

*Liberty, Glory and Union,*

OR

**AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE:**

**AN ORATION,**

PRONOUNCED BEFORE

**THE PEOPLE OF PROVIDENCE,**

*July 4th, A. D. 1810.*

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BY TRISTAM BURGESS, Esq.



PROVIDENCE:

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THE Town's Committee of Arrangements for the Celebration of the Fourth of July, return you thanks for your very elegant and appropriate Oration, and request a copy for the press.

We are respectfully,  
Your friends,

THOMAS S. WEBB,  
JOHN CARLIZE,  
S. G. ARNOLD,  
WILLIAM BLODGET,  
JAMES B. MASON,  
SALMON ARNOLD.

TRISTAM BURGESS, Esq.

Providence, July 5, 1810.

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PROVIDENCE, JULY 5, 1810.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS,  
GENTLEMEN,

I AM too much honoured by your request to refuse a compliance with it. The Essay which you have been pleased to call an Oration, although it has many imperfections of arrangement and diction, was intended to be, and perhaps in some degree is, an Epitome of the principles of the Revolution. Patriotism must be pleased with the purity of the text, if that be preserved, and candour will, I hope, forgive the clumsiness of the commentary.

I am, Gentlemen, very  
much and sincerely  
Your friend,

TRISTAM BURGESS.

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## ORATION.



**O**UR Independence has given a new era to the world. The first day which shone upon it is now celebrated by Americans, and the friends of Americans, in every quarter of the globe. We solemnize this day; it is our country's festival; and shall be immortal as our national sovereignty. The revolution, originating our political existence, was one of those mighty events which break on the world, to the delight and astonishment of mankind. As if the nations of the earth had stood around the shores of the Atlantick, and beheld, bursting from the misty bosom of its heaving waves, a broad region, towering with mountains, waving with forests, green with wide plains, glittering with spiry cities, and swarming with numerous and busy population: Thus they beheld the American revolution. Before this we were merely British colonies; nations had not looked at us; for we had no page in history, and no place in the political system of Europe. Two centuries before, some minion of power might have heard, and perhaps whispered it in the ear of fastidious royalty, that a few vagabond puritans had run away from England, on a wild project to cultivate the wildernesses, tame the wolves and bears, and civil-

ize the savages of the new world. Had the ocean foundered their vessel, while bearing them over its stormy region; had the shores, which received their weary and emaciated bodies, been whitened by their bones, rolled up by the waves and mingled with the sea-weed; or had the God of their fathers left them to combat the untried privations, calamities and disasters, of regions inclement, and barbarians, hostile, ferocious and unconquerable; poetry might have learned some fragments of the story, mingled them with fiction, and amused posterity with the piteous narrative; and all would soon have been forgotten.

The history of our country, from the commencement of its population to the birth-day of its Independence, has now become a part of the first lessons taught our childhood, and must be known to every American. I therefore only ask you to recollect, that our ancestors migrated from England, because they loved liberty and could not there enjoy it; because they admired the true old English national character, and were obliged there to look on its glory, tarnished by the riots of licentiousness, and the oppression of tyranny. It should moreover not be forgotten how many labours, difficulties and hazards, they, and their posterity, for ages, endured, encountered and bravely triumphed over. They were destitute of all things, and without a home; they hewed down the forests and the rocky mountains and built a country; without defence, surrounded by hostile savages, and bordered by hostile colonies, they became warlike, repelled the tawny arm of aggression, and got to themselves a name and a glory in the wilderness.

Their exile, their voyage from the old world, their toils, privations, and successes were shared alike among them; and formed a chain of union, binding them together, like the knotty bosom of their moun-

tain oaks, which, while they stand amidst their native rocks, cannot be riven asunder but by the bolt of heaven.

Such were Americans when Great-Britain declared “she had a right to tax them in all cases whatever.” This declaration united the colonies in the same manner that the individuals of each colony had been united before, and, at once, from the voice of millions it was heard beyond the Atlantick, that “the United States of America were, and of right ought to be, free and independent.” This declaration was made in the pure, the proud spirit of *American liberty, American glory, and American union.*

What then succeeded we all remember. It was war, bloody and merciless, between men proud of dominion, and men desperate for freedom; between the perseverance of tyranny, and the phrensy of sufferance; the calculated, the iron-handed blow of veteran discipline, and the wild, unconquerable, enthusiastick valour of liberty. We have often heard, and read how much we encountered, endured and conquered; how the blood of war dyed the verdure of our plains; how the grim horrors of conflagration glared over our cities on the dark bosom of midnight.

If we look back on these dreadful images, still living in memory, we should do it for the purpose only of learning the human means which carried our nation through that awful storm of revolution. It will, surely, be wise in Americans, to learn *how* they obtained their Independence, because this will best teach them *how* to preserve it.

Let us then consider what were the things by which our Independence was acquired; and, if at all, must be preserved.

Independence does not mean a condition insulated, and without any relations to the other states of the world. National hermitage, like individual, is but a fancied state of existence ; for God has so scattered his good things round the globe, that no civilized nation will ever be found, so replenished, as to want nothing, in possession of another. But who, for this reason, will say a nation is not independent? On that memorable and auspicious day, when WASHINGTON was first inaugurated President of these United States, and in the view of glad thousands called the God of Heaven to witness that he would support the Federal Constitution ; on that day was not our nation indeed independent? Yet on that day men retired from that splendid ceremonial, to gladden the festival with luxuries collected from every quarter of the globe. No. National Independence is, no more, no less, than sovereignty : A power to make laws and to execute them ; to exact obedience and to secure protection. Into the hallowed councils of such a nation, the hand of foreign power or influence cannot insinuate itself ; and, to whatever region of the earth, its citizens may travel, in quest of wealth or wisdom, they will find their rights protected, or their wrongs avenged.

It was such Independence the fathers of our country declared to the world ; for such WASHINGTON fought, and MONTGOMERY bled, and all the toils and dangers of war were endured by the American people.

A love of liberty, first of all, roused the United States to assert, and aided them to maintain their Independence. This love of liberty is the most unquenchable passion in man ; and doubtless, that God who gave us his own image, and taught us to look

upwards to the Heavens, said to man, "be free." We often see this passion suppressed, but never extinguished. The slave, riveted to the galley, relents not at toil beneath a burning summer sun, or stormy winter sky; but the moment he ceases to hope for freedom, "he sighs and expires at the oar." How many ages ago the Grecian states were established! How many forms and names and different kinds of tyranny have held dominion over them! Their own demagogues, rival states, foreign despots. Indeed they are changed; alas how changed from what they were when PHILOPEMAN, and PERICLES, and EPAMINONDAS directed the storm of their battle. Then they were freemen, now they are slaves. Yet neither Persian, nor Macedonian, nor Roman, nor Gothick, nor Turkish tyranny have been able to subdue, entirely, this unconquerable spirit of liberty. Still the mighty genius, at times, rousing from the slumber of ages; casts a terrible, a withering look on turband oppression; and again sinks recumbent on his chains.

How many, how barbarous and bloody have been the wars of France against Swiss and Tyrolese liberty! but the tremendous spirit yet hovers over their mountains, and sometimes drives them down in torrents on their foes, with wide, sweeping and resistless destruction.

Hard labour, scanty provision, and the toil exacting scourge, can but restrain, cannot subdue, even the stupid, unenlightened African. Though West-Indian and Southern slavery cower beneath the blow of proud dominion; yet often their wealthy Lords tremble at the cattle which till their fields; and watch lest some spark of native freedom might enkindle the flame of insurrection; and often the traveller beholds the gibbet, blacken with direful memorials

of this eternal truth ; that nothing, wearing the form of man, can be plunged so deep, or immersed so long in slavery, as will extinguish the fire of Heaven, the love of liberty, in his bosom.

Perhaps no men ever had more just principles, or a stronger love of liberty, than our ancestors, and their descendants, down to the American revolution. They were Englishmen, and migrated from a country where the people ever stood firm for their rights, against the prerogatives of the crown. Magna Charta, the great book of liberty, was to them a heritage never to be abandoned ; for when they left home, and kindred, and country, they brought this like an ark of safety ; and transmitted it from generation to generation ; that the latest posterity, so long as they would preserve it, might know they were free, and the descendants of freemen. So long had liberty been cherished in this country, that it became a kind of intuitive sentiment ; and we started back at slavery as from the crouching tyger, or the tainted gale of pestilence.

When the British government exacted submission, the love of liberty blazed, like the lightning of heaven, from one end of the continent to the other. To men of such principles, and such feelings, there was no choice ; they would not live, or they would live free. The love of liberty was, therefore, unquestionably the first, the most universal and indestructible principle of that revolution which established our national Independence.

This passion for liberty was aided by another almost as powerful. All men are warmed by a love of glory : A desire to distinguish themselves, their family, their town, their state, their nation, by whatsoever is meritorious, or great, or glorious in the eyes of mankind or posterity. No one is so humble



as to surrender himself a prey to fond forgetfulness. If there be any things of good report, who will not think of those things? A good name is of all things most precious, most coveted by all mankind; for even the profligate, who have not the virtue to deserve it, cover their vices by hypocrisy; that they may seem to have the virtues they do not possess.

The ancients, who had but little hope of the soul's immortality, created to themselves a kind of factitious immortality, by endeavouring to live, in the memory of all posterity, with fame and renown.— This, though they could not enjoy it after death, was still a strong incentive, through life, to the performance of great and illustrious actions.

This love of true glory has a counterfeit; and we are sometimes deceived, and take “the cheating sister for the same.” It is a love of popularity, a desire, without merit, to gain applause. A love of glory carries with it a desire, unconquerable, of doing many great, and illustrious things for the benefit of mankind. A love of popularity hungers and thirsts after praise; and is eager for applause, but never solicitous to do good. He who loves true glory, often sacrifices present good opinion for the benefit of his country; and thereby secures a more lasting, and honest renown. The lover of popularity will sacrifice his conscience, and his country rather than lose one breath of momentary praise. The lovers of true glory prefer the approbation of the wise and good, to the loudest and longest plaudits of the foolish and profligate. The lovers of popularity get fame as they win elections, by votes; and care nothing for merit, or motives, if they can but obtain a majority.

Nothing more strongly urges to great and good actions, than a consciousness of a great and good

character. The recollection of great exploits will sometimes lift men up to almost more than mortal achievements. He, who has once been a hero, can never be a coward. The great and illustrious actions of men are so many pledges to their country, that they will not desert her in the moment of danger.

The same passion, which gives men a fondness for their own fame, renders them enthusiasts for the glory of their country. A strong love for the honour of his country is one of the most ardent passions of the patriot. This passion is strengthened by elevating the character of our country; it is weakened by degrading it.

Valour is never more irresistible than when combatting for national honour. If you would make men unconquerable, give them, their country, their nation, a name and a character of which the proudest might be proud.

Valour and discipline did less for the Greeks, in their wars, than was done by national character. When they contended with foreign nations, these were considered as barbarians; and they, calling to mind the exploits of their ancestors, found new incitements to battle, in their national renown. When the Romans had once surrounded themselves by a national character, they were always invincible, until that character was lost.

What preserved the Swiss for so many ages? Not merely their love of liberty, or the simplicity of their laws; not their valour, or discipline, their rocks or mountains. Their WILLIAM TELL, the WASHINGTON of Helvetia, had given their ancestors a taste for true glory; and, by conquering their enemies, established their independence, and rendered their national character illustrious for wisdom and

valour. For this character they contended; they loved the glory of their country, and this preserved them. When that glory was touched, was tarnished, was polluted, by the foul embrace of Gallick democracy, then, and not till then, was Switzerland conquered.

The present tyrant of Continental Europe has practised on this principle. He has taught his soldiers to believe themselves the conquerors of the world, himself invincible; and because they have so often been victorious under his command, they are devoted to his and their own glory, and would not live after they shall have been defeated. Such soldiers will conquer, until they meet men who, like themselves, fight for national glory.

The same principle animates the British. They fight for the glory of Old England; and believe themselves invincible. They feel, that they are the descendants, of those Englishmen who conquered at Cressy, Agincourt, Blenheim, Boyne, and the Plains of Abraham; "HARRY and WILLIAM, WOLFE and MARLBOROUGH are yet frequent in their cups; and they still raise themselves at the name of CHRISTIAN." They are the warriors, and the compeers of the warriors of the Baltick, the Nile and Trafalgar; and can they remember NELSON and be conquered? His glory alone, like the body of PATROCLUS, can, at a moment, call the whole chivalry of the nation to victory or death. Wise then is the man who cherishes a love of glory, as an incentive to great and illustrious actions; and wise is the nation, which preserves its honour, its glory untarnished; for then will its citizens fight like Grecians, like Romans, like Swiss, like Gauls, like Englishmen to preserve that hallowed ark, that consecrated palladium of their national safety.

When the British government raised the standard, drew the sword, and arrayed grim fronted war against the Americans, they called to mind what their fathers had done, what they themselves were; and their very character for hardy exploit, and unbounded freedom, rendered them too proud for submission. Throughout the British empire the people of these colonies were renowned. They had illustrated the English character with new glory, by opening new fields of enterprise: the toils and jeopardies of migration; the building a country beyond the unmeasured, and almost untravelled waves; and the learning to look with calculating indifference on the various, and innumerable forms of labour, and difficulty, and danger, and death. Heroism was mingled with every thing; their very industry was a state of warfare; they extirpated the wilderness and ploughed their fields in the face of an enemy. His seven labours gave immortality to **HERCULES**; but these were like the enterprises of children for the destruction of reptiles; when compared with the ordinary occupation of a large portion of the seamen of New-England. They literally sported with **Leviathan**, that animal which, of all that roar through the forest, or gambol in the ocean stream, God hath created alone without fear.

Besides the character for freedom, enterprise, and exploit, acquired by themselves, they were, with others of the nation, the co-heirs of British glory. They, or their fathers, had fought, side by side, with **WOLFE**; and **CHATHAM** spoke their mother tongue.

When submission was the surrender of such a heritage and such acquisition, can it be wonderful that Americans resisted? The physical may, as easily be subverted, as the moral laws of the world. Pluck the oak from the everlasting mountain, and

bid it flourish on the unstable bosom of the wave ; toll the fishes, from the dark recesses of the deep, and teach them to feed, and to bask, in the sunshine of green fields ; lure the cattle of a thousand hills, to browse in the coral groves of the ocean : All this, although you may do, yet you cannot change the nature of man. While he, or his country, has a name, and a praise, in the earth, he can, and will, die in defence of them ; but he will not, he cannot, surrender his, or her, glory.

A love of glory, of national honour, therefore, next to a love of liberty, was one of the strongest principles, operating in the production of American Independence.

These passions, however, could do but little, until aided by a spirit of union. This, like a burning mirror, concentrated these fires ; and turned their blazing beams on the foes of our country.

Although a union of the several States was that, without which, their Independence could not have been achieved ; yet patriotism travelled over many difficulties, in her way to that union. Individuals readily unite, in a moment of common danger ; but the union of sovereign communities, cannot so easily be obtained. These separate communities were scattered, through a wide region of country, vastly different, in climate, soil and productions ; and various in laws, habits and manner of thinking, were the people who composed them. Throughout all the States, was found a set of men, who opposed a union ; because they opposed a revolution, and the Independence of the United States. They believed, the sovereignty of Britain had the same right to tax the colonies, which the Almighty has to exact homage of his creatures. With them, kingly power was, "right divine in man ;" and whosoever resist-

ed the powers, thus ordained of God, treasured up to himself damnation." Resistance was treason; and even obedience, to be just, must be mechanical, must be passive obedience. This description of men had long been known in England; and were there called tories. In this country they were branded with the same appellation; and were the zealous advocates of the same doctrines, of non-resistance and passive obedience. They addressed the superstition of some, the loyalty of others, and the fears of all; some they proselyted, some they terrified, many they embarrassed.

Britain seemed to apprehend a union of the States; and therefore oppressed some with a designating severity, that others might be induced to leave them to the chastisement of royal indignation; and secure to themselves a retreat, by fleeing from "the wrath to come."

But, notwithstanding all these difficulties, a union was accomplished. Liberty was threatened, national honour at hazard, and a spirit of union walked abroad among the colonies, like the presiding, the guardian angel of the dark hour. Every thing local vanished from consideration; and men passed, in a moment, from colonists to citizens of the United States. It was a magnificent spectacle, to behold, the north and the south, the frontier and the ocean, rushing together into one grand phalanx of union. Our resistance to British aggression, instantly, assumed a new character; it was not the undirected, and desultory opposition, of scattered, and widely separated colonies; it was the mighty effort of a proud spirited nation of freemen, glorying in their liberty, proclaimed to the world their Independence, and calling the kingdoms of the earth to witness, while, appealing to the God of armies, they

submitted their controversy to the tremendous arbitration of battle.

Thus, liberty, glory, and union were the three great principles of the revolution; and national freedom, national honour, and national unanimity were consummated in the Independence of our country. What think you, my fellow-citizens, could we have effected without these illustrious passions? What would have been our councils; where the fields of our fame; what the result of our toils and wars? Aided by them the world was soon filled with our renown; the wisdom of our statesmen, the exploits of our heroes; the war was terminated; America triumphed; and sat down among the nations of the earth, to enjoy Independence and peace.

Do you ask how shall that Independence be preserved, and rendered perpetual? By the preservation of those things, without which, it could not have been acquired. Was a love of liberty necessary? Then let us love liberty. Was a love of national glory? Then let us love the honour, the glory of our country. Was a spirit of union? Then let us be united. The principles of our revolution should be the principles of our government; and, so long as they are, we shall be independent; but, when they are abandoned, we must abandon our sovereignty.

The Federal Constitution was formed, and, for twelve years, administered, on these principles. It was a commentary, a wise illustration of them. By it we were to continue what the exigence of the times had made us, a nation; not to crumble down again into a mere adjunction of States. This union was the depository of national glory; and the bulwark of our freedom. It was presented to the eye by every possible devise. "Unum e pluribus".

glittered on our coin :” “ We are one,” spread its azure field to the sunshine, while our standards “ winnowed the buxom air.” The scattered oaks of our mountains grew into united navies ; the thunder of the United States echoed from shore to shore of the ocean ; and the union eagle swept his broad wing against the distant margin of the sky.

Enterprise opened the channels of intercourse with all nations ; and American industry poured the superflux of its acquisitions, through them, into various, and distant countries. Agriculture was awakened, was enlivened by commerce ; commerce was protected by government ; and brought back a revenue, supporting the hand that cherished it, and filling the national coffers with a rich superfluity.

Foreign nations, if they did not fear our power, yet revered the wisdom of our councils, and our unsullied national character. When England menaced our commerce, remonstrance brought them to a treaty of reciprocal amity. When the French, whose revolution, at first presented all the allurements of freedom ; and like Milton’s Portress of Hell’s Gate,

“ Seem’d woman to the waist, and fair ;  
 “ But ended, foul in many a scaly fold,  
 “ Voluminous and vast ; a serpent arm’d  
 “ With mortal sting,”

when they would have coiled us within the contaminating embrace of this revolution, the preserving angel of our country said to the many headed faction, “ Peace ; be still ;” “ We will have honest friendship with all nations ; entangling alliances with none.” And it was so. France ; then, respected our neutrality.

When, after this, other rulers stood on the wheel of her revolution, and despatched their marauders



to rob us on the highway of nations ; what a spirit animated our country ! It was the same fire of freedom, of honour, of union which, in '76, blazed throughout the continent. Reprisals soon taught the French government, that the patriots, heroes, and statesmen of America yet lived. Their pirates skulked from the ocean ; and the American flag was again respected.

This was indeed the golden age of America. In future years, the true history of it will perhaps be deemed fabulous ; for alas iron times have succeeded. Surely God, for some strange purpose, has permitted the dark mist of a strong delusion, to be spread over our country, “ that we might believe a lie ;” else why have we committed the safe keeping, and administration, of our federal constitution to men, who, from the very moment of its birth, stood, like the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, ready to devour it ! When WASHINGTON and ADAMS surrendered up to JEFFERSON the sanctuary of our liberty, honour, and union, it was pure and undefiled, a praise, and a glory, in the whole earth. It has since been polluted with the ceremonial of democracy ; or erected into a laboratory for governmental experiments ; where native visionaries, and foreign artists, have plied the trade together, until some obtained the art of making real gold ; and others have confuted their own theories.

The history of these times is a narrative of deviation from the great principles of our national Independence.

Liberty cannot exist, without a free administration of the laws ; for a government of men, whether of one, few, or many, without law, is the very definition of despotism. This supremacy, this independence of the laws cannot be preserved, without a

preservation of the judiciary from dependence on the legislative power. This great principle was once secured, as was hoped, by a constitutional provision. The first act almost, of Jeffersonian administration, was a practical subversion of it.

Laws cannot preserve the principles of the revolution, unless enacted by men, understanding their spirit, and devoted to their preservation. Frequent, and constitutional elections only can secure, and perpetuate this great object. The purity of our elections has been contaminated by encouraging the migration and ready admission of foreigners to the rights of citizenship. For years Europe has been in a political fermentation; and the outlaws of France, Germany, England and Ireland; the scum, and froth, of insurrection; all the foul, filthy, and polluted abominations of profligacy; the drainings of cities, the sweepings of gaols, the refuse of the gallows, have been welcomed to our shores; and congratulated on their safe arrival to this "Asylum of oppressed humanity."

The extent of our territory, and the various habits of our citizens ever have weakened the cords of our union. JEFFERSON has multiplied the evil, he has incorporated Louisiana with the United States.— This country is more extensive than our own territory; and for population contains an abstract of all nations.

How can the American Legislature enact laws for such a Babel? How can such a people be one with us? Their very conversation is the confusion of tongues; for even one man, must speak, several different languages, in the same sentence.

Surely the Philosopher of Monticello, in this annexment to our country, had less view to political advantage, than to "the holding forth to the world a

lively experiment” on the musical effects of a union of all possible articulate sounds. They may be the religious favourites of this friend of the illustrious PAINÉ; because, whether they worship one God, or twenty Gods, we, New-Englanders, can never know; since none but God himself can even understand their dialect.

When our government was established, the expenses of administration were funded on a revenue, annually resulting from commerce. Without this, there could be no revenue; and without revenue, the federal government could not exist. The preservation of commerce is the preservation of government; the destruction of it a kind of political suicide. This was as true, in the time of JEFFERSON, as in that of WASHINGTON and ADAMS; and as well known to him, as it had been to them; and yet he advised and sanctioned an unlimited embargo. This single measure more impoverished the nation, than our eight years of war with Britain. It cut off our revenue; discouraged our industry; wasted our capital; ruined our fisheries; exiled our seamen, and scattered them to the four winds of heaven. Had our government invited, to a war of depredation upon us, all the pirates of Barbary, of France, of England; and at the same time, let loose the tawny sons of the wilderness on our defenceless frontiers; less, incalculably, less, would have been the injury. If administration, had openly taken counsel of France, she would, first of all, have advised a perpetual embargo; for that must, by abolishing our government, dissolve our union, destroy our national character, and reduce us back to the tame condition of colonial slavery. Surely there is a singular coincidence, between French, and American, policy. God forbid, that a riband of legionary honour, or a

cross of the empire, should solve that dark political riddle, the American embargo.

Other administrations improved the maritime valour of the country by a navy of ships; these he ordered to the docks, or dismantled and sold them; and condemned their brave crews, and gallant officers, to the gun-boats. This was prodigality of both courage, and wealth; it not only helped to drain the treasury, but to disgrace, break down and subdue, the national spirit.

Neutrality towards the belligerents was Independence in WASHINGTON. This JEFFERSON abandoned, at the first call of BONAPARTE. The people of St. Domingo had broken from the tyranny of their French masters; and declared themselves, free and independent. BONAPARTE denounced them as rebels; and called on the government of the United States to aid him in reducing them to subjection. Our government obeyed the proud mandate; and interdicted all intercourse with a people, as well entitled to freedom and independence, as we the United States of America had been twenty years before. Indeed how could we, or Frenchmen, brand these people with rebellion? Both we, and they, had refused obedience, to those who claimed dominion. What was found in BONAPARTE more than TOUSSAINT, to grace the horrors of revolution; and wrap the bloody limbs of usurpation in the vestments of righteousness? Did more royalty circulate in his veins, or beat in his breast? Did more nobility sit in the Corsican's face, than looked through the dusky visage of the African; while his dark brow drank the sunbeams; and his dazzling eye glanced along "the grim ridges" of St. Domingian "war?"

But time would fail me, to name the instances of violated, of almost surrendered, Independence. The

spoils of France, won by the blood and valour of our seamen, were repaired, and ornamented, at our national expense, and sent back, well armed and appointed, to annoy their adversary. By treaty with France, the American flag neutralizes all that floats the ocean under it. For years this has been forgotten. Our ships have been plundered; and burned on the high seas, a spectacle of horror in the eyes of all nations. American citizens robbed, stripped, insulted, are driven from one prison to another, a gazing stock, a derision, to green insolent conscripts, and grinning French *Petit Martres*.

It is thus our national character is degraded, in the eyes of the French mob; and their very shoe-blacks are by it, taught to believe, they can conquer British soldiers; because they have dared to *see* Americans who conquered them.

All these things have, for years, been known to our Minister at Paris; to our President; to the majority in Congress; to the leaders of the democracy of our country; yet have there been no reprisals, no protection, no preparation for defence, not even a remonstrance or complaint. CADORE has so written to ARMSTRONG; and dare administration say he has not written truth? Well may that insolent sycophant of Corsican royalty tell our government "they have no energy, no sense of national honour, no wise system of policy." It is true, according to his letters, ARMSTRONG has now remonstrated. But why not before? or why now? It is needful to *seem* to resent French aggression.

Indeed we are fallen into a forlorn condition. We have widely departed from the principles of the revolution; and union, and glory, and liberty are departing from us. Our constitution has been violated: profligate foreigners receive the prerogatives of citi-

zens ; our union is enfeebled by extending our territory ; the national navy is hewn down to gun-boats, American seamen reduced to galley slavery ; an embargo has licked up the very dust of the treasury ; the country is impoverished, exhausted, and depressed ; while French partialities, French principles, and French influence, have brought our nation, almost to the foot of that proud tyrant, who now rides on the shoulders of Europe. Is there no refuge, no defence ? Yes, my countrymen.

Let us look back to what achieved our Independence. Those immortal principles will ever preserve it. Is no spirit of union left on earth ? When our Independence is at hazard, the animosities, the distinctions, of party must be forgotten. Call to mind the achievements of our fathers ; and remember we are not more the children of their love, than the heirs of their exploits, and their glory. We are Americans. This is the land of liberty. Let not tyranny have a habitation, on this side the Atlantick. Look to the South : A spirit of Independence is ascending the Andes ; and soon, from their heaven illumined summit, will she call the Provinces of Southern America, to freedom and glory. To us they will turn their eyes, for friendly aid, and illustrious examples. When that proud day arrives, may the God of our fathers warm our bosoms, with a divine transfusion of their spirit, of freedom, of glory, of union ; then shall we be mindful of their fame, our Independence, the peace of the world, and the weal of posterity.