

AN

ORATION,

PRONOUNCED AT AUGUSTA, (MAINE)

ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1807.

IN COMMEMORATION OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY JOSHUA CUSHMAN.

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COURT-HOUSE HALL, JULY 4, 1807.

ACCEPT, Sir, the thanks of the citizens present for your elegant and spirited Oration, rich in governmental sentiment, this day pronounced; and be so obliging as to favor them with a copy for the press. We, their Committee, tender you the homage of our personal regard.

Rev. Mr. CUSHMAN.

ARTHUR LITHGOW,
SAMUEL TITCOMB,
ARIEL MANN.

GENTLEMEN,

IN submitting the Oration of the day to public inspection I can hardly hope to escape the strictures of those who, filled with indignation at the sentiment which pervades the production, will be inclined to pass judgment without mercy, on its classical errors and literary defects. But, if in avowing or advocating sentiments which were the boast and glory of our Ancestors, and which transmitted by them to their posterity, produced our glorious revolution, and achieved the INDEPENDENCE of our country, censure is to be incurred, I shall glory in such censure as implying a praise which I shall ever be proud to deserve.—In a production written on the spur of the occasion, and sent to the press without a single correction, there will, undoubtedly, appear many imperfections. To just and candid criticism I shall be ever ready to bow. Those who, for an Oration on a popular occasion, prefer the nervous elocution of DEMOSTHENES to the rounded periods and flowing style of CICERO, will perceive somewhat upon which they will have reason to remark. But for myself, I have ever been more ambitious to imitate the ROMAN, than the GREECIAN, Orator; and I am too well satisfied with my predilection, to feel hurt at any censure on this head.—Such as the performance is I resign it for publicity, and abandon it to its fate.

Receive, GENTLEMEN, my acknowledgments for your personal civilities and courtly expressions, and assure my FELLOW CITIZENS of the homage of my highest esteem.

JOSHUA CUSHMAN.

Messrs. LITHGOW, TITCOMB and MANN.

AN
ORATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

ILLUSTRIOUS in the annals of our country, splendid in the eye of reason, glorious in the view of an applauding world, is the event which we this day celebrate. Not in honor of some *canonized saint*, who, in life, raised a sanctified fame by a series of pious frauds, and whose *relics*, after his death, have been made an instrumentality in carrying on the holy imposition, have we moved in graceful, dignified procession. Not to celebrate the birth-day of some royal personage, who with the specious pretence of being the *viceregent of God*, is the scourge of man, and who, to immortalize his own name, makes millions wretched and sheds torrents of human blood—do we appear in sober pomp and modest splendor, with expressions of mirth and the *insignia* of rejoicing. But with hearts filled with gratitude and countenances beaming with joy, are we assembled, within walls sacred to piety and the social worship of a beneficent God, to commemorate the *Anniversary* of that AUSPICIOUS DAY, on which our country, by the energetic voice of her sages and patriots, cut asunder the bands that held her in humiliating dependence, asserted her claim to freedom and empire, and took her station among the nations of the earth!

Foreign is it from my design to retrace the causes, or to descant on the principles and feelings which produced this grand

event. Topics like these have been, upon similar occasions, treated with so much learning and eloquence as to need no further elucidation. I may, however, be indulged in a retrospective glance at the perils which our country hath escaped, the obstacles which she hath surmounted, the scenes through which she had to pass, previous to her ascending the commanding eminence on which she now stands.

Fleeing the rigorous hand of *religious intolerance*, our VENERABLE ANCESTORS sought an asylum in the deserts of America. Directed by that wisdom which giveth counsel to the lowly, and aided by that power which strengtheneth the brave, they endured a series of hardships, successfully struggled with innumerable difficulties, and appeasing, or subduing, the *Natives* of the soil, maintained their possessions in this fertile land. Endowed with a firmness which shrinks from no toils, and inured to a temperance and sobriety which qualify for enterprise and labour, they obtained not only the *abundance of the seas and treasure hid in the sands*, but soon made the *wilderness and the solitary place to be glad, and the desert to rejoice and to blossom as the rose*. And ever mindful of that beneficent Being, who almost had been their visible guide and conductor, and who seemed to manifest his *pleasure in the prosperity of his servants*, in the towns which they settled, in the villages which they erected, and in the cities which they founded, they raised the *sacred Domes* for social worship and dedicated them to the service of the supreme God. But, not to enlarge on transactions and events so remote, and passing over those that are intermediate, we come to such as are recent.

No sooner had this *asylum* of our ANCESTORS, possessed at the peril of their lives, and flourishing by their toils, become respectable for numbers, and wealth, and the convenient accommodations of human life, than it became an object of jealousy to the parent-nation.—Threatened by this nation

to be deprived of the rights peculiar to *British subjects*, and smarting under the wounds actually inflicted to obtain the acknowledgment of ready submission to *arbitrary power* and *capricious will*, our country, though destitute of the means that could render resistance successful, resolved on making the manly attempt. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of her cause, and putting her trust in *the Lord of hosts*, she girded herself in armour ; and, defended by the *shield of his Salvation*, after an arduous and bloody contest, triumphed in the field, obtained an honorable peace, and the acknowledgment of *her freedom, her sovereignty, and her independence.*

Independence obtained, the prize for which so much blood and treasure had been expended, was not immediately productive of those blessings which the glowing imagination, elated with success, had been forward to predict.—For the want of an *efficient government* and a *stronger cement of Federal union*, with an unexampled degree of civil liberty, with a fertile glebe, with striking advantages for trade and navigation, with a spirit of industry and enterprise—with all these advantages our public coffers were empty, our credit, at home and abroad, low, and our nation upon the borders of anarchy and confusion !

But the genius of our country, though he seemed to have retired, had not abandoned her. Hovering around her with his friendly influence, at the critical period he penetrated her ear with the counsels of wisdom, and opened her eye to behold the things which belonged to her *dignity, her peace, and her safety.* Under the auspices of the good sense of the nation, a Constitution was formed and adopted, by which the *Federal tie* was cemented ; and through which, administered by that band of patriots and heroes, who proved faithful at the *times which tried men's souls*, with the *illustrious CHIEF* at their head, the national resources were called forth, commerce revived, agricul-

ture encouraged, credit retrieved, arts patronized : and, a spring being given to industry and enterprise, the country, rich in resources, was enjoying the *glorious fruits* of her freedom, her sovereignty, and her independence.

But neither to men, nor to states, is it indulged to enjoy, in their passage through life, gales invariably propitious, or prospects long unclouded. In the midst of the most animating hopes of a *continued sunshine* and gentle zephyrs, vapours soon begin to appear on the horizon, clouds to gather and blacken, surcharged with adverse winds, threatening violence and dangers greatly to be deplored.—But joyous are the sensations of the mariner, when after the horrors of a threatening storm, big with unknown evils, he finds the ocean assuaged, the clouds dispersed, the sun breaking forth in additional brightness, the winds blowing in an auspicious direction, and the vessel, *unhurt*, holding on her destined course, impelled by the energies of an animated crew, and guided by the *skill* of an *experienced pilot*.

Similar to this, FELLOW CITIZENS, is the joy which may now well be indulged in the patriot's breast.—The storm of *terror* hath been endured. The evils which it threatened have been escaped. The SUN of' REPUBLICANISM, chasing away the mists of error, shines in resplendent glory, animating the millions of our citizens with the beneficence of his beams : Our country, like some stately ship on the expanse of ocean, is smoothly wafted along on the steady current of public prosperity—and guided by wisdom, ballasted with justice and moderation, and having her sails gently filled with a salutary gale of patriotism, arriving, in triumph, at the haven of national wealth and grandeur.

Happy the country, where no rapacious tyrant snatches from honest industry the fruits of her labour. Happy the

country where no religious hierarchy, *lording over God's heritage*, enslave the conscience, establish a dangerous authority by *sanctioning* pious frauds, and enrich their order by exacting the earnings of the body under the pious pretext of saving the soul. Happy the country, where no privileged order, whose *blood*, in their own proud language, *has flowed down from father to son, in one clear, deep and stately current of pure Nobility, neither fouled nor contaminated by any sordid, plebeian mixture*, have either the power to engross the benefits of Government, to fetter the executive, or to forge chains for the people! And thrice happy the country, where the blessings of civil and religious liberty are enjoyed—where the *Sovereignty* resides in the people—and where, by frequent elections, *every knee is forced to bow to their power, and every tongue to confess their majesty*. A free and an elective Government, FELLOW CITIZENS, justly is your boast and glory. It hath proved your *ark of safety and rock of defence*. By an exertion of that strength which such a Government hath put into your hands, you have effected, *in the robes of peace*, changes of men, and consequently of measures, salutary to liberty and conducive to the national prosperity, which, in hereditary systems, could not have been effected without violent commotions, or an appeal to arms. I congratulate you, FELLOW CITIZENS, on the success which hath crowned your *judicious, spirited, and persevering efforts*. Victory hath at length perched upon your standard, and exalted to the chair of State the MAN who, to the *talents* of the Statesman, adds the *manners* of the gentleman, and to the *virtues* of the patriot the *morals* of the christian.—By justice, by moderation, and a policy more *liberal* than *that* over which you have triumphed, long may you enjoy the trophies of your success.—This victory is not too dearly purchased by the lengthened contest of years. Nor will the result be of small importance, if the *statu quo* of things in the Commonwealth should remain with some *gentle ameliora-*

sions.—You will have evinced that the *Sovereignty* is still in your hands.—You will have given convincing proof that, whenever you rise in the majesty of your strength, the *Summer Soldier* and *Sunshine Patriot* must retire from office. And you will have made on the minds of the aspiring the salutary impression, that, though when clothed with authority, they may *feel themselves gods*, yet, when your supporting energies are withdrawn, they must *fall like men!*

Unacquainted not only is the man with the secret traits, but also undiscerning of the most prominent features, of the American character, if he ascribes to the great body of citizens a *spirit thirsting for blood, a mind delighting in anarchy and confusion, or dispositions to level all distinctions and to throw property into an heap.* REPUBLICAN HEARTS are not so obdurate and insensible—neither is the benign power of religion such a stranger to the common mind. The PEOPLE still adore the GOD of their FATHERS, and endeavour to serve him with an upright heart. “They still feel within them, and they cherish and cultivate, these inbred sentiments which are the faithful guardians, the active monitors of their duty, the true supporters of all liberal and manly morals.”—The men raised to office by the *Republican voice*, have all along been the *lovers of order and the counsellors of peace.*—And to the mild features of their character and to the lenity of their measures, are we indebted for the increasing popularity, and recent triumphs, of the REPUBLICAN CAUSE.—Banish then, FELLOW CITIZENS, all painful forebodings from your minds. The men the most traduced and opposed harbour no sensations but those of a benevolent kind. In the day of their power, whatever you deem valuable, will be held sacred. A SULLIVAN in the chair of state will administer *justice in mercy.*—His official communications, replete with the ideas of wisdom, couched in terms becoming the dignity of magistracy, indicate mildness and a spirit of conciliation: and the general humanity of his charac-

ter, like the *bow placed in the cloud*, is a sure token that the Commonwealth is not to be *deluged with evils*.—Embrace, then, with a citizen-like affection, the MAN whom the people have *delighted to honor*. Long persecuted by resentment and traduced by envy, HE is at length placed, by public attachment, at the head of the State. NO STRANGER TO MISFORTUNES HE HATH LEARNED TO SUCCOUR THE DISTRESSED.*

It is no part of *civic* virtue, FELLOW CITIZENS, to be *unrelentingly* strict to mark the *imputed* iniquities of our *civil* FATHERS: and it is far from a lovely trait in the mind of a citizen nursed in the bosom of liberty and enjoying its sweets, to cherish the *rancorous feelings* of an *implacable hatred* towards the POWERS that be, the CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES of the nation. *Incidental evils* not unfrequently result from arrangements, the general operations of which are salutary and beneficent. “The sun, though it affords genial warmth, also occasions intemperate heat. This excessive heat tends to corrupt as well as to cherish—to putrify as well as to animate.” The *electric fluid* also, though the great purifier of nature, and, perhaps, the principle of vegetable, if not of animal, life, is tremendous in its explosions, and *partially* hurtful in its effects. But to carp perpetually on the *incidental evils*, and to overlook all that is useful or benign in the system, neither indicates a distinguishing head nor a sound heart—a virtuous mind nor an ingenuous disposition.

If according to the opinion of the eloquent Burk and the energetic Junius, or even of the wise SOLOMON, the happiness of the people is the best *thermometer* to ascertain the *excellence* of the Government, the REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION will rise high on the scale.—During the stormy and bloody times of Europe, merely to have escaped, even by important sac-

.....
 * “*Non ignara mali, miseris succurere disco.*”

rifices, the calamities of war, our Government will have gained an essential point, and be entitled to the praise of wisdom. Our country, though sustaining losses in her commerce, by remaining in peace, while the European world is spilling its blood and exhausting its treasure, will resemble a vessel which has remained safely moored, during a violent gale, in a convenient harbor. In good repair, well rigged, and ably manned, when the tempest shall have spent itself and the waters calmed, she would be in a situation to put to sea under every circumstance of advantage, with the fairest prospect of a prosperous voyage. Whereas should she suffer herself, through the workings of *too much sensibility*, to make demands from which, when once made, her honor would not permit her to recede, after being for years tost upon the ocean of uncertainty, obliged to conflict with adverse winds and jarring elements, at the return of peace to bless the world she would resemble a ship which *improvidently* put to sea in a storm, and which, after being *shattered, dismasted, leaky in her hull and torn in her rigging*, with the loss of part of her crew and cargo, is forced, without performing her intended voyage, to return in disgrace to the very port from which she took her departure.—Like prudent men, foreseeing a train of evils, the REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION have been studious to hide themselves from them under the pacific covert of an impartial neutrality. Determined neither to suffer their own, nor the *feelings* of the public, nor the *intrigues* of party, nor the *chivalrous* ideas of honor, to push them into a fruitless contest, they have uniformly made the enlightened maxims of christianity the leading principles of their policy. Considering that the country *was not able*, on the watery element, *with ten thousand men, to meet him, who might come against it with twenty thousand, while the enemy was yet a great way off, they sent an ambassage desiring conditions of peace.*

But mere negative good is not the only merit of the national Government.

Cultivating *bonest friendship with all nations, and entangled in alliances with none*, have we not seen our merchantmen, freighted with the produce of our own country, exploring foreign climes in quest of gain, and returning, after successful voyages, with the choicest effects of the Indias to enrich and adorn our native land?—Have we not seen the *energies* of our country striking barbarous nations with terror and consternation, existing differences adjusted by amicable negociation, and fellow citizens, released from chains, joyfully returning to hail the land which gave them birth, and to bless the hand which effected their emancipation? Or, have we not seen *territory enlarged, sources of taxation relinquished*, a revenue, raised in an unoppressive manner, used with *economy*, supporting the credit, and rapidly extinguishing the debt of the nation?—And, as an obvious consequence of the *fostering smiles* of Government on the native enterprising spirit of citizens, do we not behold an increasing population, an accumulating wealth, and a variety of internal improvements? Do we not behold expensive canals opened for the convenience of inland commerce, magnificent bridges erected for the facility of travelling, cities stretching beyond their ancient bounds or rising anew out of the wilderness?—And where beasts of the forest ranged—where savages of the desert, with noise and confusion, worshipped they knew not what, do we not behold the cultivated field, the elegant mansion, and the temple, beautiful or superb, erecting, or dedicated to the FATHER OF MERCIES! *Entroned* on INDEPENDENCE, and wielding a *peaceful sceptre*, our country, far from being degraded in the eye of nations, is acting her part with dignity and applause—exciting the admiration, and conciliating the affections of the world.—Exchanging the *robust* complexion and the *stern* countenance of the *Amazon*, for the more delicate hues and *softened features* of the *matron*, she is sending

for to her little ones like a flock : and her children take the timbrel and the harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ. Educated in habits of industry, she maketh fine linen and delivereth girdles unto the merchants. Inured to the arts of economy, she looketh well to the ways of her household. Superior to the trappings of royalty, her own clothing is strength and honor. Cultivated in mind and refined in taste, she openeth her mouth with wisdom, and on her tongue is the law of kindness. Her sons, arriving at maturity, formed by her instructions to generous sentiments and manly virtue, rise up and call her blessed, affording her a dignified pleasure by their useful labors or brilliant achievements.—And her daughters, inspired by her maternal tenderness, with all the delicate sensibilities that adorn the female bosom, and trained by her example, to all the elegant decorums that give the charm to female excellence, display goodness in the minds, grace in their manners, “ Heaven in their eye, and in all their gestures dignity and love.”

Believe me, FELLOW CITIZENS, the public prosperity which, as a nation, and the private felicity which, as individuals, you enjoy, could never have been realized under a Government either *worse* or *wicked*. To the attentive ear the happiness of the people is sufficient to silence the voice of clamour, and to evince to the candid mind that **THE RIGHTEOUS ARE IN AUTHORITY.**

Various, FELLOW CITIZENS, have been the arts, and incessant the attempts to shake your confidence in the men of your choice. One of these, and this of some efficacy, has been to excite in your minds the belief that the **POWERS THAT BE** cherish a spirit of innovation dangerous to that *Religion* which you justly so highly prize.—But a little reflection will convince you that on this head there are no grounds to fear.—If Charles the first of England, when the prerogatives of the

crown were undefined, and, in effect, unlimited, could not in the plenitude of his power, without raising a rebellion, palm upon his Scottish subjects an *innocent liturgy*; much less could a PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, who periodically receives from the people his *civil* existence, and is circumscribed by their opinions, effect changes ungrateful to the public mind. And if, as it might be insinuated to answer party designs, he were an *unbeliever* in all religion, and indifferent to the interest of all, he could have no motive to make the attempt. The principles of self preservation, so deeply rooted in the human mind, would keep him from alarming the *popular opinion* by innovations in the *popular faith*.—But if the men, most friendly to *reforms*, are, by the designing who only support Government as an *instrument* of speculation, and are attached to religion only as an *engine* of State, to be traduced as *disorganizers*, and *proscribed* as unworthy of the benefits of justice, how shall we excuse our *venerable Ancestors*, the Dissenters from the Episcopal Church? How shall we justify the Protestant Reformers? Or what apology can be offered for the primitive Christians themselves? Where, at the periods of these *innovations*—*innovations* by which *light* was diffused, a *veneration* for established opinions, not founded in reason, lessened, and a new and beautiful appearance given to the civil and religious world—where, then, was the *boasted wisdom of ages*, which the modern *theologico-politician* is so forward to throw out as his only sheet-anchor to hold his *worm-eaten superannuated* vessel on a *useless station*?

If ~~the~~ throwing into the back ground of the piece, that *celestial influence* which regenerates the heart and improves the morals, any *dogmas* of faith, together with any *set of rites and ceremonies*, have erected themselves into the popular religion of ages, and, on account of their immemorial existence, or their adaptedness to secular ends, plead a *divine right* to an immor-

tality without the least *variableness* or *shadow of change*, the ancient Religion of Greece and Rome had claims too well founded ever to have been shaken. Nor upon the principles of our *stationary sages*, ought her *suit* to have been denied, when her cause was so pathetically advocated by *Rome, the celestial genius which presided over the city, before the tribunal of the Emperors*. "Most excellent princes, says this venerable matron, fathers of your country! pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of piety. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capitol. Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace! I am ignorant of the new system which I am required to adopt; but I am well assured that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office."—But mark the replies, by which these claims, thus eloquently urged, were silenced, made by a *learned bishop and eminent saint* of the times. "Why" argued he with some contempt, "should it be thought necessary to introduce an imaginary and invisible power, as the cause of those victories which were sufficiently explained by the valour and discipline of the legions? And why cherish an absurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to discourage the improvements of art, and replunge the human race into their original barbarism."

True religion, FELLOW CITIZENS, considered as an *instrumentality*, is not intended merely for the purposes of this world. ~~It~~ designs are perverted, and its majesty is debased, whenever it is erected into an *engine* of state to burst forth its terrible peals and forked lightning over the heads of the prostrate croud, in order to raise the adoring eye to the hand that op-

presses, or awe *panic-struck* minds into measures calculated to enslave them. None of its *energies* ought to be employed by the statesman, but its *power* to enlighten the understanding, to ameliorate the heart, and to produce, *in the microcosm of man a new creation*. Its own peculiar province is to *purify the morals of mankind at the fountain, even in their hearts*—and soaring above politics and sordid interests, to endeavour to cause an approximation of the human nature to the nature of Him who sitteth on the throne of glory, and whose property it is to shew mercy.

Not on bulwarks, floating on the margin of the deep, or extending in various directions on the surface of the ocean—not on an uninterrupted line of fortifications, stretching, from the mouth of the *Saint Croix* to that of the *Saint Mary's* on the Atlantic coast, *infinite in expense*, and capable of making no *durable resistance* to an assaulting foe—not on *mercenary legions* or *imperial guards*, cooped up in garrisons, enervated by the luxuries of cities, vainly parading in martial array, or regularly trained to blood and carnage, hath our country placed her safety and defence. But to you, my *brave Fellow Citizens in arms*, whose martial mien announces your spirit, and to the *active valour* of a *well-disciplined militia* through the Union, hath she committed the *sacred trust*.

Among some circumstances calculated to damp a spirit less ardent than that which glows in the patriotic breast, there are many inducements to keep alive your *martial ardour*, and to stimulate you to a tenor of laudable efforts to *excel* in military accomplishments. Young, active, and valorous as you are, you cannot but feel a noble pride, an heroic pleasure, in exercising and displaying those talents which render you the *ornament*, as well as the *strength*, of your country. *Excellence* in the martial art is an honor grateful to the *noble mind*, from which a lustre is reflected so radiant as to be the reward of great sac-

rifices and toils. A well *disciplined militia*, of which you constitute a part, with skill and prowess, adequate to every purpose of national defence, will defeat the *ambitious designs* of the aspiring, and take from them every pretext for forming that *grand instrument* of oppression, that *weapon so formidable* to civil liberty. a *standing army*.

Though it must comport with the feelings of the philanthropic, and cannot but be the *best policy* of our country to stand aloof from war and blood-shed, and under our fruitful vines and figtrees, to cultivate the mild arts of peace; yet in vain may we calculate on the enjoyment of such blessings, unless we possess as a nation the *martial skill* and *ability* to repel hostile aggression. The cravings of human cupidity are unbounded. Tame submissions, or *obvious* dispositions to yield, not unfrequently invite attack. The very wealth that results from agriculture and commerce during any long periods of peace, may induce the ambitious warlike nations, *exhausted in finances*, upon some *colored* pretext, to push the most unjustifiable claim even with the sword's point. Or, jealous as the *powers* of the earth are of rival nations, and rising high as our country is on the scale of empire, she ought to feel the *possibility* of her being forced to take the field in support of her *sovereignty* and *independence*.—In such exigencies, this your country, too high-spirited to *bow the knee*, or to offer the *demanded sacrifice*, would call on her *patriotic* and *valorous* sons, to arm for her glory and defence. In order to be ready at the given signal to obey her sacred summons, *you*, her *patriotic* and *valorous* sons, with alertness will continue to repair to the parade of discipline in order to acquire that skill and to improve those talents, which, in the event of war you would be forward to display in the field of battle, or on the ensanguined plain.—It is, CITIZEN SOLDIERS, your boast and glory, to have descended from

ANCESTORS, who planted here *the stately tree of Liberty*: and while the *blood* of such ANCESTORS flows in your veins, you will never *passively* behold the lawless hand of aggression raised to pluck from the bending branches the *delicious fruit*.—Born *Americans* and educated with the ennobling pride of independence, you will feel an indignity offered to your country as a wound, and attached to her as to the parent who gave you birth, you will pledge for her security and defence, *your lives, your fortunes, and your sacred honour*.

Remaining united, FELLOW CITIZENS, under the *general Government*, and acting in concert for the attainment of common objects, we may long flourish. Split into parties and wasting our strength in mutual oppositions we must soon decline, and continue retrograde, till, like a *kingdom divided against itself, we are brought to desolation*!—Every consideration of interest and safety, of ornament and defence, calls upon us to cultivate harmony with our SISTER STATES, and to strengthen the sacred ties of the *national union*. When those rights and privileges which as citizens we so justly prize, were endangered by *British aggression*, the motto then was—JOIN OR DIE. Feeling the force of this motto presented to the mind's eye by a striking emblem, each State rose superiour to *partial views and local considerations*. Above that selfishness which seeks merely its own honour and aggrandizement, and defeats its own design by acting on a narrow scale, the STATES, as if actuated by one soul, united in the common cause, and, making the general good the centre of their exertions, obtained the grand objects of undivided counsels and patriotic efforts.—At that period, from *slight shades of difference* no real oppositions of interests were made to exist.—No *elaborate attempts* openly appeared to give to the *natural current* of jealousy an *impulsive motion*.—That magic charm, so often employed to *call ghosts* from the dark abyss, though *none* have obeyed the summons, *Virginian*...

fluence, remained then as one of the *secrets* of political legerdemain.—Though the *State* of VIRGINIA was then, as well as now, rich in statesmen, and attached to agriculture, yet the potent sound, *Virginian influence*, which seems to infuse patriotism into the frozen bosoms of sordid speculators, was never heard.—And though the COMMANDER IN CHIEF of our armies was selected from *that State*, and, *ex officio* clothed with the power well adapted to turn the balance ; yet that terrific word, *Virginian influence* by which an *host of strong Sampsons* have been roused into action from the *lap of pleasure*, was not incessantly chimed to the public ear.

Circumscribed are our powers of mind, and superficial are our reasonings, if we suppose that less *union* and *energy* are required to preserve, than to obtain, liberty and independence. The wound which was given to the nation with whom we successfully contended, is far from being healed. This, like other aspiring nations, is watchful of occasions. Happy would such nations be to see the UNITED STATES, *the seat of liberty*, embroiled, and weakened by party rage, internal discord, and violent commotions.—The *equal rights* and *civil freedom* which *these States* enjoy is a reproach to the *tyranny* of their governments : and, hurt by the comparison, they are ready with a view to disgrace the cause of liberty, to spread the seeds of disunion, to foment the spirit of jealousy, or to fan the fire of animosity into a destructive flame. If ever, by any of their arts, they shall have impaired our resources, weakened our strength, and given a paralytic shock to our energies, they would be forward to seize on our country, and parcel it out for their own accommodation.—The Northern States would be a convenient appendage to the *united kingdoms* of his Britannic Majesty. The Southern, as an equivalent acquisition, would be assigned to the Emperor of the French—while the *rich and valuable*, though *much despised*, territory of LOUISI-

ANA, would fall back again into the hands of the King of Spain. In all the wars carried on among these nations, to seize upon each others dependencies would be a primary object. *This goodly heritage, watered with the blood and flourishing by the toils, of our pious FOREFATHERS, now the happy abode of peace and plenty, would then become the ground on which the belligerent powers of Europe would contend for victory. Our cities would be reduced to ashes. Our fruitful fields would be laid waste.—And our great and majestic rivers, so favorable to inland navigation, would be choaked with the mangled bodies, while the tributary streams would be crimsoned by the blood of the slain. Then, indeed, should we have learned, by woful experience, that a nation divided against itself is brought to ruin !*

To avert such direful calamities, let us guard against those *unmanly jealousies*, and temper those too *keen animosities*, which, if suffered to rage, will cause the evils to exist in a shape more positive than in the imagination. Cherishing in your bosoms that pure love of country which actuated the heroes and statesmen in the glorious struggle for *American Independence*, exchange, FELLOW CITIZENS, *local feelings for liberal views*, and sacrifice *partial interest* on the altar of general good.—Imitating the wise and conciliatory policy of the STATES when forming and adopting the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, under the mild administration of which the citizens are so prosperous and happy, cultivate a spirit of harmony and mutual concession, and strengthen, by the union of wills and affections, the *beautiful structure of Liberty*, which, originally raised on *this union*, must rest on it for its firmest support.—And ever mindful of the sage admonition and advice of the great MASTER BUILDER, whose *valour and wisdom* laid the chief corner stones and polished the capitals of this political edifice, “accustom yourselves to think and to speak of the *unity* of Government which

constitutes you *one* people, as the main pillar in the temple of your real Independence—the support of your tranquillity at home—your peace abroad—of your safety—of your prosperity—of that very liberty which you so highly prize.” And, instructed by the same advice, *watch for the preservation of the national union with a jealous eye*—“discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.”

part The restless motions and the unpleasant ferments, into which *Republics* have sometimes been thrown, by the arts and intrigues of men, disdaining the plain bread of Republicanism, and hungering and thirsting for the *dainties* of Aristocracy, or the *sumptuous* ~~fe~~ of Royalty, have emboldened the enemies of free Governments in an unmanly strain of *phillipic* and malignant prediction. The PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES, I trust in Heaven, will have the glory to wipe away the reproach, and to evince to the *diviners* of the times that none of their *enchantment* will prevail against Israel! By making the CONSTITUTION the *polar star* of direction, and by supporting the LIGHTS of the nation in the exalted spheres in which they are destined to move, we may give ocular demonstration to the proud oppressors of mankind, that peace and good order, stability and the perennial sunshine of national felicity are compatible with civil liberty and equal rights. The several States in the UNION, component parts of one system, like so many planets of magnitude, uniting their friendly beams, each revolving on its own axis, held together, or kept in motion, by the gentle influence of political *gravitation* and attraction, have already begun to exhibit an appearance more glorious than that of the most beautiful constellation in the Heavens! Still moving,

gravitation.

each in its respective orb, around the *Federal Government*, the *SUN* of the system, deriving lustre from this *SUN*, and returning light to the same source, *they* may continue to shine to the joy of the present beholder, and be an object of philosophic admiration as long as men shall be endued with the *discernment* to perceive, or the *sensibility* to feel their *BEAUTY*, their *HARMONY*, or their *SPLENDOR* !

