unable to sanction. It

republic in reality. Here we behold men and citizens, free, equal, and independent. Here no tyrant, who calls himself the vicegerent of heaven, tramples on the necks of his

is asserted that a part of the system contemplated was to form a government which should depend upon its own strength, which need not be supported by the opinions or affections of the citizens, which would indeed be able to perform all its movements even in opposition to the will of the nation; that if it was not wished that this government should possess sufficient weight to crush the state sovereignties under its wheels, that the aggrandizement of the federal sovereignty at the expense of the states, was at least a favorite idea; that measures began to be proposed if they were not adopted, projects were started if they were not pursued, attempts the most desperate were conceived, and were probably much nearer being hazarded than has commonly been supposed, and that avowals began to be made both in public and private, which afforded a dreadful comment on the actual measures and the professed views of the administration; in short, that there appeared strong grounds of apprehension, calculated to excite the most lively alarms, that we were rapidly approximating to an arbitrary government, in which although the forms of our free constitutions were probably in a great measure to remain, the liberties of the people were to be unconditionally sacrificed. These are some of the allegations of those who meant to reason as well as rail against the party formerly in power.

But although the principles, the views and the measures; the systems, the plans, and the projects of the party in question, had beyond a doubt, a tendency to this terrible result, and if no obstacle had interposed must finally have ended here; yet that such a tremendous issue was actually designed, cannot, without the greatest injustice, be for a moment supposed. The FEDERAL INTEREST arose out of the state of the times. In going from a situation bordering upon anarchy, as we did when the constitution came into operation, it was natural for us to rush into the opposite extreme. Those who first administered the government, with some GREAT EXCEPTIONS, being at length moulded into that party which chose the popular denomination of FEDERALISTS, their principles, their conduct were probably more owing to the time in which they acted, to the situation in which they were placed, than to any thing which was peculiar to the men themselves. The bustness of forming, settling, strengthening and aggrandizing the government

absorbs.

his miserable subjects. Here no barbarous despot sends numerous armies into the field to be slaughtered, for his ambition. Here we have no hereditary executive, who may be either a wise man or a fool. Here we have no absolute power vested in a single individual, to grind the face of the poor, and under the name of taxation to plunder the public. Here we acknowledge no king, but him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords. Here the few are not every thing, and the many nothing at all. Here the great body of the people are not viewed as a wretched rabbie, an ignorant multitude, destitute of property, unfit for public employments, without influence, without consideration.

It must be acknowledged, however, that too many of the

absorbed every other consideration, and the rights and liberties of the people were rather forgotten, than designedly contravened: a suitable attention to them was rather accidentally suspended, than purposely and finally abandon-Not but that we have, and always have had some monarchises, but it is a fact, which must not be denied; that a great part even of the leading characters among the federalists are stanch republicans. The course also which the French revolution took must come in for a large share in the solution of our unhappy politics. But must our animosities never end? Let us proscribe our passions, unite, embrace, and bury the past in oblivion. Lib. rty, Government, respectively, the more peculiar objects of attachment with the respective parties, are now in fall triumph, every thing goes well throughout our widely extended empire, and the principles of the revolution are now more dear to the nation than ever. Why may we not here unite? Let us then be determined that we will abandon to fools, to madmen, to tracors, that proud, monstrous principle of party spirit which would tare out the bowels of our country for the sake of creeding a standard of triumph over its miscrable remains a and let us with one heart and one mind exult together, without alistinction of former opinions, in the unrivalled prosperity and glaer of the republic

the absurd and ridiculous distinctions of Europe, still prevail among us; distinctions which cruel government gave rise to, which time has organized and sanctioned; and which are too often viewed as the inevitable lot of humanity. How many execrable names are invented, to designate useful classes of citizens! What too is the meaning of that detestable distance between those, whom a difference of circumstances or employments, alone distinguishes? Are we not all men? Unfounded in nature, and unauthorized by reason, these idious distinctions will ever be productive of the most mischievous effects. How can those haughty mortals, whose pride exalts them above the level of their species, how can such men exercise the gospel temper; or how can mankind ever be brought to love those, who in the majesty of their own superciliousness, every moment behold them with disdain?

Not only opulence, but genius and learning are too often disgraced, by becoming the sources of that pride which reason and religion command us to extinguish. It is surely time these surly principles were more generally exploded and abandoned. It is high time the characteristics of reason, and the christian religion were more universally owned and assumed. But these circumstances are only shades in the general outline.

To return. What a wretched picture is a whole country of slaves! Happy land, which consists of a whole nation of freemen! Happy land, where the laws are equal and impartially administered! where life, liberty and property are secure, and where a sufficiency of all things is universally attainable; above all, where the light of science

is every where diffused, where the cheering illuminations of the blessed gospel, are universally spread abroad.

But neither the past, nor the present, can be compared with the prospects of national aggrandizement to come. The future glory of America, is not an imaginary speculation; but the result of precise calculation. We are yet in our infancy, we are rapidly advancing to maturity. We are every where presented with presages of national greatners; every thing promises our future prosperity. Our territory is immensely enlarging; our public debt will shortly be discharged; our population will soon be greater than that of any nation in Europe. Our destinies are every day unfolding. Under Providence they depend on ourselves. May we have the wisdom, by our conduct, to fix them forever.

But how can so many blessings be secured, and perpetuated? How can the splendid prospects before us, be fixed for certain realities? May I take the liberty to suggest a few thoughts, and hasten to relieve the generosity of your patience?

These great ends are to be answered, in the first place, by the proscription of luxury; by the cultivation of public spirit; by cherishing the love of liberty; by a frequent recurrence to first principles; by an adoration of the constitution; by a firm adherence to the government; by union, by candor, by moderation; by the sacrifice of private resentments; by the immolation of our passions on the altar of our country; and by extending as far as possible the triumphs of our laws. Let neither the fears of the friends,

nor the prophecies of the enemies of liberty ever induce us to despair of the republic. Let us be ready to repel every aspersion cast on a free government. The United States have little analogy with ancient republics; nor can any conclusion be drawn from the fate of modern ones. Were it otherwise, we ought to oppose tyranmical principles, as we would vice and irreligion, and be determined, for ourselves, that we will never submit to them. even were it certain, that the nation must, sooner or later, sink under a despotism, that would be no reason why we should anticipate the ruin of our country. What should we think of a man who should set fire to his house, for fear it might, sometime or other, be consumed by the flames? It is certain, however, that our liberties, under God, depend on ourselves. Alas! for so many evil prophecies, so often repeated. They are the very means of bringing about the issues they foretell. It would seem indeed as if they were designed to open a premature grave for the liberties of our country. But if it be so, which God forbid, that we are destined hereafter to be a nation of slaves, let us endeavor to prolong our freedom to the last; remembering that a day, an hour, of wirtuous liberty, is worth a whole eternity of bondage.

Again, it should be recollected that the evils with which a free government is so often aspersed, arise in a great measure from the present state of human nature; and exist in one form or another in all governments.

But for the full attainment of the great objects in question, nothing would be more efficacious than an undeviating attention to the sublime examples of our venerable anof their manners, the purity of their morals, the swiftness of their religion. Let profanity and vice be frowned out of countenance. Let every institution, for the promotion of marality and religion, be generously supported. And let education be all in all.

By the practice of all the duties which devolve on it, as men and citizens, we may confidently hope, under the blessing of the Supreme Sovereign of the world, to be able to secure and extend the whole compass of our civil and political felicities, and to have it in our power, to hand them down, unimpaired, to succeeding generations.

RELIGION and MORALITY, let it be forever remembered, are those deep and broad foundations, on which alone, the fabric of public prosperity can rise. If these foundations be destroyed, it will the next moment tumble into dust; nothing will remain which is worthy to be preserved, and the na..on, itself, will soon be struck from the list of empires.——FINIS.